

Bishop John Jewel's Controversy with M. Harding

This .pdf version is scanned from the first 2 of 4 volumes of the Works of John Jewel, edited for the Parker Society by John Ayre, 1845 & 1847. The 2 volumes contain additional works of John Jewel, but this .pdf scan presents *only* the controversy with Harding. Therefore other items listed in the scanned tables of contents can be ignored as they are not contained here.

The first volume ends with page 552 after which appears the Title and Contents for the next volume to complete the controversy with Harding.

THE
WORKS
OF
JOHN JEWEL,
BISHOP OF SALISBURY.
THE FIRST PORTION,

CONTAINING,
A SERMON PREACHED AT PAUL'S CROSS.
CORRESPONDENCE WITH DR COLE.
THE REPLY TO HARDING'S ANSWER
OF PRIVATE MASS.—OF COMMUNION UNDER BOTH KINDS.—
OF PRAYERS IN A STRANGE TONGUE.—OF THE SUPREMACY.—OF REAL PRESENCE.—
OF BEING IN MANY PLACES.—OF ELEVATION OF THE SACRAMENT.—
OF ADORATION OF THE SACRAMENT.

EDITED FOR
The Parker Society,
BY THE
REV. JOHN AYRE, M.A.,
OF GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, MINISTER OF ST JOHN'S CHAPEL, HAMPSTEAD.



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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
ADVERTISEMENT	vii
Sermon preached at Paul's Cross	1
First Letter of Dr Cole.....	26
Bishop Jewel's Answer	27
Second Letter of Dr Cole	29
Bishop Jewel's Answer to the second Letter	31
Dr Cole's Answer to certain parcels of bishop Jewel's second Letter	36
Bishop Jewel's Letter to Dr Cole	40
Bishop Jewel's Reply to the Letter above written.....	<i>ibid.</i>
 REPLY TO M. HARDING'S ANSWER	 81
Preface unto the Christian Reader	83
Harding's Preface to the Reader.....	86
Harding's Preface to M. Jewel	88
Bishop Jewel's Answer to M. Harding's Preface	93
Table of the Articles	103
The First Article :—Of Private Mass.....	104
..... Second..... Of Communion under both kinds.....	204
..... Third	263
..... Fourth	338
..... Fifth	445
..... Sixth	480
..... Seventh	507
..... Eighth	514

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THE volume now presented to the members of the Parker Society will be found to contain the challenge Sermon of Bishop Jewel, the correspondence upon it with Dr Cole, and a portion of the subsequent controversy with Dr Harding. It was the hope of the editor that the whole of the reply to Harding might have been published at once. The labour however of verifying so vast a mass of references must have delayed the publication to a late period; and, besides, the book would have overstepped the limits necessarily imposed each year by the amount of subscription to the Society. It was therefore necessary that this volume should close with the eighth article of the Reply, being thus far complete.

The text used is that of the folio of 1611, with which other editions have been collated; viz. "The true copies of the letters between the Reverend Father in God John Bishop of Sarum and D. Cole," 1560, containing also the sermon; "An Answer to Master Jewel's Challenge by Doctor Harding," Lovaine, 1564; "A Reply unto M. Harding's Answer," 1565. The folio of 1609 has also been consulted; and in a few cases, of which due notice is given, the text of one or more of the earlier editions has been adopted when that of 1611 was clearly in error.

The numerous references have been verified; and in cases where only an English translation is found in the text, the original has been subjoined: where, however, a Greek author is cited in a Latin version, it has not been deemed needful, except in cases of discrepancy, to add the Greek.

It would be uncandid in the editor not to confess that he has often met with serious difficulties in this part of his labours. Sometimes general allusions are made to an author or a treatise; and he cannot be always sure that he has referred to the exact passage meant. Sometimes a more precise quotation has defied his endeavours to discover it; in some cases probably from early errors in printing names or numerals. Perhaps, had he been able at all times to obtain the editions of the Fathers which Jewel used, the number of these might have been diminished. But if, after all the care which the editor has endeavoured to exercise, he should, in a work so extensive, embracing such a variety of topics, and studded with such a multiplicity of citations, have fallen occasionally into error, he trusts that none will be found of serious moment; and every inaccuracy he may discover he will be most ready to correct.

Jewel has himself been charged with errors; and the charges have been urged with much vehemence against him by his opponents. But as most of these are stated and insisted on in a subsequent work of Harding's, and as the bishop has replied to them in his Defence of the Apology, it appeared desirable to reserve the consideration of them to the proper opportunity.

As only a portion of Bishop Jewel's works is here presented, it is considered better not to supply an index to it. The folio editions contain two or three indices to the separate works respectively; and much inconvenience has thence been felt by those who have had occasion to consult them. A general index will therefore be compiled when the publication of this author shall be finished; and pains will be taken to facilitate reference to every part and topic. Additional title-pages will also be supplied, so as to render each portion of Jewel's works complete, and to enable the possessor to arrange them in the way most suitable to his inclination.

A memoir of the author will accompany a future volume.

The editor has to acknowledge the kindness of various friends. To the Rev. Josiah Allport, Birmingham, the Rev. W. H. Cox, M.A., Vice Principal of St Mary Hall, Oxford, the Rev. Richard Gibbings, M.A., Rector of Raymunderdoney, Raphoe, and the Rev. Joseph Mendham, M.A., Sutton Coldfield, he is especially indebted; and he begs to tender to those gentlemen his grateful acknowledgements.

J. A.

CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

PAGE

- 35 note 6. The reference should rather have been Lib. vi. cap. xv. fol. 257; where *Romanus pontifex superior est et iudex conciliorum universalium, etiam congregatorum legitime: quæ ut bene, ita et perperam, injuste, impieque judicare definireque posse demonstratum est.*
- 84 note 3. *Insert 3.*
- 85 lines 1, 2. The passage referred to may be found Tertull. Op. Par. 1580. Lib. de Trin. p. 505.
- 90 line 22 from bottom. See August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Glor. et cet. Epist. xliii. 4. Tom. II. col. 90.
- 93 note 2, line 5. *For 67 read 68.*
- 97 note 10. The reference is to Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. De Profect. Evang. Tom. III. p. 309.
- 113 note 15, line 2, *read ad calc.*
- 142 lines 34-36. The passage referred to is ... panis, quem ... frangimus, et quem unum in multas partes dividimus, ad &c.—Anselm. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. In 1. Epist. ad Cor. cap. x. Tom. II. p. 140. See page 315, note 11.
- line 35, later, 1565.
- 193 note 6. *Supply* [⁶
- 213 note 6. ...quam nihil firmitatis habeat hæc ratio hinc claret...quæ enim, &c. ipse ad, &c. — Mich. Vehe Assert. Sacr. Axiom. Lips. 1535. Tractat. v. fol. N. 3. 2.
- 250 note 9. *For note 20 read note 21.*
- 267 note 9. *Add:* But see Hieron. Op. Basil. 1516. Tom. I. fol. 121; where *Crescens in Galliis prædicavit evangelium.* This, however, was not a part of Jerome's work: see Cave, Script. Eccles. Hist. Lit. Oxon. 1740-3. Tom. I. p. 271.
- 381 note 7. This note should stand: Ergo consistorium Dei et papæ unum et idem est censendum...et breviter excepto peccato quasi omnia de jure potest ut Deus.—Hostiens. Op. Par. 1512. Super Prim. Decretal. De Transl. Episc. fol. 75. 2.
- 425 note 9. *For notes 17, 8, read 18, 9.*
- 470 note 2. The passage, as Harding has quoted it, may be found Chrysost. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. In cap. Matt. xxvi. Hom. lxxxiii. Tom. II. col. 669.

A R E P L I E
V N T O M.

HARDINGS

Answer:

By perusing whereof, the discreet and diligent

Reader may easily see the weake and

vnstable grounds of the Roman reli-

gion, which of late hath been ac-

counted Catholike:

By IOHN IEVVEL Bishop of *Sarisburie*.

3. ESDR. 4.

Magna est Veritas, et preualet.

Great is the Truth, and preuaileth.

*Ex Edicto Imperatorum Valentin. & Martian, in Concil
Chalcedon. Actione 3.*

Qui post semel inuentam Veritatem aliud quærit,

Mendacium quærit non Veritatem.

After the Truth is once found, whosoever seeketh further,

he seeketh not for the Truth, but for a lie.

LONDON,

Printed by IOHN NORTON,

Printer to the Kings most ex-
cellent Maiestie.

1611. 4

UNTO THE CHRISTIAN READER.

PERUSING a certain book lately set forth in the name of M. Harding, and weighing the substance, and parcels of the same, good christian reader, I called to mind these words spoken sometime by Socrates the philosopher, touching his accusers, in his own defence before the judges: "My lords, in what sort your affections have been stirred with mine accusers' eloquence, while ye heard them speak, I cannot tell. But well I wot, for mine own part, I myself¹, whom it toucheth most, was almost persuaded to believe that all they said was true; yea, although it were against myself¹. So handsomely they can tell their tale, and so likely and so smoothly they convey their matters. Every word they spake had appearance of truth. And yet in good sooth they have scarcely uttered one word of truth." Thus then said Socrates to² his accusers. Even so may I say now of M. Harding: for both in truth of matter, and also in probability of utterance, they are much alike. Aristotle, touching the darkness and doubtfulness of natural worldly things, saith thus: *Quædam falsa probabiliora sunt quibusdam veris*: "Certain falsehoods³ (by means⁴ of good utterance) have sometimes more likelihood of truth than truth itself." For truth is many times brought in simple, and naked, in poor array: but falsehood⁵ must needs apparel and attire herself with all her furnitures. Thus many times we are deceived, and embrace falsehood⁵ instead of truth. And this is the misery of the simple. For neither are they able to teach themselves, nor have they wherewith to discern their teachers. There was never neither error so horrible, but the simple have received it, nor poison so deadly, but the simple have drunken it. In this sort St Hierome saith: "Infidelity was sometime published among the simple under the name of faith⁶." And antichrist shall be adored and honoured instead of Christ.

Plato in Apologia Socratis.

Hieron. contra Luciferianos.

Touching the state and issue of the matter: whereas I, upon just occasion offered, and only in regard of the truth, sometime said in great audience, that in any of these cases here moved our adversaries are not able to allege either any one sufficient clause or sentence out of the scriptures, councils, or ancient fathers, or any certain usage or example of the primitive church, M. Harding hath here alleged and published, not only one, or other, but (as he himself saith, and as it is thought of many) great numbers of such authorities of scriptures, councils, and doctors, both Greek and Latin, and many ancient and evident examples to the contrary. The places are noted, the words are clear: it cannot be denied; and, as it is supposed, all the world is not able to answer it. It seemeth now an undoubted truth, that as well these, as also all other the doctrines and orders of the church of Rome, have been derived directly from Christ himself and his apostles, and have continued the space of fifteen hundred and thirty years at the least. Therefore some have wished my words had been more warily qualified, and uttered with more circumspection. Even this is it that Aristotle said: "The shew of truth beareth often more likelihood, than truth itself." There is no way so easy to beguile the simple as the name and countenance of ancient fathers. The Arian heretics alleged for themselves the ancient father Origen: the Nestorian heretics alleged the council of Nice: the Donatian heretics alleged St Cyprian: the Pelagian heretics alleged St Ambrose, St Hierome, and St Augustine: Dioscorus the heretic alleged Gregorius, Cyrillus, and Athanasius, and complained openly in the council, even in like sort, and as justly, as M. Harding doth now: *Ego defendo dogmata sanctorum patrum. Ego illorum habeo testimonia, non obiter, nec in transcurso, sed*

In Conc. Chalcedo. Action. 1.

[¹ Meself, 1565.]
[² Falsheads, 1565.]
[³ Falshead, 1565.]

[² Of, 1565.]
[⁴ Mean, 1565.]

[⁶ Nomine unitatis et fidei infidelitas scripta est.—
Hieron. Op. Par. 1693—1706. Adv. Lucifer. Tom.
IV. Pars II. col. 299.]

*in ipsorum libris posita. Ego cum patribus ejicior*¹: "I maintain the doctrine of the holy fathers. I have their witnesses, not uttered by chance, or by the way, but written in their books. I am excommunicate, and cast out, and banished with the fathers." If the devil can shew himself as the angel of light, and if false prophets can come in the name of Christ, much more may some others come in the name and under the colour of certain fathers.

But, good christian reader, for thy better understanding, lest happily thou be deceived, it may please thee to know that these authorities, alleged here by M. Harding, are neither new, nor strange, nor unknown to any man of mean learning; but have been both often brought in, and alleged by others, and also weighed and examined, and thoroughly confuted long ago. Indeed, M. Harding hath added of himself some beauty of his eloquence and majesty of words; and yet not so much, nor such, but it may easily be answered, although not with like eloquence, whereof in these cases there is no need, yet at least with more truth. I trust by indifferent conference hereof thou shalt soon see the ancient fathers, some that never were, by M. Harding surmised and counterfeited; some untruly alleged; some corruptly translated; some perversely expounded; some unaptly and guilefully applied; their words sometimes abridged, sometimes enlarged, sometimes altered, sometimes dissembled; fabulous and unknown authorities newly founded; childish arguments fondly concluded; to be short, infinite untruths, and known untruths, boldly avouched. In consideration hereof St Augustine crieth out: *O rerum naturæ obscuritas! quantum tegmen est falsitatis*²! "O the darkness of natural things! what a covert have lies to lurk in!" Therefore Socrates saith: "We may not believe every argument that is shewed us, upon the sight, but must open it, and search it, and look it through." For oftentimes it seemeth otherwise than it is. It seemeth strong without, and is weak within. King Agesilaus, when he withstood³ his enemies, of policy, to cover the smallness and weakness of their bodies, had bombasted and embossed out their coats with great quarters, that they might seem big and mighty men, and that his soldiers therewith were much dismayed, after he had overthrown and slain them in the field, pulled off their coats, and stript them, and left them naked; and when he had caused his soldiers to behold the poor, lithier, slender, wearish bodies, nothing like that they seemed before, then said he unto them: "Lo, these be they of whom ye stood so much afraid; these be their great bodies, these be their mighty bones⁴". Even so, good reader, if thou stand in fear of these M. Harding's authorities and arguments, and think them terrible and invincible, for that they are embossed and wrought out by art; take them, rip them, open them, search them, weigh them, strip them naked, shake them out, confer them with the places from whence they were taken; consider the causes and the circumstances, what goeth before, what cometh after; mark the story of the time; examine the judgment of other fathers; and thou shalt marvel wherefore thou stoodest so much afraid, or ever thoughtest them to be invincible.

August. de
Morib. Mani-
chæ. Lib. ii.
cap. xvi.

It were above all things to be desired of God, that his heavenly truth might pass forth without these contrarieties and quarrels of judgments; and many godly-wise men are much offended to see it otherwise. But thus it hath been ever from the beginning. Cain was against Abel, Esau against Jacob: the kingdom of darkness was ever against the kingdom of light: the scribes and Pharisees were grieved with Christ: Celsus, Porphyrius, Julianus, Symmachus, were grieved with the glory of the gospel. Christ himself is the stone of offence, "laid to the resurrection and ruin of many." But through these offences and contentions the truth of God breaketh out, and shineth more glorious.

[Luke ii. 34.]

Blessed therefore be the name of God, that hath offered this occasion. For I have no doubt in God but of this necessary conflict, through his mercy, there shall issue some sparkle to the glory of his holy name. For, as Moses' rod devoured the rods of the sorcerers, even so will the truth of God devour error.

[¹ Diosc. in Concil. Chalced. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Action. 1. Tom. IV. col. 181.]

[² August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Mor. Manich. Lib. 11. cap. xvi. 38. Tom. I. col. 729.]

[³ Understood, 1565, 1609.] [⁴ Plut. in Agesil.]

Darkness cannot stand before the light. Tertullian saith: *Scriptura divina hæreticorum fraudes et furta convincit, et detegit*: "The holy scripture discloseth and confoundeth the subtleties and robberies of heretics." And Nehemias saith: "Great is verity, and prevailleth."

1 Esdr. iv.

But M. Harding threatened aforehand that mine answer (be it true, be it false) shall soon be answered. Howbeit, if he will not dissemble, but deal plainly, and lay out the whole, and answer the whole as he seeth I have dealt with him, perhaps it may require him some longer time. But if he dismember my sayings, and cull out my words, and take choice of my sentences, without regard what goeth before or what cometh after; or if he send us over such pretty pamphlets⁵ as he lately printed together, and joined with the Turkish news of Malta, I warn him beforehand I may not vouchsafe to make him answer.

Notwithstanding, before he address himself to his second book, I would counsel him, first, to consider better the oversights and scapes of his former book; and further, to think that whatsoever he shall write, it will be examined and come to trial. And let him remember, it is not sufficient to call us sacramentaries and heretics, or to condemn our books for pelf and trash and fardels of lies, before he see them: for these things will now no longer go for arguments. But, before all things, let him write no more untruths; for thereof he hath sent us enough already: let him no more wrest and rack the scriptures: let him no more neither misallege, nor misconstrue, nor corrupt, nor alter the holy fathers: let him no more imagine councils and canons that he never saw: let him no more bring us neither his Amphilochius, nor his Abdias, nor his Hippolytus, nor his Clemens, nor his Leontius, nor any other like childish forgeries, nor his guesses, nor his visions, nor his dreams, nor his fables: let him no more bring one thing for another. And, to be short, let him bring no more contradictions in his own tales, nor be found contrary to himself. Otherwise, the more he striveth, the more he bewrayeth his own cause.

Now, good christian reader, that thou mayest be the better able both to satisfy thine own conscience in these cases, and also to understand as well what is said, as also what is answered of either party, I have laid forth before thee M. Harding's book, without any diminution, fully and wholly, as he himself gave it out. And to every parcel thereof, according to my poor skill, I have laid mine answer; whether sufficient or insufficient, thou mayest be judge. To thee it is dedicated⁶, and for thy sake it is written. Here must I say unto thee even as St Hierome saith to his reader in the like case: *Quæso, lector, ut memor tribunalis Domini, et de judicio tuo te intelligens judicandum, nec mihi nec adversario [meo] faveas; neve personas loquentium, sed causam consideres*⁷: "I beseech thee, good reader, that, remembering the judgment-seat of the Lord, and understanding that, as thou dost judge, so thou shalt be judged, thou favour neither me, nor mine adversary that writeth against me; and that thou regard not the persons, but only the cause."

Adversus
Error. Johan.
Hierosoly-
mitani.

God give thee the spirit of understanding, that thou mayest be able to judge uprightly: God give thee eyes to see, that thou mayest behold the comfortable and glorious face of God's truth; that thou mayest know the good, and merciful, and perfit will of God; that thou mayest grow into a full perfit man in Christ, and no longer be blown away with every blast of vain doctrine; but mayest be able to know the only, the true, and the living God, and his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ: To whom both, with the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

JOHN JEWEL, *Sarisburyen.*

From London, the 6th of August, 1565.

[⁵ Jewel doubtless refers to the letter dated June 12, 1565, which Harding printed from Antwerp. It may be found in Strype, *Annals*, Vol. I. chap. xlv., and Appendix, No. xxx.]

[⁶ Dedicate, 1565.]

[⁷ Hieron. Op. Par. 1693—1706. Epist. xxxviii. Ad Pammach. adv. Error. Johan. Jerosol. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 311.]

TO THE READER¹.

2 Cor. vi.

λαθὲ βιω-
σας.

WHEREAS Horace saith, "*They that run over the sea change the air, not the mind*²;" it is so, reader, that I, passing over the sea out of England into Brabant, have in some part changed also my mind. For whereas, being there, I minded to send this treatise but to one friend, who required it for his private instruction, and never to set any thing abroad; now, being arrived here in Lovaine, I have thought good, by putting it in print, to make it common to many. Yet, to say the truth, hereto I have been pricked more by zealous persuasions of others, than induced by mine own liking. For though duty require, be it with shame, or be it with fame, to employ all endeavour to the defence of the catholic faith in these most perilous times much impugned; yet, partly by a certain cowardly judgment, and specially by natural inclination, I have ever liked more that old counsel uttered by the Greeks in two words, which adviseth a man so to live secretly as it be not known he hath lived. Wherefore, as this labour in that respect deserveth less thank, so for my part it ought less to be blamed. If ought be found amiss, the blame thereof rightly divided between my friends and me, the greater portion shall redound to them, the lesser to me, as on whom the spot of unskill only shall cleave, but the note of indiscretion shall remain to them. For as the defects be mine and none other's, so oversight of setting forth that which was of less sufficiency is to be imputed to them, not to me. Howsoever it be, the meaning of us both is only this, christian reader, hereby to minister unto thee matter of comfort in these sorrowful, of stay in these wavering, of understanding the truth in these erroneous times; withal, to call him back, who in denying these articles hath overrun himself. Wherein I am not altogether void of hope. Our Lord grant the spirit of heresy, pride, stoutness of heart in gainsaying, estimation of himself, and regard of this world, stop not from him the Holy Ghost's working! Would God he may weigh this my doing so indifferently, as my meaning towards him is right wholesome and friendly! But in case that deep wound may not be cured with such salve, yet my trust is it shall do thee good, reader, who art either yet whole, or not so desperately wounded: which if it do, I shall think my labour well requited, and myself to have achieved that reward which I sought.

Now, this much I have thought good here to warn thee of, that, whereas at the first I appointed this to my private friend only, and not to all in common (though in sundry places I follow the manner of such as mind to publish their writings), I have so both ordered the matter and tempered the style, as I judge it might have been liked of my friend at home, and doubt whether it may bear the light abroad. I see men's stomachs of our time to be very delicate and diverse. Some require sweet junkets, some sour and sharp sauces; some esteem the curiosity of cookery more than the wholesomeness of viands; some can like no dish, be it never so well dight. In this diversity no man can please all: whosoever seeketh it shall find himself deceived. Iween the best way is, if a man herein mind to do ought, to make his provision of the things only which be wholesome. So shall he displease many, hurt none, and please all the good. Whosoever in doing this directeth his whole purpose and endeavour to this end, that he may profit and help all, in my judgment he doth do the duty of an honest and a good man. Verily in this treatise this hath been mine only purpose; and the mean to bring the same to effect hath been such as whereby I studied to profit wholesomely, not to please delicately. How much good I have performed, I know not; my conscience (which is enough) beareth me witness of good-will. What the apostles have planted, in this great barrenness and drought of faith I have desired again to water. God give increase!

If the multitude of allegations brought for confirmation of some these articles shall seem tedious, no marvel. I should mislike the same in another myself. I grant

[¹ Reprinted from Harding's Answer, 1564, and not given in the editions of Jewel's works.]

[² Cælum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt.—Hor. Epist. i. xi. 27.]

herein I have not always kept due comeliness. For, simply to say what I think (having leave to return to my former metaphor), soothly in some courses I have overcharged the board with dishes. Marvel not I have done that I discommend myself: to avoid a more reproof in greater respect, I have wittingly done a thing in some degree reprobable. Neither think I greatly to offend, if in this time of spiritual famine I follow the wont of some feast-makers; who, of their neighbours twitted with niggardness, to shew their largess and bounty feast them with lavish. The adversary, as here thou mayest see, hath not spared to irk us with reproach of penury, of scarcity, of lack; I mean, of proofs for maintenance of some good part of our religion. In this case to me it seemed a part of just defence to utter some good store. And the niggard's feast by old proverb is well commended, thou knowest pardy. Neither yet have we emptied all our spence³, as hereafter it shall appear, if need require.

If some do not allow this consideration, whosoever the same shall blame, him here concluding shortly I answer with Alexander king of Macedons, who to Leonidas, one of his minions, finding fault with spending much frankincense in sacrifices, wrote thus in few: "Frankincense and myrrh to thee we have sent plenty, that now to the gods thou be no more a niggard." Farewell.

At Lovaine, 14 of June,

1563.

THOM. HARDING.

[³ Spence: store-room.]

THE PREFACE TO MASTER JEWEL¹.

This heap of articles which you have laid together, master Jewel, the greater it riseth, the less is your advantage. For whereas you require but one sentence for the avouching of any one of them all, the more groweth your number, the more enlarged is the liberty of the answerer. It seemeth you have conceived a great confidence in the cause, and that your adversaries (so it liketh you to term us whom God hath so stayed with his grace as we cannot bear you company in departing from his catholic church) have little or nothing to say in their defence. Else what should move you, both in your printed sermon, and also in your answers and replies to doctor Cole, to shew such courage, to use such amplification of words, so often and with such vehemency to provoke us to encounter, and as it were at the blast of a trumpet to make your challenge? What, feared you reproach of dastardness if you had called forth no more but one learned man of all your adversaries; and therefore, to shew your hardiness, added more weight of words to your proclamation, and challenged all the learned men that be alive?

In the sermon, fol. 46.²

Among cowards, perhaps, it serveth the turn sometimes to look fiercely, to speak terribly, to shake the weapon furiously, to threaten bloodily, no less than cutting, hewing, and killing; but among such we see many times sore frays foughten, and never a blow given. With such brags of himself, and reproach of all others, Homer, the wisest of all poets, setteth forth Thersites for the fondest man of all the Grecians that came to Troy. Goliath the giant, so stout as he was, made offer to fight but with one Israelite: "Choose out a man amongst you," quoth he, "and let him come and fight with me, man for man." But you, master Jewel, in this quarrel ask not the combat of one catholic man only, but, as one sure of the victory before proof of fight, cast your glove, as it were, and with strange defiance provoke all learned men that be alive to camp with you.

1 Sam. xvii.
Eligite ex
vobis virum,
et descendat
ad singulare
certamen.

Now, if this matter shall so fall out as the overthrow appear evidently on our side, and the victory on yours, that is to wit, if we cannot bring one sentence for proof of any one of all these articles out of the scriptures, ancient councils, doctors, or example of the primitive church; yet wise and grave men, I suppose, would have liked you better, if you had meekly and soberly reported the truth. For truth, as it is plain and simple, so it needeth not to be set forth with brag of high words. You remember that old saying of the wise: Simplex veritatis oratio: "the utterance of truth ought to be simple."

But if the victory (loth I am to use this insolent word, were it not to follow the metaphor which your challenge hath driven me unto) fall to our side, that is to say, if we shall be able to allege some one sufficient sentence for proof of some one of all these articles; yea, if we shall be able to allege divers and sundry sentences, places, and authorities, for confirmation of sundry these articles; in this case, I ween, you shall hardly escape among sober men the reproach of rashness, among humble men, of presumption, among godly men, of wickedness: of rashness; for what can be more rash than in so weighty matters as some of these articles import, so boldly to affirm that, the contrary whereof may sufficiently be proved? of presumption; for what can be more presumptuous, than in matters by you not thoroughly seen and weighed, to impute ignorance, and unableness to avouch things approved and received by the church, to all learned men alive? of wickedness; for what is more wicked than (the former case standing) so to remove the hearts of the people from devotion, so to bring the church into contempt, so to set at nought the ordinances of the Holy Ghost?

As you follow the new and strange doctrine of Theodorus Beza and Peter Martyr, the prolocutors of the Calvinian churches in France, whose scholar a long time you have been; so you divert far from that prudency, sobriety, and modesty, which in their outward demeanour they shewed in that solemn and honourable assembly

¹ Reprinted from Harding's Answer, 1564, and not given in the editions of Jewel's works.]

² See before, page 20.]

at Poysse, in September 1561; as it appeareth by the oration which Beza pronounced there in the name of all the Calvinists. In which oration, with humble and often protestation, they submit themselves, if cause shall so appear, to better advice and judgment, as though they might be deceived, uttering these and the like words in sundry places: "If we be deceived, we would be glad to know it." Item: "For the small measure of knowledge that it hath pleased God to impart unto us, it seemeth that this transubstantiation," &c. Item: "If we be not deceived." Item: "In case we be deceived, we would be glad to understand it," &c. But you, master Jewel, as though you had read all that ever hath been written in these points, and had borne away all that ever hath been taught, and were ignorant of nothing touching the same, and none other beside you had seen ought, and were able to say ought, say marvellous confidently, and that in the most honourable and frequent audience of this realm, that you were well assured that none of your learned adversaries, no, nor all the learned men alive, shall ever be able to allege one sentence for any one of these articles, and that, because you know it, therefore you speak it, lest haply your hearers should be deceived.

In the sermon, fol. 49.⁴

Likewise in your answer to doctor Cole's first letter you say, speaking of these articles, you thought it best to make your entry in your preaching with such things as wherein you were well assured we should be able to find not so much as any colour or shadow of doctors at all. Wherein you withdraw yourself from plainness, so much as you do in your presumptuous challenge from modesty. For, being demanded of doctor Cole why you treat not rather of matters of more importance than these articles be of, which yet lie in question betwixt the church of Rome and the protestants, as of the presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, of justification, of the value of good works, of the sacrifice of the mass, and of such other; not unwitting how much and how sufficient authority may be brought against your side for proof of the catholic doctrine therein, lest all the world should espy your weakness in these points, you answer that you thought it better to begin with smaller matters, as these articles be, because you assure yourself we have nothing for confirmation of them. Thus craftily you shift your hands of those greater points wherein you know scriptures, councils, doctors, and examples of the primitive church to be of our side, and cast unto us, as a bone to gnaw upon, this number of articles of less weight (a few excepted) to occupy us withal: which be partly concerning order rather than doctrine, and partly sequels of former and confessed truths, rather than principal points of faith; in the exact treaty of which the ancient doctors of the church have not employed their study and travail of writing. For many of them being sequels depending of a confessed truth, they thought it needless to treat of them: forasmuch as, a principal point of truth granted, the granting of all the necessary sequels is implied: as in a chain (which comparison St Basil⁶ maketh in the like case) he that draweth the first link after him, draweth also the last link. And for this cause, indeed, the less number and weight of such ancient authorities may be brought for the avouching of them; and yet the things in them expressed be not justly improved by any clause or sentence you have said or uttered hitherto.

Epist. ad Gregorium fratrem.

Verily, M. Jewel, if you had not been more desirous to deface the catholic church, than to set forth the truth, you would never have rehearsed such a long roll of articles, which for the more part be of less importance; whereby you go about to discredit us, and to make the world believe we have nothing to shew for us in a great part of our religion, and that you be to be taken for zealous men, right reformers of the church, and undoubted restorers of the gospel. As touching the other weighty points, whereupon almost only your school-masters of Germany, Switzerland, and Geneva, both in their preachings and also in their writings treat, you will not yet adventure the trial of them, with making your match with learned men, and in the mean time set them forth by sermons busily among the unlearned and simple people, until such time as you have won your purpose in these smaller matters.

Thus you seem to follow a sleight which king Alexander the Great used to further the course of his conquests; who, as Plutarch writeth, whereas he thought verily

In Vita Alexandri Magi.

[³ An Oration made by Master Theodore de Beze, Lond. R. Jugge. foll. B iii. 2, C vi. 2, C viii. &c.]

[⁴ See before, page 22.]

[⁵ See before, page 28.]

[⁶ Basil. Op. Par. 1721—30. Ad Greg. Fratr. Epist. xxxviii. Tom. III. p. 118.]

that he was begotten of a god, shewed himself toward the barbarians very haught and proud; yet among the Greeks he used a more modesty, and spake little of his godhead. For they being rude, and of small understanding, he doubted not but by ways and means to bring them to such belief: but the Greeks, whom he knew to be men of excellent knowledge and learning, of them he judged, as it proved indeed, the matter should be more subtilly scanned, than simply believed. Right so you, M. Jewel, persuading yourself to have singular skill in divinity, among the simple people you utter the weighty and high points of christian religion that be now in question, in such wise as the protestants have written of them, and with vehement affirmations, with misconstrued and falsified allegations, and with pitiful exclamations you lead the seely souls into dangerous errors. But in your writings, which you knew should pass the judgment of learned men, the points of greater importance you cover with silence, and utter a number of articles of less weight for the more part in respect of the chief, though for good cause received and used in the church (I speak of them as they be rightly taken), denying them all, and requiring the catholics, your adversaries, to prove them. Wherein you shew yourself not to fear controlment of the ignorant, but to mistrust the trial of the learned.

Likewise in the holy canon of the mass you find faults where none are, as it may easily be proved, thinking for defence thereof we had little to say. But of the prayer there made to the virgin Mary, the apostles and martyrs, of the suffrages for the departed in the faith of Christ, in your whole book you utter never a word, though you mislike it, and otherwheres speak against it; as all your sect doth. And why? Forsooth, because you know right well we have store of good authorities for proof thereof. And by your will you will not yet strive with us in matters wherein by the judgment of the people, to whom you lean much, you should seem overmatched. And therefore you search out small matters in comparison of the greatest, such as the old doctors have passed over with silence, and for that cannot of our part by ancient authorities be so amply affirmed, at leastway as you think yourself assured. And in this respect you lay on load of blame, contumelies, and slanders, upon the church for maintaining of them. Wherein the mark you shoot at every man perceiveth what it is; even that, when you have brought the catholic church into contempt, and borne the people in hand we are not able to prove a number of things by you denied, for lack of such proofs, as yourself shall allow, in certain particular points of small force (which falsely you report to be the greatest keys and highest mysteries of our religion), then triumphing against us, and despising the ancient and catholic religion in general, you may set up a new religion of your own forging, a new church of your own framing, a new gospel of your own device. Well may I further say, cathedram contra cathedram, but not, I trow, as St Augustine termeth such state of religion, altare contra altare: for whatsoever ye set up, if ye set up any thing at all, and pull not down only, all manner of altars must needs be thrown down.

Now, being sorry to see the catholic church by your stout and bold brags thus attempted to be defaced, the truth in manner outfaced, and the seely people so dangerously seduced; imbarred of liberty to preach by recognisance, and yet not so discharged in conscience of duty appertaining to my calling; I have now thought good to set forth this treatise in writing, whereby to my power to save the honour of the church, which is our common mother, to defend the truth, in whose quarrel none adventure is to be refused, and to reduce the people from deceit and error, which by order of charity we are bound unto.

For the doing hereof, if you be offended, the conscience of good and right meaning shall soon ease me of that grief. Verily mine intent was not to hurt you, but to profit you, by declaring unto you that truth which you seem hitherto not to have known: for, if you had, I ween you would not have preached and written as you have. Your years, your manner of study, and the party you have joined yourself unto considered, it may well be thought you have not thoroughly seen how much may be said in defence of the catholic doctrine, touching these articles which you have denied.

For the manner of doing, I am verily persuaded that neither you, nor any of your fellows, which of all these new sects by your side professed soever he liketh best, shall have just cause to complain. The whole treatise is written without choler, without gall, without spite. What I mislike in you, and in them of your side, I could

not allow in myself. Where truth's cause is treated, human affections, whereby the clear light is dimmed, ought to be laid apart. Glikes, nips, and scoffs, bites, cuts, and girds, become not that stage. Yet, if I shall perhaps sometimes seem to scar or lance a festered bunch that deserveth to be cut off, you will remember, I doubt not, how the meekest and the holiest of the ancient fathers, in reproving heretics, oftentimes have shewed themselves zealous, earnest, eager, severe, sharp, and bitter.

Whose taste soever longeth most after such sauce, in this treatise he shall find small liking. For it is occupied more about the fortifying of the articles denied, than about disproving of the person who hath denied them. Wherein I have some deal followed the latter part of Chilo the wise man his counsel, which I allow better than the first: Ama, tanquam osurus; oderis tanquam amaturus: "Love as to hate; hate as to love."

If any man that shall read this be of that humour as shall mislike it as being cold, low, flat, and dull, and require rather such verdure of writing as is hot, lofty, sharp, and quick, which pleaseth best the taste of our time; understand he that, before I intended to put this forth in print, I thus tempered my style for these considerations. First, whereas a certain exercise of a learned man, of five or six sheets of paper, spread abroad in the realm in defence of some of these articles by M. Jewel denied, was fathered upon me, which indeed I never made sentence of, and therefore a storm imminent was mistrusted; that, by changing the hue, which many know me by that know me familiarly, in case it should come to the hands of many, as it was likely, I might escape the danger of being charged with it, and nevertheless satisfy my friend's request, and in some part also my conscience, and do good. Secondly, that I thought meek, sober, and cold demeanour of writing to be most fitting for such kind of argument. Thirdly, and specially, that my heart served me not to deal with M. Jewel, mine old acquainted fellow and countryman, otherwise than sweetly, gently, and courteously. And indeed here I protest that I love M. Jewel, and detest his heresies.

And now, sir, as I love you, right so I am desirous of your soul health, which you seem either to forget or to procure by a wrong way. Bethink yourself, I pray you, whether the way you walk in be not the same, and you the man, that Salomon, moved with the Spirit of God, speaketh of: "There is a way that seemeth to a man right; and the end of it leadeth to damnation." Prov. xvi. Certain it is you are deceived, and maintain untruth, as it shall appear by this treatise. Herein you sustain the evil of human infirmity. Marry, when deceit is by plain truth detected, then to dwell and continue in error, that proceedeth not of human weakness, but of devilish obstinacy. But you, M. Jewel, as many men think, and I trust, are not yet swallowed up of that gulf. Fain would I do you good, if I wist how. I fear me, your sore is putrefied so far as oil and lenitives will not serve now, but rather vinegar and corrosives. You remember, I doubt not, what Cicero saith, that medicine to profit most which causeth the greatest smart; and what Salomon also, "The wounds of a friend to be Prov. xxvii. better than the kisses of an enemy."

The best salve any man can minister unto you, verily I think, is, to exhort you to humility, and to denying of yourself. For if you could be brought to humble yourself, and to deny yourself, doubtless you should see in yourself that you see not. If you were humble, you would not be so puffed up, and swell against your mother the church; you would not contemn her whom you ought to honour. You would not rejoice, like the accursed Cham, to shew her unseemliness, if by corruption of times Gen. ix. any perhaps be grown. For by authority and public consent, say what ye will, none is maintained. If you would deny yourself to be the man you be not, you should better see who and what you be indeed. Deny yourself to be so well learned as you seem to esteem yourself, and you will be ashamed to make such strange cracks and vaunts of your being well assured of that you have preached and written touching these articles wherein you are deceived. Deny yourself to be a bishop, though you have put on the bishop of Salisbury his white rochet, and you shall be content and think it meet also to give a reckoning of the doctrine which you preach openly before the high estates, and therefore confer with D. Cole and with meaner men also, which In the beginning of the first answer to D. Cole. more insolently than reasonably you refused to do: and by such conference you shall be advertised of your error. Deny your private judgment, and estimation of your long study in divinity, which you acknowledge in your replies, and of your

great cunning in the same, and you shall evidently see and remember that your time hath been most bestowed in the study of humanity and of the Latin tongue, and concerning divinity your most labour hath been employed to find matter against the church, rather than about serious and exact discussing of the truth; and that, in comparison of that holy and learned father B. Fisher and others, whom you jest and scoff at, and seek to discredit by fond arguments of your own framing upon them by you fathered, you are, touching the sound and deep knowledge of divinity, scantily a smatterer.

Again, deny yourself to be so great a man, but that you may take advertisement of a man of meaner calling; deny yourself to be so honourable, but that it may stand with your honesty to abide by your promise in a most honest manner by your own prepensed offer made; you may easily learn how to redress that hath been done amiss, you may see your own infirmities, defects, oversights, and ignorances plainly, as it were in a glass, all self-love and blind estimation of yourself set apart; you may, with the favour of all good men, with the winning of your own soul, and many others, whom you have perilously deceived, and to the glory of God, be induced to yield to the truth, to subscribe to the same, and to recant your errors. Wherein you should do no other thing than, these articles, which you deny, by us with sufficient proofs and testimonies avouched, you have already freely and largely offered. Which thing, that it may be done, God give you the grace of his holy Spirit, to humble your heart, to deny yourself, and to make a greater accompt of your everlasting salvation than of your worldly interest!

THOMAS HARDING.

[¹ See before, page 14.]

AN ANSWER

TO

M. HARDING'S PREFACE.

It misliketh you much, M. Harding, that, in so many and sundry cases by me moved, wherein standeth the greatest force of your religion, I should say you and others of that part are utterly void, not only of the scriptures, but also of the old councils and ancient fathers; and that in such an audience I should so precisely and so openly discover the wants and weakness of your side. And therefore, "The greater my heap riseth, the less," say you, "is mine advantage."

Whereunto I may easily reply, the larger is mine offer, the more will your discreet reader mislike the insufficiency of your answer; and, the more enlarged is your liberty, the less cause have you to complain.

"Wise men," ye say, "would more have liked greater modesty." Verily, the men that you call wise would have thought it greatest modesty to have dissembled and said nothing. But what may the same wise men think of your modesty, that, having so often made so large and so liberal offers of so many doctors, are not able in the end to shew us one?

Neither "look we so fiercely, nor shake we the sword so terribly," as you report us. This was evermore your and your fellows' special and peculiar commendation; who, besides your fierce and cruel looks, and besides the shaking and terror of your sword, have also hewn, and cut, and slain, and filled your hands with the blood of your brethren.

Wherefore ye should not take it in such grief, that, only for distinction's sake, by so civil and courteous a name we call you our "adversaries." For, finding you armed with sword and fire, and imbrued with our blood, we might well have spared you some other name. That I said, ye have no such assurance of the ancient fathers as ye have borne us in hand, and as your friends upon your credit have believed, I said it not, neither of ambition, as you expound it, nor of malice; but forced thereto by your importunity, and with great grief of mind.

Therefore ye did me the greater wrong to say, "I came vaunting, as Goliath, and throwing forth my glove like a challenger, and proclaiming defiance to all the world." In these words, M. Harding, wise men may find some want of your modesty. For whoso avoucheth the manifest and known truth, and saith that you both have been deceived yourselves, and also have deceived others, ought not therefore to be called Goliath. And notwithstanding you have adventured yourself to be the noble David, to conquer this giant, yet, forasmuch as ye have neither David's sling in your hand, nor David's stones in your scrip, and therefore not likely to work great masteries, ye may not look that the ladies of Israel with their lutes and timbrels will receive you in triumph, or sing before you, "David hath conquered his ten thousands." He rather is Goliath, that setteth his face against the heavens and his foot in emperors' necks, and openeth his mouth awide to utter blasphemies, that soundeth out these words into all the world: "I cannot err: I have all laws, both spiritual and temporal, in my breast: I am above all general councils: I may judge all men; but all the world may not judge me, be I never so wicked: I am king of kings, and lord of lords: I can do whatsoever Christ himself can do: I am all, and above all: all power is given to me, as well in heaven as in earth²." Ye know whose words these be, by whom they

Extra. de
Constit.
Licet.
De Electio.
et Elect. Pro-
testate, Signi-
ficasti.
ix. qu. 3.
Nemo.
De Majorit.
et Obedient.
Unam Sanc-
tam.
In Glossa.
In Concil.
Lateran. Sub
Julio.

[² The following are the passages referred to by the author:

Bonifac. VIII. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Sext. Decretal. Lib. 1. Tit. ii. cap. 1. col. 11. See before, page 67.

Aiunt in conciliis statutum non inveniri: quasi Romanæ ecclesiæ legem concilia ulla præfixerint: cum omnia concilia per Romanæ ecclesiæ auctori-

tatem et facta sint, et robur acceperint, &c.—Paschal. in eod. Decretal. Greg. IX. Lib. 1. Tit. vi. cap. 4. cols. 111, 2.

Nemo judicabit primam sedem justitiam temperare desiderantem. Neque enim ab Augusto, &c.—Innocent. Papa in eod. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. ix. Quæst. iii. can. 13. col. 877. See before, page 68.

are spoken, by whom they are defended, and to whom they are applied. This seemeth to be the very express and lively image of Goliath; that Goliath, I say, whom now you see knocked in the forehead and falling down, not with force of worldly power, but only with that little rough despised stone of God's everlasting and heavenly word. Touching that most worthy and learned father, sometime your master, D. Peter Martyr, whom ye would seem somewhat to commend, not for his doctrine, from which you have so suddenly fallen away, but only for his modesty, it cannot be doubted but he, being at Poissy in that worthy assembly, in the presence of the king, and of other the princes and nobles of that realm, both did and spake that might stand with the truth of the cause, and also might well become his own person. But, being demanded his judgment in these cases, he would have answered even as we do, and would much have marvelled that any learned man would say the contrary. Not long sithence, ye made the pulpits ring that your mass and all other your whole doctrine was assured unto you by Christ and his apostles, and that for the same ye had the undoubted continuance and succession of fifteen hundred years, the consent of all the old councils, doctors, and fathers, and all antiquity, and the universal allowance of the world¹. Thus ye doubted not then to say, without fear of controlment of God or man. Many thousands thought ye dealt simply, and would not deceive them, and therefore were easily led to believe you.

In this case christian duty and charity required that the truth and certainty of your tales should be opened, that the simple might understand ye had deceived them, and that of all that your so large talk and countenance of antiquity you were, as you well know, utterly able to avouch nothing. Whereas it so much offended² you that I should so precisely avouch the negative, and require you to prove your affirmative, whereof ye would seem so well assured, it may please you to consider that St Gregory, writing against John the bishop of Constantinople, that had entitled himself the universal bishop of the whole world, rested³ himself likewise upon the negative. His words be these: *Nemo decessorum meorum hoc superbo vocabulo uti consensit: nemo Romanorum pontificum hoc singularitatis nomen assumpsit*⁴: "None of my predecessors ever consented to use this arrogant name: no bishop of Rome ever took upon him this name of singularity." St Augustine, when he had reckoned up all the bishops of Rome before his time, added thereto by a negative: *In hoc ordine successionis nullus Donatista episcopus invenitur*⁵: "In this order of succession there is found no bishop that was a Donatist." Yet neither St Augustine nor St Gregory was ever condemned for Goliath. By the like negative you, M. Harding, yourself say, although untruly, as you⁶ do many other things besides, that "neither M. Jewel, nor any one of his side, is able to shew that the public service of the church in any nation was ever, for the space of six hundred years after Christ, in any other tongue than in Greek or Latin." And yet we may therefore not call you either Goliath, or Ther-sites, or by any other like uncourteous name. You say, "I take presumptuously upon me to have read all things, and to be ignorant of nothing;" only because I say you in these cases can allege nothing. And why so? Can no man descry your wants and disclose your untruths without presumption? You say ye have

Lib. iv. Epist.
13.

Aug. Epist.
165.

In the 3
Article, and
in the
15 Division.

Iste [summus pontifex] omnia judicat etiam auctoritate, quia supra omnes auctoritatem habet: et ipse a nemine judicatur, quia nullus habet auctoritatem super ipsum.—Gloss. in eod. in Extrav. Comm. Lib. i. De Major. et Obed. cap. 1. col. 211.

...sicut in Jerusalem illa quæ in cælis est... unus tantum dominus est Jesus Christus: ita in hac Jerusalem illius filia... unus tantum princeps est, vicarius Christi et pontifex maximus, cui omnes... obedire debent, &c.... accingere, pater sancte, gladio tuo... binos enim habes... accingere, potentissime, et accingere super femur tuum, id est super universas humani generis potestates... regna, sacerdos et rex... Is namque idem, quem imitari debes, et rex regum est, &c.—Orat. Cajetan. in Sess. ii. Concil. Later. v. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671—2,

Tom. XIV. cols. 73, 5.

Quapropter Bernardus ad Eugenium tamquam ad summum hierarchicum in cælo ecclesiæ virum, in quo erat omnis potestas supra omnes potestates, tam cæli quam terre, recte scripserat: Tibi data est omnis potestas, &c.—Orat. Steph. Arch. Patrac. in Sess. x. in eod. col. 269.]

[¹ Of all the world, 1565, 1609.]

[² Offendeth, 1565.]

[³ Resteth, 1565.]

[⁴ Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. xliii. Ad Eulog. et Anastas. Epist. xliii. Tom. II. col. 771. See before, page 32, note 2.]

[⁵ August. Op. Par. 1679—1700. Ad Gen. Epist. liii. 2. Tom. II. col. 121.]

[⁶ Ye, 1565, 1609.]

the consent of all doctors, of all ages, and of all times, of your side: shall we, therefore, say that you vaunt yourself of your knowledge, or that you know all things, and are ignorant of nothing? You say, ye "have all the doctors:" I say, and true it is, ye have not one doctor. The difference of these sayings standeth only in this, that the one is true, the other untrue; that your affirmative cannot be proved, my negative cannot be reproved. But touching vaunt of reading and knowledge, there is no difference.

Howbeit, forasmuch as this negative so much offendeth you of our side, let us hardly turn it of your side; and let us say so as it may best like you to have us say, that it cannot appear by any sufficient clause or sentence, either of the scriptures, or of the old doctors, or of the ancient councils, or by any example of the primitive church, either that the priest then received the holy communion together with the people, or that the sacrament was then ministered unto the people under both kinds, or that the public prayers were ever said in the vulgar or known tongue, or that the whole people thereto said "Amen," within the space of six hundred years after Christ. Let us say, further, that Christ himself and all his apostles said private mass, and received the holy sacrament severally alone; that all the ancient fathers ministered the half communion only under one kind; that all the common prayers were every where said in a strange learned tongue, utterly unknown unto the people. This offer is free and liberal. And what can you desire more? But perhaps it shameth you to say so much. For, albeit some of you have often said it, yet the untruth thereof is manifest, and sheweth itself.

Only ye wish, I "had used some greater modesty." And would you that I should have said, "Ye have one ancient doctor directly and plainly of your side," and so in that place and in that presence, for modesty's sake, to have avouched open untruth, as you and others had done before? O, M. Harding, in these cases a mean way is no way. Accursed is that modesty that drowneth the truth of God. Chrysostom saith: *Veritatem negat, qui eam non libere prædicat*⁷: "He is a renouncer of the truth, that dareth not freely say⁸ the truth." xl. Quæst. 3.
Nolite.

Ye say, I "have sought up certain small questions of light importance, wherein the ancient doctors have not travailed," as not daring to enter into matters of greater weight. Howbeit it seemeth overmuch for you to limit and appoint each man what he should preach at Paul's Cross. Neither is it much material whether these matters be great or small, but, whether you, by colour of the same, have deceived the people.

But would ye have us now at last believe that your mass, your transubstantiation, your real presence, your adoration, your sacrificing of the Son of God, and your supremacy of Rome, be so small matters? Ye told us not long sithence, there were no other matters so great as these. And may we think that your religion is now greater, now smaller; and increaseth and vadeth⁹, and waxeth and waneth, as doth the moon? Verily pope Nicolas would have joined your transubstantiation to the creed, and would have made it the thirteenth article of our faith¹⁰. And pope Boniface the eighth saith that "to be subject to the church of Rome is of the necessity of salvation¹¹." And pope Nicolas saith: "Whosoever denieth the authority and pre-eminence of that see is an heretic¹²." Extr. de
Majorit. et
Obed. Unam
Sanctam.
Dist. 22.
Omnes.

Notwithstanding, how great or small these matters be, it forceth not. Indeed, you had learned them in very small time; and, as now, ye avouch them with very small proofs. And how small and light soever you would now have them to appear, yet for the same ye have made no small ado. Nothing ought to be taken for small, wherewith so great multitudes of God's people may be deceived.

[⁷ ...non solum ille proditor est veritatis, qui, &c. ...sed etiam ille, qui non libere veritatem pronunciat, &c.—Chrysost. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. xi. Quæst. iii. can. 86. col. 952.]

[⁸ To say, 1565, 1609.]

[⁹ Vadeth: goeth away, fadeth.]

[¹⁰ The author doubtless refers to the confession imposed on Berengarius.—Ibid. Decr. Tert. Pars. De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 42. cols. 1932, 3.]

[¹¹ Porro subesse Romano pontifici, omni huma-

næ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, diffinimus, et pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis.—Bonifac. VIII. in eod. Extrav. Comm. Lib. i. De Major. et Obed. cap. 1. col. 212.]

[¹² Qui autem Romanæ ecclesiæ privilegium ab ipso summo omnium ecclesiarum capite traditum auferre conatur, hic proculdubio in hæresim labitur, et cum ille vocetur injustus, hic est proculdubio dicendus hæreticus.—Nicol. II. in eod. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxii. can. 1. col. 100.]

Matt. xxiii. Christ saith unto them: "Ye strain a gnat, and swallow a camel." St Paul saith: 1 Cor. v. "A little leaven soureth a whole lump of dough." A hair is small, yet we read it hath choked a big man. Plato saith: "Robbery is no less in a small matter than in a great." The ciniphes¹ were but small, yet are they reckoned among the great plagues of God.

Greg. Lib. vi. Epist. 30. They that first began to maintain that arrogant presumptuous title of universal bishop, which now the bishop of Rome challengeth wholly to himself, said it was but a small matter. But Gregory saith: *Alia sunt frivola, et innoxia: alia sunt frivola, et noxia*: "Some things are small, and do no hurt: some things are small, and do great hurt."

Ibid. And comparing the same with the pride of antichrist, who should call himself, *Deus*, (that is to say, God,) he saith thus: *Si spectes quantitatem vocis, duæ sunt syllabæ: si pondus iniquitatis, est universa perniciēs*²: "If ye weigh the quantity of the word, it standeth in two syllables; if the weight of the wickedness, it is an universal destruction."

Though these matters were small, yet the untruths and errors that thereof have risen are not small. Remove the same; and your greatest religion will fall to nothing.

Luke xvi. To conclude, if these matters be great, they are the more worthy to be considered; if they be small, there is the less hurt in leaving of them, and the more wilfulness in defending of them: verily, the whole world is weary of them. Christ saith: *Qui in modico iniquus est, et in majori iniquus est*: "He that is wicked in the small, is also wicked in the great."

You say, "We fly³ and forbear the judgment of the learned, and shake out these things with great admiration only amongst the simple;" as Alexander the king of Macedonia made himself a god, and had much talk of his father Jupiter amongst the barbarians; but amongst the Greeks, that were wise and able to judge, and knew him well enough, he was content to talk of other matters.

This comparison, M. Harding, is odious, and savoureth overmuch of your choler. We hunt not for any admiration or opinion of Godhead among the people. "We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus."

[John vii.] But thus the Pharisees said of Christ himself: "These rascals are accursed, they have no learning, they know not the law." Amongst them will he be: there he reigneth like a prince: there he seeketh to be made a God. Here might I eftsoons put you in remembrance of him that hath so long abused and mocked the whole world, both princes and subjects, as well learned as unlearned, accounting them all as wild and barbarous, and hath suffered himself openly to be proclaimed and published by the name of God. The words be known: *Dominus Deus noster papa*⁴: "Our Lord God the pope:" and again: *Constat papam a pio principe Constantino Deum appellatum; et Deum ab hominibus judicari non posse, manifestum est*⁵.

Alexander stood in some awe and reverence of the wise; but this man despiseth both wise and unwise, learned and unlearned, and all the world.

Gregor. Lib. vii. Epist. 63. It was somewhat out of season for you in this place to entreat of the validity of your canon, and so earnestly to labour to prove it faultless, before any man had begun to touch it, or to prove it faulty. It is supposed that some part thereof was devised by Leo; and afterward augmented by Gelasius; and after that by one whom St Gregory calleth Scholasticus⁶; and after again by Gregorius himself; and that at last, about eight hundred and fifty years after Christ, it was

[¹ Exod. viii. 17, 18. σκνίφες. Septuag.]

[² ...alia sunt frivola valde innoxia, atque alia vehementer nociva... Si quantitatem sermonis attendimus, duæ sunt syllabæ: si vero pondus iniquitatis, universa perniciēs.—Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. vii. Indict. xv. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. xxxiii. Tom. II. col. 881.]

[³ Flee, 1565.]

[⁴ Extrav. Joan. XXII. ad calc. Sext. Decretal. Par. 1585. Tit. xiv. Gloss. in cap. 4. col. 153. Lat-

terly, the word *Deum* has been omitted.]

[⁵ ...pontificem, quem constat, &c. nec posse Deum, &c.—Nicòl. Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prima Pars, Dist. xcvi. can. 7. col. 467.]

[⁶ The epistle referred to is doubtless that directed Ad Martinum Scholasticum.—Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Epist. Lib. ix. Indict. ii. Epist. lviii. Tom. II. col. 975.]

brought to some perfection, and made up by pope Sergius; as now it is more closely pronounced, and more reverently used, than either the epistle or the gospel.

But whether there be any fault therein, or none, I leave that to you, M. Harding, to be better considered by yourself. Your doctor Durand saith thus: *Cum [sacerdos]... oraverit pro hostia transubstantianda, eamque... transubstantiatam Patri obtulerit, ... orat pro ipsius acceptione*⁷: "When the priest hath prayed for the transubstantiation of the host, and hath offered the same, being transubstantiate, unto God the Father, afterward he prayeth that God will favourably accept it."

The
Canon,
1565.

Durand. Lib.
iv. part. 2.

St Paul saith: "Christ is the Mediator between God and man." But here by 1 Tim. ii.

your canon, contrariwise, the priest is made a mediator between God and Christ. And now⁸ yourself, M. Harding, at your mass, and in the highest secrets of your canon, desire God the Father to look favourably upon Jesus Christ his own Son at your request. Your words be plain and evident: no interpretation or shift is able to save them. Now, if it be meet you should entreat God the Father to be merciful unto Christ his Son, and to behold him favourably for your sake, then may you say there is no fault in all your canon.

The priest a
mediator be-
tween God
and Christ.

You seem to complain that I leave out prayer for the dead, and invocation of saints; and that thing you amplify largely with many words. And yet, I think, you would not have us believe that these points of your religion be greater than your sacrifice, or than your mass.

Verily, touching the first, I heard once, when you yourself blew down the paper walls, as ye then called them, and utterly quenched all the painted fires of purgatory. For the other St Chrysostom saith: *Homines utuntur atriensibus. In Deo nihil est tale; sine mediatore exorabilis est*⁹: "Men use porters and ushers. But in God there is no such thing; he is easy to be entreated, yea, without a mediator." Again he saith: *Nihil tibi opus est patronis apud Deum. Neque enim tam facile Deus audit, si alii pro nobis orent, quam si ipsi oremus, etsi pleni simus omnibus malis*¹⁰: "Thou needest no attorney to speak to God. For God doth not so soon hear us, when others pray for us, as when we pray for ourselves, yea, although we be full of all sin." St Ambrose likewise saith: *Isti¹¹ se non putant reos, qui honorem nominis Dei deferunt creaturæ, et relicto Domino, conservos adorant... Nam et ideo ad reges per tribunos et comites itur: quia homo utique est rex, et nescit quibus debeat rempublicam credere. Ad Deum autem, quem... nihil latet, (omnium enim merita novit,) [ad] promerendum suffragatore non est opus, sed mente devota. Ubicunque enim talis loquutus fuerit ei, respondebit illi*¹²: "These men think they do no ill, giving the honour of God unto a creature; and, leaving the Lord, adore their fellow-servants. For therefore we have access to kings by knights and marshals; for that the king is a mortal man, and knoweth not to whom he may commit his kingdom. But God knoweth all men's merits, and there is nothing privy from him. Therefore to obtain his favour we need no spokesman, but a devout mind. Wheresoever such a one shall speak, God will answer him."

In a sermon
preached in
St Mary's
church in
Oxford.
Chrysost. de
Pœnit. Hom. 4.

Chrysost. de
perfectu
Evangelii.

Ambros. in
i. cap. ad
Roman.

Whereas ye untruly say, we lay on load of slanders, to deface the church, you may remember that there were sometime that charged St Stephen, St Paul, and Christ himself, in like sort; for that they seemed likewise to speak unreverently against the church. And against the prophet Jeremy they cried out, even as you do now: "The temple of God, the temple of God."

Jer vii.

But he defaceth not the church, that defaceth the defacers of the church, and wipeth off the soil of your errors, that her face may shine, and appear more glorious. When Christ mourned over the city and temple of Hierusalem; or when he said, "Ye have made my father's house a den of thieves;" and when Esay said, "O how is this beautiful city (that then was the church of God) become an harlot!" or when the prophet Jeremy said, "Who will give abundance

Isai. i.

Jer. ix.

[⁷ Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Lugd. 1565. Lib. iv. cap. xliii. 9. fol. 178.]

[⁸ Yowe, i.e. you, 1565, you, 1609.]

[⁹ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. De Pœnit. Hom. iv. Tom. II. p. 307.]

[¹⁰ The editor has not succeeded in finding the passage meant.] [¹¹ Iste, 1611.]

[¹² Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. cap. i. v. 22. Tom II. Append. col. 33; where we find *regem, aut comites*, and *opus est*.]

of water unto mine eyes, that I may mourn day and night for the sins of my people?" we may not think, that Christ, Esay, and Jeremy, were defacers of the church. He hindereth not health, that sheweth the disease. He despiseth not the church, that setteth Christ before the church. The church is our mother: but Christ saith: "Whoso loveth his father or mother more than me is not meet to be my disciple." He despiseth not his mother, that lamenteth the captivity of his mother, and delivereth her from the hands of thieves.

"But we have set up altar against altar;" or rather, as you say, "We have overthrown altars, and all together;" and so have erected a new church, a new gospel, and a new religion of our own. Verily, M. Harding, we have overthrown nothing but that God's good will was should be overthrown. Christ saith: "Every plant that my heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up." An altar we have, such as Christ, and his apostles, and other holy fathers had, which of the Greeks was called *ἱερὰ τράπεζα*, "the holy table;" and of the Latins, *mensa dominica*, "the table of the Lord;" and was made, not of stone, but of timber; and stood not at the end of the quire, but in the midst of the people, as many ways it may appear. And other, or better altar, than Christ and these holy fathers had, we desire to have none; and specially any such altar as hath been purposely set up against the altar of Christ.

But you of your side have said, "Here is Christ, and there is Christ;" and so have erected up, not only altar against altar, and church against church, but also Christ against Christ. So Leo seemeth to say of you: *Ecclesiæ nomine armamini; sed contra ecclesiam dimicatis*¹: "Ye arm yourselves with the name of the church; and yet ye fight against the church." So saith Nazianzene: "Ye strive for Christ against Christ himself²."

But you seem to set light of mine age, and to disable my knowledge in divinity; as though it were much pertinent unto these matters either to calculate mine age, or else to examine the order of my study. I may say with Origen: *Gratias ago Deo, quod ignorantiam meam non ignoro*: "I thank God that I am not ignorant of mine ignorance." But whatsoever want either is, or is surmised to be in me, it ought not to prejudice the truth of God.

And yet I see no great cause why any man should seek so greatly to disadvantage me in respect of mine age or study. For it is well known that I, although unworthy of that degree, proceeded bachelor in divinity, in the university of Oxford, one whole year and more before M. Harding. Indeed, I grant I could not read all the councils, and old fathers of the church, both Greeks and Latins, in seven days, as M. Harding could³. And yet so much had I read, that I marvelled M. Harding would ever enterprise so much to abuse the names of the holy fathers.

But knowledge oftentimes is vain, and puffeth up the mind. God make us learned to the kingdom of God, that we may humble all our knowledge to the obedience of faith!

It rejoiceth me much that ye say ye love me, and in respect of our old friendship and love have thus written to me. Howbeit our old private friendship needed not so many public witnesses. Ye say, "ye will follow the latter part of Chilo's counsel:" *Oderis, tanquam amaturus*: "Hate so as afterward thou mayest love."

Between which your two sayings, of hating and loving, I know not how, you include a plain contradiction: unless ye will say, ye can hate and love in one respect both together. But I take it in the best sense, wherein I doubt not but ye meant it.

Howbeit, touching your friendly advice, I may answer you likewise with another piece of Chilo's counsel: *Obsequendum est amico usque ad aras*: "A man may follow his friend's counsel, so it be not either against God, or against his

[¹ Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Palæst. Episc. Epist. lxxiii. 8. col. 444; where for *sed* we find *et*.]

[² Ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ δὲ ἀγωνιεῖται τις οὐ κατὰ Χριστόν;—Gregor. Naz. Op. Par. 1778—1840. Orat.

ii. 85. Tom. I. p. 53.]

[³ Alluding to Harding's sudden change of religion on the accession of queen Mary, which he professed was grounded on the study of the fathers.]

Matt. x.

Matt. xv.

Matt. xxiv.

Leo in Epist. ad Palæstinos.

Nazianzenus In Apologet.

Ann. P. n. ni 1551. anno Edvardi VI. quinto.

conscience." The people of Alexandria said unto Timotheus: *Etsi non communicamus tecum, tamen amamus te*⁴: "Although we communicate not with you, yet we love you notwithstanding." Ye promise to deal herein without either gall or bitterness; "for that," as you say, "glikes, nips, and scoffs, bites, cuts, and girds (these be your words) become not your stage." And doubtless such kind of dealing, as it is most commendable in itself, so it seemeth most fitting for them that travail in God's cause⁵. Christ saith: "Learn of me; for I am meek and gentle." Liberatus. Cap. xvi. Matt. xi.

But whose words then be these, M. Harding? from what spirit have they proceeded? upon what stage were they spoken? these words, I say, wherewith ye seem so much, and so often, to solace yourself, and to refresh your spirits: "Goliath, Thersites, rash, presumptuous, wicked, unlearned, ignorant, peevish, Lucians, scoffers, coggers, foisters, pert, insolent, vaunters, braggers, sectaries, schismatics, heretics, sacramentaries, new masters, new fanglers, false reporters, slanderers of the church, terrible seducers, the enemies of the sacrifice, the enemies of the church, the ministers of the devil, sitters in the chair of pestilence, monsters, heathens, publicans, Turks, infidels, antichrists, and forerunners of antichrist?"

Terms used commonly by M. Harding through his whole book.

These words be yours, M. Harding, not only for that they be uttered by you, but also for that they pertain directly and properly unto yourself. With these and other like pearls ye have thoroughly beset your whole book, that it might the more glitter in the eye of your reader. Herewith your stage is fully fraught⁶. Some man would think it were *Vetus Comædia*; so faithful ye seem to be in keeping your promise. If ye utter such words of pure love and friendship, what then may we look for if ye once begin to hate? They say, the scorpion embraceth lovingly with his feet, but smiteth his poison with his tail. Thus ye suffer the tempests of your affections sometime⁷ to blow you out, and to toss you off from the shore. In a man of professed gravity reasons had been more convenient than reproaches. Such eloquence might better become some of your younger Jannizers; who, as their friends say here, have not yet learned to speak otherwise.

As for these words, and these stages, they may not well chase us away from the gospel of Christ. It is not needful for us to hear your good reports, but it is most needful for us to speak the truth.

The advertisement that you allege out of Salomon, "There is a way that unto a man seemeth right; but the end thereof leadeth unto damnation," is common, and toucheth us both, as well you as me; or rather, somewhat more you than me. Ye were once deceived before, by your own confession. But they that have indifferently weighed the causes and suddenness of your change, have thought ye are as much, or rather much more, deceived now.

Mark, I beseech you, M. Harding, what ye were lately, and what ye would now seem to be; what way ye trode then, and what way ye tread now. The difference is no less than is between light and darkness, life and death, heaven and hell. So great a change would require some good time of deliberation.

But if you⁸ be thoroughly changed, as you say, and if ye be touched indeed, either with the zeal of God, or with the love of your brethren, be not then ashamed to tell us what things God hath done for you. Let your reader understand, that you yourself sometime were that man of whom Salomon speaketh; that you sometime were in a way that seemed right, and yet the end thereof led to damnation; that you sometime bent your whole heart and study to deface the church of God; that you preached so many years together directly contrary to your conscience; that you sometime wittingly, and willingly, and of purpose and malice, deceived God's people; that you sometime were the minister of the devil, a Turk, an heathen, an infidel, a forerunner of antichrist; and that from this rueful state ye were suddenly changed, not by reading, or conference of the scriptures, or ancient fathers, but only for that ye saw the prince was changed.

[⁴ Liberat. Brev. Par. 1675. cap. xvi. p. 108; where we have *vel si non tibi communicamus*, &c.]

[⁵ Causes, 1565.]

[⁶ Freight, 1565, freight, 1600.]

[⁷ Sometimes, 1565.]

[⁸ Ye, 1565.]

Augustin. de
Gen. contra
Manichæ.

Thus must ye deal, M. Harding, if ye deal truly. So will your friends think ye dissemble not now, as you did before, but are moved only of true zeal and pure conscience. Certainly either, as we say, ye are now deceived; or, at the least, as yourself must needs grant, not long sithence ye were deceived. And St Augustine saith: *Hoc est erroris proprium, ut quod cuique displicet, id aliis quoque oportere existimet displicere*¹: "This is the very nature of error, that, whatsoever misliketh any man, he thinketh all others should likewise dislike the same."

Such is the misery of Adam's children: their heart is evermore inclined unto ill and error. Hereof false prophets oftentimes take occasion to say: "Good is ill; and ill is good: light is darkness; and darkness is light." And oftentimes the people is wilfully led away, and cannot abide to hear sound doctrine, but turn² their ears to hear fables.

Psal. cxliii.
John xiv.
John viii.

Therefore Salomon's counsel is wise and good. And for that cause we trust not our own eyes to choose our way; but we call unto God, with the prophet David, "O Lord, shew us the way, that we may walk in:" we seek unto him that saith, "I am the way, the truth, and the life." "I am the light of the world: whoso followeth me walketh not in darkness, but hath the light of life." And we thank God, that with his day-spring from above hath visited us, and directed our feet into the way of peace—into the same way that Christ hath shewed us, and the holy apostles and ancient catholic fathers have trodden before us.

Hieron. in
Præf. in Ab-
diam.

Touching your exhortation to humility, and the denial of my learning, which, I trust, of your part proceedeth from a meek and humble spirit, I may safely deny that thing that I never avouched. It cannot shame me to say that St Hierome said: *Dicam illud Socraticum, Hoc tantum scio, quod nihil scio*³: "I will say, as Socrates sometime said, This thing only I know, that I know nothing." In these cases, as I seek no praise, so I fear no reproach. Whatsoever want is in me, there be others that can supply it. Howbeit I never understood but verity and humility might well stand together.

Where you say, whatsoever skill or knowledge I have, or had, I have evermore bent it only to the reproach and slander of the church, it is no great mastery, M. Harding, to speak ill. But I trust God himself, that judgeth justly, judgeth otherwise. If there be in me, I say not any talent, but only any mite of a talent, my prayer unto God is, and ever was, it may be bestowed wholly to the honour and comfort of his church.

2 Cor. xi.

And yet may not you, M. Harding, neither set such store by yourself, nor so much abase and discredit others, as though, besides you and your fellows, there were no man meet to be counted learned. When the Jews, in contempt of all others, boasted themselves to be the only stock and blood of Abraham, St Paul, by an humble kind of presumption, doubted not in all respects to compare with them in this wise: "Hebrews they be; and so am I. Israelites they be; and so am I. The seed of Abraham they be; and so am I." Again he saith: "Thus do I, and thus will I do, that in the things whereof they glory they may be found to be as we are." I will force this comparison no further. Such contention is but vain. O M. Harding, this saying is common unto us both: "By the grace of God we are that we are." O that his grace be not in us in vain!

1 Cor. xv.

For my part, both at your request, and also without your request, I utterly deny my learning. And touching my bishopric, if that in any part happen to grieve you, I deny it too: I deny mine estimation; I deny my name; I deny myself⁴. Only the faith⁵ of Christ, and the truth of God, I cannot deny. Or with this faith, or for this faith, I trust I shall end. I cannot withstand the Spirit of God. I cannot say the consent of all the ancient catholic fathers was an heap of errors and a link of heresies. Although you, M. Harding, could deny all together at an instant, and upon the sudden, yet bear with others that cannot so easily do the same.

[¹ The following is perhaps the passage meant: *Est autem hoc erroris proprium, ut quod cuique displicet, hoc etiam Deo displicere arbitretur.*—August. Op. Par. 1679–1700. De Gen. cont. Manich. Lib. 11. 24. Tom. I. col. 675.]

[² Turneth, 1565.]

[³ ...saltem Socraticum illud habeo: Scio, quod nescio.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693–1706. In Abd. Proph. Præfat. Tom. III. cols. 1455, 6.]

[⁴ Meself, 1565.] [⁵ Father, 1609, 1611.]

Touching D. Fisher, I scoffed neither at him, nor at any others. Only I laid out the imperfection of certain their arguments; which if they were weak, and many ways faulty, the fault was not mine: I made them not. D. Fisher's argument was this: "We are sure there is purgatory:" *Ergo*, "The pope's pardons be good and available⁶." I shall be forced, in perusing your book, to disclose many like infirmities and follies in your arguments, M. Harding. Yet, notwithstanding, I will not scoff. But happy are you, that may call us "gospellers," "new masters," "patriarchs," and I know not what, and to write what you list, without scoffing. In the end of your foretalk, which is before the shewing of your book, ye think all the world singeth *Sanctus, sanctus*, and receiveth you with *Ozanna*: and therefore ye will everybody to come and subscribe. Howbeit, it seemeth this request is very sudden, and out of season. You should first have shewed us both whereunto we should subscribe, and also your authorities and reasons wherewith ye would force us to subscribe. But the old learned father Tertullian saith thus of the Valentinian heretics: *Habent artificium, quo prius persuadent, quam doceant: veritas autem docendo suadet, non suadendo docet*⁷: "These heretics have a kind of cunning, and a policy, whereby they persuade us first, and teach us afterward: but the truth persuadeth us by teaching, and not teacheth us by persuading."

Polydo. de
Invent. Rer.
Lib. viii.
Cap. 1.

Tertul. ad-
versus Va-
lentinian.
Lib. i.

King Agesilaus, the better to embolden his soldiers to the fight, with a certain juice wrote this word, "Victory," in the palm of his hand; and afterward, being at his service, as the manner then of the heathens was, he laid his hand so written closely and secretly upon the heart of the sacrifice, and so printed it with the said word, "Victory;" and immediately shewed the same unto his captains and soldiers, as if it had been written by the gods. The simple soldiers, not understanding this policy, and thinking the whole matter had indeed been wrought by miracle, grew full of courage, not doubting but their gods, that had written "Victory," would also give them victory.

By like policy, and to like purpose, it seemeth you, M. Harding, would beguile your reader, and that you lack in strength would win by policy, and that you want in reasons would gain in words; that the simple may think you have the victory, because you have written "victory" with your pen.

But you are not yet equal with the credit of Pythagoras. It is not sufficient for your scholars to say, *Ipse dixit*; "M. Harding hath said it." Every man will not think it is so, because you can write it, or print it, or say it is so. As for myself⁸, I will say with St Hierome: *Cupio discere, et discipulum me profiteor, dummodo doceant*: "I would fain learn, and make a vow to be their scholar, so they would teach me." First, ye should have given us leave to have perused your whole book. And when we had well weighed your untrue allegations, your vain constructions, your new petite doctors, your corruptions, your forgeries, your dreams, your fables, and the huge multitude of your untruths, then hardly ye should have called us to subscribe.

Howbeit, M. Harding, this is no force sufficient to subdue the world. It was not thought ye had been so weakly appointed. It is not enough for you thus odiously to upbraid us in your anger, and to call us new masters and heretics. That lesson might have served you long ago, before ye were espied. It behoveth you now to have some stronger arguments, specially fighting against God.

For my part, notwithstanding I were thoroughly persuaded long before, yet am I now some deal the more satisfied by these your travails. For touching your want of scriptures, councils, doctors, and examples of the primitive church, I am well and fully confirmed by the slenderness of your proofs.

And I doubt not but some of these that now be about you, being, I trust, not frowardly carried away with wilful malice, but having the fear of God, and a reverent zeal to do the best, although perhaps not knowledge sufficient to judge what is best, after they shall understand some part of your dealing herein, will, by God's grace, begin somewhat to forethink themselves of their journey, and to cast some doubts of your credit. St Augustine saith: *Juris forensis est, ut qui in*

August. in
Joan.
Tract. 7.

[⁶ Polyd. Verg. De Invent. Rer. Amst. 1671. Lib. viii. cap. i. pp. 475, 6; where Fisher's words are quoted. See before, page 14, note 6.]

[⁷ Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Valentin. 1. p. 289; where we have *persuadeant quam edoceant, and docendo persuadet.*]

[⁸ Meself, 1565.]

*precibus mentitus sit, illi ne prosit, quod impetravit*¹: "The law is this, that whoso hath made a false suggestion shall lose whatsoever he have gotten by the same."

Chrysostom.
de Laudibus
Pauli, Hom.
5.

O M. Harding, credit without truth is no credit. Your work is over weak: it hath no foundation: it cannot stand. Chrysostom telleth you: "Such is the nature of error, it vadeth of itself, and will come to ground without resistance²."

Remember the place ye sometime stood in: remember from whence ye are fallen: remember the causes of your fall. It is no shame to rise again.

Eccius. iv.

God is able to restore you. The wise man saith: "There is confusion that bringeth grace and glory." God hath endued you largely with great gifts. Turn the same to the obedience of the faith of Christ. As there is wisdom in seeking the victory, so there is wisdom in giving place. Follow the same counsel ye give others. Deny your own learning: deny your own estimation: deny yourself.
"Give the glory
unto God."

John ix.

[¹ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. i. Tractat. vii. 11. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 346; where we find *Juris enim*, and *mentitus fuerit, non illi*.]

[² Τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἡ πλάνη, καὶ μηδενὸς ἐνοχλοῦντος καταρρέει.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. De Laud. Paul. Apost. Hom. iv. Tom. II. p. 499.]

THE TABLE OF THE ARTICLES TREATED ON IN THIS BOOK.

1. THAT there was any private mass in the world at that time, for the space of six hundred years after Christ.

2. Or that there was then any communion ministered unto the people under one kind.

3. Or that the people had then³ common prayer in a strange tongue that they understood not.

4. Or that the bishop of Rome was then called an universal bishop, or the head of the universal church.

5. Or that the people was then taught to believe that Christ's body is really, substantially, corporally, carnally, or naturally in the sacrament.

6. Or that his body is or may be in a thousand places, or more, at one time.

7. Or that the priest did then hold up the sacrament over his head.

8. Or that the people did then fall down and worship it with godly honour.

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

10. Or that in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, there remain only the accidents and shews, without the substance, of bread and wine.

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

12. 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.

13. Or that it was lawful then to have thirty, twenty, fifteen, ten, or five masses said in one day.

14. Or that images then were set up in the churches, to the intent the people might worship them.

15. Or that the lay people was

then forbidden to read the word of God in their own tongue.

16. Or that it was then lawful for the priest to pronounce the words of consecration closely and in silence to himself.

17. Or that the priest had then authority to offer up Christ unto his Father.

18. Or to communicate and receive the sacrament for another, as they do.

19. Or to apply the virtue of Christ's death and passion to any man by the mean of the mass.

20. Or that it was then thought a sound doctrine to teach the people that mass *ex opere operato*, that is, even for that it is said and done, is able to remove any part of our sin.

21. Or that then any christian man called the sacrament his Lord and God.

22. 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.

23. 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 taught).

24. Or that when Christ said, *Hoc est corpus meum*, this word *Hoc* pointed not the bread, but *Individuum vagum*, as some of them say.

25. Or that the accidents, or forms, or shews of bread and wine be the sacraments of Christ's body and blood, and not rather the very bread and wine itself.

26. Or that the sacrament is a sign or token of the body of Christ that lieth hidden underneath it.

27. Or that ignorance is the mother and cause of true devotion and obedience.

[³ There, old edit.]

OF PRIVATE MASS.

THE FIRST ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

If any learned man of our adversaries, or if all the learned men that be alive, be able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any old catholic doctor or father, or out of any old general council, or out of the holy scriptures of God, or any one example of the primitive church, whereby it may clearly and plainly be proved that there was any private mass in the whole world at that time, for the space of six hundred years after Christ, &c.,—The conclusion is this: as I said before, so say I now again, I am content to yield and to subscribe.

M. HARDING. THE FIRST DIVISION.

[AN ANSWER TO MASTER JEWEL'S CHALLENGE,
BY D. HARDING.

OF MASS WITHOUT A NUMBER OF OTHERS RECEIVING THE COMMUNION WITH
THE PRIEST AT THE SAME TIME AND PLACE, WHICH THE GOSPELLERS
CALL PRIVATE MASS. ARTICLE I.—HARDING'S ANSWER, 1564.]

Every mass is public, concerning both the oblation and also the communion; and none private. For no man offereth that dreadful sacrifice privately for himself alone, but for the whole church of Christ in common. The communion, likewise, of the sacrament is a public feast by Christ through the ministry of the priest in the same, (1) prepared for every faithful person; from partaking whereof none is excluded, that, with due examination having before made himself ready, demandeth the same. And so being common by order of the first institution, and by (2) will of the ministers, it ought to be reputed for common, not private.

[No mass private in itself, but in respect of circumstances. Harding's Answer, 1564.]

The first untruth. For there is no such preparation.

The second untruth. There appeareth no such will in the minister.

That others do so commonly forbear to communicate with the priest, it is through their own default and negligence, not regarding their own salvation. Whereof the godly and careful rulers of faithful people have sithence the time of the primitive church always much complained.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

There appeareth small hope that M. Harding will deal plainly in the rest, that thus maketh his first entry with a cavil. For whereas the matter is known and agreed upon, it is great folly to pick quarrel upon the word. "Every mass," saith he, "is common, and none private." If it be so, then hath he already concluded fully on our side; for if there be no private mass at all, then was there no private mass in the primitive church, which was my first assertion.

But M. Harding, as may be gathered by his manner of proofs, is not yet well resolved, neither what is private, nor what is mass. For in the twenty-second article of his book, entreating of the accidents of bread and wine, to the intent to avoid the gross absurdities that follow transubstantiation, he saith: "These matters were never taught in open audience, but privately disputed in the schools, and set abroad by learned men in their private writings." There he calleth that thing private, that is disputed in open audience, in the hearing of five hundred or more, and is set abroad to the knowledge of the world; and here the thing, that is done by the priest and his boy alone in a corner, he calleth common.

Page 182, b1.

M. Harding maketh common private, and private common.

[¹ The reference here, and in other similar marginal notes, is to the original edition of Harding's Answer, 1564.]

Thus he maketh words to sound what him listeth, sometime common to be private, sometime private to be common, at his pleasure.

And as touching mass, sometime he maketh it the sacrifice, sometime the communion, sometime the prayers; and so seemeth not yet well to know upon what ground to stand.

His first reason is this: the sacrifice of the priest is common; therefore the mass is common. Here might be demanded, who gave the priest authority to make his² sacrifice? and without authority how can he make it? But if his sacrifice be common, why doth he give it these private titles; this for the living, this for the dead, this for a friend, this for himself?

These reasons
be answered
afterward
more at large.

His second reason is this: it is a feast, and therefore it is common; and thus he salveth one error with another. For, if it be a feast, how is it received by one alone? If it be received by one alone, how can it seem to be a feast? But he saith, "it is prepared for all." Verily it is but small provision to serve so many. The priest himself knoweth this is untrue: he prepareth for himself, and not for others; he speaketh to himself, and not unto the congregation; he receiveth himself alone, and not with his brethren. Therefore in this respect we must needs say the mass is private, and not common.

The third reason, touching the will of the minister, is very uncertain. For neither can the priest, by his willing, alter natures, or make that thing common which is private; nor can any man certainly know what thing the priest willeth. For what if his will be to work necromancy or sorcery, as it is reported of pope Hildebrand? Or what if his will be to poison somebody, as Henry the emperor was poisoned in the communion-bread³, pope Victor in the chalice⁴? Or what if his will be to work feigned miracles, as Lyra saith many are wrought in the open church by the priest, to mock the people⁵? Doubtless, if the priest's will may be known either by his words, or by his doings, or by his gesture, or by his provision, or by the quantity of his bread and wine, or by his whole usage and practice, it may soon be seen his will is to make a private banquet, and not a common.

Hermanus
Contractus.
Nicolaus
Lyra in xiv.
cap. Danielis

These be very weak foundations to build upon. Of the same M. Harding might rather and far better have gathered the contrary. For, if it be the common sacrifice of the whole church, it should be offered by the whole church, as St Ambrose saith: *Ut multorum oblatio simul celebretur*⁶; "That the oblation of many may be made together."

Ambros.
1 Cor. xi.

If it be a common feast of the whole church, it should be received commonly of the whole church. And therefore St Hierome saith: *Dominica cæna omnibus debet esse communis*: "The Lord's supper must be common to all;" and that not for these simple shifts that M. Harding and his fellows have devised. St Hierome's reason is this: *Quia Dominus omnibus discipulis, qui aderant, æqualiter tradidit sacramenta*⁷: "Because the Lord gave the sacraments equally to all the disciples that were present." These words be plain: "equally," and "to all the disciples." And therefore saith St Hierome, according to this example, the Lord's supper must be common.

Hier.
1 Cor. xi.

M. HARDING. THE SECOND DIVISION.

Therefore in this respect we do not acknowledge any private mass, but leave that term to Luther's school, where it was first devised and so termed by Satan himself, seeking how to withdraw his novice Luther from the love and estimation of that most blessed sacrifice, by reasoning with him against the same, in a night vision; as himself recordeth in a little book which he made, *De missa angulari et unctione sacerdotali*⁸.

The third
untruth.

[² This, 1565, 1609.]

[³ Henry VII.—Naucler. Chronic. Tubing. 1516. Vol. II. Gen. xlv. fol. 246. The chronicle of Hermanus Contractus ends at an earlier period.]

[⁴ Victor III.—Id. ibid. Gen. xxxvii. fol. 164.]

[⁵ Et similiter aliquando fit in ecclesia maxima deceptio populi in miraculis fictis a sacerdotibus vel eis adherentibus propter lucrum temporale.—Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502.]

Pars IV. fol. 330. 2.]

[⁶ Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. i. ad Cor. cap. xi. vv. 33, 4. Tom. II. Append. col. 150.]

[⁷ Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. i. ad Cor. cap. xi. Tom. V. col. 997.]

[⁸ 1565 omits the.]

[⁹ Luth. Op. Witeb. 1558. De Miss. Priv. et Unct. Sacerd. Tom. VII. fol. 226, &c.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

This tale against that godly man doctor Luther is scornful and slanderous, blazed abroad by Pighius, Hosius, Staphylus the runagate¹, and such others, only of wilful malice and hatred of the truth; and therefore not worthy to be answered. Doctor Luther sheweth what terrible tentations the devil layeth to trap man withal, taking occasion sometime of well-doing, sometime of evil, sometime of truth, sometime of falsehood². And, for example, he sheweth that the devil on a time assaulted him, not in visible form, but by dreadful suggestions in his conscience, as it were, thus calling him to remembrance: "These many years thou hast said mass, thou hast shewed up bread and wine to be worshipped as God, and yet now thou knowest it was a creature and not God: thereof followed idolatry; and thou wert³ the cause thereof." All these things he saw to be true by the testimony and light of his own conscience, and therefore confessed he had offended, and yielded himself unto God. The devil's purpose was to lead him to despair; but God mercifully delivered him. And this is doctor Luther's whole and only meaning in that place, that no man of himself is able to withstand such assaults and tentations of the enemy, but only by the power and mercy of God. This, good reader, is that "School of Satan," this is that wonderful tragedy, whereat M. Harding maketh such horrible exclamations. If he think it so heinous a matter for a godless⁴ man to be vexed by the devil, perhaps he will also find some fault with Christ, that was carried by the devil into the mount; or with St Paul, that had the angel of Satan to buffet him; or with a great number of his portuise saints, whose legends are full of visions of devils, with other like childish fables. As for Luther, the doctrine that he taught in his school touching this point is the very gospel of Christ; and therefore it increaseth and entereth into the hearts of men, and the lies and slanders of the enemies shall never be able to prevail against it.

Matt. iv.

2 Cor. xii.

M. HARDING. THE THIRD DIVISION.

Yet we deny not but⁵ the fathers of some ancient councils, and sithence likewise St Thomas and certain other school-doctors, have called it sometimes a private mass, but not after the sense of Luther and his scholars, but only as it is contrary to public and solemn, in consideration of place, time, audience, purpose, rites, and other circumstances: the variety and change of which, being things accidentary, cannot vary or change the substance or essential nature of the mass. M. Jewel, an earnest professor of the new doctrine of Luther and of the sacramentaries, calleth, as they do, that a private mass whereat the priest, having no company to communicate with him, receiveth the sacrament alone.

Concil. Valen. cap. 46.
Concil. Tilburien.
Decretal. Lib. iii. tit. 41. cap. 28. De consecrat. Dist. 1. ex Aug. quod quidam Greg. tribuunt⁹. Greg. ex Regist. Lib. ii. ad Castorium. cap. 9.¹⁰
3. Parte Summæ Quest. 83. [responsione ad 12. argumentum articuli 5. Harding's Answer, 1564.]

[What the Lutherans call private mass. Harding's Answer, 1564.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding by a rhetorical correction upon better advice putteth himself in remembrance that there is mention made of peculiar and private masses, as he saith, "in certain ancient councils, and in the school-doctors." He might have named Stephen Gardiner, and Albertus Pighius¹¹, that wrote the defence of private mass, and he himself acknowledgeth abuses and errors in the same. Yet will he not, I trow, confess that either of them both was the disciple of Satan.

Here M. Harding standeth upon terms, and saith, "The mass is called private in respect of place, time, audience, and other circumstances." And even such be

In the bishops' book. Alb. Pighius in Locis Communib. de Privata Missa.

[¹ Renegade, 1565.][² Falsehead, 1565.][³ Were, 1565.][⁴ Godly, 1565, 1609.][⁵ But that, 1565, and Harding's Answer, 1564.]

[⁶ Harding's Answer, 1564, has Vasen.; which is probably the right reading. See Concil. Vasens. ii. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671, 2. can. 3. Tom. IV. col. 1680. This council, however, was held A.D. 529.]

[⁷ Triburien. 1565, and Harding's Answer, 1564.][⁸ Concil. Tribur. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd.

1624, Decretal. Greg. IX. Lib. iii. Tit. xli. cap. 2. col. 1365.]

[⁹ August. in eod. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. i. can. 51, col. 1903.]

[¹⁰ Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. ii. Indict. x. Ad Castor. Epist. xii. Tom. II. col. 577.]

[¹¹ Alb. Pigh. Explic. Cathol. Præc. Contr. Par. 1586. Controv. vi. fol. 123. 2.]

their private masses for the most part, said in side aisles, alone, without company of people, only with one boy to make answer; so private, that the people of God is thereby deprived and robbed of all comfort. And thus it seemeth Thomas understandeth the private mass; for thus he saith: *In missis privatis sufficit, si unus sit præsens, scilicet minister, qui populi totius personam gerit*¹²: "In private masses it is sufficient if there be one present, I mean the clerk that standeth instead of the whole people."

Part. 3.
Quest. 83.
Art. 5.

Touching the allegations in the margin, the school-doctors are all of very late years; the place of St Augustine is forged, and not St Augustine's; the place of St Gregory nothing to purpose, not once naming private mass; the councils, that are called so ancient, were all at the least seven hundred years after Christ, and so without the reach of my compass.

But to agree upon terms and not to fly the name of mass, although it be very seldom, and for the most part never, found in the old catholic writers; that we call the common or public mass, where as the priest and people receive the holy communion together, which was the ancient order of the apostles and holy fathers in the primitive church. But where as the priest receiveth the sacrament himself alone, without distribution made unto others, that we call the private mass, yea, although the whole parish be present and look upon him. For a thing may be private, although it be done by the public minister, and for the people, and in the midst of all the people. And thus Thomas of Aquine seemeth to take these words, private and common. "First," saith he, "the people is prepared to receive by the common prayer of all the people, which is the Lord's prayer; and also by the private prayer which the priest offereth specially for the people"¹³. Here the prayer is called private, notwithstanding it be made by the priest for the people and in the midst of the congregation.

Public mass.

Private mass.

3 Part.
Quest. 183.
Art. 4. In
explicatione
Missæ Ro-
mance.

M. HARDING. THE FOURTH DIVISION.

Against this private mass, as he termeth it, he inveigheth sore in his printed sermon, which he preached at Paul's Cross, the second Sunday before Easter, in the year of our Lord 1560, as he intituleth it; shunning the accustomed name of Passion Sunday¹⁴, lest, as it seemeth, by using the term of the catholic church he should seem to favour any thing that is catholic. In which sermon he hath gathered together, as it were into one heap, all that ever he could find written in derogation of it in their books by whom it hath been impugned.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Mark, gentle reader, how small occasions this man taketh hold at, contrary to this¹⁵ promise, to serve his intemperate humour of speaking evil. What, thinketh he that all folk are heretics that name the days otherwise than they be named in his portuise? So may he soon condemn the Greeks and (the church of Rome only excepted) all other Christians throughout the world, who, as I reckon, never had the name of Passion Sunday in their calendar or use of speaking. So may he condemn all such as call *Parasceve*, Good Friday; or the Italians, that, contrary to the portuise, call the first week in Lent the carnival. Indeed, the portuise calleth that day not only Passion Sunday, but also the Sunday Judica, and taketh the one name to be as catholic as the other. God be thanked, we are not ashamed of Christ's passion, as having nothing to glory in but only the cross of Christ and his passion: neither do we refuse your fantasies because they be catholic, as you surmise, but because they be your own, devised by yourself of late days, many of them contrary to God's holy word, and are not catholic.

Dominica
Judica.

Gal. vi.

Invectives I made none, neither do we use the pulpit to that purpose, but soberly and far otherwise than M. Harding seemeth to use his pen. I spake of

[¹² ...in missis tamen privatis sufficit unum habere ministrum, qui gerit personam totius populi catholici. —Thom. Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. Summ. Theol. Tert. Pars, Quæst. LXXXIII. Art. v. Tom. XII. fol. 280. 2.]

[¹³ ... et primo præparatur populus ad percipien-

dum, primo quidem, per orationem communem totius populi (quæ est oratio dominica ...) et etiam privatam, quam specialiter sacerdos pro populo offert, &c.—Id. ibid. Art. iv. fol. 278. 2.]

[¹⁴ The Sunday before Palm Sunday was usually so called.] [¹⁵ His, 1565.]

1 Cor. xi.

Albertus
Pighius de
Privata
Missa.

the abuses of Christ's last supper, having thereto occasion of these words of St Paul: "The thing that I received of the Lord, the same have I delivered unto you;" who in his time seemeth to find fault with the Corinthians for the same. Neither is the supper of Christ so privileged, but it may be abused, as appeareth by the very confession of our adversaries, who deny not but that there be abuses and errors copen into the private mass.

M. HARDING. THE FIFTH DIVISION.

The fourth
untruth.
For² the old
fathers never
commonly
called it so.The fifth un-
truth.
For² Christ
speaketh not
one word of
any sacrifice.The sixth un-
truth.
For² St An-
drew said the
communion,
and not the
mass.
The seventh
untruth.
For² this Ab-
dias never
saw Christ in
the flesh: it
is a very
legend of
lies.The eighth
untruth.
For² there is
no manner,
token, or
shew of pri-
vate mass.The ninth
untruth.
For² it is the
very form of
the commu-
nion, and
nothing like
the private
mass.* Faith con-
firmed with-
out words.
St Paul saith:
"Faith com-
eth by hear-
ing."

Although¹ he pretend enmity against private mass in word, yet indeed whosoever readeth his sermon, and discerneth his spirit, shall easily perceive that he extendeth his whole wit and cunning utterly to abolish the unbloody and daily sacrifice of the church, (4) commonly called the mass. Which, as the apostles themselves affirm in Clement their scholar and fellow, being unbloody, hath succeeded in place of the bloody sacrifices of the old law, and is by Christ's commandment frequented, and offered in remembrance of his passion and death, and to be used all times until his coming³. But whatsoever he or all other the forerunners of antichrist speak or work against it, all that ought not to overthrow the faith of good and true christian men, having for proof thereof, beside many other places of holy scripture, the figure of Melchisedech that was before the law, the prophecy of Malachi in the law, and lastly, and most plainly the (5) institution of Christ in the new testament; which he left to the apostles, the apostles to the church, and the church hath continually kept and used through the whole world until this day.

Pro sacrificio cruento rationale et incruentum ac mysticum sacrificium instituit, quod in mortem Domini per symbola corporis et sanguinis ipsius celebratur. Clemens, Constitutionum Apostolicarum, Lib. vi. cap. 23.

[Proofs for the mass briefly touched. H. A. 1564.]

Touching doctors, they have with one consent in all ages, in all parts of the world, from the apostles' time forward, both with their example and also testimony of writing, confirmed the same faith. They that have been brought up in learning, and yet through corruption of the time stand doubtful in this point, let them take pains to travail in study, and they shall find by good ancient witness of the priests and deacons of Achaia, that (6) St Andrew the apostle, touching the substance of the mass, worshipped God every day with the same service as priests now do, in celebrating the external sacrifice of the church. They shall find by witness of Abdias, first bishop of Babylon, who was the apostles' scholar, (7) and saw Christ our Saviour in flesh, and was present at the passion and martyrdom of St Andrew, that St Matthew the apostle celebrated mass in Ethiopia, a little before his martyrdom⁴. They shall find by report of an ancient council general, that St James wrote a liturgy, or a form of the mass⁵. They shall find that Martialis, one of the seventy-two disciples of Christ and bishop of Bourdeaux in France, sent thither by St Peter, served God in like sort⁶. (8) They shall find in Clement the whole order and form of the mass, set forth by the apostles themselves, and the same celebrated by them after our Lord was assumed, before they went to the ordering of bishops, priests, and the seven deacons, according to his institution⁷, and the same right so declared by Cyrillus, bishop of Jerusalem, In Mystagogicis orationibus. They shall find the same most plainly treated of, (9) and a form of the mass, much agreeable to that is used in these days, in writing set forth by St Dionyse, whom St Paul converted to the faith, of whom it is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, who had conference with St⁸ Peter, Paul, and John the Evangelist, and much acquaintance with Timothy.

Abdias Li. 7. Historiæ Apostol.

Concilium Constantinopol. in Trullo, cap. 32.

Epist. ad Burdegali.

Constit. Apostol. 8. cap. ult.

In Eccles. Hierarch. cap. 3. Act. xvii.

* Thus do I give thee, good christian reader, but a taste as it were of proofs, without allegation of the words, for confirmation of thy faith concerning the blessed mass,

[¹ And though, Harding's Answer, 1564.]

[² In all these places, 1565 omits *for*.]

[³ Const. Apost. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Lib. vi. cap. xxiii. Tom. I. col. 403.]

[⁴ Abd. Apost. Hist. Par. 1571. Lib. vii. fol. 94. 2.]

[⁵ Concil. Quinisext. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et

Cossart. can. 32. Tom. VI. col. 1158.]

[⁶ Martial. ad Burdegali. Epist. i. cap. iii. in Biblioth. Patr. per M. de la Bigne, Tom. III. col. 3.]

[⁷ Const. Apost. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lib. viii. cap. xvi. Tom. I. col. 509.]

[⁸ St is omitted, Harding's Answer, 1564.]

out of the scriptures, apostles, and apostolic men. (10) I do further refer thee to

Lib. iv. contra hæres. cap. 32.

Justinus, the martyr and philosopher, to Irenæus, the martyr and bishop of Lyons, who lived with the apostles' scholars; to

the old bishop and martyr Hippolytus, that lived in Origen's time, who, in his oration De consummatione mundi, extant in Greek, maketh Christ thus to say at the general judgment unto bishops: Venite, pontifices, qui pure mihi sacrificium die nocteque obtulistis, ac pretiosum corpus et sanguinum meum immolastis quotidie¹⁰: "Come, ye bishops, that have purely offered sacrifice to me day and night, and have sacrificed my precious body and blood daily." (11) Finally, I refer them,

instead of many, to the two worthy fathers Basil and Chrysostom, whose masses be

In mystagogicis orationibus.

left to the posterity at this time extant. (12) Amongst all, Cyrillus

Hierosolymitanus is not to be passed over lightly, who at large expoundeth the whole mass used in Hierusalem in his time, the same which now we find in Clement, much like to that of Basil and Chrysostom, and, for the canon and other principal parts, to that is now also used in the Latin church¹¹.

As for the other doctors of the church that followed the apostles and those apostolic men, many in number, excellent in learning, holy of life, to shew what may be brought out of their works for proof of this matter, that the oblation of the body and blood of Christ in the mass is the sacrifice of the church, and proper to the new testament, it would require a whole volume; and therefore, not being moved by M. Jewel's challenge to speak specially thereof, but as it is private after their meaning, and many good treatises in defence of this sacrifice being set forth already in print, at this present I will say nothing, thinking hereof as Sallust did of Carthago, that great city, that it were better to keep silence than to speak few¹².

The 9th tenth. A burden of untruths.

The eleventh untruth. For² they contain the very order of the communion. The twelfth untruth. For² it is the very express order of the communion. It is no private mass.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

God grant unto all his people the spirit of wisdom and understanding, that they may be able to discern the spirits, whether they be of God, or no; that they may take heed of false prophets, and give ear to the voice of the Prince of pastors, and fly the voice of strangers, and beware of blind guides that so often have deceived them!

Isai. xi. 1 John iv. Matt. vii. John x. Matt. xxiii.

Here M. Harding a little overmuch inflameth his choler, and whom he listeth he calleth the enemies of the sacrifice, and the forerunners of antichrist, and what not, even with the same spirit that the Pharisees sometime said, Stephen had spoken against the holy temple; or, Christ had uttered blasphemy against God. I will not answer heat with heat, but in such kind of eloquence will rather give place.

Forerunners of antichrist. Acts vi. Matt. xxvi.

As touching the matter, M. Harding knoweth that St Gregory calleth him the forerunner of antichrist, not that saith, Christ hath made a full sacrifice for sin once for all upon the cross, but that vaunteth himself above his brethren, as did Lucifer, and nameth himself an universal bishop over the whole church of Christ¹³. Such a one St Gregory calleth the forerunner of antichrist.

Ad Constantinian. Aug. ep. 78. Lib. iv. Ad Mauritium Imperat. Lib. vii. Epist. 197.

And whereas he calleth us at his pleasure the enemies of the holy sacrifice, we were unto us if we had not that sacrifice. We know that Christ is that Lamb of God that hath taken away the sins of the world, and that there is no name or sacrifice under heaven whereby we can be saved, but only the name and sacrifice of Jesus Christ. And because we know that this sacrifice is sufficient, therefore we fly to no sacrifice made by man.

John i. Acts iv.

"The sacrifice," saith M. Harding, "commonly called the mass." But why sheweth he not of whom it is so called? Verily, neither the Hebrews in their tongue, nor the Greeks in their tongue, nor Christ, nor his apostles, nor Tertulian, nor St Cyprian, nor Origen, nor Lactantius, nor St Hierome, nor St Augustine,

Commonly called the mass.

[⁹ 1565 omits the.]

[¹⁰ Hippol. De Consum. Mund. Par. 1556. p. 56.]

[¹¹ Cyril. Hieros. Par. 1720. Cateches. Myst. v. pp. 325, &c.]

[¹² Nam de Carthagine silere melius puto, quam parum dicere.—Sallust. in Bell. Jugurth.]

[¹³ Sed in hac ejus superbia quid aliud nisi pro-

pinqua jam antichristi esse tempora designatur?—Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. xiiii. Epist. xxi. Ad Const. August. Tom. II. col. 751. Id. Lib. vii. Indict. xv. Epist. xxxiii. Ad Maur. August. col. 881. This passage is afterwards quoted.]

in any books undoubtedly known for theirs, nor his own doctors, Clement, Abdias, Hippolytus, ever used the name of mass. Therefore it is marvel that he would say the sacrifice is so commonly called the mass. If it might have pleased him to say that he himself and his fellows so call it, he had done right.

But here is brought in a whole troop of doctors in a rank; Melchisedech, Malachias, Clemens the apostles' fellow, the deacons of Asia, Abdias the apostles' disciple, and bishop of Babylon, that saw Christ in the flesh, St Andrew, St James, Martialis, Dionysius, who had conference with Peter, Paul, and John, Irenæus, Justinus Martyr, Hippolytus Martyr, Basil, Chrysostom, Cyril of Jerusalem, and all the rest of the doctors, in all ages and in all parts of the world. And who would not be afraid to see such an army come against him? Howbeit, gentle reader, be of good cheer. All this is but a *camisado*¹: these be but vizards: they be no faces. They are brought in, like mummers, for a shew, and say nothing. That M. Harding lacked in weight, he would needs make up in tale, and so useth this only as a flourish before the fight; and, as a stream blown up with wind and weather carrieth with it much froth and filth by the very rage and drift of the water, even so M. Harding in this place flowing and wandering over the banks with *copia verborum*, by the violence and force of his talk carrieth a great deal of error and untruth along before him. Notwithstanding, thus hath he given thee, good christian reader, as he saith, a taste of his proofs without allegation of any words for confirmation of thy faith concerning the mass. Miserable is that faith, that in so weighty matters can be confirmed with bare names by hearing nothing. I marvel that M. Harding ever durst either to allege such authorities, as he knoweth the most hereof be, or thus openly to mock the world. For, briefly to touch Melchisedech, Malachias, and the institution of Christ, what weight can there appear in these reasons? Melchisedech brought forth bread and wine to banquet Abraham and his army, being weary of the chase: or, Malachias prophesied that all the nations of the world should be turned unto God, and should offer unto him a pure sacrifice: or, Christ ordained his last supper amongst his disciples, and bade them do the same in his remembrance: *Ergo*, there was private mass in the church. Who ever made any such arguments in any school? What, will M. Harding make folk believe that Melchisedech, Malachias, or Christ, said private mass? Or doth he think that these reasons must be taken because he speaketh the word?

But he will say, Melchisedech and Malachias signified the sacrifice of the new testament. We deny it not. But did they signify a sacrifice done by one man alone, in a strange language, the people looking on him, and no man knowing what he meaneth? Why may we not think rather they signified the sacrifice of the holy communion, where as the whole people doth lift up their hands and hearts unto heaven, and pray, and sacrifice together, rejoicing in the cross of Christ, and so celebrating the Lord's death until he come? For the sacrifice that is prophesied by Malachy, as it is expounded by Tertullian², St Hierome³, and other holy fathers, is the sacrifice of prayer, and contrite heart; as hereafter in the seventeenth article it shall further appear.

Touching the witnesses here alleged, first, I marvel that M. Harding would ever bring them forth, but much more that he would thus set them out, with such circumstances of commendation, as that they saw Christ in the flesh, or that they were the apostles' fellows. For he knoweth well that many of them are little worthy of such credit, as partly being ever doubted of, and suspected to be written, not by them whose names they bear, but by heretics, to whom M. Harding seemeth now to fly for aid; partly also obscure, unknown, unacquainted, not read, not seen, not heard of in the world before this time. But most of all, I marvel that he would ever hazard his cause on these witnesses, who, as he himself very well knoweth, will speak against him. And therefore he hath here

For confir-
mation of
faith.

Gen. xiv.

Mal. i.

Matt. xxvi.

[¹ Camisado: a night attack in which the soldiers wore shirts over their armour.]

[² Sic itaque sacrificia spiritalia laudis designantur, &c.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Jud. 5. p. 211. ...sacrificium mundum, scilicet simplex oratio de con-

scientia pura.—Id. Adv. Marc. Lib. iv. 1. p. 502.]

[³ ... thymiamata, hoc est, sanctorum orationes Domino offerendas.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. In Mal. Proph. cap. i. Tom. III. col. 1813. Other authorities to the same effect will be hereafter cited.]

cunningly suppressed their words, and hath only made a muster of their names, but would suffer them to say nothing.

Clemens.

Clement.

And that thou, good reader, mayest have a taste hereof, and see the faithfulness of these men's dealing, let us first consider Clemens, who, as it is reported here, was the apostles' fellow. The title of the book seemeth to be *De apostolicis traditionibus*: that is, "Of orders taken and devised by the apostles of Christ for the better government of the church." A worthy book, no doubt, and in all ages to be had in great price, if men had been persuaded it had been written indeed by Clement. But St Hierome by the report of Eusebius maketh mention only of one epistle of Clement's that he thought worthy to be received; which epistle, notwithstanding, is not now to be found⁴. One other epistle of Clement's he speaketh of, but he saith it was never allowed by the church⁵. And further St Hierome saith: "Certain other books there are reported to be abroad in the name of Clement, as the disputation of Peter and Appion; which books were never in use amongst our fathers, neither contain they pure and apostolical doctrine⁶." Thus much St Hierome.

Hier. de Ecclesiast. Scriptorib.

Books counterfeited in St Clement's name.

Now, whence then cometh M. Harding's Clement? It was found very lately in the Isle of Candy, by one Carolus Capellius, a Venetian, written in Greek, and in these countries never heard of nor seen before⁷.

Petrus Crab, in 1 Tom. Concil.

Here the reader, be he never so simple, yet must he think thus much with himself: Clemens was bishop of Rome, as it is thought, next after St Peter; and were the bishop of Rome's books, and such books, so strange, so holy, and of such weight, kept in Candy, so far off from Italy, in an island in the sea, and not in Rome? written in Greek, and not in Latin? And could such a worthy work devised by all the apostles, and set forth by the apostles' fellow, be laid up in secrecy for the space of a thousand five hundred years and more, and no man miss it? Thus much the reader may soon consider with himself, be he never so simple.

But what if this book were never written by St Clement? What if it were written by no honest man? What if it were written by an heretic? Verily, it was a common practice in old times, to set wicked books abroad under the names and titles of the apostles, and other godly fathers. Leo, sometime bishop of Rome, writeth thus: *Apocryphæ... scripturæ, quæ sub nominibus apostolorum multarum habent seminarium falsitatum, non solum interdicendæ, sed etiam penitus auferendæ atque ignibus tradendæ sunt*⁸: "Secret scriptures, which, bearing the names of the apostles, contain a nursery and occasion of much falsehood⁹, are not only to be forbidden, but also utterly to be taken away and to be committed to the fire." By this we see, that the apostles' names were borrowed sometimes to avouch heresies and wicked doctrine.

Decretal. Leon. i. Can. xv.

As touching Clemens, Gelasius writeth thus, and, for that he was bishop of the same see, it is the more likely he should know the truth: *Pauca quæ ad memoriam venerunt, et catholicis vitanda sunt, decrevimus esse subdenda. In primis, Ariminensem synodum a Constantino Cesare Constantini filio congregatam mediante Tauro præfecto ex tunc...et...in æternum, confitemur esse damnatum*¹⁰. *Item itinerarium nomine Petri apostoli, quod appellatur sancti Clementis, libri octo apocryphi*¹¹: "We

Dist. 15. Sancta Romana.

[⁴ It was not printed until 1633, being found in the Codex Alexandrinus, brought to England in 1628.]

[⁵ Scripsit. ad ecclesiam Corinthiorum valde utilem epistolam. ... Fertur et secunda ejus nomine epistola, quæ a veteribus reprobat. — Hieron. Op. Catal. Script. Eccles. xv. Tom. IV. Pars. II. col. 107.]

[⁶ "Ὡς δὲ καὶ ἕτερα πολυεπὴ καὶ μακρὰ συγγράμματα ὡς τοῦ αὐτοῦ χθὲς καὶ πρῶν τινὲς προήγαγον, Πέτρου δὲ καὶ Ἀπίωνος διαλόγους περιέχοντα. ὧν οὐδ' ὅλως μνήμη τις παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς φέρεται. οὐδὲ γὰρ καθαρὸν τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ὀρθοδοξίας ἀποσώζει τὸν χαρακτῆρα. — Euseb. Eccles. Hist. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. III. cap. xxxviii. pp. 88, 9.]

[⁷ Epitome apostolicarum constitutionum, quas

octo libris constare aiunt, nuper in Creta insula repertis, inventore et interprete Carolo Capellio Veneto. — Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 27. See, for the works imputed to Clement, Patr. Apostol. a Coteler. Amst. 1724. Tom. I.]

[⁸ Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Turrib. Epist. xciii. cap. xv. col. 489; where we find *auferendæ sunt atque ignibus concremandæ*.]

[⁹ Falsehead, 1565.]

[¹⁰ Damnatum, 1565, 1609.]

[¹¹ Gelas. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xv. can. 3. cols. 56, 7; where we find *a catholicis, credimus, Constantio, for Constantini, damnatum, and apocryphum*.]

Abdias.

have thought good (saith Gelasius) to note certain books which are come to knowledge, and ought to be avoided of catholic people. First, the council holden at Ariminum, gathered by Constantinus the emperor, the son of Constantinus, by mean of Taurus the lieutenant, from thenceforth and for ever we judge worthy to be condemned. Likewise the journal of Peter the apostle, bearing the name of Clement, eight books are secret (unlawful) writings." Thus we see divers books of Clement condemned by name, and but one epistle only allowed for good; and this volume, here alleged by M. Harding, containing eight books, as it is noted by Peter Crab, fully agreeing in number of books with the other condemned by Gelasius. To be short, cardinal Bessarion, alleging a¹ parcel of the same book of Clement, that hath been hidden so long, writeth thus of it: *Licet ... hæc Clementis verba inter apocryphas scripturas commemorari soleant, placet tamen eis in præsentiarum tanquam veris assentiamus*²: "Albeit the words of Clement be accounted amongst secret (unlawful) writings, yet for once we are content to receive them, as if they were true." Thus M. Harding's Clement is disallowed by Eusebius, and by St Hierome, mistrusted by Bessarion, condemned by Gelasius, kept forth-coming in close prison for the space of a thousand and five hundred years: yet must we now, without refusal, stoop unto him, and take him as the apostles' fellow.

Petrus Crab,
1. Tom.
Concil.Bessar. de
Sacrament.
Eucharistia.

Abdias.

One other of these witnesses is Abdias, and he is brought in with all his titles: the bishop of Babylon, planted there by the apostles; one that was conversant with Christ, and heard him preach, and saw him in the flesh, and was present at the martyrdom of St Andrew; with all other circumstances that may gather credit among the simple. Of this Abdias somewhat must be spoken, and so much the more, for that his name is so glorious. He was sought out, and found, and set abroad of very late years, under the name of Abdias, by one Wolphgangus Zazius, a man that taketh great pains to force men to believe it is the very self-same Abdias that he maketh himself to be; and therefore he saith, he was one of the lxxii. disciples, ordered bishop by the apostles, and that St Luke the evangelist, writing the Acts of the Apostles, borrowed many whole stories, word by word, out of him³. Then was St Luke very unthankful, that never once made mention of his author.

But whosoever or whatsoever this Abdias were, his own words do so bewray him, that a blind man may see it was not he. He maketh many shameless lies, that he was present with Christ, and at the most part of the apostles' doings; and yet were the apostles then, according to Christ's commandment, gone into the whole world, some into Italy, some into Asia Minor, some into Scythia, some into India, some into Ethiopia, and were many thousand miles asunder. In his fable of Iphigenia he saith, that the people took her brother Beor, being then christened by St Matthew, and made him king, and that he reigned afterward in Ethiopia the space of lxxiii. years⁴; and further maketh mention of Egesippus⁵, that lived above one hundred and threescore years after Christ. If Abdias were alive all this while, he might be likened to *Johannes de temporibus*, who, as the French story recordeth, lived in France above three hundred years⁶. A liar must be circumspect, and mindful what he say. If he saw Christ in the flesh, it is not likely he ever saw Egesippus, that was so long after Christ: if he saw Egesippus, it is not likely he ever saw Christ. Thus if he report truth in the one, he lieth in the other; and so, whether he lie, or say truth, he cannot be Abdias.

Touching the substance of his book, it is nothing else, for the more part of it, but a vain peevish tale, laid out with falsehood⁷, wicked doctrine, and curious conference and talk with devils; things far unmeet for that gravity and majesty of the apostles of Christ, as it may soon appear unto the reader.

Mark xvi.

Abdias in vita
Matthæi.Gaguinus.
Paul. Æmil.[¹ 1565 and 1609 omit *a.*][² Bessar. De Sacram. Eucharist. in Biblioth. Patr. per M. de la Bigne, Par. 1624. Tom. VI. col. 482.][³ ... ut vel Abdiam hæc ex Luca sumpsisse, vel Lucam ex Abdia, &c.—Abd. Apost. Hist. Par. 1571. Prefat. Wolfg. Laz. fol. i. v.][⁴ Id. Lib. vii. fol. 95. 2.][⁵ Id. Lib. vi. fol. 73.][⁶ Gaguin. De. Orig. et Gest. Franc. Lugd. 1497. Lib. vi. fol. 36. 2. Paul. Æmyl. De Reb. Gest. Franc. Par. 1544. Lib. v. fol. 105. The individual referred to is said to have died at the age of 361, in the reign of Louis VII.][⁷ Falsehead, 1565.]

It may be gathered by St Augustine in sundry places, that some part of this book was written by certain heretics, named the Manichees, and avouched by them as the very true story of the apostles. For he reporteth the fables of St Thomas, of St Matthew, of St Andrew, of the lion that slew the man that had stricken St Thomas, of the dog that brought the same man's hand unto the table, of Maximilla, wife unto Egis, and other like tales, even in such order as they be set forth by this Abdias⁸.

Abdias.
Martialis.

August. contra Faustum, Lib. xi. et Lib. xxii. cap. 80.

Against one Adimantus he writeth thus: "They (that is, the Manichees) read secret scriptures, which they themselves⁹ say are pure and perfect; in which scriptures it is written that St Thomas cursed a man, and that afterward a lion slew him, &c.¹⁰ And in another place he saith: *Attendite qualia sint quæ scribuntur de Maximilla, uxore Egetis: illam noluisse viro debitum reddere: donasse et supposuisse Eucliam ancillam, et alias similes fabulas*¹¹: "Behold what things they be that be written of Maximilla, wife unto Egis; that she (being once christened) would no more yield duty unto her husband, but set Euclia her maid in her own place; and other like fables."

August. contra Adimantum, cap. 16.

Aug. de Fide, contra Manichæos. cap. 30.

All these and such like tales, thus disallowed by St Augustine, are reported by M. Harding's Abdias in great sooth. I thought it not amiss to speak hereof the more at large, for that I saw a book so full of tales, so lately found out, without any good shew of credit, to be fathered upon the apostles' disciple, and sent into the world with such a countenance. St Augustine seemeth in divers places to have given his judgment of the same. Writing against the adversary of the law and prophets, he hath these words: "He hath brought forth witnesses out of secret scriptures, under the names of the apostles John and Andrew; which writings, if they had been theirs, they had been received of the church¹²." The like judgment hereof seemeth to be given by Gelasius, who also saith that "such writings, according to an ancient custom, and by a singular provision, were not read in the church of Rome, for that they were thought to be written by heretics¹³."

August. contra Adversarium Legis et Prophetarum, Lib. i. cap. xx. Dist. 15.

Sancta Romana.

Thus is this Abdias a book, as it is apparent, full of manifest lies, and, as it may be supposed by St Augustine and Gelasius, written and favoured by heretics, and refused of the church: upon such a one, good reader, M. Harding will have thee to stay thy faith.

As for the rest of these new witnesses, although I mind to take no great exception against them, yet M. Harding knoweth there is scarcely one of them but may be doubted of.

Martialis was lately found in France, in the city of Lemovica¹⁴, in an arch of stone under the ground, so corrupt and defaced that in many places it could not be read, and was never seen in the world at any time before¹⁵.

Martialis.

Dionysius, although he be an ancient writer, as it may many ways well appear, yet it is judged by Erasmus, John Colet, and others many, grave and

Dionysius.

Erasm. contra Parisien- ses.

[⁸ Aliud est ipsos libros non accipere quod denique nos ipsi de vestris et aliorum hæreticorum, si quos suos et proprios habent, vel de iis qui appellantur apocryphi Legunt scripturas apocryphas Manichæi, a nescio quibus sutoribus fabularum sub apostolorum nomine scriptas: Ibi tamen legunt apostolum Thomam, &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Cont. Faust. Lib. xi. cap. ii. Lib. xxii. cap. lxxix. Tom. VIII. cols. 218, 9, 409.]

[⁹ Themself, 1565.]

[¹⁰ Ipsi autem legunt scripturas apocryphas, quas etiam incorruptissimas esse dicunt, ubi scriptum est apostolum Thomam maledixisse homini, &c.—Id. Cont. Adimant. Lib. cap. xvii. 2. Tom. VIII. col. 137.]

[¹¹ Adtendite qualia sint quæ accipitis de Maximilla uxore Egetis: quæ cum nollet marito debitum reddere ... illa supposuerit marito suo ancillam suam Eucliam nomine, &c.—Id. De Fid. cont. Manich. Lib. cap. xxxviii. Tom. VIII. Append. col. 33. This is most probably not a genuine work of

Augustine. It has been attributed to Evodius.]

[¹² Sane de apocryphis iste posuit testimonia, quæ sub nominibus apostolorum Andreæ Johannisque conscripta sunt. Quæ si illorum essent, recepta essent ab ecclesia, &c.—Id. Contr. Advers. Leg. et Proph. Lib. i. cap. xx. 39. Tom. VIII. col. 570.]

[¹³ Sed ideo secundum antiquam consuetudinem singulari cautela in sancta Romana ecclesia [gesta sanctorum martyrum] non leguntur: quia et eorum, qui conscripsere, nomina penitus ignorantur; et ab infidelibus aut idiotis superflua aut minus apta, quam rei ordo fuerit, scripta esse putantur: sicut cujusdam Quirici, &c.—Gelas. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prima Pars, Dist. xv. can. 3. col. 56.]

[¹⁴ Limoges.]

[¹⁵ Præfat. ad Hist. Marc. Episc. ad calc. Abd. Hist. Apost. fol. 153. 2. See also Not. ad calc. Mart. Epist. in Biblioth. Patr. per M. De la Bigne, Par. 1624. Tom. III. cols. 15, 6.]

learned men, that it cannot be Areopagita, St Paul's disciple, that is mentioned in the Acts¹.

Liturgia Jacobi.

St James' liturgy hath a special prayer for them that live in monasteries; and yet it was very rather² to have monasteries built in all St James' time³.

Liturgia Chrysostomi, edita a Claudio du Sanctes.

Pope Joan.

Chrysostom's liturgy prayeth for pope Nicolas by these words: *Nicolai sanctissimi et universalis papæ longa sint tempora*⁴: "We pray God send Nicolas, that most holy and universal pope, a long time to live." But pope Nicolas, the first of that name, was the second pope after pope Joan the woman, in the year of our Lord eight hundred fifty and seven, almost five hundred years after Chrysostom was dead. And likewise in the same liturgy there is a prayer for the empire and victory of the emperor Alexius⁴. And the first emperor of that name was in the year of our Lord a thousand and fourscore, after the decease of Chrysostom seven hundred years. Now it were very much for M. Harding to say Chrysostom prayed for men by name seven hundred years before they were born. I trow that were prophesying, and not praying.

Thou seest, christian reader, what doctors here be brought, as M. Harding saith, to ground thy faith and salvation upon. If he could have brought any better, I trow he would have spared these. But such doctrine, such doctors. These doubtful authorities, I trust, will set men's consciences out of doubt.

M. Hard. witnesses against himself.

Now, notwithstanding it be something troublesome, yet shall it not be from the purpose, for trial of these men's faithful dealing, to examine some of M. Harding's own witnesses, and to hear what they will depose. All these, as it is said, avouch the sacrifice, otherwise called the mass; and not only these, but also all others, of all ages and times, and that in a manner in the self-same order and form that now is used.

Fol. 11, a. lin. 1.

Here M. Harding much abuseth both his own learning, and also the trust and credit that many have in him. For he knoweth well that the apostles had neither the form, nor the order, nor the name of mass.

Dumb witnesses. M. Harding allegeth witnesses against himself.

Howbeit, if all these bear witness to the mass, why speak they not? Why come they forth so dumb? What, have they nought to say in this behalf? Or is their word not worth the hearing? Or are they so old that they cannot speak? Or must we needs believe M. Harding without evidence?

Liturgia Jacobi.

But what if neither Clement, the apostles' fellow, nor Abdias, nor St James, nor Basil, nor Chrysostom, nor any other of all these here alleged, speak one word of private mass? What if they have not so much as the name of mass? What if they testify plainly against M. Harding's mass? What if they testify fully and roundly with the holy communion? It were great shame for M. Harding to fly from his own witnesses, and very much for me to stand to be tried by them that are brought in such a throng to depose against me.

Dishes and cups.

And to begin first with St James,—the order of his liturgy, which M. Harding calleth mass, standeth thus: *Sacerdos* [ait], *Nullus eorum qui orare non possunt nobiscum ingrediatur....Diaconus* [ait], *Cum timore, et fide, et dilectione accedite: Populus* [respondet], *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini....Deinde impertit clero: cum autem attollunt diaconi discos et calices ad impertiendum populo, diaconus ait,... Domine, benedic*⁵. Which words may be turned thus: "The priest saith, Let not one of them that may not pray enter in with us. The deacon saith, With reverence and faith and love approach ye near. The people answereth, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. After this he ministereth unto the clergy. But when the deacons take up the dishes and cups, to minister unto the people, the deacon saith, Lord, bless." Here, by the order of St James' mass, the people answereth the priest in their own tongue; provision is made for

[¹ Erasm. Op. Lugd. Bat. 1703-6. Declar. ad Cens. Facult. Theol. Paris. Tit. xxii. 91. Tom. IX. cols. 916, 7.]

[² Rathe: soon, early.]

[³ Pro iis qui in virginitate et castitate, in monasteriis, ac in venerando connubio degunt.—S. Jacob. Miss. in Lit. Sanct. Patr. Par. 1560. fol. 3. The Greek text is, Ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν παρθενίᾳ καὶ ἀγνείᾳ καὶ ἀσκήσει καὶ ἐν σεμνῇ γάμῳ διαγόντων.—p. 14.]

[⁴ Chrysost. Miss. in eod. fol. 20.—Et pro imperio in victoria ... Alexii magni imperatoris et porphyrogeniti.—Ibid. These passages are not in the Greek text.]

[⁵ S. Jacob. Miss. in eod. foll. 2, 2, 7; where the first address is ascribed to the deacon, and the words are transposed *nobiscum non possunt*; where also we find *timore Dei et fide ac, &c.*]

the whole congregation in dishes and cups; they be called to receive the communion; and they do receive all together. Now let M. Harding be judge, whether St James bear record to the private mass or to the communion.

Abdias, although he report many untrue tales, yet he reporteth not one word of private mass, but much to the contrary. Writing the life of St Thomas, and shewing in what sort he ministered the holy communion, he saith thus: *Eucharistiam divisit his quos supra memoravimus [id est, populo]*⁶: "He divided the sacrament unto the people, of whom we spake before." And again, in the life of St Matthew, who, as M. Harding beareth us in hand, without all question said mass in Ethiopia, he writeth thus: *Cumque respondisset Amen, et mysteria Domini celebrata [essent], et missam suscepisset omnis ecclesia*⁷: "When they had answered Amen, and the mysteries of the Lord had been celebrate, and the whole church had received the communion." Where the whole church answereth the priest, and receiveth the communion together, I reckon M. Harding will hardly call that a private mass.

Abdias in
Vita S.
Thom. Apost.

Abdias in
Vita S. Matt.
Apost.

Justinus Martyr, another of M. Harding's witnesses, in his second apology unto the emperor Antoninus, declaring the innocency of the christian people that then lived under great persecution, and shewing the manner of their assemblies, writeth thus: "Before the end of our prayers we kiss each of us one another. Then is there brought unto him that is the chief of the brethren bread, and a cup of wine and water mingled together, which having received he praiseth God and giveth thanks a good space; and, that done, the whole people confirmeth his prayer, saying Amen. After that they that among us be called deacons give unto every of them that be present part of the bread, and likewise of the wine and water, that are consecrate with thanksgiving, and carry the same home unto them that happen to be absent⁸." Here is a full communion, and no private mass.

Justin Martyr
in 2^a Apologia.

ἐπευφημεῖ.

Dionysius, another of the witnesses, and, as M. Harding saith, the apostles' scholar, openeth the whole order of the ministration in his time, writing namely and purposely of that matter. "The priest," saith he, "beginneth the holy psalmody; and the whole body of the church singeth⁹ with him. Then followeth in order the reading of the holy scriptures, which is done by the ministers. After that, the *catechumeni*," that is, they that are newly come unto the religion of Christ and are not yet baptized, "and *energumeni*," that is, such as are molested with evil spirits, "and such others as are enjoined to penance, are commanded forth. And so there remain such as are meet to have the sight and communion of the holy things¹⁰." It followeth: "And, shewing forth the gifts of the holy sacraments, he goeth to the communion himself, and likewise exhorteth others¹¹." And a little after that: "The priest, uncovering the bread that came covered and in one cake or loaf, and dividing the same into many portions, and likewise dividing the unity of the cup unto all, mystically and by way of a sacrament he fulfilleth and divideth unity¹²." It followeth again: "Then the minister, receiving himself and distributing the holy communion unto others, in the end concludeth with holy

Dionys. Ec-
cles. Hierar.
Cap. 3.

τὰς δωρεὰς
τῶν θεουργι-
ῶν ὑποδεί-
ξας.

συμβολι-
κῶς.
τῆς θεωρι-
κῆς κοινω-
νίας μετα-
δούς.

[⁶ Abd. Apost. Hist. Par. 1571. Lib. ix. fol. 118.]

[⁷ Id. Lib. vii. fol. 94. 2.]

[⁸ Ἀλλήλους φιλήματι ἀσπαζόμεθα πανσάμενοι τῶν εὐχῶν ἔπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος. καὶ οὗτος λαβὼν, αἶνον καὶ δόξαν ... ἀναπέμπει· καὶ εὐχαριστίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατηξιώσθαι τούτων παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται· οὐ συντελέσαντος ... πᾶς ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων, ἀμήν ... οἱ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν διάκονοι, διδόνασιν ἐκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, καὶ τοῖς οὐ παρούσιν ἀποφύρουσι.—Just. Mart. Op. Par. 1742. Apol. i. pp. 82, 3.]

[⁹ Signeth, 1611.]

[¹⁰ Ὁ μὲν ἱεράρχης ... ἀπάρχεται τῆς ἱερᾶς τῶν ψαλμῶν μελωδίας, συναδούσης αὐτῷ τὴν ψαλμικὴν

ἱερολογίαν ἀπάσης τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς διακοσμῆσεως. ἐξῆς δέ, διὰ τῶν λειτουργῶν ἢ τῶν ἁγιογράφων δέλτων ἀνάγνωσις ἀκολουθῶς γίνεται· καὶ μετὰ ταύτας, ἔξω γίνονται τῆς ἱερᾶς περιοχῆς οἱ κατηχούμενοι, καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐνεργούμενοι, καὶ οἱ ἐν μετανοίᾳ ὄντες, μένουσι δὲ οἱ τῆς τῶν θείων ἐποψίας καὶ κοινωνίας ἄξιοι.—Dionys. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii. 2. Tom. I. pp. 283, 4.]

[¹¹ ... καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς τῶν θεουργιῶν ὑποδείξας, εἰς κοινωνίαν αὐτῶν ἱερὰν αὐτὸς τε ἔρχεται, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προτρέπεται.—Id. ibid. p. 284.]

[¹² ... τὸν γὰρ ἐγκεκαλυμμένον καὶ ἀδιαίρετον ἄρτον ἀνακαλύψας, καὶ εἰς πολλὰ διελών, καὶ τὸ ἐνιαῖον τοῦ ποτηρίου πᾶσι καταμερίσας, συμβολικῶς τὴν ἐνότητα πληθύνει, καὶ διανέμει, συναγεστάτην ἐν τούτοις ἱερουργίαν τελῶν.—Id. ibid. 3. p. 299.]

Hippo-
lyt.
Martyr.

Liturgia
Basil.
Et sic com-
municant
omnes.

Liturgia
Chrysostomi.

thanksgiving, together with all the whole holy company of the church¹." I believe M. Harding himself will say here is yet but bare witness for his private mass.

In the liturgy of St Basil, which is also brought for a witness in this matter, the priest prayeth thus: "All we receiving of one bread and of one cup," &c. It followeth: "The priest divideth the holy bread into four parts: the quire singeth the communion; and so they communicate all²."

Another witness is Chrysostom. His liturgy, or (as M. Harding delighteth to speak) his mass, is thus ordered: "After that the priest hath communicate with the ministers, then the great door is set open, the priest sheweth forth the cup unto the people, saying, With the fear of God, and faith, and love approach ye near. The deacon saith: Come ye near in peace. The people answereth: In the name of the Lord." Again, "The deacons receive the communion. Afterward, the mysteries be carried unto a place where the people must communicate³."

Ignatius, another witness, writing unto the people of Philadelphia, hath these words: *Unus panis pro omnibus fractus est, et unus calix omnibus dividebatur*⁴: "One bread was broken for all, and one cup was divided unto all."

What needeth it me to discourse further of the rest? By these few, I doubt not, it may soon appear how faithfully these men allege the catholic fathers, only amazing the reader with naked names. Here we see such as cannot communicate are commanded⁵ forth; the whole church prayeth, singeth, and receiveth the holy sacraments all together. Such masses they be that the old catholic fathers can witness of. And of other mass they know none. M. Harding himself confesseth, that in the primitive church the people received the communion every day.

Yet, notwithstanding, for his private mass he allegeth the names of doctors of the primitive church. And so, like a crafty apothecary, in his marks or papers he hath the mass, but in his boxes he hath the communion.

But he will say, he alleged all these doctors by way of digression to another purpose, to prove the sacrifice. First, there is very small proof in such witnesses as say nothing; and, besides that, it is a simple kind of rhetoric to use so large digressions from the matter, before ye once enter into the matter. And as touching the sacrifice, if you have any at all, you have it only of the institution of Christ; otherwise you have none. But we are sure we have Christ's institution. Wherefore it followeth we have the sacrifice that Christ appointed.

Touching Hippolytus, the bishop and martyr, that, as M. Harding saith, lived in Origen's time, and is now extant in Greek, it is a very little book, of small price and as small credit, lately set abroad in print, about seven years past; before never acquainted in the world. Such be M. Harding's ancient authorities for his mass. It appeareth it was some simple man that wrote the book, both for the phrases of speech in the Greek tongue, which commonly are very childish, and also for the truth and weight of the matter. He beginneth the first sentence of his book with *enim*, which a very child would scarcely do. He hath many vain guesses of the birth and life of antichrist: he saith, and soothly avoucheth, that antichrist shall be the devil and no man, and shall only bear the shape of a man; yet St Paul calleth antichrist "the man of sin." Besides this, he hath a further fantasy, that antichrist shall subdue the kings of Egypt, Africa, and Ethiopia, and that he shall build up again the temple of Hierusalem, and that St John, that wrote the books of Apocalypse, or Revelations, shall come again

Ignatius ad
Philadel-
phien.

Hippolytus
Martyr.

ἐπειδὴ γὰρ.

2 Thess. ii.
Revelabitur
homo pec-
cati.

[¹ Μετασχών δὲ καὶ μεταδούς τῆς θραυκικῆς κοινωνίας, εἰς εὐχαριστίαν ἱερὰν καταλήγει μετὰ παντός τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἱεροῦ πληρώματος.—Id. ibid. p. 300.]

[² Basil. Miss. in Lit. Sanct. Patr. Par. 1560. foll. 12, 13.]

[³ At ille partitur portionem sanctam in quatuor partes ... jubet archidiaconus ut diaconi accedant: et accedentes suscipiunt, ut fecerunt sacerdotes [diaconus] dicit populo, Cum Dei timore accedite. Populus respondet, Benedictus qui venit in nomine

Domini et sic feruntur ad locum mysteria ubi populus debet communicare.—Chrysost. Miss. in eod. foll. 20. 2, 21. The Greek text differs considerably; the former part agreeing more closely with the quotation as made by Jewel.]

[⁴ Μία γὰρ σὰρξ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἐν ποτήριον εἰς ἓν ὄψιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ.—Ignat. ad Philad. cap. iv. in Patr. Apostol. Oxon. 1838. Tom. II. p. 378.]

[⁵ Commandeth, 1565.]

with Elias and Enoch to reprove antichrist⁶. And all this saith he without either warrant of the scriptures, or authority of the church. And writing that book, namely upon the prophet Daniel, he allegeth the Apocalypse of St John in the stead of Daniel; which is a token either of great ignorance or of marvellous oblivion. Moreover, he saith that the souls of men were from the beginning, which is an heresy; with other dreams and fantasies many more. This is M. Harding's catholic doctor. Concerning the place of him here alleged: *Venite, pontifices, qui pure mihi sacrificium die nocteque obtulistis, ac pretiosum corpus et sanguinem meum immolastis quotidie*⁷; if he will precisely build upon the words, then must all other priests stand back, and have no place in heaven, but bishops only. For although they offer up, as M. Harding saith, the daily sacrifice, yet it is well known, according to the nature and use of the word, they are priests only, and not bishops. If he will make reckoning of this word *quotidie*, "daily," then where shall the bishop of Rome and his cardinals stand, that scarcely have leisure to sacrifice once through the whole year? And if it be Christ himself that they offer up unto the Father, as they say, how is the same Christ offered up unto Christ himself? How is Christ both the thing that is offered, and also the party unto whom it is offered? But there is no inconvenience to a man in his dream. And if it be the mass that Hippolytus here speaketh of, how is it offered both day and night? For Hostiensis saith: "It is not lawful by the canons to say mass in the night-season, saving only the night of Christ's nativity⁸."

Hostien. in
Summa, de
Celebratione
Missarum.

1 Pet. ii.

But the meaning of Hippolytus seemeth to be this, that all faithful people in this respect be priests and bishops, like as St Peter also calleth them, and that every of them by faith maketh unto God a pure sacrifice, and both day and night as it were reneweth and applieth unto himself that one and everlasting sacrifice of Christ's precious body, once offered for all upon the cross. Thus are the words of Hippolytus plain and without cavil; and thus shall Christ's calling be very comfortable.

M. HARDING. THE SIXTH DIVISION.

Now, this presupposed, that the mass standeth upon good and sufficient grounds for the stay of all true Christian men's belief, let us come to our special purpose, and say somewhat of private mass, as our adversaries call it.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The grounds he here speaketh of be his doctors, such as he hath already brought forth, laid up in great secrecy and hidden from all the world by the space of one thousand years and more, and now of late found out by chance—some in islands in the sea, some in arches under the ground, some so defaced with mould and canker that it was hard to guess their meaning, some full of impudent lies and fables, one parcel not agreeing with another, some devised and written by heretics, and ever mistrusted and condemned of the church; yet every of these, as M. Harding well knoweth, fully reporting the holy communion, and manifestly testifying against private mass. These be M. Harding's great⁹ grounds. Now judge thou, gentle reader, what worthy building may stand upon the same. Doubtless this beginning is very simple.

M. HARDING. THE SEVENTH DIVISION.

The chief cause why they storm so much at¹⁰ private mass is for that the priest receiveth the sacrament alone, which thing they express with great villany of words. Now in case the people might be stirred to such devotion as to dispose themselves worthily to receive their housel every day with the priest, as they did in the primitive

Private mass
proceeded
first of the
negligence
and misdoing
of the people.

[⁶ Hippol. De Consum. Mund. Par. 1556. pp. 3, 14, 22, 6, 7, 8, 30, &c.]

[⁷ Ibid. p. 56.]

[⁸ Hostiens. sup. Tert. Decretal. Par. 1512. De Celebr. Miss. fol. 157. See also Telesp. Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. i. can. 48. col.

1902; which is referred to by Hostiensis; also Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. iii. Tit. xli. Gloss. in cap. 3, cols. 1365, 6; which contains the substance of what he says.]

[⁹ Greatest, 1565, 1609.]

[¹⁰ Against, Harding's Answer, 1564.]

church, when they looked hourly to be caught and done to death in the persecution of paynims, that they departed not hence sine viatico, without their voyage provision, what should these men have to say? In this case perhaps they would find other defaults in the mass; but against it in this respect only, that it is private, they should have nothing to say at all. So the right of their cause dependeth of the misdoing of the people, which if they would amend, these folks should be driven either to recant or to hold their peace. To other defaults of the mass, by them untruly surmised, answer shall be made hereafter. Now touching this.

Where no fault¹ is committed, there no blame is to be imputed. That oftentimes the priest at mass hath no compartners to receive the sacrament with him, it proceedeth of lack of devotion of the people's part, not of envy or malice of his part.

The feast is common: (13) all be invited: they may come that list: they shall be received that be disposed and proved: none is thrust away that thus cometh: it may be obtruded to none violently, ne offered to none rashly. Well, none cometh. This is not a sufficient cause why the faithful and godly priest, inflamed with the love of God, feeling himself hungry and thirsty after that heavenly food and drink, should be kept from it, and imbarred from celebrating the memory of our Lord's death, according to his commandment, from his duty of giving of thanks³ for [Psal. cxvi. H. A. 1564.] that great benefit, from taking the cup of salvation and calling upon the name of God; for these things be done in the mass.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

God be thanked! both our life and manner of teaching, notwithstanding these slanderous reports, is void of villany. Or if there had been any defect in us, this man of his courtesies should not have supplied it with another villany.

Here M. Harding granteth that the people in the primitive church received the holy communion every day, and so consequently unawares he confesseth that in the primitive church was no private mass, which, as he saith, came in afterward by the negligence and undevotion of the people. It is great pity that so good a thing, as it is supposed, should have no better beginning. One special principle of these men's doctrine is to imbar the people from reading and understanding of the scriptures, and to suffer them to know nothing; for that, as some of them have said, they be dogs and swine, and therefore should not precious stones be laid before them. Yet now must their negligence be the rule of Christ's religion. This is laid as the ground and foundation of the whole cause, and therefore it ought the better to be considered.

Eckius, Pighius, Hosius, and others, have often cried out amain in their books and pulpits, "Where was your religion before Luther first began to preach?" So may we likewise say, And where was your private mass, which is the crown of your kingdom, before your people first began to grow negligent and to want devotion? Some have said the church is governed by the pope, some by the general councils, some by the Holy Ghost. M. Harding saith better, it is not amiss that the church be governed by the negligence and undevotion of the people.

"Charity," say they, "is cold, and the people is careless." But therefore hath God appointed pastors and ministers to oversee and control the people, and not to suffer them to perish in their negligence. Were it a matter of tithes or other payments, the people should be called upon, and not suffered in any wise to be negligent; neither should their negligence stand for excuse. How much less should it be suffered, when the case toucheth God! The bishops and fathers in the second council holden at Barcara⁴ in Spain decreed thus: "If any man resort unto the church, and hear the scriptures, and for negligence or wantonness withdraw himself from the communion of the sacrament, and in the reverend mysteries do break the rule of discipline; we decree that such a one⁵ be put out of the catholic church, until he have done penance and shewed the fruits of his

Lack of devotion cause of private mass.

The thirteenth untruth. For² they invite no man.

M. Harding confesseth that in the primitive church there was no private mass. M. Harding Articul. 15. Divis. 7. Fol. 155. b.

Ex editamentis Conc. Brac. 2. cap. 84. Seu ex Synod. Græco collecto. Pro luxuria sua.

[¹ Default, H. A. 1564.]

[² For is omitted, 1565.]

[³ Giving thanks, H. A. 1564.]

[⁴ Bracara, 1565, 1609.]

[⁵ Such one, 1565.]

repentance, that, having obtained pardon, he may be received again to the holy communion⁶."

Thus the godly fathers in old time did not flatter and favour the people's negligence in this case, as M. Harding and his fellows do; but exhorted, warned, reproved, rebuked them⁷, called them malapert and impudent, that would be present and not receive, and excommunicated them for their negligence. But these men, contrariwise, turn away their faces from their brethren, and suppress their voice, and will not be heard, and speaking⁸ nothing but in an unknown tongue, and find no fault with the people, but rather make them believe that they receive for them, and apply Christ's death unto them by their mass, and that the very hearing thereof is sufficient for them and meritorious; and thus, as much as in them lieth, they increase the negligence of the people, and discourage them from the holy communion.

Chrysost. in
Epist. ad
Ephes. Hom.
3.

The people is taught nothing, they understand nothing, they hear nothing, and, saving only a few childish and unseemly gestures, they see nothing, neither comfort, nor memory of Christ, nor benefit of his passion. And this is the cause of their negligence; therefore they stand thus back and withdraw themselves⁹.

The cause of
the people's
negligence.

Howbeit, what needeth M. Harding thus to charge the people with negligence and undevotion? The pope himself and his cardinals do scarcely communicate once in the year, but are as negligent and as undevout therein as the most part of the people.

The pope and
his cardinals
as negligent
as the people.

"The feast," saith M. Harding, "is common: all are invited: they shall be received that be disposed and proved." If this feast be common, it must needs be common to very few; for the provision is very little to serve many. That all be called in the Latin mass, it is a great and manifest untruth: for neither the priest nor the deacon, either by word or by gesture, calleth them; nor have they any preparation for them if they were called. Yet are these men not ashamed to say, "They shall be received that be disposed and proved."

Every man ought humbly to prepare and dispose his heart before he presume to hear or receive any thing that toucheth God. For God is Spirit, and we are flesh; God in heaven, and we in earth. Pythagoras, being but an heathen, was wont to say: *Non loquendum de Deo sine lumine*: "We ought not to speak of God without light," that is, without premeditation and good advisement who it is of whom we speak. And the pagans, in their sacrifices, were wont to remember their priest with these words, *Hoc age*; the meaning whereof was, "Dispose thy mind: it is God unto whom thou speakest." The wise man saith: "Before thou pray prepare thine heart, and be not as a man that tempteth God." Likewise in old times they that were called *catechumeni* were warned aforehand to prepare their hearts, that they might worthily receive baptism, as it is decreed under the name of Clement, whose words be these: "Let him prepare himself in all things, that after three months ended upon the holy day he may be baptized¹⁰." St Augustine also exhorteth the catechumeni likewise to dispose their minds against their¹¹ time of their baptism¹². Thus ought every man to examine and prepare himself before he hear God's word, before he presume to open his mouth to pray unto God, before he receive the sacrament of baptism, and namely before he come to the holy communion. And therefore the priest giveth warning unto the people with these words: "Lift up your hearts;" which words, as St Augustine saith, were commonly used in the holy mysteries¹³.

Preparation
of the mind
before the
communion.

Eccles. xviii.

Clem. Epist.
3.

August.
Tract. 10 &
11 in Johan.

August. de
bono Perse-
verantiæ,
Lib. ii. cap.
xiii.

[⁶ Si quis intrat ecclesiam Dei, et sacras scripturas non audit, et pro luxuria sua avertit se a communione sacramenti, et in observandis mysteriis declinat constitutum regulam disciplinæ; istum talem proficiendum de ecclesia catholica esse decernimus, donec penitentiam agat, et ostendat fructum penitentia suæ; ut possit communionem percepta indulgentia promereri.—Capit. Mart. Epist. Brac. 83. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. V. col. 914.]

[⁷ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Ephes. cap. i. Hom. iii. Tom. XI. pp. 21, &c.]

[⁸ Speak, 1565, 1609.]

[⁹ Themselves, 1565.]

[¹⁰ Accedat autem, qui vult, ad sacerdotem suum ... ac semetipsum in omnibus probet, ut tribus mensibus jam consummatis, in die festo possit baptizari.—Clem. in Epist. Decret. Sum. Pont. Rom. 1591. Epist. iii. Tom. I. p. 22.]

[¹¹ The, 1565, 1609.]

[¹² August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. Tractat. x. 10. xi. 1. Tom. III. Pars II. cols. 373, 4, 5.]

[¹³ Id. De Don. Persev. cap. xiii. 33. Tom. X. col. 839.]

The negligence of the people.

*Senten. Lib. iv. Dist. 17.
b Innocent. III. in Concil. Lateran. cap. 21.
Hugo de potestate Ecclesiæ.

But I think M. Harding here by these words, "prepare" and "dispose," meaneth private confession, which many have used as a rack of men's consciences to the maintenance of their tyranny. Peter Lombard^a saith, without it there is no way to heaven¹. Innocentius the third^b commandeth that whosoever is not confessed neither be suffered to come into the church being alive, nor to be buried when he is dead². Hugo writeth thus: "I am bold to say, whosoever cometh to the communion unconfessed, be he never so repentant and sorry for his sins, certainly he receiveth unto his judgment³." So violent the late writers have been in exacting things of their own devices. Otherwise the old fathers, notwithstanding sometime they speak of confession, yet they require it with more modesty, and many of them require no such thing at all.

Chrysostom. de Pœnitentia.
Ἀμαρτυροῦν ἕστω τὸ δικάστη-
ριον.
Chrysost. in Psal. 1.
Hom. 2.
Chrysost. de Lazar.
Hom. 4.
De Pœnitentia, Dist. 1.
Quidam Deo.

Chrysostom saith: "Let the court (where thou yieldest thyself guilty) be without witness: let God alone see thee⁴." And again: "If thou be ashamed to shew thy sins to any man, then utter them every day in thy heart. I say not, go confess thy sins unto thy fellow-servant, that may upbraid thee with them; but confess them unto God, that is able to cure them⁵." And again, thus he imagineth God to speak unto a sinner: *Mihi soli dic peccatum tuum privatim, ut sanem ulcus*⁶: "Open thy sin privately to me alone, that I may heal thy wound." And Theodorus, sometime archbishop of Canterbury, saith: *Græci et totus oriens confitetur soli Deo*⁷; "The Greeks and all they of the east confess themselves⁸ only to God." Thus much I thought good to touch hereof, lest it should be thought there is none other way for a man to prove and dispose himself but only by auricular confession. The meaning of these words of St Paul, "Let a man examine himself," standeth in two points, in faith and repentance. Faith containeth the truth of our belief; repentance concerneth the amendment of our life: which kind of examining endureth all our life long. But to say or think we are all examined and disposed one only day in the year, and that of custom, not of holiness, and not one day before nor one day after, it is childish, it is superstitious, it is Jewish, it is no persuasion meet for the people of God. If Chrysostom were alive, he would cry out: *O presumptionem! O consuetudinem*⁹! "O what presumption! O what a custom is this!" And St Ambrose would say: "If thou be not worthy every day to receive, then art thou not worthy once in the year¹⁰."

Chrysos. ad Pop. Antioch. Hom. 61.
Ambros. de Sacram. Lib. v. cap. iv.

But grant it, that charity and devotion is fainted in the people: may we yet think that the same resteth whole and sound in the clergy? or that the devotion of the priests aboundeth more now than it did in the primitive church? For then the priest ministered the holy communion but once in a day; unless the multitude of the communicants had been so great that it required double ministration¹¹. But now the priest may say two, three, or more masses in one day, yea, although he have no man to receive with him. I would it were not as the prophet saith: *Qualis populus, talis sacerdos*: "As the people is, such is the priest." Verily Bonifacius, talking of the change of the holy cups, which in the

Leo Epist. 81.

Isai. xxiv.

Bonifacius de Con. Dist. 1.
Vasa.

[¹ Ex his aliisque pluribus indubitanter ostenditur, oportere Deo primum, et deinde sacerdoti offerri confessionem: nec aliter posse perveniri ad ingressum paradisi, si adsit facultas.—Pet. Lomb. Libr. Sent. Col. Agrip. 1576. Lib. iv. Dist. xvii. D. fol. 374.]

[² Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus peccata confiteatur fideliter, saltem semel in anno ... alioquin et vivens ab ingressu ecclesiæ arceatur, et moriens christiana careat sepultura.—Concil. Lat. iv. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. cap. xxi. Tom. XI. cols. 172, 3.]

[³ The work referred to is probably that of Hugh de Fleury, *De regia Potestate et sacerdotali Dignitate*, printed in a Latin translation by Baluze, *Miscellanea*, Tom. IV. Paris, 1683, where sentiments similar to the above may be found, pp. 41, 54.]

[⁴ Chrysost. Op. De Pœnit. Hom. iv. Tom. II. p. 307.]

[⁵ Si confunderis alicui dicere, quia peccasti,

dicito ea quotidie in anima tua. Non dico ut confitearis conservo tuo, ut exprobrat: dicito Deo, qui curat ea.—Id. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. In Psal. Quinquag. Hom. ii. Tom. I. cols. 744, 5.]

[⁶ Id. Op. Par. 1718-38. De Laz. Conc. iv. Tom. I. p. 758.]

[⁷ Quidam Deo solummodo confiteri debere peccata dicunt, ut Græci.—Theod. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, De Pœnit. Dist. i. can. 90. col. 1718.]

[⁸ Themselves, 1565.]

[⁹ Chrysost. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. Hom. lxi. Tom. V. col. 403. See also Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Ephes. cap. i. Hom. iii. Tom. XI. pp. 22, 3.]

[¹⁰ Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Sacram. Lib. v. cap. iv. 25. Tom. II. col. 378. See before, page 17, note 15.]

[¹¹ Leon. Magn. Op. Lut. 1623. Epist. ad Diosc. lxxxi. 2. col. 436. See before, page 17, note 18.]

old times had been treen¹³, and in his time were made of gold: "Then," said he, "we had treen cups and golden priests; but now we have golden cups and treen priests¹³." St Bernard complaineth thus of the state of the clergy in his time: "O Lord, wickedness hath proceeded from the elder judges thy vicars, which seem to rule thy people. We cannot now say, 'as the people is, so is the priest'; for the very people is not so (wicked) as is the priest¹⁴." And the same St Bernard, in the synod holden at Rheims in France, in the presence of the pope spake these words: *Nunc non habemus mercenarios pro pastoribus, nec lupos pro mercenariis; sed pro lupo habemus diabolum*¹⁵: "Now have we not hirelings (to rule the flock) instead of shepherds, nor wolves instead of hirelings; but instead of wolves we have devils."

Bernardus de
Conversione
Pauli.

Bernardus in
Concilio Remensi.

Johannes Vitalis, a cardinal of Rome, likewise complaineth: "And of the priests of this age (saith he) the prophet Esay hath written thus: 'The pastors themselves¹⁶ are void of understanding: they have all followed their own way, every one, even from the highest to the lowest¹⁷.'" Wherefore, if want of devotion and looseness of life may breed negligence in the people, why may not the like want, and as great looseness, breed the like negligence in the priests? And if negligence be excuse sufficient, to warrant the people to communicate but once in the year, why may not the same negligence cause the priests to say mass but once in the year? For it is not the love of God, as you surmise, neither the hunger or thirst of heavenly food, that maketh the priest say¹⁸ mass, but order of foundation, custom, hire or wages for his labour.

Johan. Vitalis Cardinalis, in Speculo. Isai. lvi.

Now let us view the weight of M. Harding's reasons: "The people is negligent and undevout; *ergo*, the priest may say mass alone." This argument is very weak. But the next that is gathered of the same is much weaker: "The people is negligent now; *ergo*, there was private mass in the primitive church." For this only was my denial; and this hath M. Harding taken in hand to prove. It is called *petitio principii*, where as one weak thing is proved by another, as weak as it. So might M. Harding say: The people will not hear the word of God; *ergo*, the priest may go into the pulpit, and preach alone. "For Christ's supper (as St Augustine saith) is a sermon; and the priest therein preacheth and uttereth the death of the Lord¹⁹."

August. de Trin. Lib. iii. Cap. 4.

Again, if only the negligence of the people have enforced private mass, how then came it into colleges, monasteries, cathedral churches, yea, even into the very holy church of Rome, where as be such numbers of clerks, vicars, monks, priests, and prebendaries, that the emperor Justinian was fain to stay the increase of them²⁰; all idle, all in study and contemplation, all void from worldly cares, all confessed, all in clean life, all prepared? Wherefore have they private mass? Yea, wherefore have they so many masses severally, at divers altars, and many of them at one time? Wherefore do not they communicate together, as it appeareth they did in the primitive church? Doubtless this groweth not of the negligence of the people.

Authen. Col. lat. prima ut determinatus sit numerus Clerico.

As for the people, they are not so negligent nor undevout, as M. Harding here chargeth them. They are God's people, glad to be instructed, and desirous to follow; and, wheresoever the gospel is received, ready to give testimony thereof,

[¹³ Treen: made of tree, wooden.]

[¹³ ... Bonifacius ... respondit: Quondam sacerdotes aurei ligneis calicibus utebantur: nunc e contrario lignei sacerdotes aureis utuntur calicibus.—Ex Conc. Trib. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. i. can. 44. col. 1900.]

[¹⁴ ... egressa est iniquitas a senioribus iudicibus, vicariis tuis, qui videntur regere populum tuum. Non est jam dicere, Ut populus, sic sacerdos; quia nec sic populus, ut sacerdos.—Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Conv. S. Paul. Serm. i. 3. Vol. I. Tom. III. col. 656.]

[¹⁵ Id. ad Cler. in Concil. Remens. Serm. Vol. II. Tom. v. cols. 735, 6; where, however, the exact words, as above quoted, are not found. The Benedictine editor does not consider this address a

genuine work of Bernard.]

[¹⁶ Themselves, 1565.]

[¹⁷ Sed e contra de sacerdotibus moderni temporis: Ipsi pastores ignoraverunt intellectum, omnes in viam suam declinaverunt, unusquisque a summo usque ad novissimum.—Vital. Specul. Moral. Tot. Script. Venet. 1594. De Prælat. et Sacerd. fol. 235. 2.]

[¹⁸ To say, 1565.]

[¹⁹ The following is probably the passage intended: ... potuit tamen significando predicare Dominum Jesum Christum, aliter per linguam suam, aliter per epistolam, aliter per sacramentum corporis et sanguinis ejus.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Trin. Lib. III. cap. iv. 10. Tom. VIII. col. 798.]

[²⁰ Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Auth. Collat. i. Tit. iii. Novell. iii. cap. 1. Tom. II. p. 7.]

and to increase the same by the holy communion of Christ's body and blood, in great companies, and whole congregations all together.

But what ill luck is this, that they whom M. Harding so often condemneth for heretics can be so devout, and he and his catholics thus remain without devotion? Let the people be taught; let them hear the holy ministration in their own tongue that they may understand the holy mysteries, and feel comfort and sweetness in the same; let them see examples of diligence in the clergy; then will they be no longer negligent. Then should M. Harding perforce give over his private mass, as seeing that the whole right of his cause hangeth only of the negligence and misdoing of the people.

M. HARDING. THE EIGHTH DIVISION.

But the enemies of this holy sacrifice say that this is against the institution of Christ. God forbid the institution of Christ should not be kept!

But it is a world to see how they cry out for the institution of Christ, by whom it is most wickedly broken. For, whereas in Christ's institution concerning this sacrament three things are contained, which he himself did, and by his commandment gave authority to the church to do the same, the consecration, the oblation, and the participation, wherein consisteth the substance of the mass; they, having quite abrogated the other two, (14) and not so much as once naming them in their books of service, now have left to the people nothing but a bare communion, and that after their own sort: with what face can they so busily cry for Christ's institution, by whom in the chief points the same is violated?

[Three essentials of the mass, H. A. 1564.]

The fourteenth untruth. The sacrifice is specially named in the communion book. And in the mass itself consecration is not named.

The fifteenth untruth. For St Basil thinketh the number is part of Christ's institution, *Exercitationis ad pietatem* Sermone 41.

Of consecration and oblation, although much might be said here against them, I will at this time say nothing. Concerning participation, the number of communicants together in one place, that they jangle so much of as a thing so necessary, that without it the mass is to be reputed unlawful, (15) is no part of Christ's institution. For Christ ordained the sacrament, after consecration and oblation done, to be received and eaten; and for that end he said: Accipite, manducate, bibite: "Take, eat, drink." Herein consisteth his institution.

Now as for the number of communicants², how many should receive together in one place, and in what place, what time, sitting at table (as some would have it), standing or kneeling, fasting or after other meats; and whether they should receive it in their hands or with their mouths, and other the like orders, manners, and circumstances; all these things pertain to the ceremony of eating, the observation whereof dependeth of the church's ordinance, and not of Christ's institution. And therefore St Augustine, writing to Januarius, saith: Salvator non præcepit, quo deinceps ordine sumeretur, ut apostolis, per quos dispositurus erat ecclesiam, servaret hunc locum³: "Our Saviour gave not commandment in what order it should be received, meaning to reserve that matter unto⁴ the apostles, by whom he would direct and dispose his church."*

[Number of communicants, place, time, with other rites, be not of Christ's institution, H. A. 1564.]

Epist. 118.

*The apostles used and ordained the communion of a number, and never any private receiving of the priest alone. The sixteenth untruth. Christ appointed a number, although no certain fixed number.

Wherefore the receiving of the sacrament being the institution of Christ, and the manner, number, and other rites of receiving⁵, (16) not fixed nor determined by the same, but ordered by the church's disposition, whether many or few, or but one in one place receive, for that respect the ministration of the priest is not made unlawful.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

It liketh M. Harding to call us wicked, and the enemies of the sacrifice; and to say we jangle of the institution of Christ, and yet ourselves break Christ's institution. I must here protest in the name of many, we are not enemies of the sacrifice and cross of Christ, but of the errors, abuses, and sacrilege of the mass, which now are maintained to the open derogation of the sacrifice and cross of Christ.

[¹ Et quemadmodum spiritualis lex non pauciores quam duodecim esse vult mysticum pascha comedentes: sic, &c.—Basil. Op. Lat. Basil. 1540. Exerc. ad Piet. Sermon. iv. Tom. III. p. 425.]

[² Of the communicants, H. A. 1564.]

[³ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Inquis. Januar. Lib. i. seu Epist. liv. 8. Tom. II. col. 127. See before, page 39, note 8.]

[⁴ To, H. A. 1564.]

[⁵ The receiving, H. A. 1564.]

As touching Christ's institution, forget not, good christian reader, that M. Harding confesseth there are three things therein contained, which, as he saith, Christ himself did, and by his commandment gave authority to his church to do; the consecration, the oblation, and the participation. Here he leaveth quite out the annunciation of Christ's death, thinking perhaps it is no matter essential of Christ's institution. Of these three (he saith) we have broken two, the consecration and oblation, and so have only a bare communion.

Consecration.
1 Cor. xi.
Yes shall shew forth the Lord's death.

But whereby may it appear to M. Harding that we have thus broken Christ's institution? Is it because we communicate together with the people? or because we minister the sacrament under both kinds? or because we shew forth the death of Christ? or because we do that Christ did, and commanded us to do?

Concerning consecration, he doth great wrong to charge us with the breach thereof, before he himself, and others of his side, be better resolved wherein standeth consecration. For Scotus and Innocentius tertius, and certain others say, that this word *Benedixit*, "He blessed," worketh consecration. The common opinion is, that it is wrought by these words, "This is my body." Some think that Christ spake these words twice, first secretly to himself, and afterward openly, that the apostles might understand him⁶. Cardinal Bessarion, bishop of Tusculum, writeth thus: "The Latin church, following Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory, thinketh that consecration standeth in these words, 'This is my body;' but the Greek church thinketh the consecration is not wrought by these words, but by the prayer of the priest, which followeth afterward; and that according to St James, St Chrysostom, and St Basil⁷." By these it appeareth that they themselves⁸ of that side are not yet fully agreed upon their own consecration.

Consecration.
Tho. et Bonaven. in 4 Sent.
Bessar. de Sacramento Eucharistie.

Howbeit, by whatsoever words consecration is made, it standeth not in the abolishing of natures, as M. Harding teacheth; nor in precise and close pronouncing of certain appointed words; but in the converting of the natural elements into a godly use; as we see in the water of baptism. For Christ said not, "Say ye this," or, "By these words go and transubstantiate or change natures." But thus he said: "Do this in my remembrance." And so: "The bread that we break is the communication of Christ's body;" and, "As often as we eat of that bread, we do declare and publish the Lord's death." This is well noted and opened by St Augustine: "Put the words of God (saith he) unto the element; and it is made a sacrament. For what power is there so great of the water (in baptism), that it toucheth the body and washeth the heart, saving by the working of the word? Not because it is spoken, but because it is believed; and this is the word of faith, which we preach⁹." "The word of faith, which we preach," saith St Augustine, not the word which we whisper in secret, is the word of consecration.

In the tenth article.
1 Cor. x.
1 Cor. xi.
August. in Johan. Tract. 80. Accedat verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum.

With what honest countenance then can M. Harding say that we have no consecration? We pronounce the same words of consecration that Christ pronounced: we do the same that Christ bade us do: we proclaim the death of the Lord: we speak openly in a known tongue; and the people understandeth us: we consecrate for the congregation, and not only for ourselves¹⁰: we have the element: we join God's word unto it; and so it is made a sacrament. Yet, saith M. Harding, we have no consecration. And can he think that a priest of his side doth consecrate, that whispereth his words closely, and that in a strange tongue, in such sort as no man heareth or understandeth him; that oftentimes

[⁶ For the various opinions see Joan. Duns Scot. Op. Lugd. 1639. In Lib. iv. Sent. Dist. viii. Quæst. ii. Tom. VIII. pp. 422, 3; Innoc. III. Op. Col. 1575. Myst. Miss. Lib. iv. cap. vi. Tom. I. p. 377; Thom. Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. In Lib. iv. Sent. Dist. viii. Quæst. ii. Art. 1. Tom. VII. foll. 42, 3; Bonavent. Op. Mogunt. 1609. In Lib. iv. Sent. Dist. viii. Pars II. Art. i. Quæst. 1. Tom. V. pp. 94, 5.]

[⁷ Alii enim hoc facere alia existimantes, Latini Ambrosium, Augustinum, Gregorium, aliosque doctores suos secuti ... illa Domini verba id facere manifestissime asseverant, Hoc est corpus meum, &c. ... Græci vero ... cum Jacobo fratre Domini, Basilio, et

Chrysostomo sentientes, ... non illis Salvatoris nostri verbis Christi corpus et sanguinem confici putant, sed quibusdam quæ sequuntur precibus sacerdotum. —Bessar. De Sacram. Eucharist. in Biblioth. Patr. per M. De la Bigne, Par. 1624. Tom. VI. col. 467.]

[⁸ Themselves, 1565.]

[⁹ Unde ista tanta virtus aquæ, ut corpus tangat et cor abluat, nisi faciente verbo; non quia dicitur, sed quia creditur? ... Hoc est verbum fidei quod prædicamus.—August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. xv. Tractat. lxxx. 3. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 703.]

[¹⁰ Ourselves, 1565.]

himself knoweth not neither the words of Christ, nor the sense of the words, nor the use, nor the end of the sacrament; that exhorteth no man; that speaketh to no man; that, if he do consecrate, doth consecrate only for himself, and not for others; that doth neither that Christ did, nor that Christ commanded to be done? If we consecrate not, can he think that such a one doth consecrate?

And whereas he saith further, that we have no manner of oblation¹ in our communion, he should not himself speak manifest untruth, having taken upon him, as he saith, to reform falsehood². For he knoweth we offer up unto God in the holy communion ourselves, our souls, our bodies, and alms for the poor, praises and thanksgiving unto God the Father for our redemption, and prayer from a contrite heart, which, as the old catholic fathers say, is the sacrifice of the new testament³. To conclude, we offer up as much as Christ commanded us to offer. Indeed, we offer not up Christ's body to be a propitiatory sacrifice for us unto his Father: for that sacrifice is once wrought for all upon the cross; and there is none other sacrifice left to be offered for sin.

But, saith M. Harding, we make no mention of any sacrifice in all our ministration; therefore we break Christ's institution. This reason impeacheth Christ himself as well as us; for Christ himself in his whole ministration spake not one word of any sacrifice, no more than we do. Therefore, by M. Harding's logic, Christ himself brake his own institution.

Hereof he concludeth that we have nothing but a bare communion; which conclusion is as true as the premises. God's name be blessed, we have a holy communion, to the great comfort of the godly. But in M. Harding's mass there is neither communion, nor any other consolation at all; but only a number of light and bare gestures and ceremonies, far unmeet for so grave a purpose. But what should move this man thus scornfully to jest at the holy ministration, and to call Christ's ordinance "a bare communion?" Others call it the mystical supper; others the holy distribution: bare or naked, no man, I trow, durst ever to call it, but M. Harding. One of his own doctors, comparing consecration and communion together, saith thus: *Communio sacra major est in effectu sanctitatis quam consecratio*⁴: "The holy communion in effect of holiness is more than consecration." And again: *Consecratio...est propter communionem: ergo, communio majus [est consecratione]*⁵: "Consecration is for communion. Therefore is communion greater than consecration."

A little before, M. Harding said, in Christ's institution three things are contained, consecration, oblation, participation. Immediately after, as a man that had suddenly forgotten himself, he saith: "The number of the communicants together in one place, that they jangle so much of as a thing so necessary, is no part of Christ's institution." It is no marvel though he can so ill agree with the old catholic doctors, that falleth thus out so suddenly with himself. For, if participation be not necessary, how is it a part of Christ's institution? If it be a part of Christ's institution, how is it not necessary? He would fain convey Christ's institution and his mass both under one colour. But they are contraries; the one of them bewrayeth the other. As for the priest, he taketh no part of the sacrament with others, which is the nature and meaning of this word "participation," but receiveth all alone. Thus it appeareth, by M. Harding's own confession, that private mass, having no participation of the priest with others, and therefore no participation at all, is no part of Christ's institution.

I grant certain circumstances, as fasting, sitting, standing, kneeling, and other like ceremonies about the holy ministration, are left to the discretion of the church. But this is a very simple argument: "Certain circumstances may be

Tertull. contra Marcionem, Lib. iv. et adversus Judæos. Eusebius de Demonstratione, Lib. i. Heb. x.

M. Harding jesteth at the ordinance of Christ.

Alexander de Hales, 4 q. 35. mem. 2.

Ibid. sol. 2.

M. Harding hath forgotten himself.

[¹ Manner oblation, 1565.]

[² Falsehead, 1565.]

[³ Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Jud. 5. p. 211; Adv. Marc. Lib. iv. 1. p. 502. See before, page 110, notes 1, 2.

Τὸ γὰρ ἐν παντὶ τόπω θυμίαμα καὶ θυσίαν ἀναφέρεισθαι Θεῷ, τί ἕτερον παράστησιν, ἢ ὅτι μὴ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, μηδ' ἀφωρισμένως ἐν τῷδε τῷ τόπῳ, ἐν πάσῃ δὲ χώρᾳ, καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι μέλλουσι

τὸ δι' εὐχῶν θυμίαμα, καὶ τὴν οὐ δι' αἱμάτων, ἀλλὰ δι' ἔργων εὐσεβῶν καθαρὰν ὀνομασμένην θυσίαν τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀναφέρειν Θεῷ;—Euseb. Pamph. De Demonstr. Evang. Par. 1628. Lib. i. cap. vi. p. 17.]

[⁴ Etsi communio sacra sit major in effectu sanctitatis, tamen, &c.—Alex. Alens. Theol. Summ. Col. Agrip. 1622. Pars IV. Quæst. x. Membr. v. Art. i. 2. Resol. p. 262.]

[⁵ Id. ibid.]

altered; *ergo*, the priest may receive alone." Christ himself hath already determined the case. For albeit he have appointed no certain number of communicants, yet hath he by special words appointed a number. For these very words, "Take ye, eat ye," "drink ye all," "divide ye among yourselves," "do ye this in my remembrance," "ye shall set forth the Lord's death;" these very words, I say, cannot be taken of one singular man, but necessarily import a number.

Matt. xxvi.
Luke xxii.
1 Cor. xi.

¶ Yet, saith M. Harding, St Augustine's words be plain: *Salvator . . . non præcepit, quo deinceps ordine sumeretur; ut apostolis, per quos dispositurus erat ecclesiam, servaret hunc locum*⁶: "Christ gave no commandment in what order it should be received; to the intent he might leave that matter to his apostles, by whom he would dispose his church." "Therefore," saith M. Harding, "the number of communicants is at liberty; and the priest may receive alone."

August.
Epist. 118. ad
Januarium

St Augustine in that place speaketh not one word of any number, but only of the time of receiving, whether it might seem convenient to minister the communion after supper, as Christ did to his disciples, and some used then to do; as appeareth by the words that follow: *Nam si hoc ille monuisset, ut post cibos alios semper acciperetur, credo quod eum morem nemo variasset*⁶: "For, if Christ had commanded that the sacrament should ever be received after other meats, I believe no man would have changed that order." It is wrong dealing to bring one thing for another, to allege number instead of time, and of St Augustine's words to conclude that St Augustine never meant. For that St Augustine requireth a number of communicants, it appeareth by that immediately in the same place he allegeth the words of St Paul: *Quapropter, fratres, cum convenitis ad manducandum, invicem expectate*: "Wherefore, brethren, when ye meet together to eat (the communion), wait one for another." Which words M. Harding thought best cunningly to dissemble. In other places St Augustine⁷, like as also St Hierome⁸ and others, witnesseth that the whole people daily received together; and generally, entreating of the holy communion, he speaketh evermore of a number, and never of one alone.

August. in
eadem epist.
ad Janua-
rium 118.

1 Cor. xi.
Invicem ex-
spect.

August. de
Serm. Dom.
in Monte,
Lib. ii.
In Johan.
Tract. 26.
Hieron. ad
Lucinium.
Idem in
Apolog. ad-
vers. Jovin-
ian.
1 Cor. xi.

Now whereas M. Harding saith, "Christ left such matters to the determination of the church," and to that purpose seemeth to allege, as others do, these words of St Paul, *Cetera cum venero disponam*; "Touching the rest, I will take order when I come;" this kind of doctrine unto the old fathers seemed very dangerous. For St Augustine saith: *Omnes . . . insipientissimi hæretici, qui se Christianos vocari volunt, audacias figmentorum suorum [hac] . . . occasione evangelicæ sententiæ colorare conantur, ubi Dominus ait, Adhuc multa habeo vobis dicere, sed [ea] non potestis portare modo*⁹: "The most peevish heretics that be, that would fain be called Christians, do colour the bold enterprises of their fantasies by occasion of this saying of the gospel, where as the Lord saith, 'Yet have I many things to say unto you; but ye are not able now to bear them.'"

August. in
Johan. Tract.
97.

But if the church have determined this matter for private mass, as M. Harding saith, in what council, at what time within six hundred years after Christ, and in what place was it determined? Who was witness of the doing? Who was president? Who was present? This is it that the reader would fain learn. And M. Harding thinketh it best to prove it by silence. Howbeit it is already confessed that private mass came in, not by Christ, or by any of his apostles, or by the authority of the church, but only by the undevotion and negligence of the people.

It is wonderful to see how handsome constructions these men make of these words of St Paul: "Touching the rest I will take order when I come." For upon these words they build their private mass, even in such form as it is now used in. As if St Paul should say thus: "At my coming I will take order that ye shall have mass in a strange tongue; that ye shall receive alone; that ye shall not look and wait one for another, notwithstanding any my former commandment;

[⁶ See p. 122.]

[⁷ Id. De Serm. Dom. in Mont. Lib. ii. 25. Tom. III. Pars ii. col. 209.

Id. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 15. Tom. III. Pars ii. col. 500.]

[⁸ Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Epist. lii. ad

Lucin. Tom. IV. Pars ii. col. 579.

Id. Epist. xxx. ad Pammach. pro Libr. adv. Jovin. Tom. IV. Pars ii. col. 239.]

[⁹ August. Op. In Johan. cap. xvi. Tractat. xcvii. 3. Tom. III. Pars ii. col. 738.]

that ye shall not need to meet together; that one shall receive for all the rest; and so at my coming I will undo whatsoever hitherto I have ordained."

M. Harding's
argument.

I may not now dissemble the value of M. Harding's argument: "Christ (saith he) ordained the sacrament, after consecration and oblation done, to be received and eaten; *ergo*, the number of communicants together is no part of Christ's institution."

What, thought M. Harding that none but children and fools should read his book? For how loosely hang these parts together! The sacrament must be received after consecration; *ergo*, the number of communicants is not necessary. There is not one piece hereof, that either is true in itself or agreeth with other.

Matt. xxvi.
Luke xxii.
1 Cor. xi.

For touching consecration, if he will precisely follow the words of the evangelists, which wrote the story, "Christ first took the bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it, and said, Take ye, eat ye;" and afterward, this being said and done, he added the words of consecration, "This is my body;" thus the evangelists witness, contrary to M. Harding, that the receiving was first, and the consecration afterward.

M. Harding
concludeth
against him-
self.

Concerning the force of M. Harding's argument, it concludeth directly against himself. For if Christ instituted the sacrament to the intent it should be first consecrate, and then received of a company, it must needs follow that receiving with company is part of Christ's institution; as it is also avouched by Cardinal Bessarion, the bishop of Tusculum. His words be these: *Hoc...ipse ordo rerum poscebat: primum consecrare, deinde frangere, postea distribuere: quod nos in presentia facimus*¹: "This the very natural course of things required; first to consecrate, then to break, and after to distribute; which thing we also do at this day." And Gabriel Biel: *Consecratio ad usum, qui est manducatio, tanquam ad finem quodammodo proximum ordinatur: quia Christus accepit panem, benedixit, [et] dedit discipulis, ut manducarent*²: "Consecration is ordained for a use, which is the eating, as it were for an end. For Christ, after he had taken the bread, blessed it, and gave it to his disciples to eat."

Bessar. de
Sacrament.
Eucharistiae.

Biel. Lect. 26.

Biel. Lect. 38.

And again: *Consecratio non est semper finis consecrationis, sed potius usus fidelium. Ad hoc enim consecratur corpus et sanguis Christi, ut fideles illis utantur manducando*³: "Consecration is not the end of consecration, but rather the use of the faithful. For to that end is the body and blood of Christ consecrate, that the faithful may use them in eating." Thus M. Harding frameth arguments against himself.

M. HARDING. THE NINTH DIVISION.

M. Harding
refuseth
Christ's ex-
ample.

But if they allege against us the example of Christ, saying that he received not it⁴ alone, but did communicate with his twelve apostles, and that we ought to follow the same; I answer, that we are bound to follow this example, quoad substantiam, non quoad externam ceremoniam; "for the substance, not for the outward ceremony," to the which pertaineth the number and other rites, as is aforesaid. Christ's example importeth necessity of receiving only; (17) the other rites, as number, place, time, &c., be of congruence and order. (18) In which things the church hath taken order, willing and charging that all shall communicate that be worthy and disposed. And so it were to be wished, as oftentimes as the priest doth celebrate this high sacrifice, that there were some who, worthily disposed, might receive their rights with him, and be partakers sacramentally of the body and blood of Christ with him. But in case such do lack, as we have seen that lack commonly in our time, yet therefore the continual and daily sacrifice ought not to be intermitted. For sith this is done in the remembrance⁵ of Christ's oblation once made on the cross for the redemption of all mankind, *therefore it ought daily to be celebrated throughout the whole church of Christ for the better keeping of that great benefit in remembrance; and that though none receive

The seven-
teenth un-
truth.
For number
is not only
of congruence,
but also of
institution.
The eight-
teenth un-
truth.
The church
of Rome hath
taken no
such order.

*A weak rea-
son.

[¹ Bessar. De Sacram. Eucharist. in Biblioth. Patr. per M. De la Bigne, Par. 1624. Tom. VI. col. 484; where we find *primo* for *primum*.]

[² Gab. Biel. Sacram. Canon. Miss. Expos. Lugd. 1517. Lect. xxxvi. fol. 61; where we find *ejus manducatio, postquam accepit, and discipulis suis*.]

[³ ... consecratio non est simpliciter finis consecrationis; sed &c....sanguis: ut fideles eorum, &c.—Id. ibid. Lect. xxxviii. fol. 65. 2.]

[⁴ It not, H. A. 1564.]

[⁵ In remembrance, H. A. 1564.]

with the priest. And it is sufficient in that case if they that be present be partakers of those holy mysteries spiritually, and communicate with him in prayer and thanksgiving, in faith and devotion, having their mind and will to communicate with him also sacramentally when time shall serve.

This is only
M. Harding's
gloss.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here is great pain taken to prove that christian men, in the ministration of Christ's supper, are not bound to follow the example of Christ; all learning also shewed to beguile the simple with a vain distinction of *substantia* and *accidens*. St Hilary, writing of the lewd dealing of the Arians used in racking of the scriptures, saith thus of them: *Aut ita scribuntur fides, ut volunt; aut ita ut volunt, intelliguntur*⁶: "Their faiths must either be so written as they will, or else they must be construed and taken as they will."

Hilar. ad
Constant
August.

The question that lieth between us standeth not in this point, whether we ought to do every thing that Christ did; but whether we ought to do that thing that Christ both did himself, and also commanded us to do, and was afterward practised by the apostles and holy fathers, that had the spirit of understanding, and knew Christ's meaning, and was never broken, until the negligence and un-devotion of the people, as M. Harding confesseth, brought in the contrary.

Christ said not, Do this in Hierusalem, or in this parlour, or after supper, or at this table, or being so many together, or standing or sitting; but he said thus, "Do ye this:" that is, take ye bread: bless it: break it: give it "in my remembrance." This is not a ceremonial accident, but the very end, purpose, and substance of Christ's institution. And therefore St Paul saith: "The bread that we break is the participation of the Lord's body; and all we are one bread and one body, as many as are partakers of one bread."

Matt. xxvi.
Luke xxii.

1 Cor. x.

Yet saith M. Harding, "We are bound to follow Christ's example in things that be of the substance of the sacrament, not in things that be of order and congruence." Here unawares he seemeth to confess that his mass, whatsoever substance it bear, yet is void both of good order and also of congruence. But what wicked wilfulness may this be! To minister the sacraments of Christ as Christ himself did, and commanded to be done, is called an accident ceremonial, that may well be changed; but for the priest to speak in a strange unknown tongue, to turn his face from the people, to minister unto himself alone, and to use an infinite sort of childish ceremonies, which neither Christ nor his apostles ever either used or thought of; all these are holden for things substantial, and of importance, and be defended as necessary, and may not be changed. Such power have these men to change accident into substance, and substance into accident, when they list.

"The church," saith M. Harding, "hath charged and ordered that no man that is worthy and disposed shall be refused." O miserable is that church, where as no man, no, not so much as one, is well disposed! Here in few words he condemneth the whole church of Rome, even the whole college of cardinals; amongst whom, as he saith, there is not one well disposed and worthy; and therefore they all withdraw themselves from the communion. But Chrysostom saith: "If thou be not worthy to receive the communion, then art thou not worthy to be present at the prayers⁷." Therefore M. Harding should drive his unworthy people from the church, and not suffer them to hear his mass.

Chrysost. ad
Popul. An-
tiochen.
Hom. 61.

They imagine that any man, be he never so great a sinner, may pray to God, and have free access to the throne of Majesty: only they think a sinner may not receive the holy communion. But it is written: "Let him depart from his wickedness, whosoever calleth upon the name of the Lord." Whosoever is a member of Christ, and may boldly call God his Father, may also be bold to receive the communion.

Hebr. iv.
2 Tim. ii.

If M. Harding wish indeed that the people would prepare themselves, and

[⁶ ... dum aut ita fides scribuntur ut volumus, aut ita ut nolumus intelliguntur.—Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Ad Constant. August. Lib. II. 4. col. 1227.]

[⁷ 'Ουκ εἰ τῆς θυσίας ἀξίος, οὐδὲ τῆς μεταλή-

ψεως; οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ τῆς εὐχῆς.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Ephes. cap. i. Hom. iii. Tom. XI. p. 23.]

Daily
Sacrifice.

communicate with the priest, as he pretendeth, why doth he not exhort and move the people? Why doth he not provide for them? Why doth he rather defend his sole receiving contrary to his own wishing, and contrary to the example of Christ, as he himself confesseth? Doubtless there are many godly men among the people, and oftentimes more virtuously disposed a great deal than the priest. Neither is it of their unworthiness that they abstain so often, nor of their worthiness that they receive once in the year, but only of custom.

"But if the people be slack, yet must the priest do the daily sacrifice," saith M. Harding; that is, he must offer up Christ unto his Father for the sins of the world. Herein appeareth the wanton folly of this people. That they may do, and are commanded to do, they will not do; but that they cannot do, that they will needs do. The matter being so weighty, and not yet thoroughly believed, it had been good for M. Harding to have made proof thereof by the authority of St Augustine, St Hierome, or some other old catholic doctor, within the compass of six hundred years; but he bringeth forth only an article or decree of his own making. "Sith this is done," saith he, "in the remembrance of Christ's oblation once made on the cross for the redemption of mankind, therefore it ought daily to be celebrated throughout the whole church."

Daily sacrifice.
Daily bread.

Lest any error grow hereof, it is to be noted, that these words, "daily sacrifice," and "daily bread," are sometimes used in the holy fathers, and both applied unto the body of Christ, but far otherwise, and to other purpose, than M. Harding meaneth, as it shall soon appear. The old fathers call that the daily sacrifice that Christ made once for all upon the cross, for that, as Christ is a priest for ever, so doth the same his sacrifice last for ever; not that it is daily and really renewed by any mortal creature, but that the power and virtue thereof is infinite in itself, and shall never be consumed. So saith St Augustine: *Tibi hodie Christus est, tibi quotidie resurgit*¹: "To thee this day is Christ; and to thee daily he riseth again." So likewise saith St Hierome: *Quotidie nobis Agnus occiditur, et pascha quotidie celebratur*²: "Unto us every day the Lamb is slain; to us every day the Easter-feast is kept." And in like sort writeth Germanus, a later writer: *Panis quotidianus est Christus, qui est, et ante fuit, et manet in secula*³: "Our daily bread is Christ, which is now, and was before, and endureth for ever." Thus in Christ's behalf is that most precious sacrifice everlasting.

De Verb. Dom. in Evan. secundum Lucam. Serm. 28. Hieron. in 1 ad Corint. cap. v. Germanus in Eccles. rerum Theoria.

Likewise the same one sacrifice is everlasting, not only in itself, for that the virtue thereof is daily effectual in us, and endureth for ever; but also of our behalf, in that we do daily offer up unto God our sacrifices of praises and thanksgiving for that so merciful and wonderful work of our redemption. And this kind of daily sacrifice, beside a great number of other old doctors, the godly father Irenæus hath taught us to make. His words be these: *Sic et... nos quotidie offerre vult munus ad altare frequenter sine intermissione. Est ergo altare in cælis: illuc enim preces et oblationes nostræ diriguntur*⁴: "Even so hath God willed us daily to offer up our sacrifice at the altar without ceasing. Therefore our altar is in heaven; for thither our prayers and oblations are directed." Thus is that sacrifice once offered upon the cross rightly called our daily sacrifice, in like phrase of speech as is this of Tertullian: *Nos sabbatum non septeno quoque die celebramus, sed omni die*⁵: "We keep the sabbath, not every seventh day, but every day." But M. Harding's fantasy, that is, that the ministration of the sacraments is the daily sacrifice, includeth a manifest untruth. For afterward he granteth himself, that upon Good Friday there is no such oblation made, and that (as he saith) by the order of the apostles. And again, he knoweth that the Grecians in the Lent time never used to consecrate, but only upon Saturdays and Sundays; as it appeareth by the sixth council holden at Con-

Iren. Lib. iv. Cap. xxxiv.

Tertul. adversus Iudæos.

Articul. 2. Divis. 23. Fol. 44 b.

Sexta Synod. Constant. cap. 52.

[¹ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Serm. lxxxiv. 3. Tom. V. Append. col. 153; where we find *est Christus*. The Benedictine editors say, *Totus exscriptus est ex Ambrosii Lib. v. de Sacram. cap. iv.*]

[² Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in 1 Epist. ad Cor. cap. v. Tom. V. col. 983; where we find *celebramus*.]

[³ Germ. Const. Rer. Eccles. Theor. in Biblioth.

Vet. Patr. Stud. Galland. Venet. 1765-81. Tom. XIII. p. 226.

[⁴ Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Lib. iv. cap. xviii. pp. 251, 2; where *nostræ* follows *preces*.]

[⁵ Unde nos intelligimus magis sabbatizare nos ab omni opere servili semper debere, et non tantum septimo quoque die, sed per omne tempus.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Jud. 4. p. 209.]

stantinople⁶, and by the council of Laodicea⁷. And of the use of the Latin church therein in his time, St Ambrose writeth thus: "*Omni...hebdomada offerendum est, etiamsi non quotidie peregrinis, incolis tamen vel bis in hebdomada*"⁸. "Every week we must celebrate the oblation, although not every day unto strangers, yet for the inhabitants, yea, sometimes twice in the week." I trow M. Harding will not say that the thing that is one day left undone, or that is only done upon the Saturdays and Sundays, or, as St Ambrose saith, twice in the week, is notwithstanding done every day.

Daily Sacrifice.

Concil. Laodice. can. 49. Ambros. in 1 ad Tim. cap. ii. Non quotidie.

Yet it is well to be thought, that both St Ambrose and other learned bishops in the Latin church, and the fathers in the council of Constantinople and Laodicea for the Greek church, understood what was the daily sacrifice.

Verily that sacrifice that Christ once made upon his cross endureth for Good Friday, and all days in the Lent, and every day in the year, and for ever; and therefore is justly called our daily sacrifice.

M. HARDING'S REASONS.

"Christ's death must be kept in remembrance; *ergo*, the priest is bound to say daily mass, yea, although there be no man to receive with him." Alas! how holdeth this poor argument? Or how may we make it good? Is there none other mean to remember Christ's death, but only by saying private mass? Or is not every one of the people bound to remember the same as deeply and as often as the priest? It is a very simple sequel, only upon remembrance of Christ's death to found the mass. Doubtless the mass, as it is now used, utterly drowneth and defaceth all manner remembrance of the death of Christ.

But, to put a little more weight to this silly reason, whereas M. Harding saith, "The priest ought daily to sacrifice, yea, although there be no man to receive with him;" I will say further in his behalf, if this sacrifice be so necessary, as it is supposed, then is the priest bound to sacrifice every day, yea, although he himself receive not. For the sacrifice and the receiving are sundry things, as it is also noted in a late council holden at Toledo in Spain: *Quidam sacerdotes uno die plurima offerunt sacrificia, et in omnibus se oblationibus a communione suspendunt*⁹; "Certain priests there be that every day offer many sacrifices, and yet in every sacrifice withhold themselves from the communion." Thus hath M. Harding found his daily sacrifice, and lost his private mass.

De Con. Dist. 2. Relatum est.

ANOTHER REASON.

"The receiving with company is no substantial part of Christ's institution; *ergo*, we are not bound therein to follow Christ's example." First, this antecedent is false, as it is already proved. And, if it were no part of the substance of Christ's institution, yet are we nevertheless bound to his example, because he hath commanded us so to do.

If Christ's example have no more weight of our side, let us turn the same to M. Harding's side, and see how handsomely it will conclude: "Christ ministered the communion to his disciples all together; *ergo*, the priest may receive alone."

Consider, good reader, what credit these men deserve to have, that are thus fain to shun and fly the example of Christ. St Paul, to rectify the Corinthians, thought no way better than to call them back to Christ's example. For thus he saith: "That I received of the Lord, the same have I delivered unto you." Likewise saith St Hierome: *Dominica cœna omnibus debet esse communis, quia ille omnibus discipulis suis qui aderant œqualiter tradidit sacramenta*¹⁰; "The Lord's

1 Cor. xi.

Hieron. in 1 Cor. xi.

[⁶ Ἐν πάσαις τῆς ἀγίας τεσσαρακοστῆς τῶν ὑστειῶν ἡμέραις, παρεκτός σαββάτου καὶ κυριακῆς, καὶ τῆς ἀγίας τοῦ εὐαγγελισμοῦ ἡμέρας, γινέσθω ἡ τῶν προηγιασμένων ἱερὰ λειτουργία.—Concil. Quinisext. can. 52. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. can. 52. Tom. VI. cols. 1166, 7.]

[⁷ Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἄρτον προσφέρειν, εἰ μὴ ἐν σαββάτῳ καὶ κυριακῇ μόνον.—Concil. Laod. in eod. can. 49. Tom. I. col. 1505.]

[⁸ Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in 1. Epist.

ad Tim. cap. iii. Tom. II. Append. col. 295.]

[⁹ Relatum est nobis quosdam de sacerdotibus ... si in uno die plurima per se offerant sacrificia, in omnibus se oblationibus a communione suspendant.—Concil. Tolet. xii. c. 5. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 11. col. 1917.]

[¹⁰ Hieron. Op. Comm. in Epist. 1. ad Cor. cap. xi. Tom. V. col. 997.]

Communion.

supper must be common to all." And that he proveth by Christ's example; "because Christ gave the sacraments equally to all his disciples that were present."

But whose example followeth M. Harding when he saith his private mass? When did either Christ or any of his disciples, or any one of the old catholic doctors, minister in that sort? If he follow none of these, let him not blame others if they refuse to follow him.

M. HARDING. THE TENTH DIVISION.

M. Jewel, and many other of that side, think to have an argument against private mass of the word *communio*, as though the sacrament were called a communion in consideration of many receivers together. [So he calleth that a communion, which is for the whole congregation to receive together¹.] And therefore in his sermon oftentimes he maketh an opposition between private mass and² the communion; and, alleging divers places where mention is of a communion, inferreth of each of them an argument against private mass. But this argument is weak, and utterly unlearned, as that which proceedeth of ignorance. (19) For it is not so called because many, or, as M. Jewel teacheth, the whole congregation communicateth together in one place; but because of the effect of the sacrament, for that by the same we are joined to God, and many that be divers be united together, and made one mystical body of Christ, which is the church; of which body, by virtue and effect of this holy sacrament, all the faithful³ be members one of another, and Christ is the head. Thus divers ancient doctors do expound it; and specially Dionysius Areopagita, where, speaking of this sacrament, he saith: Dignissimum hoc sacramentum sua præstantia reliquis sacramentis longe antecellit, atque ea causa illud merito singulariter *communio* appellatur. Nam quamvis unumquodque sacramentum id agat, ut nostras vitas in plura divisas in unicum illum statum, quo Deo jungitur⁴, colligat, attamen huic sacramento communionis vocabulum præcipue ac peculiariter congruit⁵; "This most worthy sacrament is of such excellency, that it passeth⁶ all other sacraments; and for that cause it is alonely called the communion. For albeit every sacrament be such as gathereth our lives, that be divided asunder many ways, into that one state, whereby we are joined to God, yet the name of communion is fit and convenient for this sacrament specially and peculiarly, more than for any other." By which words, and by the whole place of that holy father, we understand that this sacrament is specially called the communion, for the special effect it worketh in us, which is to join us nearly to God; so as we be in him, and he in us, and all we that believe in him, one body in Christ. And for this indeed we do not communicate alone. For, inasmuch as the whole church of God is but one house, as St Cyprian saith, Una est domus ecclesiæ, in qua agnus editur⁷; "There is one house of the church wherein the Lamb is eaten;" and St Paul saith to Timothy that this house of God is "the church of the living God;" whosoever doth eat this Lamb worthily doth communicate with all christian men, of all places and countries, that be in this house, and do the like. And therefore St Hierome, a priest, shewing himself loth to contend in writing with St Augustine, a bishop, calleth him a bishop of his communion. His words be these: Non enim convenit, ut ab adolescentia usque ad hanc ætatem in monasteriolo cum sanctis fratribus labore desudans, aliquid contra episcopum communionis meæ scribere audeam, et eum episcopum, quem ante cæpi amare, quam nosse⁸; "It is not meet (saith he) that I, occupied in labour from my youth until this age in a poor monastery with holy brethren, should be so bold as to write any thing against a bishop of my communion, yea, and that bishop whom I began to love ere that I knew him." Thus we see that St Hierome and St Augustine were of one (20)

The nineteenth untruth. For of communicating together it was called *communio*.

The twentieth untruth, rising of the ambiguity, or doubtful taking of this word, 'communion'

[¹ The sentence between brackets is only in Harding's Answer.]

[² And communion, H. A. 1564.]

[³ Faithfuls, H. A. 1564.]

[⁴ Jungimur, H. A. 1564.]

[⁵ Dionys. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Eccles.

Hierarch. cap. iii. 1. Tom. I. p. 282.]

[⁶ Passeth far, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[⁷ Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Cæn. Dom. (Arnold.) p. 42.]

[⁸ Hieron. in August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Epist. lxxii. 4. ad August. Tom. II. col. 163.]

communion, and did communicate together, though they were far asunder; the one at Bethlehem in Palestina, the other at Hippo in Africa. Thus there may be a communion, though the communicants be not together in one place. Communion.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Whereas of the nature of this word *communio*, which is most commonly used in all the old fathers, I took occasion to say that the priest ought to communicate with the people, for that otherwise it cannot justly be called a communion; M. Harding maketh answer, as a man well brooking his own learning, "that this reason is weak and unlearned, as proceeding altogether of ignorance." Here, to leave all contention of learning, and only to have regard unto the truth, if the very nature of this word *communio* import not a thing to be common, as it is supposed, much less may it, as I judge, import a thing to be private. Communio.

It is named *communio*, saith M. Harding, of the effect that it worketh in us, because by the same we are joined unto God, not because many communicate together in one place. And for proof hereof he allegeth the authority of Dionysius: wherein he doth great wrong to that good old father, alleging his authority for the mass, that never spake word of the mass.

It is granted of all, without contradiction, that one end of all sacraments is to join us unto God; as Dionysius saith here of the holy communion, and Paul likewise of the sacrament of baptism: "Ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus; for as many of you as are baptized in Christ have put on Christ." And Chrysostom saith that "by baptism we are made bone of Christ's bones, and flesh of Christ's flesh⁹." Gal. iii.
Chrysost. in
Epist. ad
Ephes.
Hom. 20.

Another end is to join us all together. And so likewise writeth St Paul of baptism: *Nos omnes in unum corpus baptizati sumus*: "All we are baptized into one body." And therefore saith St Augustine: *In nullum ... nomen religionis, seu verum seu falsum, coagulari homines possunt, nisi aliquo signaculorum vel sacramentorum visibilibus consortio colligentur*¹⁰: "Men cannot be brought into any name of religion, be it true or false, unless they be joined together with the band of visible signs or sacraments." 1 Cor. xii.
Contra Faust.
Manich. Lib.
xix. cap. xi.

And notwithstanding Dionysius speaketh plainly of both these ends, yet it pleaseth M. Harding in his allegation only to name the one, and to conceal the other, and by the affirmation of the one untruly to conclude the denial of the other. And, as touching the latter of these two ends, the same Dionysius, in the same chapter that M. Harding here allegeth, writeth thus: *Sancta illa unius et ejusdem panis, et poculi communis, et pacifica distributio unitatem illis divinam, tanquam una enutritis, prescribit*¹¹: "That holy, common, and peaceable distribution of one bread, and one cup, preacheth unto them a heavenly unity, as being men fed together." And Pachymeres the Greek paraphrast, expounding the same place, hath these words: τὸ γὰρ ὁμόδιαιτον καὶ ὁμότροπον ἔτι εἰς μνήμην ἄγει τοῦ κυριακοῦ δείπνου¹²: "For that common diet and consent farther bringeth us into the remembrance of the Lord's supper." Whatsoever M. Harding have said, I reckon it will hereby appear unto the indifferent reader, that these words do sufficiently declare both the common receiving of the sacrament, and also the knitting and joining of many together. Dionys. Eccles. Hierar. cap. iii.
ὁμοτροπίαν αὐτοῖς ἐνθεοῦ ὡς ὁμοτρόφοις νομοθετεῖ.
Pachymeres Paraphrastes.

Now let us examine this reason: the communion hath his name of the effect, for that it joineth us unto God; *ergo*, saith M. Harding, it signifieth not the communicating of many together. Surely this argument is very weak: I will not say it is "unlearned," or "proceedeth of ignorance." He should need a new logic, that would assay to make it good.

Nay, it may much better be replied, What effect can this sacrament have, or whom can it join to God, but only such as do receive it? or, what effect can the sacrament of baptism work, but only in them that receive baptism? Without

[⁹ Πῶς οὖν ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ ἐσμεν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων αὐτοῦ; ... ὅπερ δηλοῦν βούλεται, τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὅτι ὥσπερ ἀνευ συνουσίας ἐκέινος γεγέννηται ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου, οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς γεννώμεθα ἐν τῷ λουτρῷ.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Ephes. cap. v. Hom. xx. Tom. XI. p. 147.]

[¹⁰ August. Op. Cont. Faust. Lib. xix. cap. xi. Tom. VIII. col. 319.]

[¹¹ Dionys. Areop. Op. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii. 3. Tom. I. p. 285.]

[¹² Pachym. Paraph. in eod. cap. iii. 3. p. 317.]

Communion.

Chrysost. ad pop. Antioch. Hom. 61.

Rom. iv.

August. in Serm. ad Infantes. Beda 1 Cor. x.

Cypr. de Cœna Domini.

Cypr. de Cœna Domini.

Inter Epistol. August. Epist. 14.

all question, the effect that Dionysius meant standeth not in this, that one man saith a private mass and receiveth the sacrament alone; but in this, that the people prayeth and receiveth the holy communion together, and thereby doth openly testify that they be all one in Christ Jesus and all one amongst themselves. And therefore Chrysostom saith: *Propterea in mysteriis alter alterum amplectimur, ut unum multi fiamus*¹: "For that cause in the time of the mysteries we embrace one another, that, being many, we may become one."

Howbeit, in plain speech, it is not the receiving of the sacrament that worketh our joining with God. For whosoever is not joined to God before he receive the sacraments, he eateth and drinketh his own judgment. The sacraments be seals and witnesses, and not properly the causes of this conjunction. Otherwise our children that depart this life before they receive the communion, and all the godly fathers of the old testament, should have no conjunction with God. Wherefore St Augustine saith: "No man may anywise doubt but every faithful creature is then made partaker of Christ's body and blood, when in baptism he is made the member of Christ; and that he is not put off from the fellowship of that bread and that cup, although before either he eat that bread or drink of that cup he depart this world, being in the unity of Christ's body. For he is not deprived from the partaking and benefit of the sacrament, so long as he findeth in himself that thing that the sacrament signifieth²." Likewise St Cyprian: *Nos ipsi corpus Christi effecti, [et] sacramento, et re sacramenti, capiti nostro conjungimur et unimur*³: "We ourselves, being made the body of Christ, both by the mean of the sacrament, and also by the thing itself of the sacrament, or represented by the sacrament, are joined and united unto our Head."

But St Cyprian saith: "The whole church is but one house, in which the Lamb is eaten⁴." And St Hierome, notwithstanding he dwelt in Bethlehem, so many miles off from St Augustine, being then at Hippo in Africa, yet he calleth him a bishop of his communion⁵: *Ergo*, saith M. Harding, the priest that saith mass alone in Rome communicateth together with another priest that saith mass alone in India. Here St Cyprian and St Hierome are violently drawn in and forced to witness the thing that they never knew; and so M. Harding, as his manner is, concludeth a falsehood⁶.

The holy communion was so often and so generally frequented amongst all Christians in the primitive church in all their assemblies and congregations, that at length the very company and fellowship of them was called *communio*, taking name of that action that was most solemnly used among them at their meetings. And therefore, to give somewhat more credit to M. Harding's words, St Augustine saith: *Mulier illa est communionis nostræ*⁷: "That woman is of our communion." Likewise again: *[Donatus] non nisi in sua communione baptismum esse credit*⁸: "Donatus thinketh there is no baptism but only in his communion." And St Hierome, writing unto Damasus bishop of Rome, hath these words: *Ego, nullum primum nisi Christum sequens, beatitudini tuæ, id est, cathedræ Petri, communione consocior*⁹: "I, following no chief but only Christ, am joined by communion to thy holiness, that is to say, to Peter's chair." In these places this word, *communio*, signifieth not the ministration of sacraments, but a side, a part,

[¹ Possibly the following may be the passage meant: ... hoc nos pascimur, huic nos unimur, et facti sumus unum Christi corpus.—Chrysost. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. Ad Pop. Ant. Hom. lx. Tom. V. col. 396. See also Hom. lxi. col. 400.]

[² Nulli est aliquatenus ambigendum, tunc unumquemque fidelium corporis sanguinisque dominici participem fieri, quando in baptismo membrum Christi efficitur; nec alienari ab illius panis calicisque consortio, etiamsi antequam panem illum comedit et calicem bibat, de hoc seculo in unitate corporis Christi constitutus abscedat. Sacramenti quippe illius participatione ac beneficio non privatur, quando ipse hoc quod illud sacramentum significat invenit.—Ven. Bed. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. Ad Cor. i. cap. x. Tom. VI. col. 365. See also Fulgent. Op. Par. 1623. ad

calc. Epist. de Baptism. Æthiop. col. 587. This seems to be the conclusion by Fulgentius from a sermon of Augustine which he transcribes.]

[³ Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Cœn. Dom. (Arnold.) p. 44; where we find *corpus ejus*, and *connectimur* for *conjungimur*.]

[⁴ Id. ibid. p. 42.]

[⁵ See before, page 130, note 7.]

[⁶ Falsehead, 1565.]

[⁷ ... in illam feminam ... quæ communionis est nostræ.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Epist. xxxv. 4. ad Euseb. Tom. II. col. 67.]

[⁸ Id. Retract. Lib. i. cap. xxi. 1.; where we find *ejus* for *sua*, and *baptisma Christi esse credatur*.]

[⁹ Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Damas. Epist. xiv. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 19.]

or a fellowship, or consent in articles of religion. And in this sense St Hierome called St Augustine a bishop of his communion, that is, of his faith, of his mind, of his doctrine, of his religion.

Communion.

Here may be noted, by the way, that St Hierome saith not, St Augustine is a bishop of my mass, but “of my communion.” For M. Harding knoweth that neither of them both ever said private mass, and therefore could not communicate the one with the other in saying mass.

But, for clearer answer to the words of St Hierome, the communion or fellowship of the church standeth in sundry respects. For we communicate together either in consent of mind, as it is written of the apostles, “They had all one heart and one mind;” or in knowledge of God, as Christ prayeth for his apostles unto his Father, “That they may be one, as thou and I be one;” and St Paul to the Philippians, “I thank my God alway that ye are come to the communion of the gospel;” or in one Christ, as Paul saith, “There is now no bondman, there is now no freeman; but all are one in Christ Jesus.” To be short, we communicate in spirit, in prayers, in love; we are all washed with one blood, we are all fed with one body, we have all one hope of our vocation; and all together “with one heart and one voice,” be we never so far asunder, “do glorify God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.”

Acts iv. John xvii. Phil. i. Gal. iii. Rom. xv.

And this is that only house wherein the Lamb is eaten¹⁰, grounded upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets. In this house we dwell, M. Harding; here we walk together with consent; here we eat that Lamb of God, being all brothers and members of one body, and all one in Christ Jesus¹¹. God restore you once again into the same house, that you may open the eyes of your heart, and see from whence you are fallen!

Cypr. de Cœna Domini. Psal. lv. Rev. ii.

Where you say, two divers priests saying mass may communicate together, notwithstanding they be in sundry countries, it may soon be granted. For they communicate together in wickedness, in breaking of God’s commandment, and in deceiving of the people; even in like sort as the wicked children communicate in wickedness with their wicked fathers, as Christ seemeth to say to the Pharisees: “At your hands shall be sought for all the just blood that hath been spilt, from the blood of Abel the just unto the blood of Zachary.” “Fill ye up the measure of your fathers.”

Matt. xxiii. Luke xi.

1 Now, these things noted, we may the better take the view of M. Harding’s arguments.

2 “The whole church,” saith he, “through the world is but one house; ergo, the priest may say private mass.”

3 “The faithful that be far asunder do communicate together in consent of mind; ergo, they do communicate in receiving the sacraments.”

“St Augustine and St Hierome did communicate in faith and doctrine; ergo, they did communicate together in saying mass.”

If St Paul might have had some conference with M. Harding, and have found out these reasons, he would never have found such fault with the Corinthians, neither would he have written thus unto them: *Invicem exspectate*, “Wait ye all one for another.” Which words even Hugo Cardinalis expoundeth thus: *Ut una sit mensa: Non habeat quilibet [mensam] suam*¹²: “Let there be one table for all; and let not every man have his sundry table.”

Hugo Cardinalis.

But who can better expound St Hierome’s words than St Hierome himself? Thus he writeth unto Theophilus, against John bishop of Hierusalem: *Quod scribit, nos tecum pergere Romam, et ecclesie communicare ei, a qua videmur communione separati, non necesse est ire tam longe: et hic in Palæstina eodem modo ei jungimur. Et ne hoc quod procul sit: in viculo Bethlehem presbyteris ejus, quantum in nobis est, communione sociamur*¹³: “Whereas he writeth that I am going with thee to Rome, to communicate with the church there, from which we be divided by communion, it is nothing needful to go so far. For being here in Palestine we are joined to the same church in like manner. And let him not make matter that

Hier. adversus Johan. Hierosolymitan.

[¹⁰ See before, page 130, note 6.]

[¹¹ Jesu, 1565.]

[¹² Hug. de S. Char. Op. Col. Agrip. 1621. Epist.

i. ad Cor. cap. xi. Tom. VII. fol. 105. 2. 0.]

[¹³ Hieron. Op. Ad Theoph. Epist. xxxix. adv.

Johan. Jerosol. Tom. IV. Pars ii. col. 339.]

Communion.

As much as in us lieth.

it is so far off: for being here in the little town of Bethlehem, as much as in us lieth, we join in communion with the priests of Rome." He saith, "as much as in us lieth," whereby he excepteth only the use of the sacraments together. For otherwise they had communicated thoroughly in all things; and these words, "as much as in us lieth," should not have needed.

The error of these M. Harding's reasons is called, *Fallacia equivocationis*, that is, a falsehood¹ in reasoning, rising by the crafty handling of one word that hath two or more significations; whereby one thing is laid forth in shew, and another is concluded. This word *communio*, being one, importeth two things, consent in religion and the ministration of the holy mysteries: the one is spiritual, the other corporal; the one requireth circumstance of place, the other requireth no place. Therefore to say St Hierome and St Augustine, being so far asunder, did communicate in religion; *ergo*, they did communicate in breaking and receiving the sacrament, hath no more order in sequel than if M. Harding would reason thus: St Hierome and St Augustine did communicate in spirit; *ergo*, they did also communicate in body; or thus: Their spirits were together; *ergo*, their bodies were together. So might he as well say, the spirit of Elizæus was with Giezi his man upon the way; *ergo*, the body of Elizæus was with Giezi upon the way; or: The spirit of Paul was with the Corinthians; *ergo*, his body was with the Corinthians.

By this argument M. Harding might very directly have concluded against himself: The whole church of God is but one house, and all the members of the same do communicate together in faith and spirit: hereof we may found the major: Every particular church ought to be a resemblance of the whole church, and this particular communion ought to be a resemblance of that general communion: that general communion is common to all, and every member receiveth his part; *ergo*, the particular communion ought to be ministered commonly unto all, and every member to receive his part.

Or thus: The ministration of the holy communion representeth the conjunction and fellowship that we have in faith; and, as St Cyprian saith, "That christian men are joined together with unseparable charity, the Lord's sacraments do declare²." But christian people, being assembled in one church, do communicate in faith all together; *ergo*, being so assembled, they ought to communicate in sacraments all together.

But M. Harding, of the nature of this word *communio*, seemeth to fashion out far other arguments.

It is called *communio*, saith he; *ergo*, it may be private.

It is called *communio*; *ergo*, it may be received of one alone.

It is called *communio*; *ergo*, the priest may receive it without communicants.

O M. Harding, weigh your arguments better before you send them thus abroad. You shall less offend God and your own conscience: you shall less deceive your brethren; and children shall take less occasion to wonder at you.

Now, to add a little more hereunto, touching the nature of this word *communio*, wherein you so uncourteously charge all others with ignorance and lack of learning, as it pleaseth you to do throughout your whole book; I think it not amiss to shew you what certain writers, both old and new, have thought and written in that behalf. I need not here to allege the words that St Paul useth touching the holy communion: "We are all one bread, all one body, as many as do communicate of one bread;" neither that St Hierome saith: "The Lord's supper must be common³;" neither that Chrysostom: "The thing that is the Lord's they make private; but the Lord's things are not this servant's or that servant's, but common to all⁴;" neither that St Augustine saith: *Hunc... cibum et potum societatem vult intelligi corporis et membrorum suorum*⁵: "He would have

[¹ Falsehead, 1565.]

[² Denique unanimitem christianam, firma sibi atque inseparabili caritate connexam, etiam ipsa dominica sacrificia declarant.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Epist. lxi. ad Magn. p. 182.]

[³ Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. 1. ad Cor. cap. xi. Tom. V. col. 997.]

[⁴ Τὸ γὰρ κυριακὸν ἰδιωτικὸν ποιῶσιν ... τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Δεσπότου οὐχὶ τοῦδε μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦ οἰκέτου, τοῦδε δὲ οὐκ ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ κοινὴ πάντων.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. i. ad Cor. Hom. xxvii. Tom. X. p. 244.]

[⁵ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 15. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 500.]

2 Kings v.

1 Cor. v.

Cyprian. ad
Magnum.

1 Cor. x.

Hieron.
1 Cor. xi.
Chrysost.
1 Cor. Hom.
27.

August. in
Johan.
Tract. 26.

us to understand that this meat and drink is the fellowship of his body and of his members;" neither that Chrysostom saith: *Quidnam appello communicationem? Idem ipsum corpus sumus. Quidnam significat panis? corpus Christi. Quid fiunt qui accipiunt? corpus Christi*⁶: "What call I the communication, or communion? We are all one self-same body. What signifieth the bread? the body of Christ. And what are they made that receive it? the body of Christ." Although these fathers by these words do manifestly declare that the holy mysteries in their time were divided commonly to the whole people, yet will I take no advantage thereof; for that M. Harding will reply, they come not precisely to the nature of this word *communio*.

Communion.

Chrysost. 1 Cor. Hom. 24. Significat.

Therefore I will note one or two others, and such as M. Harding cannot deny but they speak directly to the matter. Pachymeres, a Greek writer, the paraphrast upon Dionysius, hath these words: *ταύτην δὲ καὶ κοινωνίαν λέγει, διὰ τὸ τότε κοινωνεῖν τοὺς ἀγίους πάντας τῶν μυστηρίων*⁷: "Therefore," saith he, "hath this father Dionysius called it the communion, for that then all they that were worthy did communicate of the holy mysteries." Thus Pachymeres, a man of late years, wrote upon the same book of Dionysius; and we may safely think he understood his author's mind as well as M. Harding. He saith *communio* is so called of that we do communicate together; but M. Harding thinketh otherwise, and constantly saith it is not so.

Pachymeres in Dionys. cap. iii.

Koινωνία. Dicitur communio, quia omnes communicant

Haimo, writing upon St Paul's epistles, saith thus: *Calix appellatur communicatio, quasi participatio, quia omnes communicant ex illo*⁸: "The cup is called the communication, which is as much as participation, because all do communicate of it."

Haimo in 1 ad Cor. x.

Hugo Cardinalis saith thus: *Post hoc dicatur communio, quæ...appellatur, ut [omnes] communicemus*: "Afterward let the communion be said, which is so called, that we should all communicate." And he saith further: *Vel dicitur communio, quia in primitiva ecclesia populus communicabat quolibet die*⁹: "Otherwise," saith he, "it is called the communion, for that the people in the primitive church did communicate every day."

Hugo Cardinalis in Speculo Ecclesiæ.

Gerardus Loricus: *Dicitur communio, quia concorditer de uno pane et uno calice multi participamus; et communio participationem et communicationem significat*¹⁰: "It is called *communio*, because we do communicate together agreeably of one bread and one cup; and this word *communio* is as much as participation, or receiving of parts."

De Missa Publica Proroganda.

Micrologus¹¹: *Non potest proprie dici communio, nisi plures de eodem sacrificio participant*¹²: "It cannot justly be called a communion, unless many do receive together of one sacrifice."

Micrologus de Eccles. Observation. apud Cassand. de Liturgiæ, cap. xxii.

If M. Harding will not believe us, yet I hope he will believe some of these. They be all his own. It were much for him to say, they be all ignorant and unlearned, and not one of them understood what he wrote. Certainly their age will give it them; they are no Lutherans. St Basil reporteth an ecclesiastical decree or canon, that at the receiving of the holy communion, which he calleth *mysticum pascha*, there ought to be twelve persons at the least, and never under¹³.

Basil. Exercit. ad Pietat. Serm. 4.

M. HARDING. THE ELEVENTH DIVISION.

What if four or five of sundry houses, in a sickness time, being at the point of death, in a parish, require to have their rights ere they depart? The priest, after that he hath received the sacrament in the church, taketh his natural sustenance and dineth, and then, being called upon, carrieth the rest a mile or two to the sick: in each

[⁶ Chrysost. Op. In Epist. 1. ad Cor. Hom. xxiv. Tom. X. p. 213.]

[⁷ Pachym. Paraph. in Dionys. Areop. Antv. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii. Tom. I. p. 315.]

[⁸ Haym. in Paul. Epist. Interp. 1528. Ad Cor. 1. cap. x. fol. yii. 2. where *Appellatur et ipse calix, &c.*]

[⁹ Expos. Miss. Hug. Card. Nuremb. 1507. fol. ult. where we find *qualibet*.]

[¹⁰ Dictum est missam esse communionem, qua

concorditer, &c....et ex uno calice, &c.—Ger. Loric. De Miss. Pub. Prorogand. 1536. Lib. II. cap. iii. p. 214.]

[¹¹ Micrologus saith, 1565.]

[¹² Microl. de Eccles. Observat. in Cassand. Op. Par. 1616. cap. xxvi. p. 55; where we find *nec proprie communio dici potest*.]

[¹³ Basil. Op. Lat. Basil. 1540. Exerc. ad Piet. Serm. iv. Tom. III. p. 425. See before, page 122, note 1.]

The twenty-first untruth. M. Harding saith, the priest doth communicate, and not communicate both together; which is a contradiction in nature.

The twenty-second untruth. This order was taken, not for every sick party, but for persons excommunicate.

house none being disposed to receive with the sick, he doth that he is required. (21) Doth he not in this case communicate with them? And do not they communicate one with another, rather having a will to communicate together in one place also, if opportunity served? Else, if this might not be accounted as a lawful and good communion, and therefore not to be used, the one of these great inconveniences should wittingly be committed; (22) that either they should be denied that necessary victual of life at their departing hence, which were a cruel injury, and a thing contrary to the examples and godly ordinances of the primitive church; or the priest, rather for company's sake than of devotion, should receive that holy meat after that he had served his stomach with common meats; which likewise is against the ancient decrees of the church. Even so the priest that receiveth alone at mass doth communicate with all them that do the like in other places and countries.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

He that seeth no mark must shoot by aim. What, saith M. Harding, if four or five men of sundry houses within one parish be at the point of death, and require their rights, and the priest have dined? Hereupon he thinketh may be grounded an argument invincible for his mass. But what if the priest were fasting? Should he then say four masses to serve all four? And what if no man happen to be sick? Then hath M. Harding lost a good argument. Alas! must he leave all the old doctors and holy fathers, and beg at death's door, to get somewhat to help his mass? In this case, saith M. Harding, either the priest must communicate after he hath dined, which is against the canons; or the sick man must receive alone, which is proof sufficient for the mass; or else he must pass without that necessary victual, which were a cruel injury and a thing contrary to the primitive church. To answer these points, if the priest, notwithstanding his dinner, communicate with the sick, then hath M. Harding yet found no private mass. And it appeareth by St Augustine and certain old canons, that in the primitive church both the priest and people sometimes communicated together after supper¹.

And why is this provision thought so necessary? Or why is it counted so cruel an injury if the sick man pass without it? Shall no man be saved that so departeth? Indeed that were a cruel injury. Infinite numbers of children and others depart this life in God's mercy, without that victual. In the primitive church this order was thought expedient, not for the sick, (for they in their health received^a daily², and in their sickness had the sacrament ordinarily sent^b home unto them³), but for persons excommunicate and enjoined to penance, who upon great and notorious crimes could not be suffered to communicate with the rest of the faithful, sometimes during their whole life, but only when they should depart the world. This extremity was used for terror of others; and such reconciliation was thought necessary at the end for solace of the party, that he should not utterly be swallowed up in despair, but might perceive he was received again amongst the faithful, and so depart comfortably as the member of Christ. And therefore it was decreed by the council of Carthage, "That, if any man after such reconciliation had recovered his health again, he should nevertheless not be received to the communion of the church, but only be admitted to the common prayers⁴." Thus far forth, and in this case, this provision was counted necessary in the end.

Howbeit, I confess, sometimes it was otherwise used, and at last grew to such superstition, that it was thrust into men's mouths after they were dead; as we may see by the council of Carthage forbidding the same⁵. But if the people

August. ad Januarium, Epist. 118. Conc. Carthagin. 3. can. 6.

* August. de Sermon. Domini in Monte, cap. xii. Just. Martyr, Apol. 2.

Concil. Carth. 6. can. 13.

Concil. Carth. 3. can. 6.

[¹ August. Op. Ad Inquis. Januar. seu Epist. liv. 9. Tom. II. col. 127.

Concil. Carthag. III. cap. 29. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. col. 1171.]

[² Id. De Sermon. in Mont. Lib. II. cap. xii. See before page 125, note 7.]

[³ Just. Mart. Op. Par. 1742. Apol. I. p. 83. See before, page 115, note 8.]

[⁴ Si vero desperatus, communione sumpta et oblatione percepta, iterum convalescat, sit inter eos qui orationibus tantum communicant.—Concil. Carthag. vi. cap. 13. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. II. col. 1597.]

[⁵ Concil. Carthag. III. cap. 6. in eod. Tom. II. col. 1168. See before, page 6, note 1.]

would now communicate every day, as they did then, or at least oftener than they do now, then should not this matter seem so necessary at the end as it is here pretended; and so had M. Harding lost another argument.

But let us grant M. Harding his whole request: let his priest come and minister to the sick. What maketh all this for his private mass? The members of these arguments hang together like a sick man's dream, not one piece like another. For if here be a mass, which of the two is it that saith this mass? Is it the sick man or the priest? The priest hath dined, and therefore may not; the sick man is no priest, and therefore cannot. Here would M. Harding find a mass, but he can find no man to say his mass, and so hath hitherto found no mass at all. And thinketh he to prove his mass by that thing that is no mass?

Again, grant we this action of the priest not only to be a private mass, but also, the necessity of the sick considered, to be lawful: yet could not this precedent make it lawful to be done openly in the church, where as is no such case of necessity. The circumstances of place, of time, of cause, of end, of manner of doing, be not like. In case of necessity a dispensation was granted to the priests of Norway to consecrate the mystical cup without wine; for that wine being brought into that country by mean of the extreme cold cannot last⁶. Yet was it never thought lawful for all other priests in all churches generally to do the same.

Volatter.
Lib. vii.

M. HARDING. THE TWELFTH DIVISION.

Now, if either the priest, or every other christian man or woman, might at no time receive this blessed sacrament, but with more together in one place, then, for the enjoying of this great and necessary benefit, we were bound to condition of a place. And so the church, delivered from all bondage by Christ, and set at liberty, should yet for all that be in servitude and subjection under those outward things which St Paul calleth infirma et egena elementa, "weak and beggarly ceremonies," after the English bible's translation. Then when⁷ St Paul, blaming the Galatians, saith, "Ye observe days, and months, and times;" for this bondage he might likewise blame us, and say, Ye observe places. But St Paul would not we should return again unto⁸ these which he calleth elements; for that were Jewish. And to the Colossians he saith: "We be dead with Christ from the elements of this world." Now, if we except those things which be necessarily required to this sacrament by Christ's institution, either declared by written scriptures, or taught by the Holy Ghost, (23) as bread and wine mingled with water for the matter, the due words of consecration for the form, and the priest rightly ordered, having intention to do as the church doth, for the ministry; all these elements and all outward things be subject unto⁸ us, and serve us, being members of Christ's church. In consideration whereof St Paul saith to the Corinthians: Omnia enim vestra sunt, &c.: "All things are yours, whether it be Paul, either Apollo, either Cephas; whether it be the world, either life, either death; whether they be present things, or things to come; all are yours, and ye Christ's, and Christ is God's."

Even so
St Paul
calleth them,
πτωχὰ
στοιχεῖα.

The twenty-
third un-
truth.
The mingling
of wine and
water to-
gether is nei-
ther catho-
lic nor
necessary.
Scotus.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

"If it be lawful neither for the priest nor for any other christian man or woman to receive alone, then," saith M. Harding, "we must needs condition of a place to receive together." Here these words, "every other christian man or woman," that he hath taken in by the way, are an overplus and quite from the purpose. For the question is moved, not of "any other man or woman," but of the mass, and only of the priest that saith the mass. Now, to condition of a place, saith M. Harding, were as bad as to observe months and days, which thing St Paul utterly forbiddeth: it were a very Jewish ceremony: it were an element

Gal. iv.

[⁶ Norvegiæ Innocentii VIII. pont. concessione permissum sine vino calicem sacrificare, quod ob immensa frigora vinum in ea regione importatum acescat. — Volaterr. Comm. Urb. Par. 1603. Lib.

vii. col. 248.]

[⁷ Where, H. A. 1564.] [⁸ To, H. A. 1564.]

[⁹ Const. Apost. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lib. viii. cap. xii. Tom. I. col. 479.]

of this world, and so a miserable servitude of the church. But from such bondage Christ hath delivered us.

I know not well whether M. Harding scoff and dally herein for his pleasure, or speak soothly as he thinketh. If he dally, it becometh not the matter; if he speak soothly and as he thinketh, then he hath not well advised himself, neither from what servitude Christ by his blood hath delivered us, nor of what liberty St Paul speaketh. Certain it is, Christ hath not delivered us from honest civil policies, without which no state, neither ecclesiastical nor civil, can be maintained, but from the curse of the law, wherein we rested under sin, and from the ceremonies and ordinances given by Moses, which for that they were weak, according to the imperfection of that time, therefore St Paul calleth them the elements of this world.

Here M. Harding seemeth by the way to touch the English translation of the bible, which calleth such elements "beggarly ceremonies," himself being not able to translate it better. And yet if he were well apposed, I think he would hardly yield any great difference between the Greek word *πρωχα*, and the Latin word *egena*, and this English word "beggarly:" which word if it seem too homely, yet St Hierome in his exposition is as homely, calling it *vilem intelligentiam traditionum*¹. And yet the prophets abase it further. Hieremy calleth such ceremonies so abused, and others devised by men, chaff, swill, dross, and dreams: Esay, filth: Zachary, curses; Ezechiel, man's dung, and other like.

From this servitude, saith Paul, God hath delivered you. Now are ye free, and no more bond; now are ye the children and heirs of God. From this liberty the Galatians were fallen away to the servile observation of circumcisions, washings, and other ceremonies of the law. Therefore of this liberty and of this bondage St Paul speaketh, and of none other.

To condition of a place, saith M. Harding, were mere Jewish; for, as St Paul saith to the Galatians, "Ye observe months and days," so might he say unto you, "Ye observe places." Thus he saith, as though he himself had no choice of place to say his mass in. He moveth talk of place, whereof we had no question; but the number of communicants, whereof St Paul so plainly speaketh, he thought best to salve with silence. If these men account all utter things to be worldly elements, then must they take away the bread and wine in the holy ministration, the water in baptism, the words of the gospel, the whole ministry, and all kind of civil policy. All these be utter creatures, given to us by God to be used freely, without servile observation or subjection of conscience. For God hath appointed these things for us, not us for them.

But will our adversaries now at last defend the liberty of the church, or complain of bondage? O good reader, they deal not simply: they dissemble: they mean it not. They have defiled the Lord's sacraments with a multitude of superstitious and childish ceremonies, and have annexed unto the same a deep charge of God's high displeasure, and burden of conscience. They teach the people of God in this sort: O touch not this, O taste not this. They burden the people's consciences with choice of meats. They restrain lawful matrimony, the restraint whereof is a yoke intolerable, and a snare of men's lives, and, as St Paul calleth it, "the doctrine of devils." They hear St Augustine complain, that by mean of such traditions, which he calleth men's presumptions, the church of Christ was in worse case in his time than ever was the synagogue of the Jews². They hear others of late years likewise complain much of the same³. Yet would they never, nor yet will they yield, that any one of all their vain ceremonies be released, no not now, having had, as they call it, a general council for that purpose. And can these men stand forth to complain of bondage? Or will they restore us the liberty of the church?

[¹ ... Judæorum traditiones, et secundum litteram vilem intelligentiam, &c.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. II. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. iv. Tom. IV. col. 270.]

[² ... ipsam tamen religionem, quam paucissimis et manifestissimis celebrationum sacramentis misericordia Dei esse liberam voluit, servilibus oneribus premunt, ut tolerabilior sit conditio Judæorum, qui

... legalibus tamen sarcinis, non humanis præsumtionibus subjiuntur.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Inquis. Januar. seu Epist. lv. 35. Tom. II. col. 142.]

[³ Such complaints are frequently made. See Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. Apol. ad Guillelm. Abbat. cap. xii. 28. Vol. I. Tom. II. col. 538; &c. See also Joh. Gerson. Op. Antw. 1706. Lib. de Vit. Spirit. Anim. Lect. IV. Coroll. xi. Tom. III. Pars. I. cols. 44, 5.]

Gal. iii.

Beggarly
ceremonies.*πρωχα*.

Egena.

Hieron. ad
Gal. cap. iv.

Gal. iv.

M. Harding
shifteth
number into
place.

Col. ii.

1 Cor. vii.

1 Tim. iv.

August. ad
Januarium,
Epist. 118.Bernardus
Clarevallen.
Gerson Can-
cellari. Pa-
risien.

Howbeit M. Harding hath well disclosed himself herein, that this liberty is nothing else but to do what him listeth, and his bondage nothing else but to be subject unto God. For he addeth immediately, that the mingling and blending of water and wine together, and the intention of the priest, are things necessarily required to the consecration of this sacrament. Of the first hereof, the superstition only excepted, no man maketh any great account. Indeed, St Cyprian and certain old fathers speak of it, and force it much⁴; and Justinus Martyr calleth it ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος⁵, "The cup of water and mixture." But neither Christ nor any of his disciples ever gave commandment of it; neither was it at any time in the church universally received, or accounted necessary. For Scotus⁶ and Innocentius⁷ witness that the Greek church in their time used it not. Wherefore it cannot be judged catholic. And touching the necessity thereof, Scotus saith in plain words: *Huic...vino apponere aquam non est simpliciter necessarium de necessitate sacramenti*⁸. Here we see these doctors agree not. M. Harding saith: "This mixture is necessary to the sacrament." Scotus saith: "It is not necessary."

Mingling
of water
and wine.

M. Harding's
liberty.

Cypr. contra
Aquarios.
Justin. in
Apol. 2.

Joh. Scotus
in iv. Sent.
Dist. xi.
Quæst. 6.
Innocentius
de Officio
Miss. Part. iii.
cap. iv.

The mingling
of wine and
water is not
necessary.

Now, to reveal the secrets of M. Harding's mysteries touching the same; that one drop or two must be poured on the ground; how much thereof must be put to the wine, that there may be made a convenient mixture; what becometh afterward of the same water; whether it be turned into a thin phlegm, or into Christ's blood by mean of mixture, or into a sacrament of ablution to wash the rest away, it would require longer talk, and not necessary at this present. Neither would I now have moved one word hereof, saving that this man thus vaunteth himself to be the restorer of christian liberty.

Whereas he saith, "The priest must have intention to do that the church doth;" unless he be well assured of the church's doing herein, he cannot be sure of his own intention; and so must he say mass with intention to do he knoweth not what. Now it appeareth that the church is not yet resolved upon one intention. For the intention of the church of Rome is to work the transubstantiation of bread and wine: the Greek church had never that intention, as is⁹ plain by the council of Florence¹⁰. The intention of the church of Rome is to consecrate with Christ's words: the intention of the Greek church is to consecrate with prayers¹¹. And whether of these churches shall the priest follow with his intention? This is the very dungeon of uncertainty. The heart of man is unsearchable. If we stay upon the intention of a mortal man, we may stand in doubt of our own baptism.

The intention
of the
priests⁷.

Concil. Flo-
rent. Sess.
ultima.
Bessarion de
Sacramento
Eucharist. a.

Christ hath delivered us from the elements of this world; *ergo*, the priest may say private mass. We are forbidden to observe months and days; *ergo*, the priest may receive alone.

M. Harding's
arguments.

Thus he reasoneth, as if St Paul's words were written that he might thereby prove what himself listeth. Indeed, the bread, the wine, the water, and the priest himself, are worldly creatures, and therefore subject unto christian liberty no less than place or time. Yet may not M. Harding therefore have the communion ministered without either priest, or bread, or wine; neither baptism ministered without water. Christ hath delivered us from the subjection and superstitious using of the creatures, but not from the creatures themselves. Otherwise by the same form of reason M. Harding might as well have concluded thus: Apollo, Paul, Peter, life, and things to come, are worldly creatures; for so saith St Paul; even as M. Harding hath alleged, "All things are yours, whether it be Paul, or Apollo, or Peter, or the world, or life, or things to come:" but Christ hath delivered us from worldly creatures; *ergo*, Christ hath delivered us

1 Cor. iii.

[⁴ Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cæcil. Epist. lxiii. pp. 148, &c.]

[⁵ Just. Mart. Op. Par. 1742. Apol. i. p. 82.]

[⁶ Joan. Duns Scot. Op. Lugd. 1639. In Lib. iv. Sent. Dist. xi. Quæst. 7. Schol. Tom. VIII. p. 688.]

[⁷ Innocent. III. Op. Col. 1575. Myst. Miss. Lib. iv. cap. xxxii. Tom. I. p. 390.]

[⁸ Priest, 1565.]

[⁹ It is, 1565, 1609.]

[¹⁰ Concil. Florent. Sess. xxv. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIII. col. 492.]

[¹¹ Græci vero ... non illis Salvatoris nostri verbis Christi corpus et sanguinem confici putant, sed quibusdam quæ sequuntur precibus sacerdotum.—Bessar. De Sacram. Eucharist. in Biblioth. Patr. Per M. De la Bigne, Par. 1624. Tom. VI. col. 467.]

Inten-
tion.

from Paul, Apollo, Peter, from the world, from life, and from things to come. Such arguments M. Harding hath brought to prove his mass.

M. HARDING. THE THIRTEENTH DIVISION.

Again, whereas the ancient and great learned bishop Cyrillus teacheth plainly and at large the marvellous uniting and joining together of us with Christ, and of ourselves into one body by this sacrament; seeing that all so united and made one body be not for all that brought together into one place, for they be dispersed abroad in all the world; thereof we may well conclude, that to this effect the being together of communicants in one place is not of necessity. His words be these, much agreeable to Dionysius Areopagita afore mentioned: *Ut igitur inter nos et Deum singulos uniret, quamvis corpore simul et anima distemus, modum tamen adinvenit, consilio Patris et sapientiæ suæ convenientem. Suo enim corpore credentes per communionem mysticam benedicens, et secum, et inter nos, unum nos corpus efficit. Quis enim eos, qui unius sancti corporis unione in uno Christo uniti sunt, ab hac naturali unione alienos putabit? Nam si omnes unum panem manducamus, unum omnes corpus efficitur: dividi enim atque sejungi Christus non patitur*¹: "*That Christ might unite every one of us within ourselves, and with God, although we be distant both in body and also in soul, yet he hath devised a mean covenable*² *to the counsel of the Father, and to his own wisdom. For in that he blesseth them that believe, with his own body through the mystical communion, he maketh us one body both with himself, and also between ourselves. For who will think them not to be of this natural union, which with the union of that one holy body be united in one Christ? For if we eat all of one bread, then are we made all one body; for Christ may not be divided nor done asunder.*"

Thus we see after this ancient father's learning, grounded upon the scriptures, that all the faithful³, blessed with the body of Christ, through the mystical communion, be made one body with Christ, and one body between themselves. Which good blessing of Christ is of more virtue, and also of more necessity, than that it may be made frustrate by condition of place, specially where as is no wilful breach nor contempt of most seemly and covenable order.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

As I can easily yield in part that these two fathers, Cyrillus and Dionysius, agree together, as it is here avouched; so, if M. Harding can prove that this same Cyrillus ever said private mass, or in any of all his works once used the name of mass, I will as gladly yield unto the whole. But, if Cyrillus never spake word of the mass, how is he here brought in to prove the mass? Howbeit these men know it is an easy matter to mock the ignorant with the glorious name of catholic fathers.

Cyrillus saith that as many as believe in Christ, whether they be far or near, Jews or Gentiles, free or bond, they are all one body in Christ Jesus⁴. This thing neither is denied, nor in any point toucheth the private mass. We confess that Christ by the sacrament of regeneration, as Chrysostom saith, hath made us flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones⁵; that we are the members, and he is the head. We confess also, that all the faithful are one body, all endued with one spirit. And be that distance never so great, yet are we one another's members.

This marvellous conjunction and incorporation is first begun and wrought by faith; as saith Paulinus unto St Augustine: *Per fidem nostram incorporamur in Christo Jesu Domino nostro*⁶: "By our faith we are incorporate or made one body with Jesus Christ our Lord." Afterward the same incorporation is assured

Chrysost. in
Epist. ad
Ephes. Hom.
20.

Paulin. et
Theras. ad
August.
Epist. 31.

[¹ Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Comm. in Joan. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xi. Tom. IV. pp. 998, 9. See also Op. Cyril. in Evang. Joan. G. Trapezont. trad. Par. 1508. Lib. xi. cap. xxvi. fol. 181; from which the passage is cited; *convenientem* being put for *congruentem*.]

[² Covenable (or convenable, H. A. 1564): agreeable.]

[³ Faithfuls, H. A. 1564.]

[⁴ Jesu, 1565.]

[⁵ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-30. In Epist. ad Ephes. cap. v. Hom. xx. Tom. XI. p. 147. See before, page 131, note 8.]

[⁶ Paulin. et Theras. in August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad August. Epist. xxv. l. Tom. II. col. 36; where we find *qua adcorporamur*.]

unto us, and increased in our baptism; so saith St Augustine: *Ad hoc baptisma valet, ut baptizati Christo incorporentur, et membra ejus efficiantur*⁷: "To this availeth baptism, that men, being baptized, may be incorporate into Christ, and made his members." And for that we are very unperfect⁸ of ourselves, and therefore must daily proceed forward, that we may grow into a perfect⁹ man in Christ, therefore hath God appointed that the same incorporation should be often renewed and confirmed in us by the use of the holy mysteries. Wherein must be considered that the said holy mysteries do not begin, but rather continue and confirm, this incorporation. First of all, we ourselves must be the body of Christ, and afterward we must receive the sacrament of Christ's body; as it is well noted by St Augustine: *Corpus...Christi si vis intelligere, apostolum audi dicentem fidelibus, Vos estis corpus Christi, et membra:...mysterium vestrum in mensa Domini positum est: mysterium Domini accipitis. Ad id, quod estis, respondetis, Amen....Audis,...corpus Christi, et respondes, Amen. Esto membrum corporis Christi, ut verum sit Amen tuum*¹⁰: "If thou wilt understand the body of Christ, hear what St Paul saith to the faithful: 'Ye are the body and the members of Christ:' your mystery is set on the Lord's table; ye receive the mystery of the Lord. To that thing that ye are ye answer, Amen. Thou hearest, The body of Christ, and sayest, Amen. Be thou a member of Christ's body, that thy Amen may be true."

August. de Baptismo Parvulorum. De Consecr. Dist. 4. Ad hoc.

Aug. in Sernone ad Infantes. Citatur a Beda in 1 Cor. x.

Neither may we think that Christ's body must grossly and bodily be received into our bodies. St Cyprian saith: "It is meat not for the belly, but for the mind¹¹." And St Augustine saith: *Crede, et manducasti*¹²: "Believe in Christ, and thou hast eaten." And Cyrillus, that is here alleged, writeth thus against the objections of Theodoretus: "We do not maintain the eating of a man unreverently, drawing the minds of the faithful unto gross and profane imaginations; neither do we submit these things unto man's fantasy, that be received only by pure and tried faith¹³." Therefore saith Athanasius: "It is spiritual meat, and spiritually is digested in us¹⁴."

Cypr. de Cœn. Dom. De Consecr. Dist. 2. Ut quid August. Cyrillus contra objectiones Theodoreti.

Athanasius in illa verba. Si quis dixerit verbum.

Thus is Christ set forth unto us in that most holy supper, not to be received with the mouth, (for that, as Cyrillus saith, "were a gross and profane imagination;") but to be embraced with a pure and a single faith; and, as Athanasius saith, to be eaten as spiritual food, and spiritually to be digested into all his members. Thus are we all one body and one spirit in Christ; for that Christ is in all us, and all we in him. And because the holy ministration representeth the same unto our eyes, therefore St Augustine calleth it "the mystery of unity¹⁵." Thus doth the holy communion knit and join us together, be we in number never so many, and in distance never so far asunder. For therein we profess that we are all servants in one house, and resort all to one table, and feed all of one spiritual food, which is the flesh and blood of the Lamb of God. Which thing Paulinus seemeth very well and in plain manner to open unto St Augustine by these words: *Non mirum, si et absentes adsumus nobis, et ignoti nosmet novimus, cum unius corporis membra simus, unum habeamus caput, una perfundamur gratia, uno pane vivamus, una incedamus via, eadem habitemus [in] domo*¹⁶: "It is no marvel though we, both being absent, are nevertheless present together; and, being

August. de Con. Dist. 2. Quia passus.

Paul. Epist. ad Aug. 33.

[⁷ August. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. iv. can. 143. col. 2030; where we have *baptismus*, and *habeantur*.]

[⁸ Unperfecte, 1565.]

[⁹ Perfecte, 1565.]

[¹⁰ Ven. Bed. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. Ad Cor. i. cap. x. Tom. VI. col. 364; where *amen respondetis*.]

[¹¹ ... non dentes ad mordendum acuius, sed fide sincera panem ... frangimus.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Cœn. Dom. (Arnold.) p. 44. The same idea frequently occurs, but the exact words are not found in the treatise referred to.]

[¹² August. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 47. col. 1936.]

[¹³ Ἀρ' οὖν, ὡς ἕτερόν τινα νιδόν... διαβεβαιούμενος... οὐκ ἀνθρωποφαγίαν ἡμῶν ἀποφαίνει τὸ

μυστήριον, παριστὰς ἀνοσίως εἰς ἐξιτήλους ἐννοίας τῶν πιστευσάντων τὸν νοῦν καὶ λογισμοῖς ἀνθρωπίνους ὑποφέρειν ἐπιχειρῶν, ἃ μόνως καὶ δζητήτῳ πίστει προσλαμβάνεται;—Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Apolog. adv. Orient. Anath. xi. Def. Cyril. Tom. VI. p. 193.]

[¹⁴ Ἄλλ' αὐτὴ [ἡ σὰρξ] ὑμῖν καὶ τὸ ταύτης αἷμα παρ' ἐμοῦ πνευματικῶς δοθῆσεται τροφή, ὥστε πνευματικῶς ἐν ἐκάστῳ ταύτην ἀναδίδοσθαι.—Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Epist. iv. 19, ad Serap. Tom. I. Pars ii. p. 710.]

[¹⁵ Qui accipit mysterium unitatis, &c.—August. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 36. col. 1929.]

[¹⁶ Paulin. et Theras. in August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad August. Epist. xxx. 2. Tom. II. col. 54; where the reading is *nec mirum*.]

unacquainted, yet know one another; seeing we be the members of one body, and have one head, and are poured over by one grace, and live by one bread, and walk one way, and dwell in one house." I thought it good to accompany Cyrillus with these other ancient fathers, for the better understanding of his meaning.

Hereof M. Harding seemeth to reason thus: By the communion all faithful are joined both unto God, and also between themselves; *ergo*, the priest may say private mass. Little thought that good father that his words should ever be thus used, or so violently forced to such conclusions. But let us drive this argument a little further, that the inconvenience and the error may the better appear.

Only the priests in their private masses receive the communion; *ergo*, for that action and time only the priests are made one body of Christ. And then further, that body of Christ is the whole church; *ergo*, the priests by their private masses are made the whole church.

But that thou mayest plainly see, christian reader, wherein M. Harding was thus deceived, thou must understand that Cyrillus taketh his reason, as far as it toucheth the communion of the sacrament, as we use to say in schools, *ab effectis*, and not *a causis*. But M. Harding turneth it quite contrary; as if it were taken *a causis*, and not *ab effectis*. And that Cyrillus so reasoneth, it is soon seen. For the receiving of the sacrament is not the efficient cause that we are made one body in Christ, but a token and testimony, or, as St Paul saith, the "seal" and confirmation of that effect. For Judas received the sacrament as well as Peter did; yet was not Judas a member of Christ's body, as Peter was. And many infants, and others faithful and godly be very members of that body; and yet by occasion of death, or otherwise, never receive the sacrament of Christ's body.

And notwithstanding M. Harding hath thus altered his author's meaning, yet shall he very hardly thereof in good order conclude his mass. But he may of the same very well and directly conclude the communion. For if the communion, in that it is received of many, be a testimony and a declaration that all faithful are one body in Christ, as Cyrillus meaneth, then ought the same communion to be received together of many; otherwise it is no such testimony or declaration as is supposed. The antecedent or first proposition hereof is proved by sundry old fathers. St Cyprian saith: "With what love and concord all faithful Christians are joined together, the Lord's sacrifice doth declare¹." And Anselmus, a man of latter years: *Frangimus et dividimus panem in multas partes, ad designandam unionem caritatis accipientium*: "We break and divide the bread into many parts, to declare the unity of the love of them that receive it." Here note, Anselmus saith, this declaration of unity standeth in receiving of the sacraments, and not only in looking on. Neither doth Cyrillus say, They that hear mass, but "they that receive the mystical benediction, are one body with² Christ, and also between themselves³." Like as St Paul also saith: "The bread that we break is the communication of the Lord's body. And we, being many, are all one bread and one body, as many as be partakers of one bread." Whereunto agree these words of St Hierome spoken in the behalf of Christ: *Benedic hereditati tue, quam per corporis et sanguinis mei mysterium in ecclesia congregasti*: "Bless thine inheritance, which thou hast gathered together in the church by the mystery of my body and blood." And Dionysius: "The common and peaceable distribution of one and the same bread and cup prescribeth a godly concord unto them, as unto men fed together with one food⁴." And thus, as M. Harding hath truly said, Cyrillus and Dionysius agree in one, but both together against him; both utterly condemning his private mass.

M. HARDING. THE FOURTEENTH DIVISION.

And therefore that one may communicate with another, though they be not together in one place (which M. Jewel denieth, with as peevish an argument of the use of excommunication, as any of all those is, that

[Many may communicate together, not being in one place together. H. A. 1564.]

[¹ See before, p. 134, note 2.]

[² Body both with, 1565.]

[³ See before, page 140, note 1.]

[⁴ Dionys. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii. 3. Tom. I. p. 285. See before, page 131.]

Rom. iv.
Signaculum.

Cyprian. ad
Magnum.

Anselm. in
1 Cor. x.
Accipien-
tium.

Cyrl.
in Johan.
Lib. xi.
cap. xxvi.
1 Cor. x.

Hier. in
Eccles.
cap. iii.

De Eccles.
Hierarch.
cap. iii.
ὡς ὁμοτρο-
φοίς.

[Sermon, fol. 51. he scoffeth at some catholic writers for), (24) and that it was thought
H. A. 1564.] lawful and godly by the fathers of the ancient church, near to the
apostles' time, it may be well proved by divers good authorities.

The twenty-fourth untruth.
For there appeareth no such thing in any ancient father.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

I used the pulpit as a place of reverence, and not of scoffing. Only I thought good to lay out the weakness of sundry reasons alleged on your side, that the people might see upon how slender grounds your religion standeth. And thus I did, having just occasion thereunto of the unjust reports moved in corners by you and others, whereby you bear the people in hand that all our doctrine was light and childish, and not worth the hearing. Therefore that the people, having taken some taste of the arguments on both parts, might be the better able to judge of both, I shewed forth this argument of pope Innocentius: "The sun is greater than the moon;" *ergo*, "The pope is greater than the emperor;" and the gloss in the margin upon the same: "The sun is seven and fifty times greater than the moon;" *ergo*, "The pope is seven and fifty times greater than the emperor⁶." And likewise the argument of pope Bonifacius the eighth: *In principio creavit Deus cælum et terram, non in principiis*: "In the beginning, and not in sundry beginnings, God made heaven and earth;" *ergo*, "The pope hath the sovereignty over all kings and princes⁷." He that sheweth the weakness of these arguments and such other, deserveth not therefore by and by to be called a scoffer.

De Major. et Obed. cap. Solitæ.

De Major. et Obed. Unam Sanctam.

Further, touching excommunication, I said thus: If the priest that saith mass in Lovaine may communicate with the priest that saith mass in Calicute, (which is M. Harding's greatest ground for his private mass,) then hath the church, so far forth as toucheth the priests, lost the whole use of excommunication. For the party excommunicate, being a priest, might say, he would say mass, and so receive the communion, even with the bishop of whom he were excommunicate, whether he would or no. This saying M. Harding hath condemned for peevish, by his authority only, and not by reason.

Excommunication.

Indeed, the church of Rome, as it hath lost the whole use of the holy communion, so hath it also the⁸ whole use of excommunication. For these two words be of contrary natures, and the one of them hath his name of the losing of the other. In the primitive church, as all the godly were freely received to the holy mysteries, so by the authority of the Spirit of God the apparent wicked and ungodly were removed, and that with great discretion, according to the enormity and quality of the faults; as it is specially noted by Gregorius Neocæsariensis, in a canon touching the same⁹. The greatest offenders were utterly excluded from the congregation, as men not meet to be in the company of the godly. Others were suffered to enter into the temple, and to hear the sermon; but at the beginning of the prayers they were removed, as men not meet to pray with their brethren. Others were suffered to be present at the prayers, but at the beginning of the communion were willed to depart. The rest were the godly that remained still, and heard the sermon, and continued in prayer, and received the holy mysteries all together. The order hereof is declared by Cassiodorus out of Socrates: *Stant...rei, et velut in lamentationibus constituti: et cum sacra celebratio fuerit adimpleta,...communione non percipiunt*: "They stand woefully, and as it were men in lamentation and in heaviness; and when the holy celebration is ended, they receive not the communion." It followeth: *Constituto vero tempore, velut quoddam debitum exsolventes,...cum populo communionem participant*¹⁰: "At the time appointed, as if they had discharged a certain debt, they communicate together with the people." Thus the offenders were put from the communion; and all the rest received together. And therefore it is decreed by the canons of the apostles, "That all faithful, that enter into the church, and hear the scriptures,

Gregorius Neocæsariensis. Lugentes. Audientes. Precantes.

Hist. Trip. Lib. ix. cap. xxxv.

Canon. Apost. Canon. 9.

[⁵ 1565 omits *for.*]

[⁶ Innoc. III. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decretal. Greg. IX. Lib. 1. Tit. xxxiii. cap. 6. col. 426; and Gloss. *ibid.* See before, page 14, note 1.]

[⁷ Bonifac. VIII. in eod. Extrav. Comm. Lib. 1. De Major. et Obed. cap. 1. col. 212. See before, page 14, note 2.]

[⁸ Also lost the, 1565.]

[⁹ Gregor. Neocæs. Thaum. Op. Par. 1621. Epist. Canon. can. xi. p. 41.]

[¹⁰ Hist. Trip. Par. Lib. ix. cap. xxxv. fol. T. v.; where we have *dum enim sacra*, and *percipientes*. The passage is found in Sozomen, Hist. Eccles. Lib. vii. cap. xvi.]

Excom-
muni-
cation.

and do not continue out the prayers, nor receive the communion, should be excommunicate, as men working the trouble and disorder of the church¹." And the people said unto Timotheus, being a bishop of the Arians, and nevertheless a man of mild and gentle nature, and shunning his company for the one, and yet loving him for the other: "Although we communicate not with thee, yet we love thee notwithstanding²."

Now if M. Harding's principle stand for good, that the priest saying his private mass may receive the communion with all others in other places that do the like, then can no priest be excommunicate. For, notwithstanding neither any other priest, nor any of the people will receive with him, yet may he say a private mass, and by M. Harding's new device straightway communicate with them all.

But, for better declaration of this matter, it is commonly taught in schools that *privatio præsupponit habitum*, that is, that the losing of a thing first presupposeth the having of the same; for no man can lose that thing that he hath not. Therefore to say there is excommunication from the sacraments, where as is no communion of the sacraments; or that he is put from the Lord's table, that neither is at nor coming to the table; or that he is excommunicate, that is only forbidden to hear mass; or that the people doth sufficiently receive the sacraments by the mouth of the priest; verily, this kind of learning in the primitive church would have seemed not only peevish, but also fantastical and mere frantic. Thus the bishop of Rome (as it is said) useth to excommunicate locusts, snakes, caterpillars, and other like worms; and conjurers use to excommunicate their devils; as though these creatures, saving the force of their authority, were otherwise meet enough to receive the communion.

M. HARDING. THE FIFTEENTH DIVISION.

Irenæus, writing to Victor bishop of Rome, concerning the keeping of Easter, as Eusebius Cæsariensis reciteth, to the intent Victor should not refrain from their communion which kept Easter after the custom of the churches in Asia founded by St John the Evangelist, sheweth that, when bishops came from foreign parts³ to Rome, the bishops of that see used to send to them, if they had been of the catholic faith, the sacrament to receive; whereby mutual communion between them was declared. Irenæus his words be these: Qui fuerunt ante te presbyteri, etiam cum non ita observarent, presbyteris ecclesiarum (cum Romam accederent) eucharistiam mittebant⁴: "The priests (by which name in this place bishops are understood) that were afore thy time, though they kept not Easter as they of Asia did, yet, when the bishops of the churches there came to Rome, did send them the sacrament." (25) Thus those bishops did communicate together before their meeting in one place.

Eccles. Hist. Lib. v. cap. xxiv.

Græca sic habent: aliter quam Rufini versio vulgata.

The twenty-fifth untruth.
³ For Irenæus saith not, they did communicate together.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

This story is common and known to many. The west church in keeping of Easter-day followed St Peter: the east church followed St John, and kept it otherwise. Hereof grew contention, and brake out into cruel heats: Victor the bishop of Rome on the one side, and Polycarpus the bishop of Smyrna on the other side; both godly men, and both martyrs. Each part would have the other to yield. Victor, being a man of a fiery nature, was minded to excommunicate the whole church of Asia, and all others whatsoever, that in keeping of Easter-day would not follow the church of Rome. Irenæus, the bishop of Lyons, hearing thereof, wrote unto him a sharp letter out of France, willing him in any wise to proceed no further; for that it might tend to such a breach as would not afterward be recovered. Among other words he saith thus, as it is here alleged: "The

[¹ Canon. Apost. 9. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 28.]

[² Liberat. Brev. Par. 1675. cap. xvi. p. 108. See before, page 99, note 4.]

[³ Parties, H. A. 1564.]

[⁴ Ἄλλ' αὐτοὶ μὴ τηροῦντες οἱ πρὸ σοῦ πρεσβύτεροι, τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν παροικιῶν τηροῦσιν ἐπέμπον

εὐχαριστίαν.—Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. v. cap. xxiv. p. 157. The version of Rufinus is: Immo potius et omnes presbyteri qui fuerunt ante te omnibus semper qui non ita observabant presbyteris ecclesiarum eucharistiam solenniter transmittabant.]

[⁵ 1565 omits *for*.]

priests that were (in Rome) before thee, notwithstanding they kept not the Easter as they of Asia do, yet they sent the sacrament unto the priests of those churches when they came to Rome." Hereof M. Harding concludeth; *ergo*, "These bishops did communicate before they met together;" and noteth also by the way in the margin, that the Greek in Eusebius differeth from the common translation of Ruffinus. And yet is the same translation alleged and used in the book of councils among the decrees of Victor⁶. But, if M. Harding had marked the matter well, he should have seen that his own translation in English varieth also somewhat from the Greek.

Concil.
Tom. I.
inter Decreta
Victoris.

In this short story three things specially may be noted. First, that Irenæus, a bishop of France, durst to write so roughly to the bishop of Rome, without any style of superiority, only calling him and all others before him bishops of Rome by the name of priests.

Secondly, that so notable learned men and martyrs of Christ, agreeing otherwise in the substance of religion, yet notwithstanding, in certain small matters of no great weight, contended and strived so extremely and so long, and could in no wise be reconciled. Which thing well considered, M. Harding hath less cause to triumph, if God have suffered any such sparkle of dissension in the special members of his church in these days.

Thirdly, where was then that great superiority of the bishop of Rome, when, notwithstanding his threats and commandments, the church of this island of Britain, well near until seven hundred years after Christ, in the keeping of Easter-day followed the manner of the Greek church, without any regard therein had to the church of Rome⁷?

Beda. Eecl.
Hist. Lib. iii.
cap. xxv.

But to the matter: "These bishops," saith M. Harding, "communicated together before they met." If he mean in faith and religion, it is not denied; if in the use of the sacraments, it is not proved. In my judgment, this word *eucharistia*, in this place of Irenæus, signifieth not the sacrament already consecrate, but rather other common bread, wherewith one bishop used then to present another, as with a special token of consent in religion and christian concord; which bread the receiver afterward, if he thought it good, might use at the holy ministration. In that sense, it seemeth, Paulinus wrote unto St Augustine: *Panem unum sanctitati tue caritatis gratia misimus, in quo etiam Trinitatis soliditas continetur. Hunc panem [tu] eulogiam esse facies dignatione sumendi*⁸. "In token of mutual love I have sent unto thee one loaf of bread, in which also the soundness of the holy Trinity is contained. This loaf you shall cause to be a loving present of my behalf, vouchsafing to receive it." And in the next epistle following: *Quinque panes misimus tibi, pariter et filio nostro Licentio. Non enim potuimus in benedictione secernere, quem cupimus eadem nobis gratia penitus annectere*⁹: "Five loaves have I sent unto thee, and unto my son Licentius. For I could not sever him in blessing, whom I desire thoroughly to join with us in grace." Hereby it may appear that this bread was not the sacrament; and namely by that Paulinus writeth in another place: *Panem unum, quem unanimi-tatis indicio misimus caritati tue, rogamus [ut] accipiendo benedicas*¹⁰: "I pray you to take and bless this one loaf, which I have sent unto you in token of unity." If it had been already consecrate, he would not have desired St Augustine to have blessed it.

Paulin. ad
August.
Epist. 35.

Paulin. ad
August.
Epist. 36.

Paulin. ad
August.
Epist. 31.

But Irenæus useth this word *eucharistia*, which is taken for the sacrament. I answer: It might so be called, for that it was prepared for the sacrament. Howbeit, herein I will not strive. Tertullian nameth it *hospitalitatis contesseratio*¹¹, and seemeth to speak it of the sacrament; which thing being also granted in this place of Irenæus, let us now see M. Harding's reasons.

Tertull. de
Præscr. ad-
versus Hære-
ticos.

[⁶ Decret. Victor. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 96.]

[⁷ Bæd. Hist. Eccles. Cant. 1722. Lib. III. cap. xxv. pp. 131, &c.]

[⁸ Paulin. et Theras. in August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Alyp. Epist. xxiv. 6. Tom. II. col. 36; where for *caritatis* we have *unitatis*.]

[⁹ Id. in eod. ad Roman. Epist. xxxii. 3. col. 59; where we read *panes quinque tibi, &c. Licentio misimus, and a for in.*]

[¹⁰ Id. in eod. ad August. Epist. xxv. 5. col. 38.]

[¹¹ Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Præscr. Hæret. 20. p. 238.]

The bishop of Rome, saith he, sent the sacrament unto them that came out of Asia; *ergo*, there was private mass.

This conclusion is far fet¹, and hangeth loosely. For I might demand, Which then of the three said mass? He that sent the sacrament, or he that received it, or else the messenger that brought it? It were a strange matter to see a mass, and yet no man to say mass. Verily Irenæus hath not one word, neither of the communion, nor of the mass, unless M. Harding will say that *mittere* is Latin to "communicate," or *mittere eucharistiam* is Latin to "say mass."

If it were common bread, then was it but a present: if it were the sacrament, then was it to be received, not straight upon the way, or perhaps late in the night, or in the inn, at the common table among other meats, but afterward at his pleasure in his congregation. Thus we see this place first is doubtful; and, being never so plain, yet it proveth nothing for private mass. But immediately after followeth a manifest mention, in what order the bishops used then to communicate together; which thing M. Harding thought better to dissemble. *Cum res ita haberent, communicabant inter se mutuo, et in ecclesia Anicetus concessit eucharistiam Polycarpo*²: "The matters between them thus standing, they communicated together; and Anicetus in the church granted the sacrament or the ministration of the sacrament unto Polycarpus."

Here mark, good christian reader, then they communicated, saith Irenæus, when they met in the church, and not before they met together, as M. Harding saith. Anicetus, as Irenæus saith, received the sacrament with Polycarpus in the church, and not, as M. Harding seemeth to say, in his inn or hostery.

Now, the truth of the matter standing thus, what hath M. Harding here found for his private mass?

M. HARDING. THE SIXTEENTH DIVISION.

*Justinus the martyr likewise, describing the manner and order of christian religion of his time, touching the use of the sacrament, saith thus: Finitis ab eo qui præfectus est gratiis et orationibus, et ab universo populo facta acclamatione, diaconi, quos ita vocamus, unicuique tunc³ temporis præsentis panis, et aquæ, et vini consecrati, dant participationem, et ad eos qui non adsunt deferunt*⁴: "When the priest hath made an end of thanks and prayers, and all the people thereto have said Amen, they which we call deacons give to every one then present bread and water and wine, consecrated, to take part of it for their housel, and for those that be not present they bear it home to them." Thus in that time they that served God together in the common place of prayer, and some others that were absent, letted from coming to their company by sickness, business, or otherwise, (26) communicated together, though not in one place; and no man cried out of breaking the institution of Christ.

And because M. Jewel is so vehement against private mass, for that the priest receiveth the sacrament alone, and triumpheth so much, as though he had won the field, making himself merry with these words, indeed without a cause⁵, "Where then was the private mass? Where then was the single communion all this while?" (he meaneth for the space of six hundred years after Christ, as there he expresseth;) I will bring in good evidence and witness, that long before St Gregory's time that he speaketh of, yea, from the beginning of the church, faithful persons, both men and women, received the sacrament alone, and were never therefore reprov'd as breakers of Christ's institution. And ere I enter into the rehearsal of the places which I am able to shew for this purpose, one question I demand of M. Jewel: If they which remained at home, of whom Justinus Martyr writeth, received the communion by themselves alone lawfully, why may not the priest do the same in the church, serving God in most devout wise in the holy sacrifice of the mass, lacking compartners without any his default? Have the sacramentaries any religion

Mittere eucharistiam.

τούτων οὕτως ἔχον-
των, ἔκοι-
νάουσιν
ἑαυτοῖς·
καὶ ἐν τῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ
παρεχώρη-
σεν ὁ Ἀνι-
κῆτος τὴν
εὐχαρισ-
τίαν τῷ
Πολυκάρ-
πῳ.

The twenty-sixth untruth. For Justinus speaketh not one word of communicating together.

* M. Harding bringeth one thing for another; sole receiving instead of private mass; men and women instead of the priest.

[¹ Fet: fetched.]

[² Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. v. cap. xxiv. p. 157.]

[³ Tum, H. A. 1564.]

[⁴ Just. Mart. Op. Par. 1742. Apol. i. p. 83.]

[⁵ 1565 omits for.]

[⁶ Without cause, 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

to condemn it in the priest and to allow it in lay-folk? What is in the priest that should make it unlawful to him more than to the people? Or may a layman or woman receive it kept a long time; and may not a priest receive it forthwith, so soon as he hath consecrated and offered? And if case of necessity be alleged for the lay, the same may no less be alleged for the priests also, wanting compartners without their default: for otherwise the memory and recording of our Lord's death should not according to his commandment be celebrated and done. Well, now to these places.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Good reader, behold not the names of these fathers here alleged, but rather weigh their sayings. M. Harding hath brought them for his mass; but they witness clearly and fully against his mass; and of all others, none more pregnant or plain than Justinus Martyr: whereof thou hast good occasion to consider how faithfully these men demean themselves in the allegation of the doctors. Justinus, touching this matter, writeth thus: "Towards the end of the prayers, each of us with a kiss saluteth other. Afterward, unto him that is the chief among the brethren is delivered bread, and a cup mingled with wine and water, which he having received rendereth praise and glory unto the Father of all things, in the name of the Son and the Holy Ghost, and yieldeth thanks a great space, for that he is thought worthy of these things. Which being orderly done, the people blesseth or confirmeth his prayer and thanksgiving, saying, Amen, &c. This ended, they that among us be called deacons deliver to every of them that be present the bread, wine, and water, which are consecrate with thanksgiving, and carry of the same to them that be absent⁷." Here is set forth the whole and plain order of the holy ministration used in the church at that time. The priest prayeth and giveth thanks in the vulgar tongue: the whole congregation heareth his words, and confirmeth the same, saying, Amen. The holy communion is ministered to the people in both kinds; and all the whole church receiveth together. I marvel much wherein M. Harding can liken any part hereof to his private mass, unless it be for that, as he said before every private mass is common, so he will now say, every communion is private.

Justin. Martyr in Apologia 2.

πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων, Ἀμήν.

The order of the holy ministration in Justinus' time.

Let us a little compare Justine's mass and M. Harding's mass both together. And, to pass by all other circumstances of difference, in Justine's mass all the people did receive: in M. Harding's mass none of the people do receive. In Justine's mass none abstained: in M. Harding's mass all abstained⁸. In Justine's mass a portion was sent to the absent: in M. Harding's mass there is no portion delivered; no, not unto the present. With what countenance then can any man allege the authority of Justine to prove the antiquity of private mass?

Justine's communion and M. Harding's mass compared together.

"M. Jewel triumpheth," saith M. Harding, "and maketh himself merry, as if he had won the field." No, no; M. Jewel triumpheth not, but giveth all triumph, victory, and glory unto God, that will subdue all them that withstand his truth, and make his enemies his footstool.

Psal. cx.

"I will bring good evidence and witness," saith M. Harding, "that, from the beginning of the church, faithful persons, both men and women, received the sacrament alone." I have no great cause to doubt these witnesses; for, excepting only the fable of Amphilochius, and John the Almoner, which were not worth the reckoning, I alleged all the rest in mine own sermon. I knew them, and had weighed them, and therefore I alleged them. That certain godly persons, both men and women, in time of persecution, or of sickness, or of other necessity, received the sacrament in their houses, it is not denied, neither is it any parcel of this question.

But if M. Harding could have proved that any man or woman in the primitive church ever said private mass, then had he answered somewhat to the purpose.

He seemeth to reason thus: Some received the sacrament alone; *ergo*, there was private mass.

[⁷ Just. Mart. Op. Apol. i. pp. 82, 3. See before, page 115, note 8.]

[⁸ Abstain, 1565.]

The folly of this argument will the better appear by the like :

Women received the sacrament alone ; *ergo*, women said private mass.

But, saith M. Harding, it was lawful for laymen to receive alone : why then was it not lawful for the priest ? If he could have proved his mass by priests, he would never have sought help at laymen's hands. Howbeit, this doubt is soon answered. For he knoweth by his own learning that it is lawful for a priest to say mass ; yet is it not lawful for a layman to do the same. Of the other side, it is lawful (as he saith) for the layman to receive in one kind ; yet is not the same lawful for the priest. But if he will needs take a precedent of laymen for priests to follow, let him rather reason thus : This manner of private receiving at home was not lawful for the laymen, for it was abolished by godly bishops in general council¹ ; *ergo*, it was not lawful for the priest to say private mass.

Concil.
Cæsaraug.
gust. cap. 3.

M. HARDING. THE SEVENTEENTH DIVISION.

Tertullian, exhorting his wife, that, if he died before her, she marry not again, specially to an infidel, shewing that, if she did, it would be hard for her to observe her religion without great inconvenience, saith thus : Non sciet maritus quid secreto ante omnem cibum gustes ? Et si sciverit, panem, non illum credit² esse qui dicitur³ : "Will not thy husband know what thou eatest secretly before all other meat ? And if he do know, he will believe it to be bread, and not (27) him who it is called." He hath the like saying in his book De Corona Militis⁵ ; which place plainly declareth unto us the belief of the church then in three great points, by M. Jewel and the rest of our gospellers utterly denied. The one, that the communion may be kept ; the second, that it may be received by⁶ one alone, without other company ; the third, that the thing, reverently and devoutly before other meats received, is not bread, as the infidels then and the sacramentaries now believe, but he who it is said to be of christian people, or who it is called, that is, (28) our Maker and Redeemer, or, which is the same, our Lord's body. And by this place of Tertullian, as also by divers other ancient doctors, we may gather that in the times of persecution the manner was, that the priests delivered to devout and godly men and women the sacrament consecrated in the church, to carry home with them, to receive a part of it every morning fasting, as their devotion served them, so secretly as they might, that the infidels should not espy them, nor get any knowledge of the holy mysteries. And this was done because they might not assemble themselves in solemn congregation, for fear of the infidels amongst whom they dwelt. Neither should the case of necessity have excused them of the breach of Christ's commandment, if the sole communion had been expressly forbidden, as we are borne in hand by those that uphold the contrary doctrine. And Origen⁷, that ancient doctor, and likewise St Augustine⁸, do⁹ write of the great reverence, fear, and wariness, that the men and women used in receiving the sacrament in a clean linen cloth, to carry it home with them for the same purpose. St Cyprian writeth of a woman that did the like, though unworthily, after this sort : Cum quædam arcam suam, in qua Domini sanctum fuit, manibus indignis tentasset aperire, igne inde surgente, deterrita est, ne auderet attingere¹⁰ : "When a certain woman went about to open her chest, wherein was the holy thing of our Lord, with unworthy hands, she was frayed with fire that rose from thence, that she durst not touch it." This place of St Cyprian

Proofs for private
mass.
Lib. ii. ad Uxo-
rem.

The twenty-
seventh un-
truth.
For⁴ the
translation is
wilfully cor-
rupted ; "it"
violently
turned into
"him."

The twenty-
eighth un-
truth.
For⁴ the sac-
rament was
never called our
Maker or
Redeemer by
any of the old
fathers.

[Origen. in Exod.
Hom. xiii. H. A.
1564.]

[August. Hom.
26. in Lib. I.
Hom. et Sermon.
ccii. de Tempore.
H. A. 1564.]
In Ser. de Lapsis.

[¹ Eucharistiæ gratiam si quis probatur acceptam in ecclesia non sumpsisse, anathema sit in perpetuum.—Concil. Cæsaraug. can. 3. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. cols. 1009, 10.]

[² Credet, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[³ Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Ad Uxor. Lib. ii. 5. p. 190.]

[⁴ 1565 omits *for*, and *is*.]

[⁵ Id. De Coron. 3. p. 121.]

[⁶ Of, H. A. 1564.]

[⁷ ...nostis...quomodo cum suscipitis corpus Domini, cum omni cautela et veneratione servatis, ne ex

eo parum quid decidat, &c.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Exod. Hom. xiii. 3. Tom. II. p. 176.]

[⁸ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Sermon. ccc. 2. Tom. V. Append. col. 504. See below, page 151, note 12. The Benedictine editors attribute this sermon to Cæsarius.

Omnes viri, quando ad altare accessuri sunt, lavant manus suas, et omnes mulieres nitida exhibent lintamina, ubi corpus Christi accipiant.—Id. Sermon. cccix. 5. Tom. V. Append. cols. 376, 7. This also is ascribed to Cæsarius.]

[⁹ Doth, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[¹⁰ Cyprian. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Laps. pp. 132, 3.]

reporteth the manner of keeping the sacrament at home, to be received of a devout christian person alone at convenient time. The example of Serapion, Eccles. Hist. Lib. vi. cap. xlv. of whom Dionysius Alexandrinus writeth, recited by Eusebius, confirmeth our purpose of the single communion. This Serapion, one of Alexandria, had committed idolatry, and, lying at the point of death, that he might be reconciled to the church before he departed, sent to the priest for the sacrament. The priest, being himself sick and not able to come, gave to the lad that came of that errand, *parum eucharistiæ, quod infusum jussit seni præberi*, "a little of the sacrament, which he commanded to be poured into the old man's mouth." And when this solemnity was done (saith the story), as though he had broken certain chains and gyves, he gave up his ghost cheerfully¹¹.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding shooteth fair, but far from the mark. To prove private mass in the primitive church, for lack of priests he allegeth Tertullian's wife, certain women out of Cyprian, and Serapion's boy; not the fittest people that might have been found to say mass. And yet, that the folly might the more appear, he hath besides given a special note in the margin of his book, by these words, "Proofs for private mass:" whereof I conceive some hope that he mindeth no more to slip away under the colour of single communion, as he hath done hitherto; but simply and plainly, as he hath here noted unto the world, to stand upon the bare terms of private mass. For else his note was not worth the noting.

As touching Tertullian, we must remember that the faithful in that time, for fear of the tyrants under whom they lived, were often driven to pray asunder. Wherefore, when they might privily assemble together, besides that they presently received there, they reserved certain portions of the mysteries to be received afterward in their houses at home, to put them daily the better in remembrance that they were the members of one church.

This manner of the church considered, Tertullian, being a priest, as St Hierome writeth of him¹², and having a wife, wrote unto her an exhortation, that if it should please God to take him first from the world, that she would remain still unmarried, or at the least not match with any heathen; shewing her the dangers that thereof might ensue, that she should be suffered neither to keep the solemn feasts, nor to watch, nor to pray with the congregation. Among other things he saith thus: "And will not thy husband know what thou eatest before other meats? And if he know it, he will believe it to be bread, but not that bread that it is called." Hieron. de Eccles. Scrip. Tertullian a married priest. Tertul. Lib. ii. ad Uxorem.

Here M. Harding, as if the gospel of Christ were become odious unto him, in scorn and disdain calleth us gospellers, by the name of that gospel that he so wilfully hath forsaken, returning to his old vomit. And out of these words of Tertullian three things, he saith, he will teach us; of which three things notwithstanding his private mass is none. Of the first we have to speak elsewhere. Of the second there is no question. In the third M. Harding hath manifestly corrupted both the words and meaning of Tertullian. He saith, "The thing that we receive is no bread;" but so Tertullian saith not. His words be these: "Thy husband will think it (only) bread, and not that bread that it is called"—that is to say, the sacrament of Christ's body, or the mystery of any holy thing, as christian men believe of it: like as Chrysostom also saith of the water of baptism: *Ethnicus cum audit lavacrum baptismi, persuadet sibi simpliciter esse aquam*¹³. "A heathen, when he heareth of the bath of baptism, believeth it is nothing else but plain water." Gospellers. Chrysost. in 1 ad Cor. Hom. 7.

But that the thing which our bodily mouth receiveth is very bread, both the scriptures and also the old catholic fathers have put it out of doubt. St Paul 1 Cor. xi. five times in one chapter nameth it bread.

Cyrillus saith: "Christ unto his faithful disciples gave pieces of bread¹⁴." And Cyrl. in Johan. Lib. iv. cap. xiv.

[¹¹ Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695—1700. Lib. vi. cap. xlv. pp. 200, 1.]

[¹² Hieron. Op. Par. 1693—1706. Catal. Script. Eccles. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 115.]

[¹³ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. I. ad Cor. Hom. vii. Tom. X. p. 51.]

[¹⁴ Τοῖς γὰρ ᾗδ πεπιστευκόσι διακλάσας τὸν ἄρτον ἐδίδον.—Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. In Joan.

In Sermone
ad Infantes:
citatur a
Beda.
1 Cor. x.

St Augustine saith: "The thing that ye see is bread, as your eyes bear you witness¹." I pass by Gelasius, Theodoretus, Chrysostom, Origen, Justinus Martyr, Irenæus, Clemens, and others, who all together with one consent have confessed that in the sacrament there remaineth the nature and substance of bread. Wherefore it is much presumed of M. Harding, to say there remaineth no bread, specially having nothing to bear him in his author here alleged.

Tertullian
falsified by
M. Harding.
Ludov. Vives
De Civit. Dei,
Lib. ii.
cap. xiii.

John xix.
Petrus Crini.
Lib. xiii.
cap. vi.
Codrus Ur-
ceus, Serm. 8.

Judg. xii.

Yet for advantage he hath also falsified Tertullian, englishing these words, *illum panem*, "him," as if it were the person of a man; as Thomas Valois, writing upon St Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, hath turned this word *apex*, which was the tuft or crest of the flamen's hat, into a certain chronicler that wrote stories²; or as the divines of late years, upon the gospel of St John, of this Greek word *lonche*, which signifieth a spear, have made *Longinus*, the blind knight³. If Tertullian had not meant *illum panem*, "that bread," he would not have said *illum* at all, but rather *illud*, referring the same unto *corpus*. A small difference between "him" and "it." So was there small difference between "sibboleth" and "shibboleth." Yet was it sufficient to descry the traitor.

Cyrril. contra
Objectiones
Theodoreti.

Tertull. de
Coron. Mi-
litis.

Tertull. con-
tra Marcion.
Lib. i.

August. con-
tra Maximi-
num, Lib. iii.
cap. xxii.
Chrysost. in
1 Cor. Hom.
7.

And, whereas M. Harding thus hardly and violently, contrary to the phrase and manner of speech, and, as it may be doubted, contrary to his own knowledge and conscience, hath translated *illum panem*, "him," so as, to my remembrance, never did man before, meaning it was the very person of a man that the woman had in her hand, and did eat before other meats; Cyrillus saith: *Non asseveramus anthropophagiam*⁴: "We teach not our people to eat the person of man."

But who can better expound Tertullian's mind than Tertullian himself? In his book *De Corona Militis*, speaking of the same matter, he calleth it *sacramentum eucharistiæ*⁵, "the sacrament of thanksgiving." And against Marcion he writeth thus: *Christus non reprobavit panem, quo corpus suum representat*⁶: "Christ refused not the bread wherewith he representeth his body." And St Augustine likewise saith: *In sacramentis videndum est, non quid sint, sed quid significant*⁷: "Touching sacraments, we must consider, not what they be indeed, but what they signify." So also saith St Chrysostom: *Ego non aspectu judico ea quæ videntur, sed mentis oculis corpus Christi video*⁸: "I judge not those things which are seen, after the outward appearance; but with the eyes of my mind I see the body of Christ."

This is the thing that the husband, being an⁹ heathen, could not see: for, believing not in Christ, he could not understand that the bread should be the sacrament or mystery of Christ's body.

Sine gemitu,
sine suspici-
one panis,
an veneni.

And that this was the very meaning of Tertullian, it may well appear by the words that immediately follow: "The husband," saith he, "will doubt whether it be poison or no; and therefore will dissemble and bear for awhile, that at length he may accuse his wife for poisoning before a judge, and do her to death, and have her¹⁰ dowry¹¹."

Touching St Augustine and Origen, the portion so taken was to be used with reverence, as being the sacrament of Christ's body: and so ought we also reverently to have and to order the water of baptism, the book of the gospel, and all

Evang. Lib. iv. cap. ii. Tom. IV. p. 360. The Latin version is, *Fragmenta panis dedit.*]

[¹ Quod ergo videtis, panis est et calix; quod vobis etiam oculi vestri renuntiant.—August. Op. Par. 1679—1700. Ad Infant. Serm. cclxxii. Tom. V. cols. 1103, 4.]

[² Testante apice. apex hic est proprium nomen scriptoris historiographi Romanorum.—August. de Civ. Dei, cum Comm. Thom. Valois et Nic. Triveth, Basil. 1479. Comm. in Lib. ii. cap. xv. fol. 8. 2.]

Id. de Civ. Dei, per Joan. Lud. Vivem. Basil. 1522. Lib. ii. cap. xiii. p. 48.]

[³ Unde ridiculus error vulgi e sacra historia emer- sit, Longinum temere credentis pro lancea, &c.—Pet. Crinit. De Honest. Discipl. Lugd. 1543. Lib. XIII. cap. vi. p. 206.]

Ant. Codr. Ure. Serm. &c. Par. 1515. Serm. x.

fol. 72.]

[⁴ Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Apolog. adv. Orient. Anath. xi. Def. Cyril. Tom. VI. p. 193. See before, page 141, note 13.]

[⁵ Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Coron. 3. p. 121.]

[⁶ Sed ille quidem...reprobavit...nec panem, quo ipsum corpus, &c.—Id. Adv. Marcion. Lib. ii. 14. pp. 439, 40.]

[⁷ Hæc enim sacramenta sunt, in quibus non quid sint, sed quid ostendant semper attenditur.—August. Op. Cont. Maxim. Lib. ii. cap. xxii. 3. Tom. VIII. col. 725.]

[⁸ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718—38. In Epist. i. ad Cor. Hom. vii. Tom. X. p. 51. Gr. ἀκούω σῶμα Χριστοῦ.]

[⁹ A, 1565.]

[¹⁰ Dower, 1565.]

[¹¹ Tertull. Op. Ad Uxor. Lib. ii. 5. p. 190.]

other things that be of God; as the Jews were also commanded to keep their manna reverently in a golden pot. "Tell me," saith St Augustine, "whether of these two things trow ye to be the greater, the body of Christ (meaning thereby the sacrament of Christ's body), or the word of Christ? If ye will answer truly, ye must needs say, that the word of Christ is no less than the body of Christ. Therefore look, with what diligence ye take heed, when the body of Christ is ministered unto you, that no part thereof fall unto the ground; even so with like diligence must ye take heed that the word of God, being once received, be not lost from a pure heart¹²." Likewise St Chrysostom touching the same: *Si... hæc vasa sanctificata ad privatos usus transferre sic periculosum est, in quibus non est verum corpus Christi, sed mysterium corporis Christi continetur*¹³: "If the matter be so dangerous, to put these sanctified vessels unto private uses, wherein is contained not the very body of Christ, but the mystery or sacrament of Christ's body," &c. All these authorities do declare, that the sacraments of Christ ought discreetly and reverently to be used.

1 Q. i. Inter-
rogo vos.
Idem de
Temp.
The word of
Christ is no
less than the
body of
Christ.

Chrysost. in
Opere Imperf.
Hom. 11.

The very
body of
Christ is not
contained in
the holy ves-
sels.

Cypr. de
Lapsis, Serm.
5.

Niceph. Lib.
xiv. cap. xvii.

The story that St Cyprian reporteth¹⁴, as it sheweth the manner of keeping of the sacrament, so it seemeth also to shew that God was offended with the same: the like whereof hath often been seen in the water of baptism and in other holy things, as appeareth by Nicephorus¹⁵, and others in sundry places. Therefore this authority serveth M. Harding to small purpose, unless it be to prove that, as God was then displeased with sole receiving in private houses, so he is now displeased with sole receiving in the mass.

Concerning the story of Serapion, here are interlaced many fair words for increase of credit, that it was written by Dionysius Alexandrinus and recited by Eusebius, as though the sick man had only desired his housel before he departed, and nothing else. But the special matter, whereupon the story is grounded, is passed by. Eusebius recordeth in plain words, that the book wherein Dionysius wrote this story was entitled *De Pœnitentia*¹⁶. Whereby he giveth to understand that the sacrament then was not generally sent home to all men's houses, but only unto them that were excommunicate and might not receive in the congregation among the faithful, and now lay in despair of life.

Euseb. Lib.
vi. cap. xlv.

The case stood thus: Serapion, in the time of persecution, for fear of death, had offered sacrifice unto an idol. The faithful, being therewith sore offended, put him out of their congregation and gave him over to Satan. He, being thus left as an heathen and an idolater, might¹⁷ neither resort to the common church, nor pray, nor receive the holy communion or any other spiritual comfort among his brethren. So hard the church was then to be entreated for them that had fallen back into idolatry. After he had made all means, and had with tears besought his brethren, and was no way considered, through heaviness of mind he began to droop and fell sick, and for three days lay speechless and without sense. The fourth day being somewhat revived, he said to them that were about him: "O how long will ye keep me here? Send for one of the priests (that I may be restored before I depart)."

His mind was tormented with consideration of the state he stood in, for that he had forsaken God. The priest, being sick himself, in token he was restored, and might depart as a member of Christ, sent unto him the sacrament by his boy. The rest that M. Harding addeth, "And this solemnity being done, saith the story, as though he had broken certain chains and gypes, he gave up the

Ruffin. Lib.
vi. cap. xxxiv.

[¹² Interrogo vos, fratres, vel sorores, dicite mihi, quid vobis plus esse videtur, verbum Dei an corpus Christi? Si verum vultis respondere, hoc utique dicere debetis, quod non sit minus verbum Dei, quam corpus Christi. Et ideo, quanta sollicitudine observamus, quando nobis corpus Christi ministratur, ut nihil ex ipso de nostris manibus in terram cadat, tanta sollicitudine observemus, ne verbum Dei, quod nobis erogatur, dum aliud aut cogitamus aut loquimur, de corde nostro pereat. — August. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. 1. Quæst. i. can. 94. col. 540. Op. Serm. ccc. 2. Tom. V. Append. col. 504.]

[¹³ Chrysost. Op. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xi. Tom. VI. p. lxiii; where we find *corporis ejus*.]

[¹⁴ Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Laps. pp. 132, 3.]

[¹⁵ The story referred to is of the water miraculously disappearing, when a Jew who had been before baptized approached. — Niceph. Call. Hist. Eccles. Lut. Par. 1630. Lib. xiv. cap. xvii. Tom. II. pp. 471, 2.]

[¹⁶ Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695—1700. Lib. vi. cap. xlv. pp. 200, 1; where *καταβροχθίσας*. See the next page.]

[¹⁷ Mought, 1565.]

Receiv-
ing with
the hand.

μικρὸν ...
καταβροχ-
θήσας,
εὐθέως
ἀπέδωκε
τὸ πνεῦμα.

spirit cheerfully"—all this is set to, either by Ruffinus¹ or by some other, I know not by whom, and is no part of the story. For neither doth Dionysius nor Eusebius in the original make any mention either of solemnity, or of chains or gyves, or of cheerfulness of Serapion's departing, but only thus: "And swallowing down a little, straightways he yielded up the ghost." As for his joyful departure, I doubt nothing. But any great solemnity there could not be between a man in that case, and a boy alone, specially having no such outward pomp as hath been used of late, to make it solemn.

Now must I desire thee, gentle reader, to have an eye a little backward to M. Harding's note, given thee for a remembrance in the margin by these words, "Proofs for private mass;" which note must needs be in the foot and conclusion of all his arguments. Therefore of these stories, here by him reported, we must conclude thus: Tertullian's wife, and the woman of whom Cyprian speaketh, received the sacrament alone; *ergo*, Tertullian's wife and the other woman said private mass. Or thus: Serapion's boy ministered the sacrament to his master; *ergo*, Serapion's boy said private mass. For if the conclusion be otherwise, we conclude one thing for another. And indeed M. Harding may as certainly say, This action was a mass, as he can say, Serapion's boy was a priest.

M. HARDING. THE EIGHTEENTH DIVISION.

Of keeping the sacrament secretly at home, and how it might be received of devout persons alone without other company, I ween none of the ancient doctors wrote so plainly as St Basil, in an epistle that he wrote to a noble woman called Cæsaria, which is extant in Greek, where he saith further that this manner began not in his time first², but long before. His words be these: Illud autem, in persecutionis temporibus necessitate cogi quempiam, non præsente sacerdote aut ministro, communionem propria manu sumere, nequaquam esse grave, supervacaneum est demonstrare, propterea quod longa consuetudine et ipso rerum usu confirmatum est. Omnes enim in eremis solitariam vitam agentes, ubi non est sacerdos, communionem domi servantes, a seipsis communicant. In Alexandria vero, et in Ægypto, unusquisque eorum qui sunt de populo plurimum habet communionem in domo sua... Semel enim sacrificium sacerdote consecrante et distribuyente, merito participare et suscipere, credere oportet. Etenim et in ecclesia sacerdos dat partem, et accipit eam is qui suscipit cum omni libertate, et ipsam admovet ori propria manu. Idem igitur est virtute, sive unam partem accipiat quisquam a sacerdote, sive plures partes simul³: "As concerning this, that it is no grievous offence for one to be driven by necessity, in times⁴ of persecution, to receive the communion with his own hand, no priest nor deacon being present, it is a thing superfluous to declare, for that by long custom and practice it hath been confirmed and taken place. For all they which live a solitary life in wilderness, where no priest is to be had, keeping the communion at home, do communicate with (29) themselves alone. And in Alexandria and in Egypt every one of the people, for the most part, hath the communion at home in his house. For when as the priest hath⁵ once consecrate and distribute the host, it is reason we believe that we ought to be partakers of it; and he that taketh it receiveth it without all scruple of conscience, and putteth it to his mouth with his own hand. And so it is of one virtue, whether any body take one part of the priest, or more parts together." Thus⁷ far St Basil. In this saying of Basil it is to be noted: first, that necessity 1. here hath respect to the lack of priest and deacon, so as (30) in that case the sacrament might be received of a faithful person with his own hand. And that for 2. the ratifying of so doing he allegeth continuance of custom, which for us, in this point of the sole receiving, may in more ample wise be alleged. Again, that holy 3.

The twenty-ninth untruth. For⁵ M. Harding hath corrupted the translation. The words "with themselves alone" are not in St Basil.

The thirtieth untruth. For³ St Basil saith the communicant received with his own hand, even in the presence of the priest.

[¹ Cumque esset completa solemnitas, velut cate-nis quibusdam vinculisque diruptis, lætorem jam spiritum reddidit.—Hist. Eccles. Par. Lib. vi. cap. xxxiii. fol. 74. 2.]

[² First in his time, H. A. 1564.]

[³ Basil. Op. Par. 1721—30. Ad Cæsar. Epist.

xciii. Tom. III. pp. 186, 7. The Benedictine editors add, καὶ ὅτε βούλεται μεταλαμβάνει δι' ἑαυτοῦ, on manuscript authority.]

[⁴ In the times, H. A. 1564.]

[⁵ 1565 omits *for*.]

[⁶ Doth, H. A. 1564.]

[⁷ This, H. A. 1564.]

eremites, living in wilderness apart from company, and also the devout people of Alexandria and Egypt, received the communion alone in their cells and houses.

Receiving with the hand.

4. Furthermore, that the host, once consecrated of the priest, is *aligates*⁸ to be received, whether of many together or one⁹ alone, by him it seemeth not to force. Finally, that, whether a man take at the priest's hand the blessed sacrament in one piece or more pieces, and receive them at convenient times, when devotion best serveth, the

[Reservation of the sacrament. H. A. 1564.]

virtue, effect, and power thereof is one. By which authority reservation is avouched. Doubtless, where he speaketh so precisely and particularly of sundry cases touching the order of receiving, if he had been of M. Jewel's opinion, that the sacrament may not be received of one, without a certain number of communicants together, he would not so have passed over that matter in silence, much less written so plainly of the contrary. Now that the communion, thus kept in wilderness and in Egypt, places of extreme heat, where wine in small quantity¹⁰, as is for that purpose convenient, cannot be long kept from souring and changing his nature, was in the form of bread only, and not also of wine, I defer to note it here, because it pertaineth to the treatise of the next article.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

This place of St Basil we might have safely passed over without prejudice of our cause, as touching other things impertinent, and not once making mention of the mass. Yet, seeing it hath pleased M. Harding thus to colour and to emboss out this ancient father, as if he alone of all others spake most plainly of his side, having, notwithstanding, both in this very self-same place and also in other words immediately before, which M. Harding thought best of purpose to dissemble, manifest record against private mass, I may not well utterly leave him in silence.

First, the case being supposed lawful for the people, both men and women, to take some portion of the sacrament home with them, and to receive it alone secretly, and at their pleasures; to make further doubt, whether the party so having it might touch it and receive it with his own hands, was a very nice question and meet for a gentlewoman, as Cæsaria was, to demand. And so it seemed also to St Basil, as may appear by his answer. For whosoever hath considered the old fathers, shall find this matter fully debated by the continual practice of the church.

St Cyprian sheweth that in his time the people received the holy mysteries of the deacons with their hands; and that one, that had committed idolatry, and afterward came to receive the communion amongst the faithful, opened his hand and found the sacrament turned into ashes¹¹.

Cypr. Serm. 5, de Lapsis.

The like manner of receiving is recorded also by Tertullian¹².

Tertull. Lib. ii. ad Uxorem.

Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, hath these words in an epistle unto Sistus, the bishop of Rome, touching the same, speaking of one that had received the communion in the church: "After he had heard the thanksgiving, and had sounded Amen with the rest, and had been at the table, and had reached forth his hand to receive the holy food¹³," &c.

Euseb. Lib. vii. cap. viii. Reached forth his hand.

Clemens of Alexandria thus uttereth the manner of the church there: "When certain have divided the sacrament, as the order is, they suffer every of the people to take part of it¹⁴."

Clem. Alex. Strom. Lib. i.

Novatus the heretic, when he ministered the communion to the people, used to swear them by that they had in their hands, that is to say, by the sacrament, that they would no more return to Cornelius¹⁵.

Euseb. Lib. vi. cap. xlii.

[⁸ *Aligates*: however, at all events.]

[⁹ Or of one, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[¹⁰ *Quantie*, H. A. 1564.]

[¹¹ Et alius qui et ipse maculatus, sacrificio a sacerdote celebrato, partem cum ceteris ausus est latenter accipere: sanctum Domini edere et contrectare non potuit; cinerem ferre se apertis manibus invenit.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Laps. p. 133.]

[¹² See before, page 148, note 3.]

[¹³ *Εὐχαριστίας γὰρ ἐπακούσαντα, καὶ συν-*

επιφθεγζόμενον τὸ ἀμὴν, καὶ τραπέζῃ παραστάντα, καὶ χεῖρας εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τῆς ἁγίας τροφῆς προτείναντα. κ. τ. λ.—Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695—1700. Lib. vii. cap. ix. p. 208.]

[¹⁴ *Ἡ καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν τινὲς διανείμεντες, ὡς ἔθος, αὐτὸν δὴ ἕκαστον τοῦ λαοῦ λαβεῖν τὴν μοῖραν ἐπιτρέπουσιν.*—Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Stromat. Lib. i. Tom. I. p. 318.]

[¹⁵ Euseb. Lib. vi. cap. xliii. p. 199.]

Receiv-
ing with
the hand.

August. con-
tra Literas
Petilianas,
Lib. ii. cap.
xxiii.
Theodoret.
Lib. v. cap.
xvii.
Col. ii.

Conc. Con-
stantin. vi.
cap. 101.

Basilius ad
Caesariam
patriciam.

Ad Jubaian.
De Hæreticis
Baptizan.
Cypr. ad
Quirinum.
Cypr. ad
Pompeium
contra Epis-
tola Ste-
phani.

St Augustine, writing against certain letters of Petilian, saith thus: "I speak of him whose crosse¹ of peace ye received at the ministration, and in whose hands ye laid the sacrament²." I leave the story between St Ambrose and the emperor Theodosius³, and other sundry like authorities to the same purpose.

Yet, because many have been superstitiously led and simply seduced herein by the doctrine of them that say, "O taste not this, O touch not this," which are nothing else (as St Paul saith) but "commandments and doctrines of men, having a shew of wisdom in superstition, and abasing of the mind;" I think it not amiss to note one special place out of the council of Constantinople concerning the same. The words of the council be these: "We do in no wise admit them, that instead of their hand make to themselves instruments of gold or of any other matter, for the receiving of the holy communion, as men more regarding a dead metal than the image of God. And if any priest receive such persons with such instruments unto the communion, let him be excommunicate, and him likewise that bringeth them⁴."

But if this gentlewoman's doubt were not, whether a layman might safely touch the sacrament, but only whether it were lawful for any such one to minister the same unto his own mouth, St Basil saith it is no question. Custom already hath made it good. "For," saith he, "both the eremites in the wilderness, and every of the people in Egypt and Alexandria, for the more part, have the sacrament at home, and each of them doth minister it unto himself. Yea, even in the church, after that the priest hath distributed a portion of the sacrament, he that hath received it putteth it to his mouth with his own hand, without any remorse or doubt of conscience; and whether he receive one portion of the priest, or more, the effect and strength thereof is all one⁵." This is the very meaning of St Basil: albeit, for plainness sake, reserving the sense, I have somewhat altered the words. But much I marvel how M. Harding can gather hereof his private mass.

Touching his five special notes, if we grant them thoroughly every one, yet is he nothing near⁶ his purpose. For his mass is none of them.

The eremites' sole receiving, as it nothing hindereth us that deny not the fact, so it nothing furthereth him, unless he will have laymen and women to do so still.

The reason that St Basil maketh of custom and continuance, being well considered, is very weak, both for many other good and just causes, and also for that the same custom, as it was never universally received, so upon better advice, by order of the church, it was clean abolished. For wise men in God's causes have evermore mistrusted the authority of custom.

The heretics in old time named *Aquarii*, that in the holy ministration used water only and no wine, notwithstanding they manifestly brake Christ's institution, as our adversaries do now, yet they upheld their doings therein by long custom. But St Cyprian being then alive wrote thus against them: *Victi ratione opponunt consuetudinem, quasi consuetudo sit major veritate*⁷, &c.: "Being overcome with reason, they defend themselves⁸ by custom, as though custom were better than the truth." "We may not prescribe of custom, but we must overcome with reason⁹." "Custom without truth is the mother of error¹⁰."

[¹ Cosse (i. e. kiss), 1565.]

[² ...ego illum commemoro...cui pacis osculum inter sacramenta copulabatis, in ejus manibus eucharistiam ponebatis.—August. Op. Par. 1679—1700. Cont. Lit. Petil. Lib. ii. cap. xxiii. 53. Tom. IX. col. 233.]

[³ Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695—1700. Lib. v. cap. xviii. pp. 220, &c.]

[⁴ Τοὺς γὰρ ἐκ χρυσίου ἢ ἄλλης ὕλης ἀντὶ χειρὸς τινα δοχεῖα κατασκευάζοντας πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δάρου ὑποδοχὴν, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τῆς ἀχράντου κοινωνίας ἀξιωμαμένους, οὐδαμῶς προσιέμεθα, ὡς προτιμῶντας τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰκόνας τὴν ἄψυχον ὕλην καὶ ὑποχείριον. εἰ δέ τις ἀλφ' τῆς ἀχράντου κοινωνίας μεταδίδους τοῖς τοιαῦτα δοχεῖα προσφέ-

ρουσιν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀφορίζεσθαι, καὶ ὁ ταῦτα ἐπιφερόμενος.—Concil. Quinisext. can. 101. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VI. col. 1186.]

[⁵ See before, page 152.]

[⁶ The near, 1565.]

[⁷ Proinde frustra quidam qui ratione vincuntur, consuetudinem nobis opponunt; quasi consuetudo major sit veritate.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Jubaian. Epist. lxxiii. p. 203.]

[⁸ Themselves, 1565.]

[⁹ Non est autem de consuetudine præscribendum, sed ratione vincendum.—Id. Ad Quint. Epist. lxxi. p. 194.]

[¹⁰ Nam consuetudo sine veritate vetustas erroris

But be it that both the reason were good, and the custom, that long sithence hath been abolished, had remained still; yet is not M. Harding able out of this place precisely and undoubtedly to prove his private mass. For if a man should say, it may possibly be that these eremites did not minister several¹¹ each man to himself alone, but one of them unto the rest of the eremites dwelling in the wilderness, as it appeareth diversely they had times to meet and to pray together; or, that the householders in Egypt and Alexandria ministered not only to themselves, but also to their whole several families, as it is written of Hippolytus Martyr, that, being a layman, he received the communion of Justinus, being a priest, and bare it home, and ministered the same to his wife, his children, and his servants¹²—if a man would thus say, perhaps M. Harding would better bethink himself of his conclusions. This sense may seem to stand very well with St Basil's words; notwithstanding M. Harding, in his translation into English, hath openly falsified the same. For whereas it is written in the Greek, and so likewise in the Latin, "They receive of themselves," which may well be understood, *ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν μεταλαμβάνουσι.* that one of them received of another for want of a priest, he hath otherwise wrested it to come to his tune, and hath turned it thus: "They do communicate with themselves alone;" wherein albeit I will not greatly strive, yet neither this word "alone," nor these words "with themselves," can be found either in the Greek or in the Latin¹³.

This long allegation of St Basil's words, with all the furniture thereof, may shortly be gathered into this reason: These eremites being no priests received alone; *ergo*, these eremites being no priests said private mass.

Further, M. Harding saith: This sole receiving was allowed by custom; *ergo*, private mass likewise is lawful by custom.

This reason goeth round against himself. For it may be well replied: This sole receiving was an abuse, and therefore was abolished by the church notwithstanding custom; *ergo*, private mass likewise is an abuse, and ought to be abolished notwithstanding custom.

Now let us see, whether these very self words of St Basil here alleged by M. Harding make any thing for the holy communion. And what authority can be against us, if M. Harding's own authorities, yea, as himself vaunteth, the most manifest and plainest of all his authorities, be found with us? For trial hereof we must resort, not into the wilderness, where as was neither priest nor deacon, as it is confessed, but unto the churches that were in St Basil's time. So shall we soon see whether the ministration then used were a communion or a private mass.

St Basil in the same place saith thus: "We do communicate four times in the week; upon the Sunday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday¹⁴." If we may found any thing upon words, he saith, "We communicate:" he saith not, "We say mass." And thus, saith St Basil, "we do four times in the week." Then had they not the daily sacrifice, whereupon private mass is grounded. He much misreckoneth himself, that saith, that thing is daily done, which is done but four times in seven days. *Basil. ad Cæsariam patriciam. No daily sacrifice.*

Moreover St Basil saith: "After the priest hath once consecrate and divided the sacrifice, we must think that we ought to receive and to be partakers of it *accordingly. For in the church the priest giveth part; and the communicant receive it with all freedom of conscience, and with his own hand putteth it to his mouth. Therefore is the virtue all one, whether it be one portion only that he receiveth of the priest, or more together¹⁵." *τελειώσαντος. *εἰκότως.*

Here mark well, good reader, how many ways St Basil overthroweth M. Harding's mass.

est.—Id. Ad Pomp. Epist. lxxiv. p. 215. For Cyprian's reproof of the heretics above referred to see Ad Cæcil. Epist. lxxiii. pp. 154, 5.]

[¹¹ Severally, 1565, 1609.]

[¹² Pet. de Natal. Catalog. Sanct. Lugd. 1519. Lib. vii. cap. lvi. foll. 141, 2.]

[¹³ See before, page 152.]

[¹⁴ Ἡμεῖς μέντοιγε τέταρτον καθ' ἑκάστην ἐβδομάδα κοινωνοῦμεν, ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ, ἐν τῇ τετράδι, καὶ ἐν τῇ παρασκευῇ, καὶ τῷ σαββάτῳ.—Basil. Op. Par. 1721—30. Ad Cæsar. Epist. xciii. Tom. III. p. 186.]

[¹⁵ Id. ibid. p. 187.]

1. St Basil saith: We do communicate: M. Harding in his mass doth not communicate.
2. St Basil divideth and distributeth: M. Harding divideth indeed, but distributeth nothing.
3. In St Basil's mass the people receiveth: in M. Harding's mass the people receiveth not.
4. In St Basil's mass each man receiveth with his own hand: in M. Harding's mass no man receiveth, no, not with the priest's hand.
5. In St Basil's mass the people, besides that they received presently there, had portions also delivered them to receive at home: in M. Harding's mass there is no portion delivered unto the people, no, not so much as presently to be received in the church.
6. In St Basil's mass each man receiveth and eateth for himself: in M. Harding's mass the whole people eateth by the mouth of the priest. O what meaneth M. Harding, to bring such witnesses for his mass as do so openly witness against his mass? Who may trust him in the dark, that thus dealeth in the light?

M. HARDING. THE NINETEENTH DIVISION.

It appeareth evidently by witness of St Hierome also, that this custom of receiving the communion privately at home continued among christian men at Rome, not only in time of persecution, but also afterward when the church was at rest and peace; so as the case of necessity cannot here serve them for maintaining¹ of their strange negative in this point. These be his words: Scio Romæ hanc esse consuetudinem, ut fideles semper Christi corpus accipiant, quod nec reprehendo, nec probo. Unusquisque enim in suo sensu abundat. Sed ipsorum conscientiam convenio, qui eodem die post coitum communicant, et, juxta Persium, noctem flumine purgant²: quare ad martyres non³ audent? quare non ingrediuntur ecclesias? An alius in publico, alius in domo Christus est? Quod in ecclesia non licet, nec domi licet. Nihil Deo clausum est, et tenebræ quoque lucent apud Deum. Probet se unusquisque, et sic ad corpus Christi accedat⁴: "I know this custom is at Rome, that christian folk receive the body of Christ daily, which I do neither reprove nor allow. For every man hath enough in his own sense. But I appose their conscience, which do communicate that same day as they have done wedlock-work, and, as Persius saith, 'do rince night-filth with running water.' Why dare they not⁵ go to martyrs' shrines? Why go not they into the churches⁶? What, is there one Christ abroad, and another Christ within the house? Whatsoever is not lawful in the church, neither at home is it lawful. To God nothing is hidden: yea, darkness also shineth before God. Let every one examine himself, and so come to the body of Christ." St Hierome reproveth this in the Romans, that, whereas St Paul ordained that for cause of prayer married folk should at times forbear their carnal embracings, they, notwithstanding that, though they had⁷ doing with their wives, yet received their rights nevertheless daily. And yet, what day they had so done, they durst not go to churches where martyrs' tombs were, there to receive our Lord's body. For it is to be understood for better knowledge hereof, that such as knew themselves to have done any uncleanness were afraid in old⁸ time to come to⁹ martyrs' sepulchres. For there commonly by miracle such things were bewrayed, and many times by open confession of the parties, whether they would or no. Erasmus in his scholies upon this place of St Hierome saith thus: "Of this place we gather, that in the old time every one was wont to receive the body of Christ at home in his house, that would." He saith further: Idem videtur innuere Pau-

In Apolog. adversus Jovin.

[Rom. xiv. 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

Hereof speaketh St Hierome, ad Vigil.¹⁰ S. Aug. Epistola 137¹¹, and Severus Sulpitius in Vita S. Martini, Dial. iii. cap 7¹².

Erasmus speaketh of private receiving, but not one word of private mass.

[¹ Maintenance, H. A. 1564.]

[² Pers. Sat. ii. 16.]

[³ Martyres ire non, 1565, H. A. 1564.]

[⁴ Hieron. Op. Par. 1693—1706. Epist. xxx. pro Libr. adv. Jovin. Apol. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 239; where ire is inserted.]

[⁵ Why dare not they, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[⁶ Into churches, H. A. 1564.]

[⁷ Had had, H. A. 1564.]

[⁸ In the old, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[⁹ To the, H. A. 1564.]

lus, cum ait: An domos non habetis ad manducandum¹³? “*St Paul (saith he) seemeth to mean the same thing where he saith: ‘Have ye¹⁴ not houses to eat in?’” Thus Erasmus gathereth proof of private, or, as M. Jewel jesteth, single communion, out of the scriptures; and he was as well learned in them as M. Jewel is. Yet herein I leave Erasmus to his own defence. By this we may understand, that in the ancient times of the church the receiving of the communion of one by himself alone *was well allowed. And though it was done but by one faithful person at once in one place, yet was it called a communion both of St Basil, and also of St Hierome, clean contrary to M. Jewel’s sense. It is to be judged that they knew the institution of Christ so well as he or any other of these new masters, and that their conscience was such as, if Christ’s ordinance therein had been broken, they would not have winked at it, ne with their ungodly silence confirmed such an ungodly custom. Verily, for excuse of this sole receiving, necessity cannot justly be alleged.*”

*St Hierome reproveth this custom. Thus he saith: “That is not lawful in the church is not lawful at home.”

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

How often will M. Harding allege the old doctors against himself? Here he bringeth in St Hierome; and the first words that he could find for his purpose were these: “I know the custom at Rome is this, that the christian people there receive the body of Christ every day¹⁵.” It seemeth this custom grew first from Peter, and was planted in Rome. A man may here well demand, when the custom was that the people¹⁶ should communicate daily together, where then was the custom of private mass?

Hier. in Apologia adversus Jovinianum.

Where was then the private mass?

Besides this, M. Harding, to prove the custom of the people’s receiving at home, hath alleged St Hierome, that earnestly reproveth that custom, and would not have them receive at home. St Hierome’s words be these: “Why dare they not go to the temples built in the remembrance of martyrs? Why go they not to the church? What, is there one Christ abroad, and another Christ at home?” If the people did well, why doth St Hierome thus reprove them? If they did ill, why doth M. Harding thus allow them?

Here M. Harding interlaceth other matter of the office of wedlock, the word¹⁷ of Persius the pagan poet, and the superstitious ceremony of the heathens, as I take it, little pertaining unto his mass. Whereas the whole people received the holy mysteries every day, the man and wife, remembering sometimes what they had done between themselves, and thinking themselves for the same not to be in so clean state of life as the rest were, for that cause forbore the church for the time; and, having the sacrament sent unto them, received it privately at home. Unto this superstition St Hierome himself gave great occasion, many times both writing and speaking unseemly of the state of marriage, in defence whereof St Augustine wrote a book against Jovinian, entitled, *De Bono Conjugii*¹⁸; and St Hierome afterward was driven to make his answer by way of purgation unto Pammachius for the same. In this error were divers of the old learned fathers. Tertullian saith: “I allow not marriage; for fornication and that stand both in one thing¹⁹.” Origen saith: “No man can offer the continual sacrifice, that is to say, the sacrifice of prayer, unless he be a virgin²⁰.” St Hierome saith: “It is good not to touch a woman; therefore it is ill to touch a woman²¹.” Upon occasion of

Tertull. in Exhortatione ad Castitatem. Origen. in Numeros, Hom. 23. Hieron. adversus Jovin. Lib. I.

[¹⁰ Hieron. Op. Adv. Vigilant. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 286.]

[¹¹ August. Op. Par. 1679—1700. Ad Cler. Eccles. Hipp. Epist. lxxviii. 3. Tom. II. col. 184.]

[¹² Reference is probably made to the stories related Div. Martin. Vit. ad calc. Abd. Apost. Hist. Par. 1571. Dial. iii. foll. 242, 3.]

[¹³ Ex hoc loco colligimus olim domi suæ quemque corpus Christi sumere solere, qui voluisset. Idem, &c.—Hieron. Op. Basil. 1516. Schol. Erasm. Epist. Præced. Tom. III. fol. 51.]

[¹⁴ You, H. A. 1564.]

[¹⁵ See before, page 156, note 4.]

[¹⁶ The whole, 1565.]

[¹⁷ Words, 1565.]

[¹⁸ August. Op. De Bono Conjugali Lib. Tom. VI. cols. 319—40.]

[¹⁹ ...inquis...unas nuptias destruis. Nec immerito, quoniam et ipsæ ex eo constant, quo et stuprum.—Tertull. Op. Lat. 1641. De Exh. Cast. 9. p. 670.]

[²⁰ Unde videtur mihi quod illius est solius offerre sacrificium indesinens, qui indesinenti et perpetuæ se devoverit castitati.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733—59. In Num. Hom. xxiii. 3. Tom. II. p. 358.]

[²¹ Si bonum est mulierem non tangere, malum est ergo tangere.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693—1706. Adv. Jovin. Lib. I. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 149. See also Epist. xxx. pro Libr. adv. Jovin. Apol. col. 237.]

M. Harding
corrupteth
St Hierome.

which error, the people sometime¹ forbore the churches where martyrs were buried. Wherein M. Harding's translation swerveth much from the original. For instead of "churches," he hath translated, "martyrs' shrines," as though the bones of holy men had then been shrined, and offerings made unto them, as of late years hath been used.

August. de
Morib. Ec-
cles. et Ma-
nich. cap.
xxxiv.
Idem Con-
fession. Lib.
vi. cap. ii.
Gelasius,
can. 2.
De Con. Dist.
1. Placuit.
Sulpitius in
Vita Martini.

True it is, Almighty God, for the testimony of his doctrine and truth, hath oftentimes wrought great miracles even by the dead carcasses of his saints, in witness that they had been his messengers and the instruments of his will. But as these were good inducements at the first to lead the people to the truth, so afterward they became snares, to lead the same people into error; and that even in the time of the old fathers above eleven hundred years ago. St Augustine saith: "I know many worshippers of graves and images, that drink and quaff disorderly over the dead, and offer meat unto their carcasses, and bury themselves² over the buried, and make account, that even their very drunkenness and gluttony is a religion that pleaseth God³." Gelasius saith: "It is reported that with procession they furnish up their churches, built in the name of dead men, and the same, for ought that I can learn, while they were alive not altogether good faithful men⁴." St Martin on a time came to a chapel built in the name of a holy martyr: but afterward he learned by revelation that the same martyr had been sometime a common thief, and for a robbery had been put to death, and by error of the people was honoured for a saint⁵." Likewise St Augustine saith: "Some there be that carry about martyrs' bones to sale; and yet it may well be doubted whether ever they were martyrs or no⁶."

De Opere
Monacho-
rum, cap.
xxviii.

Thus much briefly and by the way of the reliques and miracles of martyrs' bones; for that M. Harding upon so small occasion seemeth to touch them in such sort, as if he would have them shrined and set up again.

Heb. xiii.

Chrysost. ad
Heb. Hom. 7.

As for the matrimony of the godly, as St Paul saith, "It is clean and honourable in all estates." And therefore St Chrysostom saith: "Use thy marriage with sobriety, and thou shalt be the chief in the kingdom of heaven⁷." And the same Chrysostom, expounding these words of St Paul, "Marriage is honourable," writeth thus: "Here he toucheth the Jews, that reckon the marriage-bed to be unclean, and that a man rising from the same cannot be in clean life. But, O you most unkind and most insensible Jews, the thing is not filthy that God hath granted of nature unto man, &c.⁸"

Chrysost. ad
Heb. Hom. 8.

Touching Erasmus, M. Harding hath already refused his authority, and turned him over to his own defence. Where he saith, "Every man was wont in old times to receive the sacrament severally at home," it would much better have sounded of M. Harding's side, if Erasmus had said: "Every man was wont then to say mass severally at home." And albeit in that short note upon St Hierome he seem to understand these words of St Paul, "Have ye not houses to eat and drink in?" of the private receiving of the sacrament; yet elsewhere, writing of purpose and good deliberation upon the same, he saith, St Paul meant it only of common meats, and not of the sacrament. In his paraphrase he expoundeth it thus: *Hic unanimitalis christianæ mysterium agitur*, &c.: "Here is practised the mystery of

Paraphrasis
Erasm. in 1
Cor. xi.

[¹ Sometimes, 1565.]

[² Themselves, 1565.]

[³ *Novi multos esse sepulcrorum et picturarum adoratores: novi multos esse, qui luxuriosissime super mortuos bibant, et epulas cadaveribus exhibentes, super sepultos seipsos sepeliant, et voracitates ebriitatesque suas deputent religioni.*—August. Op. Par. 1679—1700. De Mor. Eccles. Lib. i. cap. xxxiv. 75. Tom. I. col. 713. See also Confess. Lib. vi. cap. ii. Tom. I. cols. 119, 20.]

[⁴ ... hoc sumus tamen iudicio detestabiliore permoti, quia in quocunque nomine defunctorum, et (quantum dicitur) non omnino fidelium, constructiones ædificatas sacris processionibus audacter instituire memorantur.—Decret. Gelas. Papæ I. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. cap. 27. Tom. I. p. 968.

Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian.

Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. i. can. 26. cols. 1895, 6.]

[⁵ Div. Martin. Vit. ad calc. Abd. Apost. Hist. Par. 1571. Lib. i. foll. 194, 5.]

[⁶ *Alii membra martyrum, si tamen martyrum, venditant.*—August. Op. De Op. Monach. cap. xxviii. 36. Tom. VI. col. 498.]

[⁷ *Μετὰ συμμετρίας τῷ γάμῳ χρῶ, καὶ πρῶτος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἔσῃ.*—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. iv. Hom. vii. Tom. XII. p. 80.]

[⁸ *Ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἰουδαίους αἰνίττεται, ὅτι βδελυρὰν ἡγοῦντο τὴν κοίτην. καὶ ὅς ἂν ᾗ, φησὶν. ἀπὸ κοίτης, οὐκ ἔστι καθαρὸς. οὐκ ἔστι βδελυρὰ τὰ ἀπὸ φύσεως, ὡς ἀγγωνῶν καὶ ἀναίσθητε Ἰουδαίε, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἀπὸ προαιρέσεως.*—Id. ibid. cap. xiii. Hom. xxxiii. p. 305.]

christian unity, and not provision made for the belly. For that ought ye to do in your private houses, and not in the public congregation. If ye would fill your bellies, have ye not houses, where ye may do it by yourselves alone?" And again: "If any man be so greedy of meat that he cannot tarry, let him eat at home⁹." Thus, saith M. Harding, "Erasmus gathereth the private mass out of the scriptures." M. Harding is over quick in his conclusions: he maketh himself sure of the consequent, before he see the antecedent: for Erasmus hath not one word there, neither of private mass, nor of single communion. How then can he get that of Erasmus, that Erasmus himself hath not? Neither is this any necessary form of reason: Men received the sacrament in their houses; *ergo*, they received the sacrament alone. For they might receive in their several houses with their wives and families all together, as it is already proved by the example of Hippolytus Martyr. And St Hierome saith: "The sacrament was sent home to the man and wife¹⁰." Otherwise it might be said: God commanded that every man should eat the Easter lamb in his house; *ergo*, God commanded that every man should eat that lamb alone. Howbeit I make small account of this matter, as nothing touching the private mass, but only shew the feebleness of these conclusions.

Hieron. in
Apologia
adversus Jo-
vinianum.

Yet saith M. Harding: "Both St Hierome and St Basil call it the communion, notwithstanding it were privately received: which is clean contrary to M. Jewel's sense." But neither St Hierome nor St Basil ever called it the mass, and that little furthereth M. Harding's¹¹ sense. They call it a "communion," not for that he that received it communicated with others in other places, as M. Harding guesseth, but for that it was a portion of the holy communion ministered and divided openly in the congregation to be received of the faithful.

The commu-
nion.

The reason that M. Harding hereof gathereth must needs be this: The husband and his wife received the sacrament at home; *ergo*, the priest said private mass. He must needs be very simple that will be led by such single proofs. St Hierome's plain words necessarily import the contrary. For if this were the custom in Rome for the space of four hundred years, that the people should communicate every day, then must it needs follow that during that time there was no custom there of private mass.

No private
mass in
Rome.

M. HARDING. THE TWENTIETH DIVISION.

Damasus, bishop of Rome in St Hierome's time, writeth, In libro Pontificali¹², that Milciades, pope and martyr, ordained that the sacrament in sundry portions consecrated by a bishop should be sent abroad among the churches for cause of heretics, that the catholic people of the churches (which word here signifieth as the Greek word *παροικια* doth, so as it is not necessary to understand that the sacrament was directed only to the material *churches, but to the people of the parishes) might receive the catholic communion, and not communicate with heretics. Which, doubtless, must be understood of this private and single communion in each catholic man's house, and that where heretics bare the sway, and priests might not be suffered to consecrate after the catholic usage. Else, if the priests might without let or disturbance have so done, then what need had it been for Milciades to have made such a provision for sending abroad hosts sanctified for that purpose by the consecration of a bishop? The place of Damasus hath thus: Milciades fecit, ut oblationes consecratæ per ecclesias ex consecratu episcopi (propter hæreticos) dirigerentur¹³." "Milciades ordained that consecrated hosts should be sent abroad amongst the churches, prepared by the consecration of a bishop." The two words, *propter hæreticos*, "for heretics," added by Ado, the writer of martyrs' lives, openeth the meaning and purport of that decree.

A heap of
simple guess-
es without
sense or sa-
vour.

*A church by
M. Harding's
judgment sig-
nifieth a pri-
vate house.

M. Harding
otherwise re-
porteth these
words than
he findeth
them.

⁹ Erasm. Op. Lugd. Bat. 1703-6. Paraph. in Epist. 1. ad Cor. cap. xi. Tom. VII. cols. 896, 7.]

¹⁰ See before, page 156, note 4.]

¹¹ M. Harding, 1565.]

¹² Pontificali, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

¹³ See below, page 160, note 4.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

1. This guess is one of the weakest of all the rest; and therefore M. Harding hath staid it up on¹ every side with other guesses, that one guess might help another. The first guess is, what Damasus should mean by these words, *propter hæreticos*.
2. The next guess is, that this order was taken by Milciades against certain heretics, that in the holy ministration kept not the catholic church².
3. The third guess is, that this word *ecclesia* must needs signify the people of the parishes, and not the material church.
4. The fourth guess is, that the sacrament was then consecrate in little round cakes, as of late hath been used.
5. The fifth guess is, that the sacrament was sent to every several house, which must have been an infinite labour to the deacon that carried it, and wondrous painful.
6. The sixth guess is, that first every husband received the sacrament in his house alone, and so the wife, and so the servants, and so likewise the children, every one severally by himself alone: which thing I reckon M. Harding himself thinketh not very likely. So many guesses are here in a throng heaped together: which if I deny altogether, M. Harding is hardly able to prove; if I grant him altogether without exception, yet all are not able to prove his private mass.

First, in this place of Damasus neither is there mention of any mass, nor any perfect³ sense or reason in the words. For thus it is written: *Milciades fecit ut oblationes consecratæ per ecclesias ex consecratu episcopi dirigerentur, quod declaratur fermentum*⁴: "Milciades caused that the oblations consecrate by the churches by the consecration of the bishop should be directed, which is declared leaven." Neither is there any kind of thing either going before or following after, whereby we may guess the meaning. It is much to see so learned a man as M. Harding is, so scanted of authorities, that he is thus driven to prove his mass by such places as be utterly void of sense and reason. But a man must use such weapons as may be gotten.

The two words, *propter hæreticos*, that are patched in by Ado, a man of late years, as they do nothing help the sense, so have they no help of the story of that time. For a man may well demand of Ado, this new doctor, what were these strange unknown heretics without name, that you at the last for a shift have espied out? where began they? where dwelt they? what taught they? how long continued they? who maintained them? who confuted them? what councils⁵ condemned them? For it seemeth somewhat strange, that there should be companies and routs of heretics in the world, that no man ever knew but doctor Ado.

And whereas M. Harding putteth in of his own, besides his book (for Damasus hath no such thing, nor any other thing like), that these new-found heretics in the ministration "kept not the catholic usage," he should have shewed, for his credit's sake, what other usage they kept that was not catholic; for his word is not yet canonized. The world will believe neither him nor Ado without some proof.

Further, to increase absurdities, he saith by these words, *per ecclesias*, is meant not the material church, but the people of the church: that is to say, in plainer terms, *ecclesia* is not a church, but a private house. I grant the Greek word *παροικία*, out of which our English word "parish" seemeth to have been taken, signifieth a congregation, or meeting of neighbours, or a company dwelling within some space together, whether it be in compass more or less. So saith Eusebius: "Dionysius writeth unto Basilides, the bishop of the divisions of Pentapolis⁶." ^aAthanasius saith that Demetrius took upon him the bishopric of Alexandria, and τῶν παροικίων, of the divisions in Egypt⁷. In these places and certain others that

In Libro
Concil. im-
presso Colon.
Anno 1551.

M. Harding
allegeth au-
thorities
without sense
or reason.

M. Harding
addeth of
himself, be-
side his
author.

Ecclesia, a
private
house.

παροικία.

Euseb. Lib.
vii. cap. xxv.
τῶν κατὰ
Πεντάπο-
λιν παροι-
κιῶν ἐπι-
σκόπια.

^a Athanas. in
Epist. de Sen-
tentia Dio-
ny. adversus
Arian.

[¹ One, 1611.]

[² Usage, 1565.]

[³ Perfite, 1565.]

[⁴ Decret. Milciad. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 217; where for *Milciades* we have *hic*.]

[⁵ Council, 1565.]

[⁶ Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695—1700.

Lib. vii. cap. xxvi. p. 226; where we find τῶν for τῶν.]

[⁷ There is probably a mistake in the reference. The word is often used by Athanasius: thus...τῇ ἐκάστου τῶν ἀδικηθέντων παροικία.—Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Apol. contr. Arian. 36. Tom. I. Pars II. p. 155; where see note.]

might be alleged out of Basil, Nazianzene, and other Greek fathers, this word *παροικία* seemeth to signify a bishopric, or a diocese, and not a several parish.^b And therefore Irenæus thus writeth unto Victor bishop of Rome: "The priests of Rome (meaning thereby the bishops there) sent the sacrament *τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν παροικιῶν*, to them that came out of other dioceses or divisions^a." And Eusebius thus writeth of Hippolytus: *Ἐρέτας πῶς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπίσκοπος παροικίας*⁹. "He being bishop of another division." Thus much touching this word *παροικία*, being moved thereto by the strange interpretation of M. Harding. Certainly, I think he himself will say that, sithence the church was once in peace, neither this word *ecclesia*, nor this word *parochia*, ever signified a private house, in any kind of writer or in any time.

^a Euseb. Hist. Lib. v. cap. xxvi.

But, saith M. Harding, Ado's heretics (for Damasus speaketh of none) bare all the sway, and would not suffer the catholic people to communicate in the church: therefore we must needs understand here private houses. Alas! when did heretics ever bear such sway in the church of Rome? Or if they did at any time, as it is untrue, unless he mean the sovereign heretics, the pope and his cardinals, yet may we think that the catholics were so weak in the common church, being all together, and so strong in their own houses, being alone? Or were these heretics able to withstand a whole congregation, and not able to withstand one single man by himself?

Sovereign heretics.

Mark well, good reader, how handsomely M. Harding's arguments hang together. He must needs think thee to be very unsensible, that hopeth thou wilt yield to such guesses.

To leave a great number of other like absurdities, M. Harding's arguments are framed thus: The sacrament was received in private houses (albeit there appeareth no such thing by Damasus); *ergo*, one man received alone. Surely then had that man a very empty house: he might well sing, *Tanquam passer solitarius in tecto*. It is more likely that, being a godly man, he would desire his wife and family to receive with him, as I have said before.

Again: The sacrament was sent among the parishes; *ergo*, there was private mass. The force of this reason may soon be seen. But who said this mass, whether it were the messenger or the receiver, I leave it to M. Harding to consider. He might better have concluded thus: The bishop sent the mysteries abroad for the people to communicate; *ergo*, he meant a communion, and no private mass.

Further, he saith, this was done in time of necessity, because of heretics: and yet by the same he defendeth the mass used now without any such necessity; and that in the church of Rome, where, he saith, can be no heretics.

To conclude, this manner of sending abroad the sacrament was afterward abolished by the council holden at Laodicea¹⁰.

Concil. Laodiceen. cap. 14.

Thus is M. Harding driven to go by guess, to imagine strange heretics, for shew of some antiquity to allege vain decrees without sense, to avouch such orders as he knoweth were long sithence condemned, and to comment the same with his own glosses.

M. HARDING. THE TWENTY-FIRST DIVISION.

Here have I brought much for private and single communion, and that it hath not only been suffered in time of persecution, but also allowed in quiet and peaceable times, even in the church of Rome itself, (31) where true religion hath ever been most exactly observed above all other places of the world, and (32) from whence all the churches of the west have¹² taken their light; as the bishops of all Gallia, that now is called France, do acknowledge in an epistle sent to Leo the pope, with these words: Unde religionis nostræ, propitio Christo, fons et origo manavit¹³: "From the apostolic see, by the mercy of Christ, the fountain and spring of our religion hath come."

The thirty-first untruth. For¹¹ Rome is now become the "mother of fornication." Rev. xvii. The thirty-second untruth. For¹² the faith of the west church came not first from Rome.

Epist. proxima post 51. inter Epist. Leonis.

^[8] Euseb. Lib. v. cap. xxiv. (al. xxvi.) p. 157. See before, page 144, note 4.]

^[9] ...*ἐρέτας που καὶ αὐτὸς προεστὼς ἐκκλησίας*.—Id. Lib. vi. cap. xx. p. 181. But in Stephens's edition, Lut. Paris. 1544, cap. xxi. *ἐρέτας που καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπίσκοπος παροικίας*.]

^[10] Concil. Laod. can. 14. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 1500.]

^[11] 1565 omits *for*.]

^[12] Hath, H. A. 1564.]

^[13] Epist. Episc. Gallor. cap. v. in Leon. Magn. Op. Lut. 1623. col. 371.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding
pretendeth
private mass,
and conclud-
eth single
communion.

M. Harding useth a strange kind of logic: he pretendeth private mass, and concludeth single communion. And why might he not as well plainly and without colour conclude his private mass? Doubtless the wise reader may soon gather thus: If he could find it, he would not conceal it.

Nathaniel.
Lazarus.
Saturninus.

2 Tim. iv.
Epiphanius
contra Alo-
gos.

This talk of the church of Rome in this place was needless, as nothing serving to private mass. Yet is it generally confessed by all men, that Rome is the eldest church that we know founded in this west part of the world; and that the churches of France and other countries at the beginning had both the confirmation of doctrine, and also other great conference and comfort, from thence: like as also the church of Rome had from Hierusalem, and Antioch, and other great churches in the east. But that the first that ever preached the gospel in France were sent from Rome, I reckon it not so easy to be proved. For some say that Nathaniel, whom Christ commendeth to be the true Israelite, preached at Trire and Bituriges¹; Lazarus, whom Christ raised, at Marseilles; Saturninus at Tolouse; long before Peter came to Rome. St Paul, as it is thought, after his delivery under Nero, went into Spain, sent Titus into Dalmatia, and Crescens into Galatia, or, as Epiphanius readeth it, into Gallia²; Joseph of Arimathæa came into England. And yet it appeareth not that any of these were sent by commission from Rome. But why doth M. Harding thus out of season rush into the commendation of the church of Rome that was so long ago? It had been more to purpose to have viewed the state of the same church as it standeth now. But as one once said, "Ye shall not now find Samnium in Samnio," because the city of Samnium was sacked and rased up and utterly overthrown; even so I heard M. Harding sometime say, he had sought for the church of Rome in Rome itself, and yet could not find the church of Rome. The bishops, cardinals, and priests do neither teach, nor exhort, nor comfort, nor any other part of their duties: the people, as it is already confessed, is careless and void of devotion. St Bernard saith: *O Domine, sacerdotes tui facti sunt tonsores; prælati, Pilati; doctores, seductores*³: "O Lord, thy priests are become shearers; thy prelates, Pilates; thy doctors, deceivers." If a church⁴ cannot err, then may we say of it, as Euripides sometimes⁵ said of the city of Athens: ὦ πόλις, πόλις, ὡς εὐτυχὴς εἰ μάλλον, ἢ καλῶς φρονεῖς: "O city, city, thy luck is far better than thy wit."

M. HARDING. THE TWENTY-SECOND DIVISION.

More could I yet bring for confirmation of the same, as the example of St Hilaria the virgin in the time of Numerianus; of St Lucia in Diocletian's time done to martyrdom; of St Maria Ægyptiaca, and⁶ St Ambrose: of which every one, as ancient testimonies of ecclesiastical histories and of Paulinus⁷ do declare, at the hour of their departure hence to God, received the holy sacrament of the altar for their voyage provision alone. But I judge this is enough; and if any man will not be persuaded with this, I doubt whether with such a one a more number of authorities shall any thing prevail.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Now M. Harding hieth himself unto the end of his authorities; and for speed is content to pass by the stories of Hilaria, Lucia, Maria Ægyptiaca, and others, written, I suppose, in *Legenda Aurea*; of whom, as it appeareth, he is certain that they said mass a little before their departure hence. The like is also avouched for certain of St Ambrose, lying in his death-bed. But this thing seemeth marvellous in my judgment, that, notwithstanding St Ambrose were bishop in Milan two and twenty years and more, being also so holy a man as

Paulinus, in
Vita Ambros.

[¹ Treves and Bourges.]

[² Οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ, ὡς τινες πλανηθέντες νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῇ Γαλλίᾳ.—Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. II. Tom. I. p. 433.]

[³ See Catalog. Test. Verit. Gen. 1608. cols. 1379, 80.]

[⁴ Such a church, 1565.]

[⁵ Sometime, 1565, 1609.]

[⁶ And of, H. A. 1564.]

[⁷ Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Tom. II. Append. col. xii. The passage will be more fully given hereafter.]

few the like in those days, yet M. Harding cannot learn that ever he said private mass but only when he lay breathless in his death-bed.

M. HARDING. THE TWENTY-THIRD DIVISION.

Now that I have thus proved the single communion, I use their own term, I desire M. Jewel to reason with me soberly a word or two. How say you, sir? Do you reprove the mass, or do you reprove the private mass? I think, whatsoever your opinion is herein, your answer shall be, you allow not the private mass. For as touching that the oblation of the body and blood of Christ done in the mass is the sacrifice of the church, and proper to the new testament, (33) commanded by Christ to be frequented according to his institution; if you deny this, make it so light as you list, all those authorities which you deny us to have for proof of your great number of articles will be found against you; I mean doctors, general councils the most ancient, the examples⁹ of the primitive church, the scriptures; I add further, reason, consent universal and uncontrolled, and tradition. If you deny this, you must deny all our religion from the apostles' time to this day; and now in the end of the world, when iniquity aboundeth, and charity waxeth cold, when the Son of Man coming shall scarcely find faith in the earth, begin a new. And therefore you, M. Jewel, knowing this well enough, whatsoever you do in deed, in word, as it appeareth by the little book you have set forth in print, you pretend to disallow, yea, most vehemently to improve, the private mass.

The thirty-third untruth. For^s Christ never commanded or named any such sacrifice. Great words without ground.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Hitherto M. Harding hath brought doctors without reason: now he bringeth reason without doctors. And "how say you, sir? (saith he) do you reprove the mass, or do you reprove private mass?" I trust he hath not so soon forgotten whereof he hath discoursed all this while. Neither doth the matter rest upon that point, what I list to allow or disallow, but what he can prove or not prove by the scriptures, and by the ancient councils and fathers.

But mark well, good christian reader, and thou shalt see how handsomely M. Harding conveyeth and shifteth his hands to deceive thy sight. First, he hath hitherto forborne both the name, and also the proof of private mass, and only hath used the words of "sole receiving" and "single communion;" and so hath taken pains to prove that thing that was never denied; and that thing that we deny, and wherein the whole question standeth, he hath left utterly untouched. Now he demandeth, whether I reprove the mass, or the private mass. What meaneth this, that private mass, and sole receiving, be so suddenly grown in one? Surely M. Harding well knoweth that the nature of these words is not one: neither whosoever receiveth alone doth therefore of necessity say private mass. This so sudden altering of terms may breed suspicion.

That he further interlaceth of the "sacrifice of the new testament," is another conveyance to blind thy sight, as utterly nothing making to this purpose.

For neither doth the sacrifice import private mass; nor doth sole receiving imply the sacrifice. Yet for short answer, we have that only sacrifice of the new testament, that is, the body of Jesus Christ upon the cross, that "Lamb of God that hath taken away the sins of the world:" the virtue of which sacrifice endureth for ever. To this everlasting sacrifice the sacrifice that is imagined in the mass is mere injurious.

And whereas M. Harding saith, "If you deny this, you must deny all our religion from the apostles' time until this day;" these be but empty words, without weight, and prove nothing.

In my little book, saith he, I disallow the private mass. If he find fault with my book for that it is little, he might consider it is but a sermon, and therefore no reason it should be great. Yet is it a great deal longer than either Hippolitus Martyr, or the fable of his Amphilochius, of whom, notwithstanding their shortness, he maketh no small account. And where he saith, I disallow private

[^s 1565 omits *for*.]

[⁹ Example, H. A. 1564.]

Lib. vi.
Epist. 30.

mass; I disallow that thing that infinite numbers of godly and learned men have disallowed, and that M. Harding himself, not long sithence, openly and earnestly disallowed, both in schools and pulpits, until he was suddenly persuaded to the contrary only by the alteration of the state. Of these two words, "private mass," I can no better say, than St Gregory sometime said of that antichrist should be called *Deus*, God: *Si quantitatem vocis perpendimus, sunt duæ syllabæ; sin pondus iniquitatis, universa perniciēs*¹: "If we weigh the quantity of the word, they are but two syllables; but if we weigh the weight of wickedness, it is an universal destruction."

M. HARDING. THE TWENTY-FOURTH DIVISION.

Upon this resolution, that the mass, as it is taken in general, is to be allowed; I enter further in reason with you, and make you this argument: if private mass, in respect only of that it is private, after your meaning, be reprobable, it is for the single communion, that is to say, for that the priest receiveth the sacrament alone. But the single communion is lawful, yea, good and godly; ergo, the private mass in this respect, that it is private, is not reprobable, but to be allowed, holden for good and holy, and to be frequented. If you deny the first proposition, or major, then must you shew for what else you do reprove private mass, in respect only that it is private, than for the² single communion. If you shew any thing else, then do you digress from our purpose, and declare that you reprove the mass. The minor you cannot deny, seeing you³ see how sufficiently I have proved it. And so the private mass, in that respect only it is private, is to be allowed for good, as the mass is.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Out of all these former authorities of Tertullian's wife, monks in the wilderness, laymen, women, and boys, M. Harding gathereth this conclusion, which, as he would have folk think, standeth so soundly on every side that it cannot possibly be avoided.

The private mass is single communion:

Single communion is lawful;

Ergo, private mass is lawful.

This syllogism unto the unskilful may seem somewhat terrible, as a visard unto a child that cannot judge what is within it. But M. Harding that made it knoweth it is vain, and worth nothing. And that it may the better appear, I will open the error by another like.

The ministration of private mass is a single communion:

Single communion is lawful for a woman;

Ergo, the ministration of private mass is lawful for a woman.

It is all one kind of argument, of like form, and like terms. And as this is deceitful, so is the other likewise deceitful. The error is in the second proposition, which is called the minor; and that shall ye soon see, if you turn the same minor, and make it an universal, and say thus in M. Harding's argument:

All manner single communions be lawful:

Or in the other argument,

All manner single communions are lawful for a woman. So shall ye soon find out the folly.

Further, *medius terminus*, that holdeth and knitteth the argument, must agree with the *subjectum* and *prædicatum*, in circumstance of time, of place, of person, of subject, and part of subject; with which circumstances a thing may be lawful, and without the same may be unlawful. For example, it is thought lawful for a woman to baptize at home; but it is not thought lawful for a woman to baptize in the open church: yet is the thing all one, but the circumstance of place being changed changeth the whole. Again: it is lawful for a priest to minister the sacrament in the forenoon, and in the church; but it is not lawful for a priest to minister the sacrament after he hath dined, or in his bed: yet was it

[¹ Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. vii. Indict. xv. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. xxxiii. Tom. II. col. 881. See before, page 96,

note 2.]

[² 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564, omit *the*.]

[³ Seeing that you, H. A. 1564.]

lawful for St Ambrose and others so to receive the sacrament. We see, therefore, there is great matter in alteration of the circumstance.

These things perhaps may seem over curious, and therefore I pass them by, giving⁴ thee nevertheless, gentle reader, to understand that without consideration hereof thou mayest be deceived. Set the head in his natural place between the shoulders; and there is a man: set the same head in the breast, or elsewhere out of his place; and there is a monster.

Now, touching M. Harding's syllogism, thou mayest see that the minor or second proposition is not true, as they term it, *simpliciter*, and without exception. For the single communion was never so taken for lawful, but only in consideration of circumstances and cases of necessity; which cases being either removed or better examined, the same kind of single communion is no longer thought lawful. Therefore thou mayest thus say to M. Harding: "How say you, sir? Do you allow the examples that ye⁵ have brought to prove your mass by, or do you not allow them? If you allow them, why then suffer ye not women to carry home the sacrament, and to keep it in chests and napkins, as they did of old? If you allow them not, because they were abuses, why then seek you to prove your mass by the same, and so to establish one abuse by another?" Now let us look a little back to the note that M. Harding set out in the margin for our remembrance, by these words, "Proofs for private mass." That it might seem lawful for a priest to say private mass, he hath brought in examples of laymen, women, sick folk, and boys. Alas! doth M. Harding think it was the manner in old times that lay-people should say mass? Or was there no priest all this while in the world, for the space of six hundred years, that women and children must come forth to prove these matters? Or was there no difference then between sole receiving and private mass? Or shall we think that women and boys did then consecrate the holy mysteries, or offer up Christ's body, or make sacrifice for quick and dead, or apply Christ's death unto others? Where is M. Harding's logic become? Where is the sharpness of his wit?

But mark, good christian reader, how far he swerveth from that he hath taken in hand. I demand of the open church: he answereth me of private houses. I demand of priests: he answereth me of women, boys, and laymen. I demand of the mass: he answereth me of that thing that himself granteth is no mass. I demand of the right use of the holy supper that ought to stand: he answereth me of abuses that be abolished. I demand of the usage that then was ordinary: he answereth of necessity, and cases extraordinary. Judge thou therefore, how well and substantially he hath hitherto performed his promise.

How aptly
M. Harding
answereth to
the question.

M. HARDING. THE TWENTY-FIFTH DIVISION.

Marry I deny not but that it were more commendable, and more godly on the church's part, if many well disposed and examined would be partakers of the blessed sacrament with the priest. But, though the clergy be worthily blamed for negligence herein, through which the people may be thought to have grown to this slackness and indevotion, yet, that notwithstanding, this part of the catholic religion remaineth sound and faultless. For as touching the substance of the mass itself, by the single communion of the priest, in case of the people's coldness and negligence, it is nothing impaired. Else, if the public sacrifice of the church might not be offered without a number of communicants receiving with the priest in one place, then would the ancient fathers in all their writings somewhere have complained of the ceasing of that, which everywhere they call Quotidianum et jure sacrificium, "The daily and continual sacrifice:" of which their opinion is, that it ought (34) daily to be sacrificed, that the death of our Lord and the work of our redemption might always be celebrated, and had in memory, and we thereby shew ourselves, according to our bounden duty, mindful and thankful. But verily the fathers nowhere complain of intermitting the daily sacrifice, but very much of the slackness of the people, for that they came not more often unto this holy and wholesome banquet: and yet they never compelled

The undevo-
tion of the
people grow-
eth of the
negligence of
the clergy.

The thirty-
fourth un-
truth.
For ⁶ the fa-
thers say not
so, but plain-
ly the con-
trary.

[⁴ Doing, 1565, 1609.]

[⁵ You, 1565.]

[⁶ 1565, omits *for*.]

them thereto; but, exhorting them to frequent it worthily, left them to their own conscience.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The painter that pourtrayed out in colours Medea killing her own child, by the skill he had in painting, made to appear in her face two contrary affections; for in the one side he expressed extreme fury, that bade her kill, and in the other side motherly love and pity, that bade her not kill¹. Such two contrary affections we may here see in M. Harding, both painted and set out in one face. For notwithstanding, for his credit's sake, he advance² his mass, and deface the holy communion with all that he is able; yet here again, for conscience sake, of the other side he confesseth that the communion is the better, and so rippeth up all that he hath sewed before, and willeth others to assent unto him before he can assent unto himself. God's name be blessed, that is thus able to force out his truth even by the mouths of them that openly withstand his truth! But neither should he in such disdain, and so often, call us new masters and gossellers, for defending that himself knoweth and confesseth to be the better: nor, after the holy communion was once restored, should he have drawn the people again to the private mass; that is, by his own confession, from the better to the worse.

"But," saith M. Harding, "in case of negligence of the people, if the priest receive alone, the substance of the mass is not impaired." This difference in terms of substance and accidents, in Christ's institution, is newly found out, and hath no warrant neither of the scriptures nor of the old fathers. Howbeit Christ's example in doing, and commandment to do the same, may not be taken for a shew or accident, but for the effect and substance of his supper. "Do this," saith Christ, the same that you have seen me do: take, bless, break, divide, "in my remembrance." Which words St Chrysostom expoundeth thus: *Hoc facite in memoriam beneficii mei, salutis vestræ*³: "Do this in remembrance of my benefit, and of your salvation." This is no accident, or light fantasy, that may be left at our pleasure, but the very substantial point of that sacrament which we are specially commanded "to continue until he come;" and for want whereof St Paul saith, "That supper is not the Lord's supper."

Certainly Alexander of Hales, and Humbertus, two of M. Harding's own scholastical doctors, are full against him in this point. Alexander saith: "Consecration is for the communion; therefore of both the communion is the greater⁴." Humbertus saith: *Hoc quotiescunque feceritis, id est, benedixeritis, fregeritis, distribueritis, in mei memoriam facietis: quia quodlibet horum trium, si sine reliquiis fiat... perfectam memoriam Christi non representat*⁵: "As often as ye shall this do, that is to say, as often as ye shall bless, break, and distribute, ye shall do it in my remembrance: for whatsoever one thing of these three things be done without the rest, it representeth not the perfect⁶ remembrance of Christ." And thinketh M. Harding that the sacrifice, whereof neither Christ nor his disciples ever spake one word, is the substance of his supper; and the mystical distribution in remembrance of his death, whereof he gave us such a strait commandment, in so manifest and so plain words, is no part of the substance?

The allegation of which sacrifice to this purpose is mere vain. The old fathers never complained of ceasing thereof, because they knew it could never cease. For the strength and virtue of Christ's sacrifice resteth in itself, and not in any diligence or doing of ours. "Christ⁷, being a priest after the order of Melchisedech, hath offered up one sacrifice for all upon his cross, full and perfect⁶;" therefore we need none other: "one and everlasting;" therefore it

Concil. Nicen. ii. Action. iv.

M. Harding confesseth that the communion is better than his mass.

Matt. xxvi.

Ad Populum Antiochen. Hom. 6i.

1 Cor. xi.

Par. iv. q. 35. m. 2. Sol. 2.

Humbert. contra Libell. Nicetæ Monachi Ex Cassandro.

Heb. vii. & x.

[¹ ...μέλλουσα τοῖς τέκνοις ἐπιφέρειν τὸ ξίφος, ἐλέφ και θυμῷ μερίζει τὸ πρόσωπον.—Aster. Relat. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. iv. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VII. col. 209.]

[² Avanee, 1565.]

[³ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Ephes. cap. i. Hom. iii. Tom. XI. p. 22.]

[⁴ Alex. Alens. Theol. Summ. Col. Agrip. 1622.

Pars IV. Quæst. x. Membr. v. Art. i. 2. p. 262. See before, page 124.]

[⁵ Humbert. cont. Nicet. in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. XI. p. 333; where for *hoc* we find *hæc, et distribueritis*, and *Christi memoriam non representant.*]

[⁶ Perfite, 1565.]

[⁷ Christs, 1611.]

needeth no renewing: "by privilege given to himself only;" therefore it cannot be wrought by any other.

Daily sacrifice.

This sacrifice notwithstanding is revived, and freshly laid out before our eyes, in the ministration of the holy mysteries; as it is well recorded by sundry of the old godly fathers. St Augustine saith: "Was not Christ once offered in himself? Yet, that notwithstanding, by way of a sacrament he is offered every day unto the people, not at Easter only, but also every day; and he saith no untruth, that, being demanded the question, saith, 'Christ is offered.' For if sacraments had not a certain likeness of the things whereof they be sacraments, then should they indeed be no sacraments. And of this likeness many times they bear the names of the things themselves: as the sacrament of Christ's body, by a certain manner of speech, is the body of Christ⁸." Likewise again he saith: *Cum...non obliviscimur munus Salvatoris, nonne Christus quotidie nobis immolatur?... Ex ipsis reliquiis cogitationis, et ex ipsa memoria, quotidie nobis sic immolatur, quasi quotidie nos innovet*⁹: "When we forget not the gift of our Saviour, is not Christ daily offered unto us? Through the remnants of our cogitation, and by way of our very memory, Christ is so offered unto us every day as if he daily renewed us." And again likewise he saith: *Holocaustum Dominicæ passionis...eo tempore offert quisque pro peccatis suis, quo ejusdem passionis fide dedicatur, et Christianorum fidelium nomine baptizatus imbutur*¹⁰: "At that time doth every man offer up the sacrifice of Christ's passion for his sins, when he is endued with the faith of Christ's passion, and, being baptized, receiveth the name of faithful Christians."

August. Epist. 23. ad Bonifacium.

August. in Psal. lxxv.

August. in Epist. ad Rom. sub finem.

Thus is the sacrifice of Christ's passion expressed in the holy ministration; and yet not as M. Harding imagineth, by any action there done by the priest alone, but by the communion and participation of the people; as St Augustine also elsewhere witnesseth: *Dum frangitur hostia, et sanguis...in ora fidelium funditur, quid aliud quam Domini corporis in cruce immolatio...designatur*¹¹? "While the oblation is broken, and the blood" (that is, the sacrament of the blood) "is poured into the mouths of the faithful, what other thing is there expressed or signified but the sacrificing of the Lord's body upon the cross?"

De Con. Dist. 2. ex Sentent. Prosperi. Designatur.

This sacrifice of Christ on his cross is called the "daily sacrifice," not for that it must be renewed every day, but for that, being once done, it standeth good for all days, and for ever. What force then is there in this reason: "The fathers never complained of ceasing of the daily sacrifice; ergo, they had private mass?" For it may be answered in one word, they had the holy communion every day, and therefore they complained not. Howbeit, neither is the holy communion that daily sacrifice itself, but a memory of the same: neither was the communion then ministered every day. For proof whereof I would wish M. Harding to mark this epistle, sent from the council of Alexandria in the defence of one Macarius, who was charged by his enemies that he had forcibly entered into the church, and broken the cup of the holy ministration. They make his defence in this manner: "The place where they say the cup was broken was no church, nor any priest at that time near thereabout; and, touching the day, it was no Sunday. Seeing then there was no church in that place, nor ministration of the sacraments, nor the day required the same, what manner cup was it then, or when, or where was it broken¹²?" It appeareth plainly by these words of the

Epist. Synod. Conc. Alex.

[⁸ Nonne semel immolatus est Christus in seipso, et tamen in sacramento non solum per omnes paschæ solemnitates, sed omni die populis immolatur, nec utique mentitur, qui interrogatus eum responderit immolari? Si enim sacramenta quamdam similitudinem earum rerum, quarum sacramenta sunt, non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque etiam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt. Sicut ergo secundum quemdam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est, &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679—1700. Epist. ad Bonifac. xcviii. 9. Tom. II. col. 267.]

[⁹ Id. in Psal. lxxv. Enarr. 15. Tom. IV. col. 801; where we read *quotidie nobis Christus, and id est*

for et.]

[¹⁰ Id. Epist. ad Rom. Expos. Inch. 19. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 937; where *holocausto*.]

[¹¹ Id. in Lib. Sent. Prosp. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 37. col. 1930; where *cum frangitur, and dum sanguis*.]

[¹² Καὶ γὰρ ὁ τόπος ἐκεῖνος ἐν ᾧ κεκλῆσθαι τὸ ποτήριον φησιν, οὐκ ἦν ἐκκλησία, πρεσβύτεροι οὐκ ἦν ὁ τὸν τόπον παροικῶν, ἡμέρα καθ' ἣν Μακάριον τοῦτο πεποιθέναι φασίν, οὐκ ἦν κυριακή, μήτε τοίνυν ἐκκλησίας οὔσης ἐκεῖ, μήτε τοῦ ἱεροῦ γούντος, μήτε τῆς ἡμέρας ἀπαυτοῦσης, ποῖον ἢ πότε ἢ πού τὸ ποτήριον κέκλασται μυστικόν;—

Daily sacrifice.

Communion only upon the Sunday.

council, that they had no ministration of the sacraments at that time in Alexandria but only upon the Sundays. And yet no man ever complained of the ceasing of the daily sacrifice notwithstanding. For they knew that the sacrifice of Christ's death is daily, and for ever, and can never cease.

M. HARDING. THE TWENTY-SIXTH DIVISION.

St Ambrose witnesseth, that the people of the east had a custom in his time to be houseled but once in the year. And he rebuketh sharply such as follow them, after this sort: Si quotidianus est cibus, cur post annum illum sumis, quemadmodum Græci in oriente facere consueverunt¹? "If it be our daily meat (saith he), why takest thou it² but once in the year; as the Greeks are wont to do in the east?" St Augustine uttereth the same thing almost with the same words³. And in the second book, De sermone Domini in Monte, the twelfth chapter, expounding the fourth petition of our Lord's prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread," shewing that this may be taken either for material bread, either for the sacrament of our Lord's body, or for spiritual meat, which he alloweth best, would that, concerning the sacrament of our Lord's body, they of the east should not move question, how it might be understood to be their daily bread, which were not daily partakers of our Lord's supper, (35) whereas, for all that, this bread is called daily bread. There he saith thus: Ut ergo illi taceant, neque de hac re sententiam suam defendant, vel ipsa auctoritate ecclesiæ [sint contenti], quod sine scandalo ista faciunt, neque ab eis qui ecclesiis præsumunt facere prohibentur, neque non obtemperantes condemnantur⁵: "Wherefore, that they hold their peace, and stand not in defence of their opinion, let them be content at leastway with the authority of the church, that they do these things without offence thereof taken, neither be forbidden of those that be over the churches, neither be condemned when they disobey." Here we see, by St Augustine, that they of the orient, who so seldom received the sacrament, were holden (for all that) christian⁶ people, by the authority of the church: none offence thereof was taken, neither were they inhibited of their custom; and, though they obeyed not their spiritual governors, moving them to receive more often, yet were they not condemned, nor excommunicated.

[Lib. vi. De Sacra. c. iv. 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[De Verbis Domini secund. Lucam. Hom. 28. 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

The thirty-fifth untruth. For St Augustine saith: "Hic in illis partibus non intelligitur quotidianus panis."

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Ambros. Lib. v. de Sacram. cap. iv.

M. Harding findeth small force herein to prove that he seeketh for. St Ambrose rebuketh the slackness of some of his people that received so seldom, and wisheth them to communicate daily all together. Wherein he quite overthroweth the private mass.

August de Serm. Dom. in Mont. cap. xii.

M. Harding falsifieth St Augustine's mind.

The sacrament is not the daily bread.

As for St Augustine, I must needs say he hath taken wrong, and is ill used at M. Harding's hand, as being by violence and perforce made both to suppress that he would say, and also to say that he would not say; and yet in the end saith not one word for private mass, but plainly to the contrary. First, he would have St Augustine say, that the sacrament of Christ's body, to them of the east, was their daily bread, yea, although they daily received it not. This matter of itself is not weighty. Yet St. Augustine saith far otherwise, not in any other of his books, but even in the self-same sentence wherehence M. Harding had these words. For he addeth immediately: *Unde probatur, non hunc in illis partibus intelligi quotidianum panem. Nam magni peccati crimine arguerentur, qui ex illo non accipiunt quotidie⁷*: "Whereby it appeareth that they of the east understand not the sacrament to be their daily bread. For then were they guilty of great sin that do not daily receive it." But touching private mass, he saith thus even

Epist. Synod. Concil. Alex. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. col. 548.]

[¹ Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Sacram. Lib. v. cap. iv. 25. Tom. II. col. 278; where we find *panis for cibus, and consueverunt.*]

[² Takest it, H. A. 1564.]

[³ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Serm. lxxxiv. 3. Tom. V. Append. col. 152.]

[⁴ 1565 omits *hic.*]

[⁵ August. Op. De Serm. Dom. in Mont. Lib. II. cap. vii. 25, 6. Tom. III. Pars II. cols. 209, 10; where we have *suam sententiam, ecclesiastica, and damnantur.*]

[⁶ For christian, H. A. 1654.]

[⁷ August. Op. *ibid.* 26. col. 210; where *ex eo.*]

in the same place: *Panis quotidianus...[potest accipi] pro sacramento corporis Christi, quod quotidie accipimus*⁸: "The daily bread may be taken for the sacrament of Christ's body, which we receive every day." St Augustine saith the people then received the sacrament every day: whereof it followeth necessarily, that the private mass was then said never a day.

Daily sacrifice.

The sacrament received every day.

But the Grecians' custom was to receive once only in the year; *ergo*, the priest at other times received alone. No, saith St Augustine, this custom or negligence was not universal among all the people of Græcia, but among a certain of them only. For thus he saith: *Plurimi in orientalibus partibus non quotidie...communicant*⁹: "Many in the east parts do not daily communicate." Wherein may be well implied that some daily did communicate: otherwise the exception of many had been in vain. And that the rest did daily communicate, it may plainly appear by these words of St Augustine in the same place: *Vel...auctoritate ecclesie [sint contenti], quod sine scandalo ista faciant*: "Let them hold themselves content with the authority of the church, that they may thus do without offence." These words do necessarily import that the rest received the communion, and yet, that notwithstanding, were not offended with the negligence of their brethren that received not. For if the negligence had been general, and the whole people had abstained all together, as they do now in the church of Rome, there had been no cause at all why one of them in that respect should be offended with another.

Plurimi.

Augustinus.

In the Greek church some received the communion every day.

Now touching the matter itself, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is our daily and everlasting food, not to be removed and renewed after certain days, as the shew-bread of the Jews, but to stand before the mercy-seat of God for ever. "Our daily bread," saith Germanus, "is Christ, that is, and was before, and continueth for ever"¹⁰. Likewise St Augustine saith: "Not the bread that passeth into our body, but the bread of everlasting life, which sustaineth the substance of the soul"¹¹.

Germ. in Rerum Eccl. Theoria. August. de Verbis Dom. secund. Luc. Serm. 28. Ambros. de Sacram. Lib. v. cap. iv. The sacrament called the daily bread.

A sacrament of this food is the bread that Christ commanded to be blessed, broken, and delivered in his remembrance: which also may be called the daily bread; not for that it is daily received, but for that there is no day excepted, but it may be received every day. And that in such places, where as the sacrament was not daily received of the people, it was not received privately and daily of the priest, for continuance of the daily sacrifice, as M. Harding surmiseth, it appeareth well by sundry good records. And, to leave ^aSt Basil, *Ad Cæsariam Patritiam*¹²; the ^bcouncil of Laodicea¹³; the ^ccouncil of Constantinople holden in Trullo¹⁴; and the synodal ^depistle sent from the bishops of the east part, in the defence of Macarius¹⁵; St Augustine saith: *Hujus rei sacramentum...alicubi quotidie, alicubi certis intervallis dierum, in dominico præparatur, et de mensa dominica sumitur*¹⁶: "The sacrament of this thing is prepared, or consecrate in the church, and received of the Lord's table, in some places every day, in some places upon certain days." Likewise also saith St Ambrose: "Every week we must celebrate the oblation, although not every day unto strangers, yet unto the inhabitants at least twice in the week"¹⁷. St Augustine saith: "The sacrament was ministered at certain days:" St Ambrose saith: "Sometimes twice in the week," and not every day. But what record hereof can be plainer than the council of Toledo? The words in English be these: "There be sundry

^a Basil. ad Cæsariam. ^b Conc. Laod. cap. 49. ^c Conc. Constantinop. cap. 52. ^d Conc. Alex. Epist. Synod. August. in Johan. Tract. 26.

Ambros. in Epist. ad Tim. i. c. iv.

Concil. Tolet. iv. cap. 9.

[⁸ Id. ibid. 25. col. 209.]

[⁹ Id. ibid. 26. col. 210.]

[¹⁰ Germ. Const. Rer. Eccles. Theor. in Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Stud. Galland. Venet. 1765-81. Tom. XIII. p. 226. See before, page 128, note 3.]

[¹¹ Non iste panis qui vadit in corpus, sed ille panis vitæ æternæ, qui animæ nostræ substantiam fulcit.—August. Op. Serm. lxxxiv. 3. Tom. V. Append. col. 152. See also Ambros. Op. De Sacram. Lib. v. cap. iv. 24. Tom. II. col. 378.]

[¹² Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Ad Cæsar. Epist. xciii. Tom. III. p. 186. See before, page 155, note 14.]

[¹³ Concil. Laod. can. 49. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. I. col. 1505. See before, page 129, note 7.]

[¹⁴ Concil. Quinisext. in eod. can. 52. Tom. VI. cols. 1166, 7. See before, page 129, note 6.]

[¹⁵ Epist. Synod. Concil. Alex. in eod. Tom. II. col. 548. See before, page 167, note 12.]

[¹⁶ August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 16. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 500; where in *dominica mensa præparatur*.]

[¹⁷ Ambros. Op. Comm. in i. Epist. ad Tim. cap. iii. Tom. II. Append. col. 295. See before, page 129.]

The communion ministered only upon the Sunday.

priests in Spain, that, touching the prayer that the Lord taught, and commanded daily to be said, say the same only upon the Sunday, and upon no day else'. Hereof we may very well gather that, if the priests in Spain said the Lord's prayer only upon the Sunday, forso much as the communion is never ministered without the Lord's prayer, therefore the priests in Spain ministered not the communion but only upon the Sunday.

These things well considered, the weakness of M. Harding's guesses may the better appear. For where he saith, "Some of the people withdrew themselves²;" *ergo*, "no man did receive;" or, "Many abstained;" *ergo*, "the priest received alone;" these reasons be of no value, neither are worthy of any answer. For of the same premises the contrary will rather follow. St Augustine saith, "Many in the east part abstained:" hereof we may well gather; *ergo*, some abstained not: otherwise he should have said, All abstained, and not some. Then further, Some abstained not; *ergo*, some received with the priest. So did not the priest receive alone. And so hath not M. Harding yet found his private mass.

M. HARDING. THE TWENTY-SEVENTH DIVISION.

St Chrysostom, many times exhorting his people to prepare themselves to receive their rights, at least at Easter, in one place saith thus: "What meaneth this? The most part of you be partakers of this sacrifice but once in the year, some twice, some oftener. Therefore this that I speak is to all, not to them only that be here present, but to those also that live in wilderness. For they receive the sacrament but once in the year, and peradventure but once in two years. Well, what then? Whom shall we receive? Those that come but once, or that come often, or that come seldom? Soothly, we receive them that come with a pure and a clean conscience, with a clean heart, and, to be short, with a blameless life. They that be such, let them come always; and they that be not such, let them not³ come, not so much as once. Why so? Because they receive to themselves judgment, damnation, and punishment⁴." The ancient doctors, specially Chrysostom and Augustine, be full of such sentences.

In x. cap. ad Heb. Homil. 17.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

It is needless to answer such places as make nó shew of proof. Chrysostom, as M. Harding well knoweth, hath neither here, nor elsewhere, either the name or the sense of private mass. Only he exhorteth the people to examine and prepare themselves, and so to come worthily to the Lord's supper. Now, if M. Harding think he may found his mass upon this place, he may also presume the like of St Paul, that, where he said, *Probet seipsum homo*, "Let a man examine himself," he meant to erect private mass.

M. HARDING. THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DIVISION.

Now to this end I drive these allegations, leaving out a great number of the same sense. Although many times the people forbare to come to the communion, so as many times (36) none at all were found disposed to receive, yet the holy fathers, bishops, and priests, thought not that a cause why they should not daily offer the blessed sacrifice, and

[The people's forbearing the communion is no cause why the priest should not say mass. H. A. 1564.]

The thirty-sixth untruth. M. Harding is able to shew no such case.

[¹ Nonnulli sacerdotum per Hispanias reperiuntur, qui dominicam orationem, quam Salvator noster docuit et præcepit, non quotidie, sed tantum die dominica dicunt.—Concil. Tolet. iv. cap. x. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. V. col. 1708.]

[² Themselves, 1565.]

[³ Let not them, H. A. 1564.]

[⁴ Τί οὖν ἐστὶ; πολλοὶ τῆς θυσίας ταύτης ἄπαξ μεταλαμβάνουσι τοῦ παντός ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἄλλοι δὲ οἷς, ἄλλοι δὲ πολλάκις. πρὸς οὖν ἅπαντας ἡμῶν ὁ λόγος ἐστίν, οὐ πρὸς τοὺς ἐνταῦθα δὲ μόνον,

ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καθεζομένους. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ἄπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ μετέχουσι, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ διὰ δύο ἐτών. τί οὖν; τίνας ἀποδεξόμεθα; τοὺς ἄπαξ; τοὺς πολλάκις; τοὺς ὀλιγάκις; οὔτε τοὺς ἄπαξ, οὔτε τοὺς πολλάκις, οὔτε τοὺς ὀλιγάκις, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μετὰ καθαροῦ συνειδότος, τοὺς μετὰ καθαρᾶς καρδίας, τοὺς μετὰ βίου ἀλήπτου. οἱ τοιοῦτοι αὖ προσίτωσαν· οἱ δὲ μὴ τοιοῦτοι μηδὲ ἄπαξ. τί δὴ ποτε; ὅτι κρίμα ἑαυτοῖς λαμβάνουσι, καὶ κατακρίμα, καὶ κόλασιν, καὶ τιμωρίαν.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. x. Hom. xvii. Tom. XII. p. 169.]

celebrate mass. Which thing may sufficiently be proved, whether M. Jewel, that maketh himself so sure of the contrary, will yield and subscribe, according to his promise, or no. Of the daily sacrifice, these words of Chrysostom be plain: Quid

[In s. cap. ad Hebr. Hom. 17. H. A. 1564.]

ergo nos? Nonne per singulos dies offerimus? Offerimus quidem, sed ad recordationem facientes mortis ejus: et una est hostia, non multæ, &c.⁵ "Then what do we? Do we not offer every day? Yes, verily we do so, but we do it for recording of his death. And it is one host, not many."

[By order of the last communion book, no communion may be said or had, without three do communicate with the minister at least, of how small number soever the parish be. H. A. 1564.]

Here I hear M. Jewel say, though against his will, "I grant the daily sacrifice, but I stand still in my negative, that it cannot be shewed there was ever any such sacrifice celebrated without a communion," that is, as they will have it, without some convenient number to receive the sacrament in the same place with the priest. For proof of this, these be such places as I am persuaded withal. The better learned men, that be of more reading than I am, have other, I doubt not.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here M. Harding notably betrayeth himself, laying forth, for a countenance, a few of Chrysostom's words, and the same nothing to the matter, hewing and mangling them as him listeth best, requiring also subscription, as upon sufficient proof; and yet, in the same place and with one breath, himself secretly confessing the insufficiency and weakness of his proof.

These words of St Chrysostom, as they make nothing for private mass, so do they very well declare what the old fathers meant by these words, "oblation" and "sacrifice," in the holy ministration. Chrysostom compareth the sacrifices of the Jews in the law with the sacrifice of Christ in the gospel. He saith, the sacrifices of the law were many and unperfect⁶, and therefore daily renewed; this of the gospel is one and perfect⁷, and therefore everlasting: and resembleth the same unto a sovereign salve, which, being once laid on the wound, healeth it up thoroughly, and needeth no more laying on⁸.

Chrysost. ad Heb. Hom. 17.

He saith further, that we of the gospel have a sacrifice also, and that daily, but in remembrance of that sacrifice once made upon the cross. And although we sacrifice in sundry places, yet, saith he, the sacrifice is but one, because it hath relation unto that one sacrifice of Christ. And therefore he addeth: *Quomodo una est hostia, et non multæ? Quia semel oblata est, oblata est in sancta sanctorum. Hoc autem sacrificium exemplar illius est*⁸. "How is it one oblation, and not many? Because it was once offered, it was offered into the holy place; but this sacrifice (meaning the ministration of the sacrament) is an example of that." And what he meaneth by this word *exemplar*, he sheweth a few lines before: *Quæ formam tantum alicujus habent, exemplar ostendunt, non autem virtutem; sicut in imaginibus exemplar hominis habet imago, non etiam virtutem*⁹: "The things that bear only a likeness shew the samplar of some other thing, but not the power of the same: as an image sheweth the pattern of a man, but not the power of a man." Hereof St Chrysostom concludeth thus: "The thing that we do is done in remembrance of that thing that was done before. For Christ said, Do this in my remembrance¹⁰." Hereby it appeareth in what sense the old fathers used these words, "oblation" and "sacrifice."

Chrysost. ad Heb. Hom. 17.

Exemplar.

But what doth all this further M. Harding's private mass? Or, if it further it not, what doth it here? It is but a faint conclusion to say,

Chrysostom had the daily sacrifice;

Ergo, Chrysostom had private mass.

Soothly, good reader, if it had liked M. Harding to have given thee leave to read the next lines following in Chrysostom, thou mightest easily have seen the whole order of the holy ministration in his time. For thus he saith unto the people: *Per singulos dies intras in ecclesiam*¹¹: "Thou comest daily to the church." Whereby we see the priest was not in the church alone. Then, touching the

M. Harding nippeth Chrysostom's words.

⁵ Id. Ibid. p. 168.]

⁶ Unperfitte, 1565.]

⁷ Perfitte, 1565.]

⁸ Chrysost. Op. ibid.]

⁹ Id. ibid.]

¹⁰ Τοῦτο εἰς ἀνάμνησιν γίνεται τοῦ τότε γενομένου. τοῦτο γὰρ ποιεῖτέ, φησιν, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.—Id. ibid. p. 169.]

¹¹ Id. ibid. p. 170.]

Vocat sanctos.

sancta sanctis.

receiving, he saith: "The deacon at that hour calleth the holy, and by that voice, as it were, beholdeth the people's spots. For like as in a flock where as be many sound sheep, and many infected, the one must needs be sundered from the other; even so fareth it in the church. For some are sound, and some are sick. And by that voice the deacon divideth these from them. For that voice of his falling into our ears, as it were a hand, removeth and shutteth forth some, and other some it taketh in, and presenteth them to the congregation¹." I send thee not unto other places of Chrysostom, which be both many more and far plainer than this, but only unto this same place, out of which M. Harding hath picked as much as he thought good.

Chrysostom saith: "The people resorted daily to the church; the deacon sundered them with his voice, the sound from the sick; the one part to receive, the other to abstain; the one part he shut out at the time of the holy communion, the other he brought in and presented to the congregation." This was the ordinary practice of the church in Chrysostom's time: where we see plainly by his own report that he received not alone.

Yet saith M. Harding, "For proof of this, these following be such places as I am persuaded withal." By this cold conclusion he cutteth off credit from all that he hath hitherto said, as not making shew sufficient to win his purpose, and so condemneth his note made in the margin, which was, "Proofs for private mass;" and layeth all the burden of his grounds upon these other guesses that hereafter follow. Verily hitherto, for any thing that may appear by his book, notwithstanding his long time, his much reading, and great conference with all his fellows, he hath not yet found either the name of private mass in any old catholic writer, or the sole receiving of the priest. If he will have the world to believe him, and subscribe, he must leave his guesses, and bring some sound and substantial proofs.

M. HARDING. THE TWENTY-NINTH DIVISION.

Soter, bishop of Rome, about the year of our Lord 170, who suffered martyrdom under Antoninus Verus, the emperor, for order of celebrating the mass, made this statute or decree: Ut nullus presbyterorum... solennia celebrare præsumat, nisi duobus præsentibus, sibique respondentibus, [et] ipse tertius habeatur; quia cum pluraliter ab eo dicitur, Dominus vobiscum, et illud in secretis, Orate pro me; apertissime convenit, ut ipsius respondeatur salutationi²: This hath been ordained, "that no priest presume to celebrate the solemnity of the mass, except there be two present, and answer him, so as he himself³ be the third. For whereas he saith (as by way of speaking to many), Our Lord be with you, and likewise in the secrets, Pray you for me; it seemeth evidently convenient, that answer be made to his salutation accordingly." Which ancient decree requireth not that all people of necessity be present, (37) much less that all so oftentimes should communicate sacramentally; which thing it requireth neither of those two that ought to be present. If of the bare words of this decree a sufficient argument may not be made for our purpose, inducing, of the affirmation of that one thing there specified, the denial of that other thing we speak of, which manner of argument is commonly used of our adversaries; then more weight may be put unto it in this case; for that, whereas the receiving of Christ's body is a far greater matter than to answer the priest at mass, if that holy bishop and martyr had thought it so necessary, as that the mass might not be done without it, doubtless of very reason and convenience he would and should have specially

De Con.
Dist. 1. can.
Hoc quoque
statutum.

The thirty-seventh untruth.
For all that were present were willed either to communicate, or to depart.
A bare collection.

[¹ Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ διάκονος ἐπιφωνεῖ τότε τοὺς ἁγίους καλῶν, καὶ διὰ τῆς φωνῆς ταύτης μωμοσκοπῶν ἅπαντας, ὥστε μὴ προσελθεῖν τινα ἀπαράσκευον. καθάπερ γὰρ ἐπὶ ποίμνης, ἐνθα πολλά μὲν ὑγιαίνει πρόβατα, πολλὰ δὲ ψάρας ἀναπέπληται, ἀνάγκη ταῦτα διείργεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ὑγιαίνοντων· οὕτω καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ τὰ μὲν ἐστὶν ὑγιαινὰ πρόβατα, τὰ δὲ κεκακωμένα, διὰ τῆς φωνῆς ταύτης διείργει ταῦτα ἐκείων... ἡ γὰρ

φωνὴ ἐκείνη εἰς τὴν ἀκοὴν ἐμπίπτουσα τὴν ἡμετέραν, καθάπερ χεῖρ, τοὺς μὲν ὠθεῖ καὶ ἐκβάλλει, τοὺς δὲ εἰσάγει καὶ παρίστησιν.—Id. ibid. pp. 170, 1.]

[² Soter. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. i. can. 61. col. 1907; where we find *aptissime*.]

[³ H. A. 1564, omits *himself*.]

spoken of that, rather than of the other. But for that he thought otherwise, he required only of necessity the presence of two, for the purpose above mentioned.

Epistles
decretal.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Some say, this decree was made by pope Anacletus; some others say, by Soter; and so they seem not to be yet thoroughly resolved upon the author⁴. But if we had not good cause to doubt of the authority of these decrees and epistles decretal, we would the less doubt of their doctrine. It was evermore the common practice of deceivers to blaze their doings by the names of such as they knew to be in estimation in the world. For, to pass by Homer, Hesiod, Cicero, Plautus, and such others counted learned and famous among the heathens, in whose names many counterfeit books were set abroad, St Paul himself willeth the Thessalonians not to suffer themselves to be drawn from their faith, "neither by spirit, nor by talk, nor by letters⁵ as sent from him." By which last words he signifieth that letters sometimes were falsified and set abroad in his name. So were there given out gospels in the name of Peter, Thomas, and other the apostles; and other matters of small weight in the names of Augustine, Hierome, Ambrose, Cyprian, and other like. This was unto some a common pastime; and many godly fathers complain much of it.

Wherefore we ought the less to marvel if the like have happened unto Anacletus, Evaristus, Soter, and such others as followed immediately in Rome after the apostles' time.

Gratian sheweth that the decretal epistles have been doubted of among the learned⁶. And doctor Smith, although his authority be not great, declared openly at Paul's cross, that they cannot possibly be theirs whose names they bare. And, to utter some reasons shortly for proof thereof, these decretal epistles manifestly deprave and abuse the scriptures, as it may soon appear unto the godly reader upon the sight. They maintain nothing so much as the state and kingdom of the pope; and yet was there no such state erected in many hundred years after the apostles' time: they publish a multitude of vain and superstitious ceremonies, and other like fantasies, far unlike the apostles' doctrine: they proclaim such things as M. Harding knoweth to be open and known lies.

Anacletus, that was next after Peter, willeth and straitly commandeth, that all bishops once in the year do visit the entry of St Peter's church in Rome, which they call *Limina Petri*⁷. Yet was there then no church yet built there in the name of Peter: for pope Cornelius saith (as he is alleged) that he first took up St Peter's body, and buried the same in Apollo's church in Rome, at the least one hundred and forty years after that Anacletus was dead⁸. Pope Antherus maketh mention of Eusebius Alexandrinus, and Felix⁹, which lived a long time after him; and therefore was it not possible for him to know them. Fabianus writeth of the coming of Novatus into Italy¹⁰; and yet it is clear by St Cyprian and by Eusebius, that Novatus came first into Italy in the time of Cornelius, which was next after him¹¹. And, to leave a number of other conjectures, which may be hereafter more aptly touched some other where, neither St Hierome, nor Gennadius, entreating of the ecclesiastical writer¹², nor Damasus, writing purposely of the lives of the bishops of Rome before him, ever made any mention, either of such epistles, or of any such decrees; which they would not have dissembled, if there had been any such extant, or known in their time.

Dist. 19; de
Epist.
Anno secur-
do Edwardi
sexti.

Dist. 97.
Juxta Sanc-
torum.

In Decretal.
Corneli.

Cypr. Lib. i.
Epist. 3.
Euseb. Lib.
vi. cap. xlii.

[⁴ Polyd. Verg. De Invent. Rer. Amst. 1671. Lib. v. cap. xii. p. 356.]

[⁵ Letter, 1565, 1609.]

[⁶ De epistolis vero decretalibus quaeritur, an vim auctoritatis obtineant, &c.—Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xix. col. 79.]

[⁷ ...omnes episcopi...annue circa Idus Maii sanctorum principum apostolorum Petri et Pauli liminibus praesententur, &c.—Anacl. et Zach. in eod. Dist. xciii. can. 4. col. 441.]

[⁸ Postea vero beati apostolorum principis Petri accepimus corpus, et...posuimus illud...in templo Apollinis, &c.—Cornel. Epist. i. in Concil. Labb.

et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 669.]

[⁹ Ant. Epist. in eod. Tom. I. col. 630.]

[¹⁰ ...supervenit Novatus ex Africa, et separavit de ecclesia Christi Novatianum, &c.—Fabian. Epist. i. in eod. Tom. I. 637.]

[¹¹ The places referred to are Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695—1700. Lib. vi. cap. xliii. pp. 197, &c.; and Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Epist. ad Cornel. lix. pp. 126, &c. It may be sufficient to add that Pearson places the death of Fabian, Jan. 20, 250, and the arrival of Novatus in Rome, Jan. 251. Annal. Cypr. pp. 18, 27.]

[¹² Writers, 1565.]

Thus have I briefly given a taste of these decretal authorities, that the reader may the better understand of what credit they ought to be.

Now touching the matter, that by this decree of Soter, bishop of Rome, it should then be lawful for the priest there to say mass, having only two others in his company, the state and story of the time considered, it seemeth very unlikely.

1. For both St Augustine¹ and St Hierome², who lived two hundred and fifty years after Soter, have recorded that the people of Rome, even in their time, used to receive the communion together every day; which practice can hardly stand with that is here imagined.

August.
Epist. 118. ad
Januarium.
August. in
Joh. Tract.
26.
Hieron. in
Apologia ad-
versus Jovi-
nianum.

The words also themselves³ imply a manifest contrariety. For this word *solemnia*, which here is used, seemeth to import a solemn company or resort of the people. And yet this Soter, requiring to this action only the company of three persons, nevertheless calleth it *Missarum solennia*.

2. people. And yet this Soter, requiring to this action only the company of three persons, nevertheless calleth it *Missarum solennia*.
3. As touching the causes mentioned in this decree, which are, that the priest may seem conveniently and aptly to say in the plural number, "The Lord be with you," and, "Brethren, pray you for me;" it may well be doubted whether *Dominus vobiscum*, or *Orate pro me fratres*, were any part of the liturgy of Rome in Soter's time. For Damasus, which was bishop of Rome two hundred and fifty years after that, writeth unto St Hierome, that things were done with such simplicity in the church of Rome in his time, that upon the Sunday there was nothing else but some epistle of the apostle, or some chapter of the gospel read openly unto the people⁴; which whether he meant of the holy ministration or no, I leave further to be considered.

Damas. in
Epist. ad
Hieron.

4. Further, this same Soter requireth that both these two, and as many others as be present, make answer unto the priest; wherein is included both nearness of place for the people to stand in and to hear, and also a common known tongue; which both are contrary to M. Harding's mass.

5. Moreover, touching these two, whose presence is required, question is moved by the canonists, whether they ought to be two clerks or two laymen; or one clerk and one layman; or one man and one woman. The resolution whereof is that they must be two clerks⁵.

De Con. Dist.
1. Hoc quo-
que. In
Glossa.

6. Howbeit the matter is otherwise determined, that, if the mass be public, there must needs be two at the least; but, if it be a private mass, that then one is sufficient⁶.

Summa An-
geli Missa
38.

7. Gerson likewise saith that the priest may well say, *Dominus vobiscum*, although there be but one present at his mass. For it may be presumed, saith he, that the priest speaketh not only unto that one, but also unto the whole church⁷. Thus we see, notwithstanding Soter's determination, the number of two for a shift may well be abridged.

Gerson con-
tra Floretum.
Lib. iv.

8. Pope Innocentius hath yet another fetch to help the matter. He saith, though there be but one there, yet may the priest nevertheless say, *Dominus vobiscum*; because it may be thought there be angels there to supply men's rooms⁸.

Innocent.
Lib. ii. cap.
xx. de Off.
Miss.

9. Again, that there were any such secrecies in the mass in the time of Soter, it

[¹ August. Op. Par. 1679—1700. Ad Inquis. Januar. Lib. i. seu Epist. liv. 2. Tom. II. col. 124. See before, page 17, note 17.]

Id. ibid. In Joan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 15. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 500. See before, page 169.]

[² Hieron. Op. Par. 1693—1706. Epist. xxx. ad Pammach. pro Libr. adv. Jovin. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 239. See before, page 156.]

[³ Themselves, 1565.]

[⁴ ...qui tantæ apud nos simplicitatis indago est, ut tantum in die dominica apostoli epistola una recitetur, et evangelii capitulum unum dicatur, &c.—Damas. Epist. iii. ad Hieron. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. col. 868.]

[⁵ Satis videtur, quod debent esse duo clerici.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. i. Gloss. in can.

61. col. 1907.]

[⁶ Quarto debent esse saltem duo præsentés celebrationi missarum. De Cons. dist. i. Hoc quoque. et hoc verum in missa publica. sed in missa privata potest dici uno præsenté servitore solum, qui respondeat in persona totius populi.—Clavas. Summ. Angel. Hagen. 1509. Missa 38. fol. 213. 2.]

[⁷ Queritur hic utrum semper debeat sacerdos dicere *Dominus vobiscum*. Solutio. Dicendum quod sic posito casu, quod non esset nisi unus in missa sua, quia loquitur toti ecclesie.—Floret. Lugd. 1499. Lib. iv. fol. 88.]

[⁸ Pie quoque credendum est, et sacris auctoribus comprobatur, quod angeli Dei comites assistant orantibus, &c.—Innocent. Pont. Max. III. Op. Col. 1575. Myst. Miss. Lib. II. cap. xxv. Tom. I. p. 344.]

were very hard for M. Harding to prove. For then every piece of the mass was spoken aloud, that the people might hear it, and say *Amen*. And indeed to say unto the people, "Pray for me, brethren and sisters," as it is now used in the mass, unless the people may hear and understand the same, it is a mockery. And yet Durandus saith: [*Sacerdos*] *ante secretellam . . . volvens se ad populum dicturus, Orate fratres, &c. debet dicere, Dominus vobiscum sub silentio*⁹: "The priest before the little secret turning himself to the people to say, Brethren, pray for me, must say, The Lord be with you, under silence." Durand. Lib. iv.

Now saith M. Harding, "Soter's decree is not that these two should communicate with the priest, but only requireth their presence; *ergo*, it is likely the priest received alone; which is an argument much used among our adversaries." But what if these two will not come, neither to communicate, nor to be present at all? Verily, by M. Harding's mind the priest's devotion ought not to stay for want of company. For these be his very words a little before: "Well, none cometh: this is not a sufficient cause why the faithful and godly priest, inflamed with the love of God, feeling himself hungry and thirsty after the heavenly food and drink, should be kept from it¹⁰," &c. This is a cause sufficient, saith Soter: it is no sufficient cause, saith M. Harding. The judgment hereof I refer unto the reader. Page 12.

Touching the force of the argument, wherewith he chargeth us by the name of his adversaries, I trust there doth already appear some difference between our proofs and his guesses. But the argument that he meaneth, and not very plainly uttereth, is called in the schools *argumentum ab auctoritate negative*; which is thought to be good, whensoever proof is taken of God's word, and is used not only by us, but also by St Paul, and by many of the catholic fathers. St Paul saith: "God said not unto Abraham, In thy seeds all nations shall be blessed, but, In thy seed, which is Christ." And thereof he thought he made a good argument. Gal. iii.

Likewise saith Origen: "The bread which the Lord gave unto his disciples, saying unto them, Take, and eat, he deferred not, nor commanded to be reserved until the next day¹¹." Such arguments Origen and other learned fathers thought to stand for good, whatsoever misliking M. Harding hath found in them. This kind of proof is thought to hold in God's commandments, for that they be full and perfect¹², and God hath specially charged us that we should neither put to them nor take from¹³ them; and therefore it seemeth good unto them that have learned of Christ, *Unus est magister vester Christus*: "Christ only is your master;" and have heard the voice of God the Father from heaven, *Ipsium audite*: "Give ear unto him." But unto them that add to the word of God what them listeth, and make God's will subject unto their will, and break God's commandments for their own traditions' sake, unto them it seemeth not good. To conclude, if this manner of reasoning be good, why doth M. Harding reprove it? If it be naught, why doth he use it, and that even in the same place where he doth reprove it? Orig. in Levit. Hom. 5.

But, saith M. Harding, Soter required¹⁴ only the presence of two, and these two were not commanded to communicate; *ergo*, the priest did receive alone; and so there was undoubtedly private mass. But mark well a little, good reader. If these two were bound to communicate with the priest, then, notwithstanding this decree, M. Harding hath not yet found his private mass. Then consider this decree written in the name of pope Calixtus: *Peracta consecratione, omnes communicent, qui noluerint ecclesiasticis carere liminibus. Sic enim et apostoli statuerunt, et sancta Romana tenet ecclesia*¹⁵: "The consecration being done, let all communicate, unless they will be removed from the church. For so the apostles appointed; and so holdeth the holy church of Rome." By this decree these two were bound either to communicate with the priest, or to depart forth of the church. If they did communicate, then hath M. Harding here no private mass: Matt. xxiii.
Matt. xvii.
Matt. xv.
De Con. Dist. 2.
Peracta.
De Con. Dist. 1.
Episcopos Deo.

[⁹ Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Lugd. 1565. Lib. iv. cap. xiv. 9. fol. 110; where we have *sub silentio*: *Dominus vobiscum*.]

[¹⁰ See before, page 118.]

[¹¹ Nam et Dominus panem, quem discipulis dabat, et dicebat eis, Accipite et manducate, non distulit, nec servari jussit in crastinum.—Orig. Op.

Par. 1733-59. In Levit. Hom. v. 8. Tom. II. p. 211.]

[¹² Perfite, 1565.]

[¹³ Fro, 1565.]

[¹⁴ Requireth, 1565.]

[¹⁵ Anaclet. [tribuebatur Calixto] in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 10. col. 1917. Ibid. Dist. i. can. 59. col. 1907.]

if they departed forth, then could the priest say no mass at all; for Soter at least requireth the presence of two.

Again, the argument that M. Harding gathereth out of this decree,

Three persons were present;

Ergo, two of them did not receive,

is utterly unsensible and void of reason. Rather he might have concluded thus:

Soter willeth that two be present;

Ergo, much more he willeth that the same two do communicate.

It may also stand with reason, and with the common practice of the church at that time, that these two, whose presence Soter requireth, were priests or deacons, or otherwise of the clergy, and that over and beside the company of the people; as indeed it is determined by the gloss¹. And so this decree of Soter agreeth with another decree of Anacletus made to the like purpose, that is, "That the bishop at the ministration have about him a certain number of deacons, subdeacons, and other ministers, besides the common multitude of the lay-people²:" and likewise with another decree of the same Soter, that is, "That every priest making the sacrifice have by him another priest to assist him, and to make an end of the ministration, if any qualm or sickness happen to fall upon him³." And this assistance of the priest is required, notwithstanding the presence of others, either of the clerks or of the laity.

Now being priests or clerks, and being present at the ministration, the law specially constrained them to receive the holy communion with the minister, as it appeareth by this decree written in the canons of the apostles: "If any bishop, or priest, or deacon, or any other of the clerks, after the oblation is made, do not communicate, either let him shew cause thereof, that, if it be found reasonable, he may be excused; or, if he shew no cause, let him be excommunicate⁴."

Thus whosoever these two were, whose presence Soter required, whether they were of the laity or of the clergy, the law constrained them to receive together with the priest; and therefore M. Harding hath hitherto found a communion, and no manner token or inkling of his private mass.

M. HARDING. THE THIRTIETH DIVISION.

In a council holden at Agatha, a city of France, then called Gallia, about the time of Chrysostom, an old decree of Fabianus, bishop of Rome and martyr, and also of the council Elibertine, in the time of St Sylvester, Anno Domini 314, was renewed, that all secular christian folk should be houseled three times every year, at Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas⁵. It was there also decreed that they should hear the whole mass every Sunday, and not depart before the priest had given blessing⁶. So they were bound to hear mass every Sunday, and to receive the communion but thrice in the year. The

Ex Con. Agath. Can. 31. Missas die dominico secularibus totas audire, speciali ordine precipimus: ita ut ante benedictionem sacerdotis egredi populus non presumat. quod si fecerint, ab episcopo publice confundantur.

self-same order was decreed in the council of Orleans⁷. Then of like, specially in small towns and villages, they had mass without the communion of many together sometimes.

De Con. Dist. 1. Cum ad celebrandas Missas.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding knoweth well that these decrees which he here allegeth could never be found written, neither in the council holden at Agatha in France, nor at

¹ Gloss. in can. 61. *ibid.*

² *Episcopus Deo sacrificans testes secum habeat...In solemnioribus quippe diebus aut septem, aut quinque, aut tres diaconos...et subdiaconos, atque reliquos ministros secum habeat.*—Anaclet. in eod. *ibid.* Dist. i. can. 59. *ibid.*

³ *...necessarium duximus instituere, ut...habeat quisque...sacrificans post se vicini solaminis adiutorem: ut, si aliquo casu ille...turbatus fuerit, vel ad terram elisus, a tergo semper habeat, qui ejus vicem exequatur intrepidus, et officium inceptum adimpleat.*—Ex Decret. Soter. in eod. *ibid.* can. 58. col. 1906.]

⁴ *Εἰ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ, προσφορὰς γενομένης μὴ μεταλάβοι, τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπάτω. καὶ εἰ ἐὰν εὐλογος ἦ, συγγνώμης τυγχανέτω. εἰ δὲ μὴ λέγει, ἀφορίζεσθω. κ. τ. λ.*—Canon. Apost. 8. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 25.]

⁵ *Ex Concil. Agath. c. 18. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, Dist. ii. can. 19. col. 1920.]*

⁶ *Ex Concil. Agath. c. 47. in eod. *ibid.* Dist. i. can. 64. col. 1908.]*

⁷ *Ex Concil. Aurel. i. c. 28. in eod. can. 65. *ibid.*]*

De Con.
Dist. 1.
Hoc quoque.
In Glossa.
De Con.
Dist. 1.
Episcopus
Deo.
De Con.
Dist. 1.
Ut illud.

Canon.
Apost. Can.
9.

Private Mass
proved by
likelihood.

M. Harding
allegeth
councils that
cannot be
found.

the other council holden at Eliberis, now called Granado, in Spain; but were set forth many hundred years after in the name of those councils, by one Gratian, a man of great diligence, as may appear by his gathering, but of no great judgment, as we may see by his choice. Yet here M. Harding shuffleth a great many of them together, that the one may the better countenance the other.

To hear
mass.

But let us receive the authority of these decrees, and grant there was no error committed by Gratian in his gathering; yet will they stand M. Harding in small stead. For, as in many other matters they utterly cast him, so they nothing relieve him for his mass. For thus it is concluded by both these councils: *Qui in natali Domini, paschate, et pentecoste non communicant, catholici non credantur, nec inter catholicos habeantur*⁸: "They that receive not the communion at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, let them not be taken nor reckoned for catholic people." It appeareth by these general councils, that in the whole church of Rome, saving only a few massing priests, there is not one man worthy to be accounted catholic.

De Con.
Dist. 2.
Secularis.

And to draw near to the purpose, whoso will narrowly view the points of these decrees shall soon see they cannot stand with the very form and order of the church of those days. For, besides that I have already proved by the authority of St Hierome and St Augustine, that the holy communion was then ministered unto the people in Rome every day, Fabianus also, bishop of Rome, which is likewise brought forth here for a witness, hath plainly decreed, not that the people should hear mass every Sunday, as it is soothly warranted by M. Harding, but that they should receive the communion every Sunday. His words be plain: *Decernimus ut in omnibus dominicis diebus altaris oblatio ab omnibus viris et mulieribus fiat, tam panis, quam vini*⁹: "We decree that every Sunday the oblation of the altar be made of all men and women, both of bread and of wine." Here, besides that in these words is included the receiving of the communion every Sunday, may be noted also by the way that, by this authority of Fabian, men and women made the sacrifice of the altar, and that of bread and wine, and therefore after the order of Melchisedech. Therefore St Bernard saith: *Non solus [sacerdos] sacrificat, ... sed totus conventus fidelium*¹⁰: "Not only the priest sacrificeth, but also the whole company of the faithful." These things well considered, the sense that M. Harding would so fain wring out of these decrees will seem unlikely.

Inter Decreta
Fabiani,
cap. 7.

Bernard. in
Serm. in die
Purific.
Tom. ii.

Moreover, when did St Augustine, St Hierome, St Chrysostom, or any other learned father or doctor of that age, ever use this manner of speech, *audire missas*, "to hear mass?" Certainly this phrase was so far unacquainted and unknown in that world, that the very originals of these decrees have it not, but only have these words, *tenere missas*, "to hold mass;" as may be seen in the book of councils, noted purposely in the margin¹¹. The Italians this day seem to speak far better. For of them that hear mass, and understand not what they hear, they say, *videre missas*, that is, not to hear, but "to see mass."

Con. Agath.
can. 31.

And, forsomuch as M. Harding seemeth to delight himself with this kind of speech, "to hear mass," to the intent he may make some simple body believe that the people, hearing that they understand not, are nevertheless well and devoutly occupied, and therein follow the order of the primitive church; I will also demand of him, what learned doctor or ancient father ever took hearing in that sense. Surely Christ in the godly joineth hearing and understanding both together. Thus he saith: *Audite et intelligite*: "Hear ye and understand ye." And the wise man saith: "If thou give thine ear, thou shalt receive knowledge." And God himself in the Deuteronomy saith: "Thou shalt read the words of this law in the presence of all the people of Israel, &c. that they hearing may learn, and fear the Lord your God, and may keep and fulfil all the words of this law."

To hear mass.

Hearing.

Matt. xv.

Eccius. vi.

Deut. xxxi.

⁸ Ex Concil. Agath. c. 18. in eod. ibid. Dist. ii. can. 19. col. 1920; where we read *pascha* and *communicaverint*.]

⁹ Decret. Fabian. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. I. col. 650.]

¹⁰ Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. De Purif. B. Mar.

Serm. v. 16. Vol. II. Tom. vi. col. 961. The Benedictine editor ascribes this sermon, though with some hesitation, to Guerrius.]

¹¹ Concil. Agath. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. cap. 47. Tom. I. p. 618; where on *missas tenere* in the decree is a marginal note *audire*.]

To hear
mass.

2 Kings xviii.

Cic. in Tusc.
Quæst.

De Auctori-
tate et Con-
sen. Tut. et
Cur. Non
multum.

De Verbor. et
Rer. Signi-
ficat.

Andr. Alciat.

To hear mass.
To see the
sermon.

Pol. 12. b.

Chrysost. in
1 Cor. Hom.
35.

1 Cor. xiv.

Isai. vi.
Matt. xiii.

Of like.

And in the book of Kings it is written thus: *Loquere nobis Syriace, nam audimus*: "Speak to us in the Syrian tongue; for we hear it." That is to say: "For we understand it." And to that use hath God endued us with the sense of hearing, that thereby we might learn and attain knowledge. And therefore Aristotle calleth hearing the sense of understanding: for hearing, void of all manner understanding, is no hearing. Cicero saith: *In illis linguis quas non intelligimus, quæ sunt innumerabiles, surdi profecto sumus*¹: "In the tongues that we understand not, which are innumerable, we are doubtless deaf, and hear nothing." By this it appeareth that the simple people, hearing mass in a strange language, is deaf, and heareth no mass at all.

The emperor Justinian likewise² saith: *Non multum interest, [utrum] ahfuerit tutor, cum negotium contraheretur, an præsens ignoraverit, quale esset quod contraheretur*³: "There is no great difference, whether the tutor were absent when the bargain was made (in the behoof of his pupil), or being present understood not the manner of the bargain." Likewise also in another place he saith: *Coram Titio aliquid facere jussus, non videtur præsente eo fecisse, nisi is intelligat*⁴: "He that is commanded to do a thing in the presence of Titius seemeth not to do it in his presence, unless he understand it." Upon the which words Alciat writeth thus: *Quid...opus erat ejus præsentiam adhibere, qui quod agatur non intelligat? Siquidem aiebat Epicharmus philosophus, mentem esse, quæ videt, non oculos. Qui igitur animo non adest, abesse videtur*⁵: "What needeth his presence, that understandeth not what is done? For the philosopher Epicharmus saith: 'It is the mind that seeth, and not the eyes.' Therefore he that is not present with his mind (to understand what is done) may be taken for absent."

I have alleged these authorities rather than other, for that in them we may see the very light and sense of nature. How then can M. Harding think he may steal away invisible under the cloke of these words, "of hearing mass?" Verily in the savour and judgment of common reason, it is as strange and as fond a speech to say, I will hear mass, as it is to say, I will see the sermon. For what is there in the mass that the unlearned can hear? The oblation that they imagine is an outward action or doing, and therefore is to be seen, and not to be heard: the consecration, as they use it, is spoken in silence, and may not in any wise be heard: their communion is none at all, and therefore cannot be heard. These be the three substantial parts, whereof, as M. Harding saith, the whole mass consisteth. How then can he say, the unlearned man heareth mass, that heareth not one part of the mass?

If by this word "mass" he understand the prayers that be said in the mass, the unlearned understandeth them not, and therefore heareth them not. Chrysostom, speaking of him that heareth the prayers in a strange unknown tongue, saith thus: *Tu recte oras: Spiritu scilicet concitatus sonas: sed ille nec audiens nec intelligens ea quæ dicis, parvam ex ea re utilitatem capit*⁶: "Thou prayest well; for thou soundest out words, being moved by the Spirit; but the unlearned, neither hearing nor understanding what thou sayest, hath thereby but small profit."

Likewise saith St Paul: *Qui loquitur lingua, non hominibus loquitur, sed Deo; nullus enim audit*: "He that speaketh with tongue speaketh not unto men, but unto God; for no man heareth him." M. Harding saith: "The unlearned heareth the mass and other prayers, yea, although he understand not one word that is spoken." But St Paul and St Chrysostom say: "The unlearned heareth not, because he understandeth not." God saith unto the wicked, and not unto the godly: "Ye shall hear with your ears, and shall not understand."

Now let us see what M. Harding gathereth out of these two councils. "Then of like (saith he), specially in small towns and villages, they had mass without the communion of many together." "Of like" was never good argument in any schools.

Thou seest, good reader, the best that here can be had is but a guess, and, as it

[¹ Cic. Tusc. Disp. Lib. v. 40; where *his*.]

[² 1565 omits *likewise*.]

[³ Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Digest. Lib. xxvi. Tit. viii. 14. Tom. I. p. 375.]

[⁴ Id. *ibid.* Lib. L. Tit. xvi. 209. Tom. I. p. 785.]

[⁵ Alciat. De Verb. Signif. Lugd. 1530. Comm. Lex ccix. p. 233; where we have *mentem eam esse, quæ videat, non autem oculos*.]

[⁶ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. 1. ad Cor. Hom. xxxv. Tom. X. p. 326. *ὁ δὲ μὲν γὰρ καλῶς εὐχαριστεῖς*, Græce.]

shall afterward appear, a very simple and a blind guess. It is a wonder to see so great a matter, and so single proofs. You have taught the people that in your mass Christ himself is presently and really sacrificed for the sins of the world; that all that ever he did or suffered for our sakes is lively expressed in the same⁷; and that all kings, princes, and other estates must needs stoop unto it. And yet was the same, for the space of six hundred years, to be found only in poor towns and villages, and that only by guess and blind conjecture, and none otherwise? Or could it never all that while once enter into any city or good town? And, being so good a thing, can no man tell us who published it and said it first?

To hear
mass.

Innoc. III. in
Prolog. De
Offic. Miss.
Durand. Lib.
iv.
Rupert.
De Missa.

But what if the very words of these councils, whereupon M. Harding hath founded his mass, make manifest proof against his mass? The words be these: "All secular christian folk be bound to receive the communion at the least thrice in the year." This relaxation or privilege is granted only unto the secular Christians. Whereof it followeth necessarily, that all ecclesiastical persons, as priests, deacons, clerks, and others whatsoever of that sort, were not excepted, but stood still bound to receive orderly, as they had done before; and that was at all times, whensoever there was any ministration. And so by the plain words of these councils the priest received not alone; neither hath M. Harding yet found out his private mass.

But that the whole matter may the better appear, not by guess or aim, but by the very ecclesiastical order of that age, we must understand that these and such other like decrees were made, not for the greatest part of the people, that in those days used to communicate in all their assemblies, but for a few, that were negligent and haled back. For otherwise the general order doth well appear by all the ecclesiastical records of that time.

And whereas M. Harding hath taken exception of small towns and villages, which he guesseth had then the private mass, it was decreed and straitly ordered in a council holden at Gerunda in Spain, that all little churches in the country should conform themselves unto the great cathedral churches that were in cities and towns, as well for order of the communion, as also for singing, and other ministration⁸. But, by M. Harding's own grant, there was no private mass then in cathedral churches. It followeth therefore necessarily (this council of Gerunda standing in force), that there was no private mass then in towns or villages.

Con. Gerund.
can. 1.
De Con.
Dist. 2.
[Institutio
Missarum,
1265.]

And that the people did then commonly receive the sacrament every Sunday, it appeareth by most certain and undoubted proofs. The council holden at Matiscona in Italy hath this canon: *Decevimus, ut omnibus dominicis diebus altaris oblatio ab omnibus viris et mulieribus offeratur*⁹: "We have decreed that every Sunday the oblation of the altar be offered of all, both men and women." Likewise the council holden at Antisiodorum: [*Decernimus*] *ut unaquæque mulier, quando communicat, dominicalem suam habeat. Quod si non habuerit, usque in alium diem dominicum non communicet*¹⁰: "We decree that every woman, when she doth communicate, have her dominical. If she have it not, let her not communicate until the next Sunday." Likewise Carolus Magnus, a long while after, among other his ecclesiastical laws, writeth thus: *Ut populi oblationes sacerdotibus in ecclesia offerant, et in die dominico communicent*¹¹. "That the people offer their oblations unto the priests in the church, and receive the communion upon the Sunday." By these councils and decrees it appeareth plainly, without guess or gloss, that the people used commonly in all that time, and long after, to communicate the holy mysteries every Sunday. Therefore M. Harding must yet seek further for his private mass.

Concil. Ma-
tison. ii.
cap. 4.

Concil. Antis.
cap. 42.

Lib. vi. cap.
162.
Ex Cassandr.

[⁷ Innoc. Pont. Max. III. Op. Col. 1575. Prolog. Myst. Miss. Tom. I. p. 318.

Durand. Rat. Div. Off. Lugd. 1565. Lib. iv. cap. i. 11. fol. 87.

Rupert. De Div. Offic. 1526. Lib. i. cap. xvii. pp. 15, &c.]

[⁸ Institutio missarum sicut in metropolitana ecclesia agitur, ita in Dei nomine in omnibus provinciis tam ipsius missæ ordo, quam psallendi, vel ministrandi consuetudo servetur.—Ex Concil. Gerund. cap. i. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can.

31. col. 1925.]

[⁹ Concil. Matiscon. II. can. 4. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. V. col. 981.]

[¹⁰ Concil. Autis. in eod. can. 42. Tom. V. col. 961; where we have *si qua non*. The dominical is there explained to be a napkin in which the eucharist was to be received. It was, however, more probably, a veil. See Bingham, Orig. Eccles. Book xv. chap. v. 7.]

[¹¹ Ex Leg. Car. Magn. Lib. vi. cap. 162. in Cassandr. Op. Par. 1616. Liturg. cap. xxvii. p. 61; where we find *dominica*.]

Missa
signifieth
the com-
munion.

The thirty-
eighth un-
truth.
For³ th^e re
appeareth no
such thing,
but rather
the contrary.

M. HARDING. THE THIRTY-FIRST DIVISION.

In that council of Agatha we find a decree, made by the fathers assembled Can. 21.
there, whereof (38) it appeareth that priests oftentimes¹ said mass without others
receiving with them. And thus³ much it is in English: "If any man will have an⁴
oratory or chapel abroad in the country, beside the parish churches, in which lawful
and ordinary assembly is, for the rest of the holy days, that he have masses there, in
consideration of weariness of the household, with just ordinance we do⁵ permit. But
at Easter, Christ's birth, Epiphany, the Ascension of our Lord, Whitsunday, and the⁵
Nativity of St John Baptist, and if there be any other special feasts, let them not
keep their masses, but in the cities and parishes. And as for the clerks, if any will
do, or have their masses, at the aforesaid feasts, in chapels, unless the bishop so
command or permit, let them be thrust out from communion⁶." By this decree we
learn that then masses were commonly said in private chapels at home, at such times
as the people were not accustomed to be houseled. For when by commandment and
common order they received their rights, as in the aforesaid feasts, then were the
priests prohibited to say masses in private oratories or chapels, without the parish
churches. And hereof we may plainly understand that in such places priests custo-
mably said masses of their own and of the householders' devotion, when none of the
household were disposed to receive with them. The like decree is to be found, Concilii
Arvernensis, cap. 14⁷; Concil. Constantinopol. Generalis in Trullo, cap. 31⁸.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

This objection, being all one with the former, may the sooner be discharged
by the former answer.

Missa used
for the com-
munion.

Notwithstanding, here we may learn by the way, that the old fathers, when
they use this word *missa*, mean not thereby a private mass, as M. Harding would
fain have it taken, but a communion. These be the words: "At Easter, Christ-
mas, Epiphany, the Ascension of our Lord, Whitsunday, and at the Nativity of
St John the Baptist, let them hold their masses, *teneant missas*, in cities or
parishes." Now it is known and confessed by M. Harding, that in great parishes
and cities, at their solemn feasts, they used to have general communions for all
the whole people, and no private mass.

Missa used
for any as-
sembly of the
people.

Notwithstanding, for avoiding of error, it is also further to be marked, that
this same word *missa*, in the old writers, sometime signifieth no mass at all, nei-
ther private nor common, but only a resort and meeting of the people together
in place and time of prayer; as it may sundry ways appear, and namely by old
translations out of the Greek into Latin touching the same. For that the Greek
writer uttereth by the word that signifieth an assembly or meeting of the people,
the same doth the Latin interpreter oftentimes translate by this word *missa*. For
example, Sozomenus in Greek writeth thus: ἐκκλησιάζοντος τοῦ λαοῦ⁹; that is: "When
the people came together;" that doth Epiphanius translate into Latin thus: *Cum
populus... congregaretur ad missas*¹⁰: "When the people came to mass." Likewise
Socrates writeth thus in the Greek: καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐκκλησιάζειν¹¹; that is to say: "To
have a congregation or assembly by themselves;" that doth Epiphanius translate
into Latin thus: *Apud seipsos missarum celebrare solennia*¹²; that is: "Among

Soz. Lib. vii.
cap. v.
Epiphanius
in Trip. Hist.
Lib. ix. cap.
ix.
Socr. Lib. v.
cap. xv.

Epiph. in
Trip. Lib. vii.
cap. xxxi.

[¹ Oftimes, H. A. 1564.] [² 1565 omits *for*.]

[³ This, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[⁴ And, H. A. 1564.]

[⁵ H. A. 1564 omits *do* and *the*.]

[⁶ Si quis etiam extra parochias, in quibus legiti-
mus est ordinariusque conventus, oratorium in agro
habere voluerit; reliquis festivitibus, ut ibi missas
teneat propter fatigationem familiæ, justa ordina-
tione permittimus: pascha vero, natale Domini, epi-
phania, ascensionem Domini, pentecostem, et natalem
S. Joannis Baptistæ, vel si qui maximi dies in festi-
vitibus habentur, non nisi in civitatibus aut in
parochiis teneant. Clerici vero, si qui in festivitati-
bus, quas supra diximus, in oratoriis, nisi jubente
aut permittente episcopo, missas facere aut tenere

voluerint, a communione pellantur.—Concil. Agath.
can. 21. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par.
1671-2. Tom. IV. col. 1386.]

[⁷ Concil. Arvern. in eod. can. 15. Tom. IV. col.
1806.]

[⁸ Concil. Quinisext. in eod. can. 31. Tom. VI.
col. 1155.]

[⁹ Sozom. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-
1700. Lib. vii. cap. v. p. 576.]

[¹⁰ Hist. Trip. Par. Lib. ix. cap. ix. fol. R. 8.;
where we find *dum*.]

[¹¹ Sozom. Lib. vi. cap. xv. p. 534. There ap-
pears to be an error in the reference to Socrates.]

[¹² Hist. Trip. Lib. vii. cap. xxxi. fol. P. 3.; where
semetipsos.]

themselves to celebrate the solemnity¹³ of the mass." In these and many other like places, which I purposely pass by, it must needs be confessed, that *missa* cannot any way be taken for the mass, but only for an assembly of the people. For which cause all manner of common prayers many times are called *missa*, as may be seen in Cassianus, an ancient writer, and sometime scholar to St Chrysostom, In *Canone Divinarum Orationum*¹⁴, and in Honorius and others, sufficient only to be touched. But amongst all other significations, it cannot be found that this word *missa* in any old writer was ever taken for the private mass, notwithstanding any thing by M. Harding yet alleged.

Cass. Lib. iii. cap. xii.

Missæ in the old writers never taken for private mass.

Now, if a man would say that this council of Agatha, that is here brought in, by this word *missa* meant nothing else but ordinary prayers, in which signification the old writers, as I have proved, have often taken it, and so dispensed with them that dwelt far from the church, only to have such ordinary prayers at home, and for the holy communion to resort to the parish churches, perhaps M. Harding should not find much to reply against it. If he will say, I force and rack this exposition only of myself¹⁵, without precedent, it may please him to remember that the same practice is yet continued until this day in many parishes within this realm; and that the law itself determineth a difference between *ecclesia parochialis* and *ecclesia baptismalis*¹⁶.

16. Quæst. i. Quidam abbas.

But let this word *missa* in these decrees be taken for the mass, that is to say, for the ministration of the sacraments; yet is not M. Harding much therefore the nearer¹⁷ to prove his purpose. For, alas! what a simple reason is this: "Upon principal holy days the priest received the sacrament solemnly in the common church, with all the whole parish; *ergo*, at other times he received alone!" Or how hangeth this argument: "At certain times all the people received together; *ergo*, at other times the priest received alone?" Or this: "The priest ministered the sacraments in a chapel; *ergo*, he said private mass?" What leadeth M. Harding thus to say? What, was there no company at all in the chapel to communicate with the priest? Verily it is provided by the decree itself, that there should be a lawful and an ordinary company¹⁸. And that in such companies, yea, and in men's several houses, they had the communion ministered, it is evident by the preface of the council of Gangra against the heretic Eustachius. These be the words: *In domibus conjugatorum ne orationes quidem debere celebrari persuaserunt, in tantum ut easdem fieri vetent; et oblationibus, quæ in domibus factæ fuerint, minime communicandum esse decernant*¹⁹: "They have persuaded the people that prayers may not be made in married men's houses; and that so far forth that they forbid any such prayers to be made, and determine that no man may communicate of the oblations made in houses." Here we have not only the communion, but also the ordinary use of the communion in private houses.

Can. 21. In quibus est legitimus ordinariusque conventus.

In Prefatione Con. Gangren.

Now let M. Harding shew us as much for the ordinary use of private mass, or for any private mass at all, and that without his surmises and guesses; and then let him hardly require subscription.

Thou mayest see, good reader, these be but very poor helps. In his former allegation he sought his mass in little towns and villages; now he hunteth for it in private men's houses, and yet cannot find it. They say, they have had the use and possession of their private mass these fifteen hundred and three-score years and more. Wherefore it is much to be marvelled, that of so long continuance of time, of so many doctors and councils, they have so slender proofs to bring for it.

Yet, for clearer answer unto M. Harding's blind guesses, it appeareth by the plain words of the same council of Agatha, that in those days the people received the holy communion together with the priest, and not the priest by himself alone. The words are these: *Lapsi in hæresim, agentes pœnitentiam, cum catechumeni egredi*

Con. Agathen. can. 60.

[¹³ Solemnities, 1565, 1609.]

[¹⁴ Cass. Op. Lips. 1733. De Diurn. Orat. Lib. iii. cap. xi. p. 47.]

[¹⁵ Meself, 1565.]

[¹⁶ Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. xvi. Quæst. i. cans. 44,

5, 6, and Gloss. cols. 1112, 3.]

[¹⁷ Neare, 1565, 1609.]

[¹⁸ See before, page 180, note 6.]

[¹⁹ Concil. Gangr. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Præfat. Tom. II. col. 416.]

*commonentur, discedant*¹: "They that have fallen into some heresy, and do penance for the same, when the novices (that be not yet christened) be commanded to depart out of the church, let them depart also." They were commanded forth, not to the intent they should not hear mass, but that they should not communicate with the rest. For it is well known both to M. Harding, and also to others, that all such as were newly entered into the faith of Christ, but were not yet baptized, and were called *catechumeni*, after the sermon was ended, were commanded out of the church before the distribution of the holy mysteries; and so likewise were the penitents, that they should not communicate with the rest of their brethren: which is a manifest and undoubted proof that the rest of the brethren that remained still did communicate all together. And so it followeth in the same canon: *Hoc si observare voluerint, constituto tempore admittendis ad altare observatio relaxetur*²: "If they will do thus, after a time appointed, their penance shall be released, and they shall be admitted again unto the altar" (which was the communion-table), there to receive together with the congregation, and no more to be commanded forth. Hereunto agreeth another canon set forth in the name of Siricius, touching the same case, by these words: "Certain that after their penance have gone back again, like dogs unto their vomit, we decree that they shall join in prayer only with the faithful within the church; and that they may be present at the celebration of the mysteries, although they be not worthy; but that they be kept off from the banquet of the Lord's table, to the intent that, by this advertisement being corrected, they may both amend themselves³, and also shew example unto others⁴." Here we may plainly see that the rest received, and those⁵ that had offended sat by and received not, for example unto others. But what example could that have been, if they had abstained all together?

Epist. Decret.
Siricii.

Offenders
kept from the
Lord's table.

M. HARDING. THE THIRTY-SECOND DIVISION.

M. Harding
proveth his
mass by a
childish
fable.

*John the
Almoner
began to be
in estimation
in the year
of our Lord
610.

Now let us see what examples of the old fathers we have for the private mass. *Leontius, a Greek bishop of a city in the east church, called Neapolis, writeth*⁶ *the life of St John the holy patriarch of Alexandria, who for his great charity was commonly called Eleemosynarius**, that is, the alms-giver⁷, telleth this story, whereby it appeareth that at that time private mass was used. Though the translator, through ignorance of the time he lived in, turned this life into Latin of mean eloquence, yet, for truth's sake, I will not let to recite that which I take for my purpose, as I find it: Malitiam reservantem quendam indurium contra alium principem audiens hic magnus Johannes, monuit eum sæpe, et suasit ad concordiam, et non potuit eum convertere ad pacem. Semel ergo ad eum mittit, et adducit eum sanctus, quasi pro republica, et facit missas in oratorio suo, nullum habens [secum] nisi ministrum suum. Cum ergo sancta benedixisset patriarcha, et orationem dominicam inchoasset, cœperunt dicere tantum tres illi, Pater noster. Et cum pervenissent ad sermonem quo dicitur, Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris; innuit domestico patriarcha, ut taceret. Siluit ergo et patriarcha, et remansit princeps solus dicens versum, Dimitte nobis, sicut et nos dimittimus. Et statim conversus sanctus, dicit ei mansueta voce, Vide in quam terribili voce dicas Deo, Quoniam sicut ego dimitto, ita et tu dimitte mihi. [Et] tanquam ab igne statim cruciatum ferens prædictus princeps, cecidit in faciem ad pedes sancti, dicens, Quæcunque jusseris, domine, faciet servus tuus. Et reconciliatus est inimico suo...cum omni veritate⁸. *This*

[¹ In pœnitentium loco standi et orandi humilitatem ita noverint observandam, ut etiam ipsi [lapsi], cum catechumeni, &c. abscedant. — Concil. Agath. in eod. can. 60. Tom. IV. col. 1393.]

[² Id. ibid. where *altarium*.]

[³ Themselves, 1565.]

[⁴ De his...qui acta pœnitentia, tanquam canes ac suæ ad vomitus pristinos et ad volutabra redeuntes... De quibus...id diximus decernendum, ut sola intra ecclesiam fidelibus oratione jungantur, sacræ mysteriorum celebritati, quamvis non mereantur, intersint;

a dominicæ autem mensæ convivio segregentur, ut hac saltem districtione correpti, et ipsi in se sua errata castigant, et aliis exemplum tribuant, &c. — Siric. Epist. i. 5. in eod. Tom. II. col. 1019.]

[⁵ These, 1565.] [⁶ Writing, H. A. 1564.]

[⁷ Alms-giver, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[⁸ Leont. Vit. S. Joan. Eleemosyn. cap. xii. 73, in Bolland. Act. Sanctor. Antv. 1643. Jan. 23. Tom. II. p. 513; where we read *quemdam illustrium, ergo mittit et adducit eum sanctus, tres tantum illi, pervenisset, and in quali terribili hora quid dicas.*]

story soundeth thus in English: "This great patriarch John, hearing that a nobleman bare malice to another nobleman, warned him oftentimes of it, and treated with him to be at accord; but he could not bring him to be at peace. Wherefore on a day this holy father sent for the nobleman, and caused⁹ him to come to him, as though it were about some matter of the commonweal. At that time (39) he saith mass in his chapel, having none other body with him, but his servant. When the patriarch had consecrated the sacrament, and had begun to say our Lord's prayer, they three only began¹¹ to say, 'Our Father,' and so forth. When they were come to these¹² words, 'Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us,' the patriarch made a beck to his servant to hold his peace. Then the patriarch held his peace also; and the nobleman remained alone saying forth the verse, 'Forgive us as we forgive.' Then the holy father, turning himself towards¹³ him, by and by saith with a mild voice, Consider with how terrible words thou sayest to God, that, as I forgive, so forgive thou me also. Whereat the said nobleman, as though he had felt the torment of fire, forthwith fell down on his face at the holy father's feet, saying, My lord, whatsoever thou biddest me thy servant to do, I will do it. And so he was reconciled unto his enemy without all dissembling."

The thirty-ninth untruth. For¹⁰ there was never private mass said in Alexandria, neither before this time, nor at any time since.

Here M. Jewel will grant, I trow¹⁴, that this was a private mass. The place was private; the audience not public, nor common; the purpose touching the nobleman was private; the communion also private, I mean for the patriarch's part alone; for, beside that the story maketh no mention of any other communicants, he could not be assured of that nobleman to communicate with him. For whereas he could by no means before bring him to forgive his enemy, he had but a small conjecture he should bring it to pass now. And again, though he had conceived no distrust of his reconciliation upon this holy policy, yet we may doubt whether the patriarch forthwith, without further and more mature probation and examination,

Private mass: private fable.

[1 Cor. xi. H. A. 1564.] which St Paul in this case requireth, would have admitted him to receive our Lord's body so upon the sudden. Now for the servant, it is a strait case that so holy and so great a patriarch, and bishop of so populous a city as Alexandria was, understanding that mass could not¹⁵ be celebrated without breach of Christ's institution (as M. Jewel holdeth opinion), except he have a number to communicate with him in the same place, should have none of his spiritual flock with him at so weighty a matter of conscience, but one only, and him his own household servant. He was not so simple as not to think that the servant might be letted from receiving by some sudden pang coming upon him, or with some cogitation and conscience of his own unworthiness suddenly coming to his mind. If either this, or any other let had chanced, in what case had the patriarch been then? He had been like, by M. Jewel's doctrine, to have broken Christ's institution, and so God's commandment, through another's defect, which were strange. But I judge that M. Jewel, who harpeth so many jarring arguments against private mass upon the very word "communion," will not allow that for a good and lawful^a communion, where there is but one only to receive with the priest. Verily it appeareth by his sermon, that all the people ought to receive, or to be^b driven out of the church. Now therefore to another example of the private mass.

^a Order was taken, that at the receiving of the communion there should be twelve persons at the least, and never under. S. Basil, *Kzericitationis ad Fidelem. Sermon.* iv. 16.

^b This decree, as it is supposed, was made by Anacletus and Calixtus immediately after the apostles' time. De Consecr. Dist. i. Episcopus¹⁷. August. Epist. 152

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

This is the best proof of all others. A short answer may well serve it: for, being but a little viewed, it is able to answer itself. There is neither authority in the tale, nor weight in the matter. The translation is peevish, and all without the compass of six hundred years.

St Augustine saith, that certain heretics in his time, named the Donatists, that they might the rather prevail in disputation against St Augustine, and other

[⁹ Causeth, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[¹⁰ 1565 omits *for*.]

[¹¹ Begun, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[¹² Those, H. A. 1564.]

[¹³ Toward, H. A. 1564.]

[¹⁴ I trow, will grant, H. A. 1564.]

[¹⁵ Can not, H. A. 1564.]

[¹⁶ See before, page 122, note 1.]

[¹⁷ Anaclet. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. i. can. 59. col. 1907.]

John the
Almoner.

Christians, and that the world might understand they had some company of their side, therefore, for a shew, subscribed their articles with the names of certain that were dead, and oftentimes such as never were Donatists¹. Such a policy methinketh M. Harding hath here begun to practise. For what is this Leontius that wrote this story? Or who ever heard of his name before? I trow, he hath raised up one of the seven sleepers to help him to mass. He should have shewed us, as his manner is, what this strange doctor was; what books he wrote, where, when, in what age, and in what credit he lived. If he had said, this John the Almoner lived above six hundred years after Christ, and this Leontius, that wrote his life, a great while after that, this one circumstance would have answered the matter wholly. For, notwithstanding the rest of this tale were true, yet my assertion standeth still good, that, within the space of six hundred years after Christ, M. Harding is not able to find his private mass.

M. Harding
rangeth with-
out the com-
pass of 600
years.

Vincent. in
Spec. Lib.
xxiii. cap.
xvii.

Vincentius, in his book that he calleth *Speculum*, writeth thus: "After Gregory was dead, Bonifacius ruled the church of Rome. This Bonifacius obtained of the emperor Phocas, that the church of Rome should be the head of all churches, and that because the church of Constantinople wrote itself by that title. The next year after that, Augustine, that was called the Englishman's bishop, died. The year following, John the Almoner was in great fame, at which time also Mahomet first spread his religion in Arabia²." The same computation of years appeareth in Freculphus, Sabellicus, Palmerius, and others. Wherefore M. Harding might well have spared this tale, as nothing else but bewraying his want of better matter, and proving that his mass is of the very age of Mahomet.

An. Dom.
610.

But to leave both the advantage of the time, and also the exception against the author, let us consider the likelihood of the doing; and, if John the Almoner said this private mass in his chapel, how safely he might so do by the order of the holy canons, which to break, Damasus saith, is blasphemy against the Holy Ghost³. M. Harding's Leontius saith: "John the Almoner said mass in his oratory at home, being sure of no more company, but of one of his own household servants alone." But pope Soter, as it is before alleged by M. Harding, straitly commandeth that no priest presume to celebrate the sacrament "without the company of two together⁴." And again, that no priest dare to minister without the company of some other priest⁵. And in the ^bcouncil holden at Orleans it is decreed thus: "It is lawful for every christian man to have a chapel in his house; but to have mass said there it is not lawful⁶." And in the ^ccouncil holden at Laodicea: "It is not lawful for bishops or priests to minister the oblations at home⁷." Likewise ^dpope Felix: "It is not lawful to minister the communion at home, but upon exceeding great necessity⁸." The same order was taken in the council of Acon⁹, and in sundry other councils. Which decrees being so many, and so strait, it is not likely that John the Almoner, being so holy a man, would wilfully break them all without cause.

25 Quest. i.
Violatores.

De Consecr.
Dist. i.
Hoc quoque.

• De Consecr.
Dist. i.
Et illud.
• De Consecr.
Dist. i.
Unicuique
• Conc.
Laodiceen.
cap. 58.

• Inter De-
cret. Felicis
Papae, De-
cret. 4.

[¹ ... ita ut volentes gloriari de multitudine co-episcoporum suorum, inter aliquorum absentium nomina etiam mortui nomen insererent.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Donatist. Concil. Zertens. Epist. cxli. 1. Tom. II. col. 456.]

[² Post quem [Sabinianum] Bonifacius Romanæ ecclesiæ 64. præsidet. Hic obtinuit apud Phocam imperatorem, ut ecclesia Romana caput esset omnium ecclesiarum, quia ecclesia Constantinopolitana scribebat se esse primam omnium ecclesiarum... Anno sequenti Augustinus primus Anglorum episcopus moritur... Anno sequenti Alexandriæ Joannes episcopus claruit, qui ob eximiam in Christum liberalitatem nomen Eleemosynarii habere meruit.—Vincent. Spec. Maj. Duac. 1624. Tom. IV. Lib. xxii. cap. cvii. p. 896.]

[³ Violatores canonum voluntarii graviter a sanctis patribus judicantur: et a sancto Spiritu... damnantur: quoniam blasphemare Spiritum sanctum non incongrue videntur, &c.—Damas. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus.

xxv. Quest. i. can. 5. col. 1439.]

[⁴ Soter in eod. ibid. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. i. can. 61. col. 1907. See before, page 172, note 2.]

[⁵ Ex Decret. Soter. in eod. ibid. can. 58. col. 1906. See before, page 176, note 3.]

[⁶ Unicuique fidelium in domo sua oratorium licet habere, et ibi orare: missas autem ibi celebrare non licet.—Ex Concil. Aurel. c. 3. in eod. ibid. can. 33. col. 1897.]

[⁷ "Ὅτι οὐ δὲ ἐν τοῖς οἰκοῖς προσφοράς γίνεσθαι παρὰ ἐπισκόπων ἢ πρεσβυτέρων.—Concil. Laod. can. 58. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 1505.]

[⁸ ... de missarum celebrationibus, non alicubi quam in sacris Domino locis absque magna necessitate fieri debere, liquet omnibus, &c.—Felic. IV. Epist. i. 1. in eod. Tom. IV. col. 1651.]

[⁹ Concil. Aquisgr. cap. 84. in eod. Tom. VII. col. 1361.]

Neither indeed, if M. Harding will thoroughly behold the matter, shall he find here any mass spoken of at all, neither bread, nor wine, nor consecration, nor oblation, nor elevation, nor altar, nor vestiment, nor any other thing to the mass belonging.

John the
Almoner.

And if we agree there was mass said there, yet may there grow another doubt, which of these three said that mass, I mean the bishop, or the gentleman, or the servant. For here is no more noted, but that they said the Lord's prayer all three together; which verily is not the manner of private mass: for there the priest, as he receiveth alone, so he saith the *Pater noster* himself alone. But in the communion, as the people said the Lord's prayer all together, as it is noted by St Gregory¹⁰, so they received all together. Thus M. Harding bringeth a witness for the mass, that saith nothing for the mass. The law saith: *Qui mutum exhibet, nihil exhibet*¹¹: "He that presenteth a dumb body presenteth no body."

Gregor. Lib.
vii. Epist. 63.
De Verbor.
et Rer. Signi-
ficat.
Apud La-
beon.

But he will reply, Here is the very name of the mass, *et facit missas*. And to make the more appearance, M. Harding helpeth it forth with a pretty false translation of his own. For whereas it is written in the Latin, *Cum benedixisset sancta*; he translateth it thus: "When he had consecrate the sacrament." And likewise these words, *Post finem orationum*, he translateth thus: "After he had done the prayer of consecration¹²:" notwithstanding he knew right well that in these words there is no mention at all, neither of any sacrament, nor of any consecration. And thus, *vocat ea quæ non sunt, tanquam sint*: "he calleth things that be not, as though they were;" and yet is not afraid of *lex Cornelia de falsis*. But this I trow, he himself will confess, is no sincere nor plain dealing. Yet will he say, here is the very word *missa*. It is well known that *missa* is no Greek word; and therefore Leontius, whatsoever he were, in his Greek tongue could not use it. As for the translator, seeing he was not able to write true Latin, we may well think he had simple skill in the Greek.

M. Harding
corrupteth
and falsifieth
his transla-
tion.

Rom. iv.

But grant we there be no error in the word, yet will it not necessarily follow that *missa* in this place importeth the mass. For, as I have already proved by sundry authorities, *missa* is oftentimes used for any kind of prayer; as it may further appear by an epistle of Chromatius and Heliodorus, sent unto St Hierome, touching Gregory, the bishop of Corduba¹³; and by the words of the council of Cabilon¹⁴. Which thing also very well agreeth with the custom and order of the church of Alexandria at that time, whereof Nicephorus writeth thus: *Quarta hebdomadis die, et ea quæ parasceve dicitur, Alexandrini scripturas legebant, doctoribus eas interpretantibus: omniaque, quæ ad synaxin pertinent, peragebant, præter divinorum mysteriorum perceptionem. Atque eam illi antiquitus habuere consuetudinem*¹⁵: "At Alexandria they read the scriptures upon Wednesdays and Fridays; and the doctors or preachers expound the same. And they do all things that appertain unto the communion, saving only the receiving of the holy mysteries. And this custom there they have had of old."

Chromatius.
De Con.
Dist. i.
Solent plures.

Nicephor.
Lib. xii.
cap. xxxiv.

Touching these words, *benedicere sancta*, they do no more signify the "consecration of the sacrament," as M. Harding hath translated it, than these words, *extollite manus vestras in sancta*, do signify the lifting up of hands to the sacrament. Chrysostom in his liturgy useth the same manner of speech to a far other purpose. For, after the communion is ended, and the people ready to depart forth, he writeth thus: *Sacerdos benedicit sancta, et exiit*. Here if M. Harding will take *benedicere sancta* for consecration, there must needs follow

Benedicere
sancta.

Chrysost. in
Liturg. ad
finem.

[¹⁰ In the epistle referred to there is nothing to the point: in that following, Gregory speaks of the custom in the Greek church of all the people repeating together the Lord's prayer. Sed et dominica oratio apud Græcos ab omni populo dicitur, apud nos vero a solo sacerdote. — Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. ix. Indict. ii. Ad Johan. Syracus. Epist. xii. [ant. Lib. vii. Epist. lxiiv.] Tom. II. col. 941.]

[¹¹ Apud Labeonem Pithanon ita scriptum est... qui mutum...exhibet, non potest videri ejus præstare præsentiam. — Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Digest.

Lib. L. Tit. xvi. 246. Tom. I. p. 787.]

[¹² See below, page 188.]

[¹³ Epist. Chromat. et Heliod. ad Hieron. in Usuard. Martyrol. Antv. 1583. fol. 2. 2. This epistle is not genuine, and is therefore not inserted in the editions of Jerome.]

[¹⁴ Ex Concil. Cabilon. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, Dist. i. can. 50. cols. 1902, 3.]

[¹⁵ Niceph. Callist. Eccles. Hist. Lut. Par. 1630. Lib. xii. cap. xxxiv. Tom. II. p. 296.]

John the Almoner. a great inconvenience, that there were two consecrations in one communion; yea, and one consecration after all was ended. It may appear that Chrysostom by these words meant a solemn prayer to conclude the whole. For it followeth immediately: "O thou that art the fulfilling of the law and prophets, Christ our God, thou that hast fulfilled all the dispensation of the Father, fill our hearts with joy and gladness now and for ever¹." This Chrysostom calleth *benedicere sancta*; and the same seemeth to be the meaning of this Leontius, whatsoever he were. And notwithstanding all these things were granted, yet is not M. Harding able thereof necessarily to import his private mass.

But saith he: "The place was private; the audience was private; the purpose was private: only one nobleman, only one servant, all was private." And further he saith: "It was a very strait case, that so holy a bishop, in so populous a town, could find no man to communicate with him, but his own servant only." Yea, doubtless, it was a very strait case, that a nobleman should be driven to help the priest to mass; a strait case for M. Harding to run to Alexandria, a thousand miles beyond all Christendom, to seek his mass, and that not in open church neither, but only in a private oratory; a strait case, that for the space of six hundred years after Christ, and more, there was not one private mass to be found in the whole church of Rome; a very strait case, that M. Harding is thus forced to leave St Augustine, St Hierome, St Chrysostom, and all other the godly-learned fathers, and to take² up of the dust Hippolytus, Abdias, Leontius, and other like new doctors, without name or credit, such as never were thought worthy to be alleged or named before.

Yet he forceth his guesses further: "The nobleman came unlooked for: the servant might have had some sudden pang, or some conscience of his unworthiness; and so the priest perforce must have received alone." Here to answer guess with guess, even so might the priest also himself have had some sudden pang or qualm—as indeed it is specially presumed by the law, that it may so happen³—or else some sudden conscience of his own unworthiness; and so had there been no mass at all. Alas! these guesses be too light in so great a matter.

Here further for his pleasure he saith: "M. Jewel harpeth many jarring arguments." Of my arguments I make no vaunt: if they sound well in God's ears, they are well in tune. God be thanked, we lead not the people by aims and guesses: we rear up no new doctors: we cumber not the people's ears with lies and fables, as M. Harding doth: we bring forth neither women nor boys to prove the communion, as these men are driven to do to prove their mass.

Moreover, he saith in scorn, as his manner is, "that we would have all the people, that will not receive, to be driven out of the church." O M. Harding, how long will you thus wilfully pervert the ways of the Lord? You know, this is neither the doctrine, nor the practice of our church. Howbeit, the ancient doctors have both taught so, and also practised the same. Anacletus saith: "After the consecration is ended, let all receive, unless they will be thrust from the church⁴." And Calixtus saith further: "For so is it appointed by the apostles, and so is it observed in the church of Rome⁵."

Now saith M. Harding: "The place was private; *ergo*, there was a private mass." A child may soon see that this reason hath no hold. For touching that the place was private, St Gregory saith thus of one Cassius, the bishop of Nar-nium: "He said mass" (which is, he ministered the communion) "in an oratory within his palace, and with his own hand he gave the body of the Lord and peace unto them all⁶." The like hereof we may see in the preface before the council of Gangra⁷. And in the tripartite story it is written thus: "Gregory

De Consecr.
Dist. i.
Ut illud.

De Consecr.
Dist. i.
Episcopos.

De Consecr.
Dist. ii.
Peracta.

Gregor.
Hom. 37.
In Evang.
In Præfa-
tione in
Concilium.
Gangr.
Hist. Trip.
Lib. ix. cap.
viii.

[¹ Liturg. Sanct. Patr. Par. 1560. Chrysost. Miss. fol. 22.]

[² Rake, 1565, 1609.]

[³ Ex Decret. Soter. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lagd. 1624. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. i. can. 58. col. 1906.]

[⁴ Anaclet. Epist. i. in eod. ibid. can. 59. col. 1907.]

[⁵ Id. [al. Calixt.] in eod. ibid. Dist. ii. can. 10. col. 1917.]

[⁶ ...in Episcopii oratorio missas fecit, et manu sua corpus dominicum pacemque omnibus tribuit.—Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. In Evang. Lib. ii. Hom. xxxvii. 9. Tom. I. col. 1633.]

[⁷ Concil. Gangr. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1071-2. Præfat. Tom. II. col. 416.]

Nazianzene at Constantinople in a little oratory, συναγωγὰς ἐποιεῖτο, made assemblies of the people⁸. Here we see the action was common, and a full communion ministered, notwithstanding the place were private.

John the Almoner.

Again he saith, There were but three;

Ergo, But one did receive.

This reason holdeth as the former.

Consider now, gentle reader, how aptly M. Harding answereth to the purpose. I demand the authority of St Augustine, St Hierome, or some other catholic ancient father: he answereth me with a childish fable. I demand of the usage of the open church: he answereth me with a private oratory, as though at that time there had been no churches built. I demand what was done in the face and sight of the people: he answereth me what he supposeth was done in a corner. I demand of him undoubted truth and certainty: he answereth me by conjecture and blind guess.

I believe he would not willingly have hindered his own cause. If he could have found better matter, doubtless he would have brought it forth. Is this the antiquity, is this the universality, that they so much talk and glory of? Is this the common consent of all the world?

1. Thus then, gentle reader, standeth my answer to this tale. First, that it was forbidden by many decrees, to minister the sacrament in private houses, and therefore unlikely that John the⁹ Almoner, being a godly man, would presume to do the contrary.
2. Secondly, that this word *missa*, used here by the rude and utterly unlearned interpreter, doth not necessarily import the mass.
3. Thirdly, that M. Harding, the better to furnish out the matter, hath violently, and of purpose, falsified the translation.
4. Fourthly, that, notwithstanding here were granted the celebration of the sacrament, yet it cannot be forced thereof that the priest received alone.
5. Fifthly, that, although this were proved a private mass, yet hath M. Harding utterly misreckoned himself, and so gotten nothing. For it was without the compass of six hundred years.
6. Last of all, hereunto I add, that the place, where these things are imagined to be done, was ill chosen, and very unlikely to serve this purpose. For M. Harding is not able to prove, that in the city of Alexandria was ever any one private mass said, either before that time, or ever sithence.

M. HARDING. THE THIRTY-THIRD DIVISION.

Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium, the head city of Lycaonia, to whom St Basil dedicated his book De Spiritu Sancto, and another book intitled Ascetica, writing the life of St Basil, or rather the miracles through God's power by him wrought, which he calleth "worthy of record, true, and great miracles," specially such as were not

A fabulous tale under the name of Amphilochius.

[*Memorabilia, et vera ac magna miracula, in præfatione. H. A. 1564.*]

by the three most worthy men, Gregory Nazianzene, Gregory Nyssene, and holy Ephrem, in their epitaphical or funeral treatises, before mentioned; amongst¹⁰ other things, reporteth a notable story, wherein we have a clear testimony of a private mass. And for the thing that the story sheweth, as much as for any other, of the same Amphilochius he is called cœlestium virtutum collocutor, et angelicorum ordinum comminister; "a talker together with the heavenly powers, and a fellow-servant with orders of angels." The story is this: The holy bishop Basil besought God in his prayers, he would give him grace, wisdom, and understanding, so as he might offer the sacrifice of Christ's blood-shedding, propriis sermonibus, with prayers and service of his own making; and that, the better to achieve that purpose, the Holy Ghost might come upon him. After six days he was in a trance, for cause of the Holy Ghost's coming. When the seventh day was come, he began to minister unto God, that is to wit, he said mass every day. After certain¹¹ time thus spent, through faith and prayer, he began to write with his own hand, mysteria ministrætionis, the mass, or the service of the mass. On a night

[⁸ Gregorius Nazianzenus...in parvo oratorio sacra celebrabat. — Hist. Trip. Par. Lib. ix. cap. viii. fol. R. 7. See also Socr. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst.

1695-1700. Lib. v. cap. vii. p. 216.]

[⁹ 1565 omits *the*.] [¹⁰ Among, H. A. 1564.]

[¹¹ After a certain, 1563, and H. A. 1564.]

our Lord came unto him in a vision with the apostles, and laid bread to be consecrated on the holy altar; and, stirring up Basil, said unto him: *Secundum postulationem tuam, repleatur os tuum laude, &c.*: "According to thy request, let thy mouth be filled with praise, that with thine own words thou mayest offer up to me sacrifice." He, not able to abide the vision with his eyes, rose up with trembling, and going to the holy altar, began to say that he had written in paper thus: *Repleatur os meum laude, et hymnum dicat gloriæ tuæ, Domine Deus, qui creasti nos, et adduxisti in vitam hanc, et ceteras orationes sancti ministerii*: "Let my mouth be filled with praise, to utter an hymn to thy glory, Lord God, which hast created us, and brought us into this life;" and so forth, the other prayers of the mass. It followeth in the story: *Et post finem orationum, exaltavit panem, sine intermissione orans, et dicens, Respice, Domine Jesu Christe, &c.*: "After that he had done the prayers of consecration, he lifted up the bread, praying continually, and saying, Look upon us, Lord Jesus Christ, out of thy holy tabernacle, and come to sanctify us, that sittest above with thy Father, and art here present invisibly with us; vouchsafe with thy mighty hand to deliver to us, and by us to all thy people, sancta sanctis, thy holy things to the holy. The people answered, One holy, one our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Holy Ghost, in glory of God the Father. Amen."

The people answered; yet was there no people there.

The burying of the sacrament.

Seven years after he had seen this vision.

Now let us consider what followeth, pertaining most to our purpose: *Et dividens panem in tres partes, unam quidem communicavit timore multo, alteram autem reservavit consepeliire secum, tertiam vero imposuit columbæ aureæ, quæ pependit super altare*¹: "He divided the bread into three parts, of which he² received one at his communion with great fear and reverence; the other he reserved, that it might be buried with him; and the third part he caused to be put in a golden pix that was hanged up over the altar, made in the³ form and shape of a dove." After this, a little before the end of this treatise, it followeth how that St Basil, at the hour that he departed out of this life, received that part of the host himself, which he had purposed to have interred with him in his grave, and immediately, as he lay in his bed, gave thanks to God, and rendered up the ghost⁴.

That this was a private mass, no man can deny. Basil received the sacrament alone; for there was no earthly creature in that church with him. The people that answered him were such as Christ brought with him. And that all this was no dream, but a thing by the will of God done indeed, though in a vision, as it pleased Christ to exhibit, Amphilochius plainly witnesseth; declaring how that one Eubulus, and other⁵ the chief of that clergy, standing before the gates of the church, whiles this was in doing, saw lights within the church, and men clothed in white, and heard a voice of people glorifying God, and beheld Basil standing at the altar, and for this cause at his coming forth fell down prostrate at his feet⁶. Here M. Jewel and his consacramentaries do stagger, I doubt not; for grant to a private mass they will not, whatsoever be brought for proof of it. And therefore some doubt to avoid this authority must be devised. But whereof they should doubt, verily I see not. If they doubt any thing of the bringing of the bread and other necessities to serve for consecration of the host, let them also doubt of the bread and flesh that Elias had in the pond of Carith. Let them doubt of

The forcing of this fable.

Christ and his apostles bring bread from heaven.

the bread and pot of water he had under the juniper-tree in Bersabee. Let them doubt of the pot of pottage brought to Daniel, for his dinner, from Jewry into the cave of lions at Babylon, by Abacuk the prophet. But perhaps they doubt of the authority of Amphilochius that wrote this story. It may well be that they would be glad to discredit that worthy bishop. For he was that vigilant pastor and good governor of the church, who first with Letoius, bishop of Melite, and with Flavianus, bishop of Antioch, overthrew and utterly vanquished the heretics called Messaliani, otherwise Euchtæ⁷, the first parents of the sacramentary heresy; whose opinion was, that the holy eucharisty, that is, the blessed sacrament of the altar, doth neither good nor evil, neither profiteth ought nor hurteth.

[1 Kings xvii. 1 Kings xiv. B. & Dr. 1563, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

[Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Lib. iv. cap. xi. 1563, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

[eivxrat. i. precatores, H. A. 1564.]

[1 Amphiloch. Op. Par. 1644. In Vit. S. Basil. pp. 175, 6.]

[2 Be, H. A. 1564.]

[3 H. A. 1564 omits the.]

[4 Id. ibid. p. 224.]

[5 Others, H. A. 1564.]

[6 Id. ibid. pp. 176, 7.]

[7 Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. iv. cap. xi. pp. 163, 4.]

Rather the first parents of hypocritical and idle monks.

Even as our sacramentaries do ascribe all to faith only, and (40) call the most worthiest sacrament none other but tokening-bread, which of itself hath no divine efficacy or operation. Therefore I wonder the less, I say, if they would Amphilo- chius his authority to be diminished. But for this I will match them with great Basil, who esteemed him so much, who loved him so entirely, who honoured him so highly, with the dedication of so excellent works. I will join them also with the

The fortieth untruth. For^e we never called it so. The glorious painting of a shadow.

[Theodor. Lib. v. Eccles. Hist. c. xvi. 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

learned bishop Theodoretus, who seemeth to give him so sovereign praise, as to any other bishop he writeth his stories of, never naming him without preface of great honour, now calling him admiran-

dum, "the wonderful;" at another time sapientissimum, "the most wise;" and most commonly laudatissimum, "most praise-worthy⁹." If they doubt of Basil himself, whether he were a man worthy to obtain by his prayer of God such a

[In Monodia. 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

vision, it may please them to peruse what Gregorius Nyssenus, what holy Ephrem of Syria, and specially what Gregory Nazianzene

wrote of him; which two Gregories be not afraid to compare him with Elias, with Moses, with St Paul, and with whosoever was greatest, and for virtue of most renown. Whereby without all envy he hath obtained of all the posterity to be called magnus, Basil the great, much more for desert of virtue and learning, than those other for merit of chivalry, the great Charles, the great Pompey, the great Alexander. If they deny the whole treatise, and say, that it was never of Amphilo- chius' doing, that were a shift indeed, but yet the worst of all and furthest¹⁰ from reason and custom of the best learned; and much like the fact of king Alexander, who, being desirous to undo the fatal knot at Gordium, a town in Phrygia, hearing that the empire of the world was boded by an old prophecy to him that could unknit it, not finding out the ends of the strings, nor perceiving by what means he could do it, drew forth his sword and hewed it in pieces, supplying want of skill with wilful violence. For the authority of this¹¹ treatise this much I can say. Beside that it is set forth in a book of certain holy men's lives printed in Colen, and beside very great likelihood appearing in the treatise itself; it is to be seen in the library of St Nazarius in the city of Verona in Italy, written in vellum, for three hundred years past, bearing the name of Amphilo- chius, bishop of Iconium.

Set abroad lately with other fables.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

If this serve not the turn, nothing, I trow, will ever serve. The authority of St Basil and Amphilo- chius is so great, the matter so clear, the wonder so strange, the antiquity so ancient, the fable so likely, the dream so plain: the original hereof at Verona in Italy, in the library of Nazarius, kept as a relique, fair written in vellum, above three hundred years ago, Basil a worthy bishop, Ephrem a holy father, Amphilo- chius a man that had conference with the heavenly powers. Not one shew or circumstance left out that may serve to win credit. And what should need so much ado, if there were not some suspicion in the matter? He that never saw this book, nor knoweth the contents thereof, happily by such circumstances and colours may be deceived.

But I myself¹² have had this unknown doctor in my poor library these twenty years and more, written likewise in vellum, as true, as fair, and of as good record in all respects as that other of Verona, indeed not under the name of Amphilo- chius, but no doubt¹³ very ancient, as it may soon appear. For the same author, in the same book, hath written also the life of Thomas Becket, who lived at the least seven hundred years after that Amphilo- chius, this writer, was dead. Therefore that story, written by him of one that was to come so many hundred years after him, must needs be a prophecy, and not a story.

The very names of old godly fathers are worthy of much honour. But, as it is well known, many vain tales have been covered under the name of old fathers. The life of St Basil hath been set forth fully and faithfully by sundry old worthy writers, as by his own brother Gregorius¹⁴ Nyssenus, by his dear friend

[⁸ 1565 omits *for*.]

[⁹ Id. in eod. Lib. v. cap. xvi. p. 218.]

[¹⁰ Farthest, H. A. 1564.]

[¹¹ His, H. A. 1564.]

[¹² Meself, 1565.]

[¹⁴ Georgius, 1611.]

[¹³ Doubts, 1565.]

The fable
of Am-
philo-
chius.

Gregory Nazianzene, by Gregorius Presbyter, by Socrates, by Theodoretus, by Sozomenus, by Nicephorus, touched also in divers places by Chrysostom. And notwithstanding of late years he that wrote *Vitas Patrum*, and Jacobus de Voragine, and Vincentius in *Speculo*, who seem to entitle this book by the name of Amphilocheus, have furnished the same with many unsavoury vain tales; yet was there none of them so impudent, once to make any mention of this peevish fable of M. Harding's mass.

But forso much as the glorious name of this holy father is here brought in to bear witness to these matters, and that in the night season in a dream, and a vision, with the visible appearance of Christ and his apostles; and the great¹ stay of M. Harding's cause resteth hereupon, and many are amazed with the strangeness hereof, and many are led away as though it were matter of good truth; and specially, for that the book is not commonly to be had, and it would be chargeable to send to Verona into Italy for a copy; suffer me therefore, good christian reader, to give thee some taste of the same, that thou mayest be able of thyself² to judge further, and to see by what doctors M. Harding proveth his private mass.

The contents
of M. Hard-
ing's Amphi-
locheus.
Tert. Lib. v.
contra Marci-
onem.

To pass over the idle talk and conference with devils, the visions, the dreams, the fables, and other fantastical vanities, which are the whole contents and substance of this new book, Tertullian hath a good discreet saying: *Furibus aliqua semper excidere solent in indicium*³: "The thief evermore leaveth somewhat behind him that he may be known by." Let us therefore compare M. Harding's Amphilocheus with Socrates, Sozomenus, Gregory Nazianzene, Gregory Nyssen, and other old writers of approved credit, that have of purpose written St Basil's life.

Socrat. Lib.
iv. cap. xxi.
Sozom. Lib.
vi. cap. xvii.
Nazianz. in
Vit. Basil.
Gregor. Pres-
byter in Vit.
Nazianzenl.

Socrates and Sozomenus say that Basil in his youth was Libanius' scholar: M. Harding's Amphilocheus saith Basil was Libanius' school-fellow⁴.

Nazianzene and Gregorius Presbyter say that Basil, continuing at Cæsarea, was well acquainted with Eusebius the bishop there, before he went into Pontus: M. Harding's Amphilocheus saith, that at his return from Pontus, which was soon after, Eusebius knew him not, neither had ever spoken with him or seen him before⁵.

Nazianz. in
Vit. Basil.

M. Harding's Amphilocheus saith Basil was bishop of Cæsarea in the time of the emperor Julianus, whereupon also are founded a great many fond fables: Nazianzene, his nearest friend, saith, he was chosen bishop there a long while after, in the time of the emperor Valens, and was not bishop there at all during the whole time of Julianus⁶.

M. Harding's Amphilocheus telleth a long tale, how that St Mercury, being then dead, and a saint in heaven, at the commandment of our lady, took his own spear out of his chapel where it was kept, and went out with the same into the field, and slew the emperor Julian, and that the same spear was found bloody afterward: Nazianzene, Socrates, Theodoretus, and Sozomenus say it could never be known by whom he was slain⁷.

Nazianz. in
Orat. 2. contra
Julian.
Socrat. Lib.
iii. cap. xviii.
Theod. Lib.
iii. cap. xxv.
Sozom. Lib.
vi. cap. ii.
Theod. Lib.
iii. cap. ii.
Sozom. Lib.
vi. cap. xvi.

M. Harding's Amphilocheus saith, Basil foretold the death of Julian: Theodoretus saith, it was one Julianus Sabba that foretold it, and not St Basil⁸.

M. Harding's Amphilocheus saith, the emperor Valens yielded and gave place unto Basil: Sozomenus saith, the emperor continued still his purpose, and would not yield⁹.

[¹ Greatest, 1565.]

[² Theeself, 1565.]

[³ ...furibus solet aliquid excidere de præda in indicium.—Tertul. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Marcion. Lib. v. 4. p. 582.]

[⁴ Socrat. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. iv. cap. xxvi. p. 198.]

Sozom. in eod. Lib. vi. cap. xvii. p. 535.

Amphilocheus. Op. Par. 1644. In Vit. S. Basil. p. 158.]

[⁵ Gregor. Nazianz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Vit. Gregor. Tom. I. p. cxxxviii. Orat. xliii. 28. Tom. I. pp. 792, 3.]

Amphilocheus. Op. In Vit. S. Basil. p. 174. But in

this edition Leontius is substituted for Eusebius.]

[⁶ Amphilocheus. Op. In Vit. S. Basil. pp. 175, 9, &c. Gregor. Nazianz. Op. Orat. xliii. 31, 7. Tom. I. pp. 794, 5, 9.]

[⁷ Amphilocheus. Op. In Vit. S. Basil. pp. 181, 2. Gregor. Nazianz. Op. Sec. in Julian. Orat. v. 13. Tom. I. pp. 155, 6.]

Socrat. Lib. iii. cap. xxi. p. 160. Theodor. Lib. iii. cap. xxv. p. 146. Sozom. Lib. vi. cap. ii. p. 518.]

[⁸ Amphilocheus. Op. In Vit. S. Basil. pp. 182, 3. Theodor. Lib. vi. cap. xxiv. pp. 145, 6.]

[⁹ The account given by Amphilocheus, in Vit. S.

M. Harding's Amphilochius saith, Nazianzenus was present at St Basil's burial: Nazianzene himself, that ought to know it best, saith he came afterward, and was not present¹⁰.

Gregorius Presbyter saith, Nazianzene came a great while after that Basil was buried. M. Harding's Amphilochius is so impudent that he saith, Nazianzenus came in all haste, and saw the blessed body, and fell upon it when it was buried¹¹. Whereby it seemeth that this Amphilochius was not very wise nor circumspect in his talk. For if Nazianzene saw St Basil's body, how was it buried? If it were buried, how could he see it?

Again, M. Harding's Amphilochius saith, Gregory Nazianzene ruled the apostolic see for the space of twelve years¹². By the apostolic see he must needs mean either Rome or Constantinople. If he mean Rome, Nazianzene was never bishop there: if he mean Constantinople, where indeed he was bishop, yet was that never called the apostolic see; and so, whatsoever he meant, he made a lie.

Now judge thou indifferently, good christian reader, whether Amphilochius the bishop of Iconium, St Basil's special and nearest friend, writing of him that he knew so well, could possibly so many ways be deceived. If M. Harding had known him better, I think he would have spared this authority. Howbeit Ulpian saith: *Etiam monstra et portentosi partus prosunt*¹³: "Even monsters and ill-shapen children may go for children."

To come to the matter, M. Harding's Amphilochius thus telleth on his tale: Basil, saith he, being once made bishop, besought God that he might offer up the unbloody sacrifice with his own words: he fell in a trance, came again to himself, and so ministered every day. On a certain night Christ with his apostles came down to him from heaven, brought bread with him, awoke Basil, and bade him up and offer the sacrifice. Up he arose, was straight at the altar, said his prayers as he had written them in his paper, lifted up the bread, laid it down again, brake it in three parts, received one, reserved another to be buried with him, hung up the third in a golden dove. And all this was done, Christ and his apostles being still present, who came purposely from heaven to help Basil to say¹⁴ mass.

We may now the better believe Homer, that Jupiter with his gods went down sometime for his pleasure to banquet in Ethiopia; or that an ^aangel evermore ministered the sacrament unto Marcus that holy monk¹⁵; or that ^bangels came from heaven to consecrate Amphilochius bishop of Iconium¹⁶; ^cor that the Holy Ghost was sent from heaven to Remigius with a box of holy oil¹⁷; ^dor that, when holy Arnulphus began matins at midnight, and said, *Domine labia*, &c. and all his monks were asleep, a number of angels supplied the lack, and answered him, *Et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam*¹⁸.

But M. Harding layeth on more weight, and forceth this fable to his purpose; and, albeit in the whole tale there is not once the name of mass, yet is he content to take pains cunningly to falsify the text, and seven times together to translate it only by the name of mass. For with him *offerre sacrificium* is "to say mass;" likewise *ministrare Deo* is "to say mass;" and *ministerium ministrationis* is "the service of the mass." For as Midas, whatsoever he touched, had power to

The fable of Amphilochius.

Nazianz. in Monodia. Gregor. Presbyter in Vita Nazianz.

De Verbor. et Rer. Significat. Queret aliquis.

^a Sozom. Lib. vi. cap. 29.
^b Niceph. Lib. xi. cap. 20.
^c Paulus Æmilius. Gaguinus.
^d Henricus Herfordiens. cap. 49.

M. Harding falsifieth his own fable.

Basil. pp. 185, &c. does not much differ from that of Sozomen. But perhaps the story pp. 206, &c. may be meant: there, however, the emperor's mind is said to have remained obstinate.

Sozom. Lib. vi. cap. xvi. pp. 534, 5. Sozomen admits ἀμέλει ἀποθανόντος μὲν τοῦ υἱότος, οὐκέτι αὐτὸν [Βασίλειον] ἠνάχλησεν.]

[¹⁰ Amphiloch. In Vit. S. Basil. pp. 224, 5.

Gregor. Nazianz. Op. Epist. lxxvi. Tom. II. p. 65.]

[¹¹ Ibid. Vit. Gregor. Tom. I. p. clvii.

Amphiloch. In Vit. S. Basil. p. 224.]

[¹² Id. ibid. p. 158.]

[¹³ Et magis est ut hæc [portentosum vel mons-

trosus] quoque parentibus prosint: &c.—Ulpian. in Cod. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Digest. Lib. L. Tit. xvi. 135. Tom. I. p. 782.]

[¹⁴ 1565 and 1609 omit say.]

[¹⁵ Sozom. Lib. vi. cap. xxix. p. 553.]

[¹⁶ Niceph. Callist. Eccles. Hist. Lut. Par. 1630. Lib. xi. cap. xx. Tom. II. p. 138.]

[¹⁷ Gaguin. De Orig. et Gest. Franc. Lugd. 1497. Lib. i. fol. 2. 2. Paul. Æmyl. De Reb. Gest. Franc. Par. 1544. Lib. i. fol. 6.]

[¹⁸ Henricus Herfordiensis, or de Hervordia, wrote Chronicon Generale, which, it would seem, has never been printed entire. See Oudin. Comm. de Script. Eccles. Ant. Lips. 1722. Tom. III. cols. 973-5.]

The fable
of Am-
philo-
chius.

turn the same into gold; so M. Harding, whatsoever he toucheth, hath a special power to turn the same into his mass.

But let us a little view the circumstances, and weigh the likelihoods of this matter. Basil besought God that he might make the sacrifice with his own words. And shall we think he had more fancy to his own words than he had to the words of Christ? He awoke, stood up, and suddenly was at the altar at midnight. What, shall we think he was the sexton there, or lay all night, like Eli or Samuel, in the church; and yet, being so famous a bishop, had no man to attend upon him?

The golden
dove.

He divided the bread, and laid up the third part of it "in a golden dove" that hung over the altar: and yet, by his own tale, his golden dove then was not yet ready made. For it followeth immediately in the next lines: "After Basil had done these things, and had communed with Eubulus and others, the next day he sent for a goldsmith, and made a dove of pure gold." It behoveth a liar to be mindful what he saith. If this dove were made before, how was it made afterward? If it were not made before, how could it then hang over the altar? Or how could Basil put his bread in it before it was made? And to what end was that bread so kept in the dove? And wherein, or where was the other third part kept, that Basil thus reserved purposely to be buried, or as M. Harding termeth it, to be interred with him? Wherein M. Harding's Amphilochius both uttereth words of manifest blasphemy, and also shamefully belieth that holy father, and doth him great and open injury. It was but fondly done by St Benet, as Gregory reporteth of him, to cause the sacrament to be laid upon a dead man's breast¹; and likewise it was as fondly done of others, that ministered the sacrament unto the dead, and gave it into their mouths; which thing is namely forbidden by the council of Carthage².

Dialogorum,
Lib. ii. cap.
24.

Conc. Car-
thag. iii.
can. 6.

The burying
of the sacra-
ment.

But the sacrament being, as M. Harding would have the world believe, no bread, nor wine, and so no sacrament at all, but only the natural and real body of Christ, it were horrible blasphemy to bury it, and as a dead thing to lay it in the grave.

Further, as this doctor saith, St Basil had this dream or vision, and reserved this portion of the sacrament, immediately after he was made bishop of Cæsarea; and after that, as it is clear by other stories, continued bishop there seven years at the least. Now judge thou, gentle reader, what kind of bread that would have been, after seven years keeping, to be given to a sick man in his death-bed. So many absurdities and contrarieties may easily be found in the very shew and sight of this childish fable.

The sacra-
ment reserv-
ed seven
years.

Yet saith M. Harding: "Here doth M. Jewel with his consacramentaries stagger, and knoweth not what to say." Yea verily, M. Harding, we are astonished to consider the wonderful and just judgments of God, that any man should so wilfully renounce God's known truth, and be thus utterly given over to follow lies; or so much to presume of his own wit and eloquence, that he thinketh himself able to over-rule and lead all the world with a fable. As for axes or instruments to hew up this knot, we need none. Every child may see the ends. It openeth and looseth itself. Christ cometh with his apostles down from heaven to hear mass. The apostles sing mass by note; Christ playeth the clerk's part, and attendeth the priest; Amphilochius writeth Thomas Becket's life seven hundred years before he was born; St Basil lieth all night in the vestry; he hangeth up a golden dove first, and maketh it afterward: he keepeth a portion of the sacrament seven years together; he receiveth the same in his death-bed, and is buried, or (as M. Harding delighteth rather to say) is interred with it; besides a multitude of other like follies and fables. This is that wonderful Gordius' fatal knot, that can never be opened without an axe.

The true Am-
philo-chius.

And although M. Harding's Amphilochius were a manifest and an impudent liar, yet I confess, and it is well known, that the true Amphilochius of Iconium was a godly and a worthy bishop, stout and courageous in suppressing the Messalians,

[¹ Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Dial. Lib. ii. cap. xxiv. Tom. II. col. 256.]

[² Concil. Carth. iii. cap. 6. in Concil. Stud.

Labbe, et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. col. 1168.]

the first parents, as M. Harding here saith, of the sacramentary heresies³. Howbeit the rest of his brethren, and he himself elsewhere saith, Berengarius was the first father of that heresy. For afterward in the fifth article he writeth thus: "Berengarius first began openly to sow the wicked seed of the sacramentary heresy." So it appeareth that M. Harding neither is resolved in the heresy, nor can tell when it first began. Notwithstanding, the seed that he called⁴ wicked was first sown, neither by the Messalians, nor by Berengarius, but by Christ himself and by his apostles.

The true
Amphi-
lochius.

M. Harding
much forget-
teth himself.

Indeed the Messalians, whom Amphilochius suppressed, were heretics, the fathers of many idle swarms yet remaining in the world. They were named in Greek *ψαλλιανοί*, or *εὐχισταί*, of their long counterfeit praying. St Augustine saith: "They prayed so much, or so fast, that a man that knew it not would not think it possible. They thought it unlawful for a monk to labour for his living, and therefore became monks, that they might be free from labour⁵." Thus far St Augustine.

The first
fathers of idle
monks.

Aug. ad
Quod-vult-
Deum.

Theodoretus saith: *Orationi vacantes, maximam diei partem dormiunt*⁶: "They give themselves to contemplation, and sleep the most part of the day." St Augustine saith: *Tanquam conservatricem evangelii prædicant pigritiam*⁷: "They highly commend sloth, as if it were the maintenance of the gospel." For these causes Amphilochius, being the archbishop of Lycaonia, and Flavianus the bishop of Antioch, withstood them, and drave them from their dioceses; and Letoius, being an earnest and a zealous man, utterly consumed and burnt their monasteries, or rather, as Theodoretus termeth it, their dens of thieves⁸.

Theod. Hæ-
ret. Fabular.
Lib. iv.

De Opere
Monach.
cap. xxii.
Theodoretus,
Lib. iv. cap.
xi.

μᾶλλον δὲ
ληστρικὰ
σπήλαια.

These were the Messalians, not the open maintainers of any error touching the mystical supper; neither doth either St Augustine or Epiphanius report any such matter of them.

Indeed Theodoretus saith, they had certain secret instructions among themselves, that sacraments did at all neither further nor hinder; meaning thereby as well the sacrament of baptism as the sacrament of Christ's body; into which error they were led, for that they gave all perfection and holiness to their prayers, and in respect thereof refused the communion of their brethren.

But, whereas M. Harding saith, this is also our doctrine, and that we teach the people the sacrament of Christ's body to be nothing else but tokening-bread; his own conscience knoweth it is a slander, and will be required of him in the day of the Lord. Our doctrine is, that the sacraments of Christ unto the godly are the instruments of the Holy Ghost, and unto the wicked are increase of further judgment. Like as St Augustine also saith: *Sacramentum...sumitur quibusdam ad vitam, quibusdam ad exitium. Res vero ipsa, cujus est sacramentum, omni homini ad vitam, nulli ad mortem, quicumque ejus particeps fuerit*⁹: "The sacrament is received of some unto life, of some unto destruction. But the thing itself (that is, the body of Christ), whereof it is a sacrament, is received of all men to life, and of no man to destruction, whosoever be partaker of it." Here St Augustine maketh great and manifest difference between the body of Christ and the sacrament of the same. And this is not the Messalian monks' heresy, but St Augustine's and the catholic faith.

August. in
Joh. Tract.
26.

"Now, to deny that ever this was Amphilochius' doing, that (saith M. Harding) were a shift indeed." Thus he is bold to say, I believe, for that he never considered the whole book. For otherwise he might soon have seen it is but a rude gathering out of the tripartite story, in many places word by word, without discretion, with interlacing of lies and fables of his own, without shame. Neither can M. Harding justly prove that ever Amphilochius wrote St Basil's life. For, notwithstanding a clause in Nazianzene's *Monodia* touching the same, as it is now

Amphilo-
chius never
wrote St
Basil's life.

[³ Heresy, 1565, 1609.]

[⁴ Calleth, 1565, 1609.]

[⁵ Tantum enim orant, ut eis qui hoc de illis audiunt incredibile videatur...Dicuntur Euchitæ opinari, monachis non licere sustentandæ vitæ suæ causa aliquid operari, atque ita se ipsos monachos profiteri, ut omnino ab operibus vacent.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. De Hæres. 57. Tom. VIII. col. 19.]

[⁶ Theodor. Op. Lut. Par. 1642-84. Hæret. Fab.

Lib. iv. cap. xi. Tom. IV. p. 243.]

[⁷ August. Op. De Op. Monach. cap. xxii. 26. Tom. VI. col. 493; where we have *prædicantes*.]

[⁸ Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. iv. cap. xi. pp. 163, 4; where *σπήλαια ληστρικὰ*.]

[⁹ August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xvi. 15. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 500; where we read *sacramentum est, and nulli ad exitium*.]

The fable
of Am-
philo-
chius.

extant in Latin, yet must he understand that the said clause was thrust in by Volaterane the translator, a man that hath perverted and altered a great part of that book, as by conference to any learned man may appear, and is not to be found in the Greek¹. But false translation maketh no proof.

But, "This book is found at Verona in Italy:" he might as well have said, at Falsona. "It is written in vellum." This is but a simple allegation. A calf's skin is no sufficient warrant of truth: lies have been written in letters of gold.

The allegation of the book called *δοκητικά*, which M. Harding saith St Basil dedicated to Amphilochius, rather hindereth, than furthereth² his matter. For Nazianzenus, reckoning up all St Basil's books, passeth that book by, as none of his³. And Sozomenus saith, it was ever doubted of, and thought of many never to be written by St Basil, but rather by an heretic named Eustathius⁴, a book full of superstition and wicked doctrine, and namely condemned by the council of Gangra⁵.

Nazianz. in
Monodia
Sozom. Lib.
iii. cap. xiii.

Præfat. in
Concil. Gan-
grense.

Eubulus.

But, "Eubulus is witness of these things:" he peered in at the crevice⁶, and espied what was done. Certainly a meet witness for such a matter. I have heard sometime a man without a name; but here we have found a name without a man. M. Harding's Amphilochius ever maketh this Eubulus the chiefest man about St Basil in all his affairs; yet neither doth Basil in any of all of⁷ his epistles, or other works, nor Nazianzene, nor Socrates, nor Sozomenus, nor Gregorius Nyssenus, nor Gregorius Presbyter, once make mention of any such. Thus much for the credit of M. Harding's Amphilochius.

But, if all this were good record and matter of truth, yet were it but a miracle, but a vision, and perhaps but a dream, but one man's fact, but once done, not in the day-time, but at midnight, and that without company, and without witness. If this Eubulus, which doubtless was nobody, had not espied it, nobody should ever have heard of it.

Now, as touching the very mass, that St Basil said indeed, we may soon learn the order of it without any dream or vision. St Basil himself, in the liturgy that beareth his name, plainly declareth the whole order in this sort: "The priest speaketh thus aloud unto the people: the whole people maketh answer: 'One is holy, one is the Lord, one Jesus Christ in the glory of the Father'." "Then," saith St Basil, "the quire singeth the communion; and so they communicate all together⁸."

Liturgia
Basili.

Here may we clearly see the very order and usage of St Basil's mass. Here was no sole receiving, no single communion, no private mass: the whole people prayed aloud together with the priest, and received the communion all together.

And what if M. Harding's own Amphilochius, notwithstanding all his fables, say the same? Can any man desire more substantial witness? Verily his words be plain, that there was people in the church with St Basil, and received the communion at his hand. For thus saith St Basil, even as it is here written by this Amphilochius: "Vouchsafe, O Lord, to give unto us, and by us unto all the people, holy things unto the holy: the people answereth, One is holy, &c." I shuffle not these words, but leave them even as this Amphilochius hath written them, and M. Harding himself hath here alleged them.

St Basil's
mass is a
communion,
and no mass.

Now mark, good reader, what help M. Harding hath here found for his private mass. M. Harding's own Amphilochius saith, "The holy things were given unto all the people:" M. Harding saith, "St Basil received alone." M. Harding's own

[¹ Basil. Op. Lat. Basil. 1540. Monod. Gregor. Nazianz. per Raph. Volater. conv. p. 1. The names of Gregory Nyssen and Amphilochius are here mentioned as biographers of Basil, for which there is no kind of warrant in the Greek text, which merely says: *Εἰ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ καιροῦ δεύτερος, καὶ μετὰ τοσοῦτους ἐπαινέτας, κ. τ. λ.*—Gregor. Nazianz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Orat. xliii. 2. Tom. I. p. 771.]

[² Further, 1611.]

[³ Gregor. Nazianz. Op. Orat. xliii. 67. Tom. I. pp. 821, 2.]

[⁴ Sozom. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-

1700. Lib. III. cap. xiv. p. 424.]

[⁵ The ascetic rules and practices for which Eustatius was censured are enumerated Concil. Gangr. Præfat. in. Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. cols. 413-6.]

[⁶ Creavie, 1565.] [⁷ 1565 omits of.]

[⁸ *Et voce magna.* Sancta sanctis. *Populus respondet.* Unus sanctus, unus Dominus, unus Jesus Christus in gloria Dei Patris cum Spiritu Sancto. Amen. *Et cantant cantores communionem: et sic communicant omnes.*—Liturg. Sanct. Patr. Par. 1560. S. Basil. Miss. fol. 13. The Greek text differs.]

Amphilochius saith, "There was people in the church:" M. Harding saith, "There was no people there."

"But this people," saith M. Harding, "was Christ and his apostles." No doubt, a strange kind of people. And Basil, being so notable a man for his eloquence, was not able to utter his mind in his own mother-tongue, but said, "All the people;" and yet saw no people there at all; and, "Give this to all," and yet knew there was nobody there to give unto. Thus may we conclude, according to M. Harding's own construction, that that people was no people; that Christ, no Christ; that Eubulus, no Eubulus; that Amphilochius, no Amphilochius; that Basil, no Basil; that dove, no dove; and that mass, no mass at all. Such be the proofs of private mass.

The fable of Amphilochius.

M. Harding and his Amphilochius cannot agree.

M. HARDING. THE THIRTY-FOURTH DIVISION.

Now one place more for proof of private mass, at the winding up of this matter, and then an end of this article. (41) This place is twice found in Chrysostom, in an homily upon the Epistle to the Ephesians, and more plainly in an homily Ad Populum Antiochenum, where he hath these very words: Multam video rerum inæqualitatem. In aliis quidem temporibus cum puri frequenter sitis, non acceditis: in pascha vero licet sit aliquid a vobis patratum acceditis. O consuetudinem! O præsumptionem! Sacrificium frustra quotidianum. Incassum assistimus altari. Nullus qui communicetur¹⁰: "I see great inequality of things among you. At other times, when as for the most¹¹ part ye are in clean life, ye come not to receive your rights. But at Easter, though ye have done some things¹² amiss, yet ye come. O what a custom is this! O what a presumption is this! The daily sacrifice is offered in vain. We stand at the altar for nought. There is not one that will¹³ be houseled."

The forty-first untruth. For⁹ private mass is never found in Chrysostom.

[A true declaration of Chrysostom's place, H. A. 1564.]

Here is to be noted, whereas Chrysostom saith, the daily sacrifice was celebrated in vain, and the priests stood at the altar in vain; it is not to be understood of the sacrifice in itself, as though it were in vain and frustrate; but this is to be referred to the people: it was in vain for their part that should have received their communion with the priests, who waited daily for them, and cried out as the manner was, Sancta sanctis, "Holy things for the holy;" and after that they had received the bread themselves, shewing the chalice to the people, said: Cum timore Dei, [et fide,] et dilectione accedite¹⁴: "Come ye up to receive with the fear of God, with faith, and charity." But all was in vain. (42) For none came; so cold was their devotion in that behalf. Now if Chrysostom had cause to complain of the people's slackness in coming to the communion, in that great and populous city of Antioch, where the scriptures were daily expounded and (43) preached, where discipline and good order was more straitly exacted, where in so great number some of likelihood were of more devotion than others; what is to be thought of many little towns and villages through the world, where little preaching was heard, where discipline slackened, where, the number of the faithful¹⁵ being small, and they occupied altogether in worldly affairs, few gave good example¹⁶ of devotion to others? Doubtless in such places was much less resort of the people at the mass-time to receive the sacrament with their priests. And whereas, lest this place might seem plainly to avouch the having of mass without a number communicating with the bishop or priest, for avoiding of this authority the gospellers answer, by way of conjecture, that in Chrysostom's time the priests and deacons communicated together daily with the party that offered the sacrifice, though none of the people did; we tell them that this poor shift will not serve their purpose. For though they say some sufficient number ever communicated with him that celebrated the daily sacrifice in that great and famous church of Antioch, where many priests and deacons were,

The forty-second untruth. For⁹ there came many both of the people and also of the clergy.

The forty-third untruth. For⁹ there was no such daily preaching, as shall appear.

M. Harding seeketh up his mass in little towns and villages.

[⁹ 1565 omits for.]

[¹⁰ Chrysost. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. Ad Pop. Antioch. Hom. lxi. Tom. V. col. 403. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Ephes. cap. i. Hom. iii. Tom. XI. pp. 22, 3.]

[¹¹ More, H. A. 1564.]

[¹² Thing, H. A. 1564.]

[¹³ Woll, H. A. 1564.]

[¹⁴ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Liturg. Tom. XII. pp. 795, 7.]

[¹⁵ Faithfuls, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[¹⁶ Ensample, H. A. 1564.]

The forty-fourth untruth. For² Christ commanded no such daily sacrifice.

Private mass proved by a simple collection.

The forty-fifth untruth. For³ this is not yet proved.

which neither, being denied, they shall never be able to prove; what may be said or thought of many thousand other less¹ churches through the world, where the priest that said mass had not² in readiness a sufficient number of other priests and deacons to receive with him, so to make up a communion? Of such churches it must be said that either the sacrifice ceased, and that was not done which (44) Christ commanded to be done in his remembrance, which is not to be granted; or that the memory of our Lord's death was oftentimes celebrated of the priests in the daily oblation, without tarrying for others to communicate with them, and so had these churches private masses, as the churches now-a-days have. Now to conclude, of this most evident place of Chrysostom, every child is able to make an invincible argument against M. Jewel for the private mass, as they call it, in this sort. By report of Chrysostom, the sacrifice in his time was daily offered, that is to say, the mass was celebrated; but many times nobody came to communicate sacramentally with the priests, (45) as it is before proved; ergo, there were masses done without other receiving the sacrament with the priests. And then further; ergo, private masses in Chrysostom's days were not strange: and then yet one step further, there to stay; ergo, M. Jewel, according to his own promise and offer, must yield, subscribe, and recant—unto a guess.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Now is M. Harding come (as he saith) to the winding up of his clew; meaning thereby, as may be thought, that the substance of all that he hath alleged hitherto hangeth only by a twined thread.

Chrysost. ad Populum Antiochen. Hom. 61.

This conjecture is taken out of certain words of Chrysostom; and the whole force thereof standeth only upon this word *nemo*, which is in English "nobody." Chrysostom's words be these: "We do daily offer the sacrifice," or, as M. Harding delighteth rather to say, "we do daily say mass; and there is nobody to communicate⁴; ergo," saith he, "Chrysostom received alone." And so have we without question a plain private mass.

Here would I first know, whether M. Harding will rest upon the bare words of Chrysostom, or rather qualify them somewhat, and take his meaning. If he press the words so precisely as he seemeth to do, then did not Chrysostom himself communicate. For he was some body; and the plain words be, "Nobody doth communicate." By which words doubtless Chrysostom himself is excluded as well as others. And so there was no sole receiving, nor any receiving at all, and therefore no private mass.

John iii.

Chrysost. ad Hebræos, Hom. 12.

If he will rather take Chrysostom's meaning, it appeareth, his purpose was to rebuke the negligence of the people, for that, of so populous a city, they came to the holy communion in so small companies; which companies he, in a vehemency of speech, by an exaggeration in respect of the whole, calleth "nobody." The like manner of speech is used also sometimes in the scriptures. St John saith of Christ: *Testimonium ejus nemo accipit*: not for that nobody at all received his witness; for his disciples and many others received it; but for that of a great multitude very few received it. In like phrase Chrysostom himself saith otherwise: *Nemo divina sapit, nemo contemnit ea quæ in terra sunt, nemo attendit ad cælum*⁵: "Nobody savoureth godly things: nobody despiseth the things of this world: nobody hath regard to heaven." In these words M. Harding must needs confess that Chrysostom, instead of few, by heat of speech and by way of comparison, said, "nobody."

And albeit this only answer, compared with the manner of Chrysostom's eloquence, which commonly is hot and fervent, and with the common practice of the church then, may suffice a man more desirous of truth than of contention; yet I have good hope it may be proved, notwithstanding M. Harding's *nemo*, that Chrysostom neither was alone, nor could be alone at the holy ministration, and therefore could say no private mass. For, if the whole company of the lay-people would have forsaken him, yet had he company sufficient of the priests and

[¹ Lesser, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[² Had not always, H. A. 1564.]

[³ 1565 omits *for*.]

[⁴ See before, page 195.]

[⁵ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. vii. Hom. xii. Tom. XII. p. 126.]

deacons, and others of the quire. And, if the whole quire would have forsaken him, yet had he company sufficient of the lay-people, as it may be clearly proved.

That there was then a great number to serve in the ministry, it may diversly well appear.

Ignatius calleth *presbyterium*, "the sacred college, the council and company of the bishop⁶."

Chrysostom himself in his liturgy saith thus: "The deacons bring the dishes with the holy bread unto the holy altar: the rest carry the holy cups⁷." By which words appeareth both a number of the ministry, and also provision for them that would receive.

Cornelius writeth that in the church of Rome there were forty and six priests, seven deacons, seven subdeacons, forty and two acolytes, exorcists, readers, and other officers of the church, fifty and two, widows, and other afflicted people that there were relieved, a thousand five hundred⁸.

Nazianzene complaineth of the number of the clergy in his time, that they seemed to be more than the rest of the people⁹. And therefore the emperor Justinian afterward thought it needful to abridge the number, and to make a law, that in the great church at Constantinople, where Chrysostom was bishop, there should not be above the number of threescore priests, one hundred deacons, forty women, fourscore and ten subdeacons, one hundred and ten readers, and five and twenty singers¹⁰. Hereby we may see that Chrysostom, being at Antioch, in so populous a city, although he had none of the lay-people with him, yet could not be utterly left alone.

Now, if we say that some of these priests, deacons, or other, communicated with the bishop, "I tell them," saith M. Harding, boldly, and with a solemn countenance, which must needs make good proof, "this is but a poor shift, and will not serve their purpose." But if it be true, it is rich enough: if it agree with Chrysostom's own meaning, it is no shift; and therefore sufficiently served¹¹ our purpose.

And because he sitteth so fast upon the bare words, and reposeth all his hope in *nemo*, if we list to cavil in like sort, we might soon find warrant sufficient to answer this matter, even in the very plain words of Chrysostom. For thus they lie: *Frustra assistimus altari*: "In vain we stand at the altar." "We stand," saith he, and not "I stand;" and therefore includeth a number, and not one alone. Howbeit our shifts are not so poor: we need not to take hold of so small advantages.

It is proved¹² by the canons of the apostles, "that, if any bishop, or priest, or deacon, or any other of the quire, after the oblation is made, do not receive, unless he shew some reasonable cause of his so doing, that he stand excommunicate¹³." There was then neither such number of altars, nor such chevisance¹⁴ of masses, as hath been sithence. All the priests received together at one communion. The like law in the church of Rome was afterward renewed by pope Anacletus¹⁵.

The council of Nice decreeth thus: *Accipiant diaconi secundum ordinem, post presbyteros, ab episcopis, vel a presbytero communionem*¹⁶: "Let the deacons in order, after the priests, receive of the bishops, or of the priest, the holy communion."

Likewise the council of Carthage: *Accipiant [diaconi]...ex ordine eucharistiam post presbyteros, eis dante...episcopo, vel presbytero*¹⁷: "Let the deacons receive

Ignat. ad Trall.
τὸ ἱερὸν σύστημα.
Chrysost. in Lit.

Epist. Corn. ad Fab. Antioch. ex Euseb. Lib. vi. cap. xlii.

Nazianz. in Apologet. καὶ εἰσι σχεδὸν τριπλείους κατ' ἀριθμὸν, ἢ ὁπόσων ἀρχοῦσι.
In Authent. Collat. prima, Tit. Ut determinatus sit numerus clericorum.

Canon. Apost. can. 9. ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου ἱερατικῶν.

De Consecr. Dist. 1. Episcopos. Concil. Nicen. can. 14.

Concil. Carthag. vi. cap. 18.

[⁶ Τί δὲ πρεσβυτέρειον ἀλλ' ἢ σύστημα ἱερῶν, σύμβουλοι καὶ συνεδρευταὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου; Ignat. Op. Ed. Voss. 2da, Lond. 1680. p. 162. Epist. ad Trall. Interpolat.]

[⁷ Diaconi discos cum panibus sanctis deferunt ad sanctum altare: reliqui portant sanctos calices.—Ord. Lit. B. Joan. Chrysost. in Cassandr. Op. Par. 1616. Liturg. cap. vii. p. 18. Different copies of the liturgy ascribed to Chrysostom differ exceedingly.]

[⁸ Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. vi. cap. xliii. p. 198.]

[⁹ Gregor. Nazianz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Orat. ii. 8. Tom. I. p. 15.]

[¹⁰ Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Authent. Col-lat. i. Tit. iii. Novell. iii. cap. 1. Tom. II. p. 7.]

[¹¹ Serveth, 1565.] [¹² Provided, 1565, 1609.]

[¹³ Canon. Apost. 8. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 25.]

[¹⁴ Chevisance: enterprise, achievement, bargain.]

[¹⁵ Anaclet. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624.

Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. i. can. 59, col. 1907.]

[¹⁶ Concil. Nicen. can. 18. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. II. col. 37.]

[¹⁷ Concil. Carthag. vi. in eod. cap. 18. Tom. II. col. 1598; where *aut* for *vel*.]

the communion in order after the priests, either the bishop or the priest ministering it."

Concil. Laod.
can. 59.

So the council of Laodicea: "It is lawful only for the priests of the church to enter into the place where the altar standeth, and there to communicate¹."

Concil. Tolet.
iv. cap. 17.

So the council of Toledo: "Let the priests and deacons communicate before the altar, the clerks in the quire, and the people without the quire²."

Nic. Cusan.
ad Cler. et
Lit. Bohem.

Nicolaus Cusanus, writing unto the clergy and learned of Bohemia, hath these words: *Hoc est... singulariter attendendum, quod sacerdotes nunquam sine diacono celebrabant: et in omni missa diaconus de manu sacerdotis accipit eucharistiam sub specie panis, et sacerdos de manu diaconi calicem*³: "This thing is specially to be noted, that the priest did never celebrate without a deacon; and that in every mass the deacon received the sacrament in the kind of bread at the priest's hand, and the priest the cup at the deacon's hand."

Chrysost. in
Lit.

But what needeth much proof, in a case that is so plain? Chrysostom himself, in the liturgy that commonly beareth his name, followeth the same order. "After that the priests have received," saith he, "the archdeacon commandeth the deacons to come forth; and they, so coming, receive as the priests did before⁴." This was the very order of Chrysostom's mass, touching the clergy, and that by the witness of Chrysostom himself.

Now let M. Harding judge uprightly, whether these shifts be so poor as he would make them.

But if the whole clergy had been so negligent, that not one of them all, being so many, and so straitly charged, would have communicated with the priest, as M. Harding seemeth to condemn them all, only upon his own word, without any evidence; yet let us see whether M. Harding's *nemo* were able of necessity to shut out all the rest of the people.

Chrysost. ad
Popul. Antioch.
Hom. 61.

Chrysostom in divers places seemeth to divide the whole multitude into three sorts, whereof some were "penitent," some "negligent," and some "devout." The "penitent" were commanded away, and might not communicate: the "negligent" some time departed of themselves, and would not communicate: the "devout" remained, and received together. Now that the "devout" remained still with Chrysostom the whole time of the holy mysteries, it is plain by the very same place that M. Harding here allegeth for his purpose. For thus Chrysostom saith unto the people: "Thou art come into the church, and hast sung praises unto God with the rest, and hast confessed thyself⁵ to be one of the worthy, in that thou departedst not forth with the unworthy⁶." By these words he sheweth that some were worthy, and some unworthy; that the unworthy departed, and the worthy remained. And again in the same homily he saith: "The deacon, standing on high, calleth some to the communion, and putteth off some; thrusteth out some, and bringeth in some⁶." Chrysostom saith: "Some are called," and "some are brought in," to receive with the priest. Where then is now M. Harding's *nemo*? Verily, if there were "some people" with the priest, then was there no place for "nobody." If "nobody" received, then is it not true that Chrysostom saith, that "some received."

Here of a false principle M. Harding, as his wont is, guesseth out the like conclusion: "If there were so few communicants in that populous city of Antioch, where the scriptures were daily expounded and preached, then it is likely in country churches there were none at all." This argument hangeth only by likelihood, as

[¹ ... και μόνοις ἐξὸν εἶναι τοῖς ἱερατικοῖς εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, και κοινωνεῖν.—Concil. Laod. in eod. can. 19. Tom. I. col. 1500.]

[² ... sacerdos et Levita ante altare communicent, in choro clerus, extra chorum populus.—Concil. Tolet. iv. in eod. cap. 18. Tom. V. col. 1711.]

[³ Nic. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. Ad Cler. et Lit. Bohem. Epist. vii. pp. 854, 5; where we find *celebrarunt, et in omni missa diaconus de manu diaconi calicem, ut glo. in cap. pervenit 93. distin. ponit causam, et ita præceptum fuit servari.*]

[⁴ Chrysost. Miss. in Lit. Sanct. Patr. Par. 1560.

fol. 21. See before, page 116, note 3.]

[⁵ Theeself, 1565.]

[⁶ Ita scilicet et tu venisti, cecinisti Deo laudem, cum omnibus es confessus de dignis esse, cum indignis non secedendo.—Chrysost. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. Ad Pop. Antioch. Hom. lxi. Tom. V. col. 403. ... stans erectus... hos quidem vocat, hos autem arceat ... hos quidem pellit et ejicit, hos autem introducit et assistit.—Id. ibid. col. 405. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Ephes. cap. i. Hom. iii. Tom. XI. p. 23. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. x. Hom. xvii. Tom. XII. pp. 170, 1.]

do the rest of his making; and being set in order, it standeth thus: There was no private mass in the great city of Antioch; *ergo*, there was private mass in the country. Surely, good reader, this is a very country argument, whatsoever it seem to M. Harding.

And further, whereas to advance the city, and to abase the country, he saith, "The people in cities were daily taught by open sermons;" herein he must needs be content that his guess give place unto the truth. For Chrysostom himself saith far otherwise. Thus he speaketh unto the people in the city: *Dum per hebdomadam semel vocamus vos, et ignavi estis, et alii quidem non advenitis, alii autem præsentes sine lucro disceditis; quid non faceretis, si nos hoc continuo faceremus?*⁷ "Whereas, being called by us but once in the week, yet ye be slothful, and some of you come not at all, and other some, being present, depart without profit; what would ye not do, if we should call you every day?" I note not this for that I mislike with daily preaching, but for that untruth so boldly presumed should not pass untouched.

Yet saith M. Harding: "In small country churches, either the priest let cease the daily sacrifice, or else he received alone. But the daily sacrifice ceased not; for then that had been left undone that Christ commanded to be done; *ergo*, there was private mass." O M. Harding, is it not possible your doctrine may stand without lies? So many untruths in so little room, without shame of the world, without fear of God? Where did Christ ever command you to make your sacrifice? By what commission? By what words? Where did Christ will you to do it every day? Where did Christ ever call it the daily sacrifice? Or where ever learned you that the remembrance of Christ's death pertaineth more to the priest than to the people? And if your mass be that sacrifice, who ever commanded your priest to say your daily mass? What law, what decree, what decretal, what legantine, what provincial? Or what priest ever was there that said it daily?

Peccham in his provincial was never so strait. He saith no more but thus: *Statuimus, ... ut quilibet sacerdos, quem canonica necessitas non excusat, conficiat omni hebdomada saltem semel*⁸: "We ordain that every priest, unless he be excused by some canonical necessity, do consecrate every week once at the least." There is odds between once a week and once a day. And Linwood, writing upon the same, allegeth these words of St Augustine's: *Quotidie eucharistiæ communicare nec laudo nec vitupero*⁹: "As for receiving the communion every day, I neither praise it nor dispraise it." Innocentius the third noteth, that there were priests in his time that would scarcely say mass at four times in the year¹⁰. And Thomas of Aquine thinketh it sufficient for a priest, that is not charged with cure, to say mass only upon principal feasts¹¹. It is also written in *Vitis Patrum*, that a certain holy man, being made priest, would notwithstanding never say mass while he lived. Yet was there none of these ever charged with foreslowing¹² or ceasing the daily sacrifice, or leaving undone that thing that Christ had commanded to be done.

Concerning the priest's sole receiving, which is grounded only upon itself, without further proof, verily I see no cause but that Nicolaus de Cusa, being a cardinal of Rome, ought to carry as good credit herein as M. Harding, with all his guesses. He saith, and willeth his words to be specially noted, as it is before touched, that in those days the priest did never receive without the deacon¹³. Yet hath M. Harding a certain surmise by himself, that the priests in the country received alone.

Chrysost. in Act. Hom. 45. Idem in Matt. Hom. 5.

De Celebr. Miss. can. Altissimus.

De Con. Dist. 2. Quotidie.

Extr. de Celebr. Miss. Dolentes. In Summ. Parte ult. Quæst. lxxxii. Art. 1.

Nicol. de Cusa, ad Cler. et Lit. Bohem.

[⁷ Id. In Act. Apost. Hom. xlv. Tom. IX. p. 335. See also In Matt. Hom. v. Tom. VII. p. 72.]

[⁸ Provincial. seu Const. Angl. Antw. 1525. Lib. III. De Celebr. Miss. fol. 168.]

[⁹ Id. ibid.; where *communione accipere*. See August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Eccles. Dogm. cap. xxiii. Tom. VIII. Append. col. 78.]

[¹⁰ Sunt et alii, qui missarum solemnia vix celebrant quater in anno.—Innoc. III. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decretal. Greg. IX. Lib. III. Tit. xli. cap. 9. col. 1377.]

[¹¹ ... unde sacerdoti, etiam si non habeat curam animarum, non licet omnino a celebratione cessare, sed saltem videtur, quod celebrare teneatur in præcipuis festis, &c.—Thom. Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. Summ. Theol. Pars III. Quæst. lxxxii. Art. 10. Tom. XII. fol. 276.]

[¹² Foreslowing: putting off.]

[¹³ Nic. de Cusa Op. Ad Cler. et Lit. Bohem. Epist. vii. pp. 854, 5. See before, page 198, note 3.]

But what a wonderful case is this! The mass that we must needs believe is so ancient, so universal, so catholic, so holy, so glorious, cannot be found, neither in churches, nor in chapels, nor in secret oratories, nor in private houses, in town or city; but must be sought out in some petty parish in the country, and that by conjecture only, and by guess, and by such records as directly condemn the whole order of the mass, and will suffer no man to be present thereat, but only such as will receive!

Chrysost. ad
Ephes. Hom.
3.

For thus saith Chrysostom: "If thou stand by and do not communicate, thou art malapert, thou art shameless, thou art impudent. Thine eyes be unworthy the sight hereof, unworthy be thine ears. O, thou wilt say, I am unworthy to be partaker of the holy mysteries. Then art thou unworthy to be partaker of the prayers: thou mayest no more stand here than a heathen that never was christened." And, touching himself, he saith: "In vain we come to offer the daily sacrifice: in vain we stand at the altar¹:" meaning thereby, as may appear, that, if he said private mass for lack of company, it was in vain. Here M. Harding, seeing that his mass, even by his own authority, is shrewdly cracked, and left for vain, assayeth to salve it as well as he may.

"The mass," saith he, "is not in vain in itself, but unto the people that will not come." This is a gloss beside the text; yet let us take it as it were true. But if hearing of the mass be a thing pleasant unto God, and meritorious unto the people; if Christ be there offered indeed for the sins of the world; if the priest alone may receive for all the rest; if it be sufficient for the people to communicate spiritually, as M. Harding hath avouched; then is not the saying of the mass in vain, no, not unto the people; no, although they never would communicate. Chrysostom saith, "It is in vain:" M. Harding saith, "It is not in vain." And yet, to see a greater contradiction, M. Harding himself in this place saith: "It is in vain unto the people." And yet the same M. Harding hath said before: "It is commanded by councils: it is sufficient for the people to communicate in spirit: it is not in vain unto the people."

Division ix.
fol. 13. b. 2

If M. Harding will stand unto the authority of Chrysostom, let him not dissemble, but speak plainly unto the people, as Chrysostom spake. Let him say to them that come to hear his mass: "If ye receive not, ye are shameless, ye are impudent, ye are not worthy to be partakers of the common prayers: depart ye from the church; ye have no more place here than Turks and heathens; your eyes be unworthy to see these things, unworthy be your ears; our masses cannot profit you; they are not meritorious for you; they please not God; they provoke his anger; they are all in vain." This is Chrysostom's sense and plain meaning; and this is a fair winding up of M. Harding's clew.

Now let us examine this invincible argument, wherewithal every child, as M. Harding vaunteth, is able to prove the private mass.

The major is this: "The sacrifice in Chrysostom's time was daily offered."

The minor is this: "But many times no man came to communicate with the priest."

The conclusion: *ergo*, "There was private mass."

Here the major is apparent false; the minor proved at adventures, only by blind guess, and so not proved at all: therefore the conclusion must needs follow after as it may. Unless M. Harding look better to it, I trow it will prove but a childish argument.

As for the major, it is plain by the sixth council of Constantinople³, by St Augustine upon St John⁴, by St Basil *Ad Cæsariam Patriciam*⁵, by the epistle of the council of Alexandria in the defence of Macarius⁶, and by the council

Concil. Con-
stan. vi. can.
52.
Aug. Tract.
26.
Basil. ad
Cæsar.

[¹ ... εἰκὴ θυσία καθημερινή, εἰκὴ παρεστήκαμεν τῇ θυσιαστηρίῳ... πᾶς γὰρ ὁ μὴ μετέχων τῶν μυστηρίων ἀνάσχυντος καὶ ἰταμῶς ἐστηκώς... ἀνάξιος εἰμι, φησὶν οὐκοῦν καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας ἐκείνης τῆς ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς... ἀνάξιοι καὶ ὀφθαλμοὶ τῶν θαυμάτων τούτων, ἀνάξια καὶ ἀκοαί.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Ephes. cap. i. Hom. iii. Tom. XI. pp. 23, 4.]

[² See before, pages 126, 7.]

[³ Concil. Quinisext. can. 52. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VI. cols. 1166, 7.]

[⁴ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 15. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 500.]

[⁵ Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Ad Cæsar. Epist. xciii. Tom. III. p. 186.]

[⁶ Epist. Synod. Concil. Alex. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. II. col. 548.]

holden at Laodicea⁷, and by sundry other authorities to that purpose before alleged, that the sacrifice was not daily offered, as M. Harding imagineth.

Touching the minor, it is not proved, but hangeth, as I have said, only by guess. M. Harding himself saw that this is but⁸ a slender proof: "Chrysostom ministered every day; *ergo*, he received alone;" and therefore he sought further to find his single communion in the country. But Chrysostom saith: "There is nobody to communicate." By this it may appear, as I have already said, that Chrysostom himself did not communicate, unless we will say Chrysostom was "nobody," and so "nobody" received alone, and "nobody" himself said M. Harding's private mass. And therefore "nobody" may come forth and justly require me to subscribe. Thus, the major being false, the minor not proved, the conclusion not following, thou seest, good christian reader, what invincible force M. Harding hath brought to reprove⁹ his mass.

But because he seemeth to set somewhat by the winding up of his clew, it shall not be from the purpose to unwind it again, and to lay it abroad, and to consider the stuffing of it, and to see how closely and handsomely it is wound together.

1. First, there is not one thread of the holy scriptures in all this clew, but the plain example of Christ and his apostles quite refused.
2. Secondly, the private mass is founded upon the negligence, and, as M. Harding calleth it, the undevotion of the people.
3. Thirdly, there is a way devised, how two priests, saying their masses in divers countries, may communicate together in breaking bread, be the distance between them never so great; and that without any manner warrant of scripture or doctor.
4. Fourthly, lay-people, women, sick folks, and boys, that received or ministered the sacrament alone, are brought in for this purpose, as though it had been lawful then for women or boys to say mass.
5. Fifthly, because St Ambrose, St Augustine, St Hierome, St Chrysostom, St Basil, and such others would not serve, there is brought in a great number of petty doctors, all of doubtful credit, and many of them long sithence misliked and condemned by the church.
6. Sixthly, the matter is made good by visions, dreams, and fables.
7. Seventhly, there are alleged canons of councils not extant in any council, gathered without great judgment by one Gratian, and yet none of them neither proving nor once naming the private mass.
8. Eighthly, because M. Harding could not find his mass in the whole church of Rome, within the space of six hundred years after Christ, he hath therefore made search at Alexandria in Egypt, at Antioch in Syria, at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, a thousand miles beyond the limits of all Christendom, where as was never private mass said, neither then, nor before that time, nor never sithence.
9. Ninthly, for that he stood in despair of cathedral and other like great churches, he hath sought out chapels, cells, oratories, and private houses; and, because he had no hope to speed in towns or cities, he hath sought out the little churches in the country.
10. Tenthly, notwithstanding all this inquiry, he hath not yet found neither the name of private mass, nor any priest that ever ministered and received alone.
11. To be short, the whole substance of his proofs hangeth only upon his own surmise, without any certainty or appearance of truth.

These be the contents of M. Harding's clew, and thus substantially hath he proved the antiquity and universality of his mass.

Now, good reader, to give thee only a taste of some part that may be said of our side; first, it is apparent that Christ our Saviour, at his last supper, ministered the holy communion, and no private mass, and bade his disciples to do the same in his remembrance.

Likewise St Paul willed the Corinthians one to wait and tarry for another in the holy ministration, and to conform themselves to Christ's example. Where-

Communion.

Concil. Laod. can. 49.

[⁷ Concil. Laod. in eod. can. 49. Tom. I. col. 1505.]

[⁸ Put, 1611.]

[⁹ Prove, 1565, 1609.]

Communion.

Hieron. in
1 Cor. xi.
Ambros.
1 Cor. xi.
Can. Apost.
can. 9.
De Con. Dist.
2. Peracta.
De Con. Dist.
1. Episcopuz.
De Con. Dist.
2. Si non.
De Con. Dist.
2. Si quis.

upon St Hierome saith, as it is before alleged: "The Lord's supper must be common unto all; for the Lord delivered the sacraments equally unto all the disciples that were present¹." And St Ambrose likewise, expounding these words, *Invicem expectate*, "Wait one for another," saith thus: "That the oblation of many may be celebrate together, and may be ministered unto all²."

In the canons of the apostles it is decreed that, if any man resort unto the church, and hear the scriptures, and abstain from the communion, he stand ex-communicate, as one that troubleth the congregation³.

The like decrees are found under the names of Calixtus⁴, Anacletus⁵, Martinus⁶, Hilarius⁷, and others; by which it is certain that the whole church then received together.

^a Clem. Epist.
2.

^a Clemens, as M. Harding calleth him, the apostles' fellow, writeth thus: "Let so many hosts be offered upon the altar as may be sufficient for the people⁸."

^b Aug. de
Serm. Dom.
in Mont. Lib.
ii.
^c August. in
Psalm. x.

^b St Augustine saith of the congregation in his time: "Every day we receive the sacrament of Christ's body⁹." ^c And, opening the same more particularly, he saith thus: *Unde... confido in eis, quibus heri communicasti, et hodie communicas, et cras communicabis*¹⁰? "What trust can I have in them, with whom thou didst communicate yesterday, and dost communicate to-day, and wilt communicate again to-morrow?"

^d Clement.
Strom. Lib. i.

^d Clemens Alexandrinus saith: "After that certain, as the manner is, have divided the sacrament, they give every of the people leave to take part of it¹¹."

Chrysost. in
1 Cor. Hom.
27.

St Chrysostom plainly describeth the very order of the communion that was used in his time, by these words: "The spiritual and reverend sacraments are set forth equally to rich and poor: neither doth the rich man enjoy them more, and the poor man less: they have all like honour, and like coming to them. The sacraments being once laid forth (as then the manner was for the people to receive) are not taken in again, until all the people have communicate, and taken part of that spiritual meat; but the priests stand still, and wait for all, even for the poorest of them all¹²."

Chrysost.
2 Cor. Hom.
18.

Again he saith: "There are things wherein the priest differeth nothing from the people; as when we must use the fearful mysteries. For we are all of one worthiness to receive the same¹³."

Gregor. Dial.
Lib. ii. cap.
xxiii.

St Gregory saith that even in his time the order was, that in the time of the holy communion the deacon should stand up and say aloud unto the people: *Si quis non communicat, det locum*¹⁴: "If there be any body that is not disposed to communicate, let him give place."

Missa.

This Latin word *missa*, in the time of Tertullian and St Cyprian, signified a dismissing, or a licence to depart, and was specially applied unto the communion upon this occasion that I must here declare. They that were then named *catechumeni*, that is to say, novices of the faith, and not yet christened, were suffered to be present at the communion until the gospel was ended. Then the deacon commanded them forth, pronouncing these words aloud: *Catechumeni exeunto*: or thus: *Ite, missa est*: "Go ye forth, ye have licence to depart." Of this dimis-

Isidor. in
Lex.

[¹ Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. i. ad Cor. cap. xi. Tom. V. col. 997. See before, page 18.]

[² Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. i. ad Cor. cap. xi. Tom. II. Append. col. 150. See before, page 17.]

[³ Canon. Apost. 9. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1571-2. Tom. I. col. 28.]

[⁴ Anaclet. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 10. col. 1917.]

[⁵ Id. in eod. ibid. Dist. i. can. 59. col. 1907.]

[⁶ Ex Concil. Mart. Brach. cap. 83. in eod. ibid. Dist. ii. can. 18. col. 1920.]

[⁷ Hilar. in eod. ibid. can. 15. col. 1919.]

[⁸ Clement. Papæ I. Epist. ii. ad Jacob. in Epist. Decret. Sum. Pont. Rom. 1591. Tom. I. p. 16. See before, page 17.]

[⁹ ... quod [sacramentum] quotidie accipimus.—

August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Serm. Dom. in Mont. Lib. ii. cap. vii. 25. Tom. III. Pars ii. col. 209.]

[¹⁰ Id. In Psalm. x. Enarr. 5. Tom. IV. cols. 61, 2.]

[¹¹ Clem. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Strom. Lib. i. Tom. I. p. 318. See before, page 153, note 14.]

[¹² Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. i. ad Cor. Hom. xxvii. Tom. X. pp. 240, &c. The homily expresses at large what is here asserted; but the precise words do not appear in it.]

[¹³ "Ἐστὶ δὲ ὅπου οὐδὲ διέστηκεν ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ ἀρχομένου οἶον, ὅταν ἀπολαύειν δὲ τῶν φρικτῶν μυστηρίων. ὁμοίως γὰρ πάντες ἀξιούμεθα τῶν αὐτῶν.—Id. in Epist. ii. ad Cor. Hom. xviii. Tom. X. p. 568.]

[¹⁴ Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Dial. Lib. ii. cap. xxiii. Tom. II. col. 253.]

sing or departing forth of the *catechumeni* and others, the service itself was then called *missa*¹⁵. The rest remained still in the church, and received the communion together with the priest. Further, the breaking of the bread, which even now is used in the mass itself, signifieth a distribution of the sacrament unto the people, as St Augustine saith unto Paulinus: *Ad distribuendum comminuitur*¹⁶; "It is broken, to the end it may be divided." Moreover, the priest himself in his mass saith thus: "This holy mixture and consecration, &c. be unto me, and to all that shall receive it, unto salvation¹⁷." Thus the very name of the mass, the very breaking of the bread, the very gestures and words that the priest useth at his mass, bear manifest witness against private mass.

Communion.

The breaking of the bread.
August. ad Paulin. Epist. 59.

Here I leave out a great number of councils, and canons, and old fathers, as Justinus Martyr, Dionysius, Tertullian, Epiphanius, and Eusebius, with sundry other ancient writers, both Greeks and Latins; thinking it sufficient by these few to have given a taste of the rest.

Our proofs hang not upon conjecture, or uncertain guesses: we pray not aid of sick folk, women, boys, and children, for the proof of the holy communion; as M. Harding is driven to do for proof of his mass: we seek not out secret oratories or privy chapels: we forge no new doctors, such as the world never knew before; as these men do for lack of others: we allege neither dreams, nor visions, nor fantastical fables.

We rest upon the scriptures of God, upon the authority of the ancient doctors and councils, and upon the universal practice of the most famous cities and churches of the world.

These things well compared and weighed together, judge thou now, gentle reader, whether M. Harding have hitherto just cause either to blow up the triumph with such courage, or to require any man to subscribe.

[¹⁵ Isidor. Hisp. Op. Col. Agrip. 1617. Orig. Lib.

Tom. II. col. 509.]

vi. cap. xix. p. 51.]

[¹⁷ Missal. ad Us. ac Consuet. Sar. Par. 1527.

[¹⁶ August. Op. Ad Paulin. Epist. cxlix. 16.

fol. 161. 2. See before, page 19.]