

OF PRAYERS IN A STRANGE TONGUE.

THE THIRD ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

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

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

[OF THE CHURCH SERVICE IN LEARNED TONGUES, WHICH THE UNLEARNED PEOPLE IN OLD TIME IN SUNDRY PLACES UNDERSTOOD
NOT.—ARTICLE III. HARDING'S ANSWER, 1564.]

M. HARDING. THE FIRST DIVISION.

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

The sixty-fifth untruth. For under the subjection of the bishop of Rome the people for the most part pray⁵ in Latin.

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

The sixty-sixth untruth. For⁶ this certainty will never be proved.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The disorder of prayer that M. Harding hath here taken in hand to defend is not only repugnant to the scriptures of God, but also contrary to the sense of nature. For if birds and beasts could speak, as Democritus the philosopher sometime thought, and as Lactantius, a christian writer, seemeth partly to say they do⁷; yet, being birds and beasts, and void of reason, they would not speak they know not what. Wherefore, seeing this abuse appeareth contrary to God and nature, and now also is misliked and condemned by the common judgment of

Lactant. Inst. Lib. iii. cap. x.

[⁵ Prayeth, 1565.]

[⁶ 1565 omits *for*.]

[⁷ Cum enim suas voces propriis inter se notis

discernunt atque dinoscunt, colloqui videntur.—Lactant. Op. Lut. Par. 1748. Div. Inst. Lib. III. cap. x. Tom. I. p. 211.]

all people; therefore it behoveth M. Harding to leave his guesses, and soundly and effectually seek¹ to prove it.

Two special things he hath confessed in this treaty, which quite overthrow his whole purpose: the one is, "that the prayers in the primitive church were said in the common known tongue;" the other is, "that it were good even now, that the people understood their own prayers." This is the plain song, and may well stand for the ground: the rest is altogether descant and vain voluntary, and the most part out of tune.

This distinction of common prayers, whereof he imagineth some to be made openly by the minister of the church, some severally by every of the people in private devotion, is both unperfect², and also needless. For the secret prayers, that the faithful make severally by themselves, have evermore been called "private," and never "common." And in this sense Thomas of Aquine thinketh that a prayer made in such sort by the priest, and in the church, may be called private³.

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

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

As concerning the distinction of private and common prayers, between which M. Harding would also have a difference of speech, undoubtedly the tongue, that is godly and profitable, and will stir the mind in private devotion, is also godly and profitable, and likewise able to stir the mind in the open church. And I marvel what reason can lead any man to think the contrary.

M. HARDING. THE SECOND DIVISION.

Here M. Harding wandreth vainly from the purpose.

But to speak first of antiquity and of the compass of your six⁴ hundred years, it is evident by sundry ancient records, both of doctors and of councils, specially of the council Laodicene in Phrygia Pacatiana, holden by the bishops of the lesser Asia, about the year of our Lord 364, that the Greek churches had solemn service in due order and form, set forth with exact distinction of psalms, and lessons, of hours, days, feasts, and times of the year, of silence and open pronouncing, of giving the kiss of peace to the bishop, first by the priests, then by the lay-people, of offering the sacrifice, of the only ministers coming to the altar to receive the communion, with divers other seemly observations⁵.

Also⁶ the Latin churches, they had their prayers and service also, but in such fixed order long after the Greeks. For Damasus the pope first ordained that psalms should be sung in the church of Rome alternatim, "interchangeably or by course," so as now we sing them in the quire, and that in the end of every psalm should be said, Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui sancto, sicut erat, &c.; which he caused to

[¹ To seek, 1565, 1609.]

[² Unperfit, 1565.]

[³ Thom. Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. Summ. Theol. Tert. Pars, Quæst. lxxxiii. Art. 4. Tom. XII. fol. 278. 2. See before, page 107, note 13.]

[⁴ First six, H. A. 1564.]

[⁵ Concil. Laod. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cosart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. See especially cans. 16-19. Tom. I. col. 1500.]

[⁶ As for, 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

In Rescripto Hieronymi
ad 2 Epist. Damasi Papæ
ad Hieronymum Presby-
terum.

be done by counsel of St Hierome, that the faith of the 318 bishops of the Nicene council might with like fellowship be declared in the mouths of the Latins. To whom Damasus wrote by Bonifacius the priest to Hierusalem, that Hierome would send unto him Psallentiam Græcorum, "The manner of the⁷ singing of the Greeks," so as he had learned the same of Alexander, the bishop in the east. In that epistle, complaining of the simplicity of the Roman church, he saith that there was on⁸ the Sunday but one epistle of the apostle, and one chapter of the gospel rehearsed, and that there was no singing with the voice heard, nor the comeliness of hymns known among them⁹.

Singing.

About the same time St Ambrose also took order for the service of his church of Milan, and made holy hymns himself. In whose time, as St Augustine writeth, "when Justina, the young emperor Valentinian's mother, for cause of her heresy, wherewith she was seduced by the Arians, persecuted the catholic faith, and the people thereof occupied themselves in devout watches more than before time, ready to die with their bishop in that quarrel; it was ordained that hymns and psalms should be sung in the church of Milan, after the manner of the east parts¹⁰; that the good folk thereby might have some comfort and spiritual relief in that lamentable state and continual sorrows. Thereof the churches of the west forthwith took example, and in every country they followed the same¹¹." In his second book of Retractations he sheweth, that in his time such manner of singing began to be received in Africa¹². Before this

Lib. Confessionum.

cap. xi.

In 2 Proemio Commenta-
riorum Epist. ad Galat.

time had Hilarius also, the bishop of Poitiers in France, made hymns for that purpose, of which St Hierome maketh mention¹³.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

We may well suffer M. Harding to wander at large in matters that relieve him nothing. If it were lawful for others so to do, it were no great mastery to write books. Many matters be here heaped together, touching order of service, distinction of psalms, lessons, hours, days, feasts, the giving of peace, the form of communion, singing in the church, when it began in Græcia, when in Rome, when in Milan, when in Africa, when in France, and when in other places. These be none of the matters that lie in question. And therefore, as they nothing further M. Harding to this purpose, so in other respects they hinder him sundry ways. For in the same council of Laodicea¹⁴ it is decreed, like as also in the council of Carthage¹⁵, "that nothing be read in the church unto the people, saving only the canonical scriptures." Therefore the lessons there mentioned were not taken out of the Festival, or *Legenda Aurea*, as hath been used in the church of Rome; but out of the chapters of the holy bible, as it is now used in the church of England. The peace given to the bishop was not a little table of silver or somewhat else, as hath been used in the church of Rome, but a very kiss¹⁶ indeed, in token of perfect¹⁷ peace and unity in faith and religion. So Justinus Martyr saith, speaking of the time of the holy ministration: "We salute each one another with a kiss¹⁸." So likewise Chrysostom and others.

Council. Laod.
can. 59.
Council.
Carth. iii.
can. 47.

In Apol. 2.
ἀλλήλους
φιλήματα
ἀσπάζο-
μεθα.

[⁷ H. A. 1564, omits the.]

[⁸ In, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[⁹ Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Epist. Damas. ad Hieron. et Hieron. ad Damas. Tom. V. Append. cols. 415, 6. Both these epistles are considered spurious by the Benedictine editor.]

[¹⁰ Parties, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[¹¹ Nimirum annus erat, aut non multo amplius, cum Justina, Valentiniani regis pueri mater, hominem tuum Ambrosium persequeretur hæresis suæ causa, qua fuerat seducta ab Arianis. Excubabat pia plebs in ecclesia, mori parata cum episcopo suo... Tunc hymni et psalmi ut canerentur secundum morem orientalium partium, ne populus mororis tædio contabesceret, institutum est; et ex illo in hodiernum retentum, multis jam ac pene omnibus gregibus tuis,

et per cetera orbis imitantibus.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Confess. Lib. ix. cap. vii. 15. Tom. I. col. 162.]

[¹² Id. Retract. Lib. ii. cap. xi. Tom. I. col. 45.]

[¹³ Hieron. Op. Comm. Lib. ii. in Epist. ad Gal. Præf. Tom. IV. Pars i. cols. 255, 6.]

[¹⁴ "Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικοὺς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐδὲ ἀκανόνιστα βιβλία, ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ κανονικὰ τῆς καινῆς καὶ παλαιᾶς διαθήκης.—Council. Laod. can. 59. in Council. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. I. col. 1507.]

[¹⁵ Council. Carth. iii. can. 47. in eod. Tom. II. col. 1177. See before, page 70, note 3.]

[¹⁶ Cosse, 1565.]

[¹⁷ Perfit, 1565.]

[¹⁸ Just. Mart. Op. Par. 1742. Apol. i. p. 82.]

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

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

St Augustine saith ^athat "St Ambrose took that order in Milan in time of persecution and great danger, for the solace of the people¹." ^bNazianzenus expresseth the terrible sound of the people so singing together in this wise: "When the emperor Valens was entered into the church where St Basil preached, and was stricken with the psalmody, as if it had been with a thunder, &c."² "The like hath St Hilary, writing upon the psalms³. ⁴The like hath Theodoretus of one Flavianus and Theodorus, that first devised this order of singing in the city of Antioch⁴.

But none plainer than St Basil: his words be these: "The people rise before day, and hie them to the house of prayer, and there, after that in mourning, and in heaviness, and continual tears, they have confessed themselves unto God, standing up from their prayers, they begin the psalmody, and, being divided into two parts, they sing together, the one part answering to the other. And this order," he saith, "was agreeable to all the other churches of God⁵." Certainly it seemeth that St Gregory in his time thought singing in the church to be a thing fitter for the multitude of people than for the priest. For he expressly forbiddeth the priest to sing in the church⁶; but I do not remember that ever he forbade the people.

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

M. HARDING. THE THIRD DIVISION.

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

The gospel and the faith of Christ was preached and set forth in Syria and Arabia

[¹ See the preceding page, note 11.]

[² Gregor. Nazianz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. In Laud. Basil. Orat. xliii. 52. Tom. I. p. 808.]

[³ Hilary. Op. Par. 1693. Tractat. in Psal. lxxv. 4. col. 174.]

[⁴ Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. II. cap. xxiv. p. 107.]

[⁵ ... ὅτι τὰ νῦν κεκρατηκότα ἔθνη πάσαις ταῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαις συνῶδα ἔσται καὶ σύμφωνα. ἐκ νυκτὸς γὰρ ὁρροῖζει παρ' ἡμῖν ὁ λαὸς ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον τῆς προσευχῆς, καὶ ἐν πόνῳ καὶ θλίψει καὶ συνοχῇ

δακρύων ἐξομολογούμενοι τῷ Θεῷ, τελευταῖον ἐξ-
αναστάντες τῶν προσευχῶν, εἰς τὴν ψαλμωδίαν
καθίστανται. καὶ νῦν μὲν διχῇ διανεμηθέντες,
ἀντιψάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις.—Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30.
Ad Cler. Neoc. Epist. ccvii. Tom. III. p. 311.]

[⁶ Qua de re præsentī decreto constituo, ut in hac sede sacri altaris ministri cantare non debeant, &c.—Gregor. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xcii. can. 2. cols. 435, 6.]

[⁷ 1565 omits *for*.]

The sixty-seventh untruth. For M. Harding is not able to shew one nation that understood not their common service.

[Usage of church service in any vulgar tongue within 600 years after Christ cannot be proved. H. A. 1564.]

by Paul; in Egypt by Mark; in Æthiopia by Matthew; in Mesopotamia, Persia, Media, Bactra, Hyrcania, Parthia, and Carmania, by Thomas; in Armenia the greater by Bartholomew; in Scythia by Andrew; and likewise in other countries by apostolic men, who were sent by the apostles and their next successors: as in France by Martialis, sent by Peter; by Dionysius, sent by Clement; by Crescens, as Clement and Hierome writeth; and by Trophimus, St Paul's scholar; and by Nathaniel, Christ's disciple; of whom he at Arelate¹⁰, and this at Bourges and Treveres, preached the gospel, as some record: in our countries here of Britain, by Fugatius, Damianus, and others, sent by Eleutherius the pope and martyr, at the request of king Lucius, as Damasus writeth in Pontificali¹¹. Other countries, where the Greek and Latin tongue was commonly known, I pass over of purpose. Now, if M. Jewel, or any of our learned adversaries, or any man living, could shew good evidence and proof, that the public service of the church was then in the Syriacal or Arabic, in the Egyptian, Æthiopian, Persian, Armenian, Scythian, French, or Britain tongue; then might they justly claim prescription against us in this article, then might they charge us with example¹² of antiquity, then might they require us to yield to the manner and authority of the primitive church. (68) But that doubtless cannot appear, which if any could shew, it would make much for the service to be had in the vulgar tongue.

Barbarous tongue.

The sixty-eighth untruth. For doubtless it will soon be shewed.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

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

He granteth that the service was commonly said in the Greek and in the Latin tongue. All other tongues he condemneth for barbarous; by what authority, I cannot tell. For in the¹³ respect of God, "there is neither Jew nor gentile, nor Greek nor barbarous, nor any other distinction of tongues; but all are one in Christ Jesus¹⁴." Otherwise any tongue, unto him that understandeth it not, appeareth barbarous; and in that sense St Paul saith: "Unless I understand the meaning of the speech, I shall be barbarous unto him that speaketh; and he that speaketh shall be likewise barbarous unto me:" like as Anacharsis the philosopher also said: "The Scythian is barbarous at Athens; and the Athenian is barbarous among the Scythians." And so the priest that prayeth in an unknown tongue, whether it be Greek or Latin, is barbarous unto the people; and, if he be ignorant, and himself understand not his own prayers, he is barbarous also unto himself. As for the Latin tongue, which M. Harding so favourably excepteth, it hath no such special privilege above others. St Paul, making a full division of the whole world, nameth some Greeks, and some barbarous, and so leaveth out the Latins among the barbarous. The same division Strabo also followeth in his Cosmography. For thus he saith: *Barbaræ sunt omnes nationes, præter Græcos*¹⁵: "All nations be barbarous, beside the Greeks." Afterward the Romans misliking herewithal, as they increased the state of their empire, so first they excepted themselves, and in continuance, all other nations, that would become provinces, and be subject unto them. And therefore pope Nicolas the first made a piteous exclamation against the Greek emperor Michael, that seemed to deface the Latin tongue with that odious name: *Appellatis Latinam linguam barbaram, ad injuriam ejus qui fecit eam*¹⁶: "Ye call the Latin tongue barbarous, in despite of him that

Gal. iii.

1 Cor. xiv.

Strabo, Cosmograph. Lib. i. and iv.

Epist. Nicol. i.

[⁸ Const. Apostol. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cosart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Lib. vii. cap. xlvii. Tom. I. cols. 450, 1.]

[⁹ Hieron. Op. Par. 1693—1706. Catal. Script. Eccles. Tom. IV. Pars II. cols. 101, &c. There appears however here no mention of Crescens.]

[¹⁰ Arles.]

[¹¹ Hic [Eleutherius] accepit epistolam a Lucio Britannico rege, ut Christianus efficeretur per ejus mandatum.—Decr. Eleuth. Ex Lib. Pontif. in Crabb.

Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 91. Little credit is to be attached to this story.]

[¹² The example, H. A. 1564.]

[¹³ 1565 omits the.]

[¹⁴ Jesu, 1565.]

[¹⁵ Strabon. Geograph. Lut. Par. 1620. Libb. i. xiv. pp. 66, 662.]

[¹⁶ ...ut linguæ Latinæ injuriam irrogaretis, hanc ... barbaram et Scythicam appellantes, ad injuriam &c.—Nicol. Papæ I. ad Michael. Imp. Epist. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. II. pp. 748, 9.]

made that tongue." Great Alexander's modesty is much commended, who, as Strabo saith, would never sort his subjects by Greeks and barbarous, but rather by the difference of good and ill. "For many Greeks," said he, "be ill people; and many barbarous be good¹." The like modesty might well have served M. Harding in this place. For many that know the Greek and the Latin tongues be notwithstanding ungodly; and many be godly, that know them not. Therefore it is very discreetly said by Beda: *Barbara est lingua, quæ Deum laudare non potest*²: "The³ tongue is barbarous, that cannot serve⁴ God."

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

Here are we required to shew some evidence, that in the primitive church the public service was in the Syriacal, or Arabic, or Egyptian, or any other barbarous tongue; and it is stoutly presumed that we are able to shew none. Whatsoever we can shew, this is no indifferent dealing.

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

And, forasmuch as the first tongue that he nameth amongst others, is the Syriacal, let him read St Hierome, describing the pomp of Paula's funeral. These be his words: *Tota ad funus ejus Palæstinarum urbium turba convenit: . . . Hebræo, Græco, Latino, Syroque sermone, psalmi in ordine personabant*⁵: "At her funeral all the multitude of the cities of Palestine met together. The psalms were sung in order, in the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Syrian tongue." Here may he see that in one city four several nations, in their common service, used four several tongues, among which tongues is the Syriacal; which thing M. Harding thinketh all the world cannot shew. St Augustine, willing the priests to apply their studies to correct the errors of their Latin speech, addeth thereto this reason: *Ut populus ad id quod plane intelligit, dicat, Amen*⁶: "That people⁷, unto the thing that they plainly understand, may say, Amen." This of St Augustine seemeth to be spoken generally of all tongues. M. Harding himself, at the end of his treaty, confesseth that the Armenians, Russians, Æthiopians, Sclavons, and Moscovites, have from the beginning of their faith, in their public service, used evermore their own natural country tongues. Wherefore, by M. Harding's own grant, we may justly claim prescription, and charge him with antiquity, and require him to yield to the authority of the primitive church.

M. HARDING. THE FOURTH DIVISION.

Wherefore, M. Jewel in his sermon, which he uttered in so solemn an audience, and hath set forth in print to the world, saith more than he is able to justify, where he speaketh generally thus: "Before the people grew to corruption (whereby he meaneth the first six hundred years after Christ) all christian men [Fol. 168.] throughout the world made their common prayers, and had the holy communion, in their own common and known tongue⁸." This is soon spoken, sir; but it will not by you be so soon proved.

[¹ Πολλοὺς γὰρ καὶ Ἑλλήνων εἶναι κακοὺς, καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀστέλους, κ. τ. λ.—Strabon. Geogr. Lut. Par. 1620. Lib. i. p. 66.]

[² The passage does not appear in Bede in the place referred to. See however August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. cxiii. Sermon. i. 5. Tom. IV. col. 1257; where we find, *Non est enim lingua vestra, sed barbara, quæ Deum laudare non novit.*]

[³ That, 1565.]

[⁴ Praise, 1565, 1609.]

[⁵ Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Eustoch. Epist. lxxxvi. Epit. Paul. Tom. IV. Pars II. cols. 687, 8.]

[⁶ August. Op. De Catechiz. Rud. cap. ix. 13. Tom. VI. col. 272.]

[⁷ That the people, 1565, 1609.]

[⁸ See before, page 9.]

Strabo, Cosmograph. Lib. i.

Beda, 1 Cor. xiv.

Acts ii.

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

In the fifteenth division.

Hieron. in Epit. Paul.

August. de Catechiz. Rud. cap. ix.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Ephrem's
Homilies

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

M. HARDING. THE FIFTH DIVISION.

Indeed we find, that whereas holy Ephrem, deacon of the church of Edessa, wrote many things in the Syriacal tongue, he was of so worthy fame and renown, that Lib. de Scripturis. Ecclesiast. (as St Hierome witnesseth) his writings were rehearsed in certain churches openly, post lectionem scripturarum⁹, "after the scriptures had been read;" whereof it appeareth to Erasmus that nothing was wont then to be read in the churches, beside the writings of the apostles, or at least of such men as were of apostolic authority¹⁰. But by this place of St Hierome it seemeth not that Ephrem's works were used as a part of the common service; but rather as homilies, or exhortations, to be read after the service, which consisted in manner wholly of the scriptures. And whether they were turned into Greek, or no, so soon, it is uncertain.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

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

"Ephrem wrote sundry things in his own mother tongue;"

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

Will he have this to be allowed, and go for an argument? If there were nothing else here to be gathered, yet hath he touched two things expressly against himself. The one is, that nothing was then read in the church, saving only the scriptures, or other matters of apostolic authority; which thing is also straitly commanded by the council of Carthage¹¹. Yet M. Harding in his church, even in the public service, readeth lessons and legends of childish fables.

Concil. Carth.
iii. can. 47.

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

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

The people understood Ephrem's homilies:

Ergo, his homilies were no part of the service?

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

Now let us see, whether the same Ephrem will conclude any thing of our side. First, Theodoretus saith: "He was utterly ignorant of the Greek tongue¹²." Which thing is also confirmed by M. Harding's own Amphilochius. For, in the conference that was between him and Basil, he saith: "He spake by an interpreter, as being not able to speak Greek himself¹³." Yet was the same Ephrem a minister in the church, being, as St Hierome saith, a deacon¹⁴, and, as some

Theodor. Lib.
iv. cap. xxix.

Amphiloch.

Hieron. de
Eccles. Script.

[⁹ Hieron. Op. Catal. Script. Eccles. 115. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 126.]

[¹⁰ Hinc apparet non nisi apostolicas litteras olim legi solitas in templis, aut certe virorum apostolicæ auctoritatis, cum hodie monachorum somnia, imo muliercularum deliramenta legantur inter divinas scripturas.—Hieron. Op. Basil. 1516. Eras. Schol. in Catal. Script. Eccles. Tom. I. fol. 141.]

[¹¹ Concil. Carth. III. can. 47. in Concil. Stud.

Lab. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. col. 1177.]

[¹² Παιδείας γὰρ οὐ γεγενημένος Ἑλληνικῆς.—Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. IV. cap. xxix. p. 192.]

[¹³ Amphiloch. Op. Par. 1644. In Vit. S. Basil. p. 202.]

[¹⁴ Hieron. Op. Catal. Script. Eccles. 115. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 126.]

St Hierome's translation.

Theodor. Lib. iv. cap. xxix. *φαιδρωτέρας τῶν νικηφόρων μαρτύρων... πανηγύρεις ποιεῖ.*

See the fifteenth division of this article.

others write, the archdeacon of the church of Edessa. Now let M. Harding shew us in what other tongue he could minister the ecclesiastical service, but in his own. If he think this conjecture to be weak, let him understand further, that, as Theodoretus reporteth, the same Ephrem made hymns and psalms in the Syrian tongue¹; and that the same were sung at the solemn feasts of martyrs; and that, as Sozomenus saith plainly, the same hymns and psalms were sung in the churches of Syria².

M. HARDING. THE SIXTH DIVISION.

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

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding seemeth to doubt whether St Hierome translated the scriptures into the Sclavon tongue, or no. Yet Stanislaus Hosius, one of the greatest of that side, maketh it very certain, and putteth it quite out of doubt. His words be plain: *In Dalmaticam linguam sacros libros Hieronymum vertisse constat*³: "It is certainly known that St Hierome translated the scriptures into the Sclavon tongue." And likewise Alphonsus de Castro: *Fatemur, . . . olim sacros libros in linguam vulgarem fuisse translato, beatumque Hieronymum in linguam Dalmaticam eos vertisse*⁴: "We confess that in old times the scriptures were translated into the vulgar tongue, and that St Hierome turned them into the Sclavon tongue." Neither ever wist I any man that made doubt hereof, but M. Harding. "But, being granted," saith he, "that St Hierome so translated the scriptures, yet that proveth not that the service was then in the vulgar tongue." Good sir, much less it proveth that the service was then among the Sclavons in the Latin tongue. He saith further: "That labour may be thought to have served to another purpose." But to what other purpose, he sheweth not. Surely whatsoever is thought hereof by M. Harding, M. Eckius, one of his own doctors, confesseth that the same St Hierome, that translated the scriptures into the Sclavon tongue, procured also that the common service there should be said in the Sclavon tongue⁵. And it may well be thought, his translation could serve to no better purpose. I grant St Chrysostom⁶, and Origen⁷, in their sermons, exhort the people to read the scriptures in their houses at home; which purpose also, no doubts, was very godly. But such private reading at home excludeth not the open reading in the church. Chrysostom saith, it was the reader's duty openly in the church to pronounce the scriptures⁸. And St Augustine saith unto the people: "The apostle St Paul witnesseth that this psalm, which ye have heard, pertaineth to that grace of God, whereby we are made Christians; therefore I have caused the same lesson to be read unto you⁹." I think M. Harding will grant that these lessons that St Chry-

Hosius de Sacro Vernacule Legendo.

Alph. de Hæres. Lib. i. cap. xiii.

Eck. de Missa Latine Dicenda.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 2. et in Gen. Hom. 28. Orig. in Levit. Hom. 9. Chrysost. in Act. Apost. Hom. 19. Aug. in Psal. xxxi.

[¹ Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695—1700. Lib. iv. cap. xxix. p. 192.]

[² Sozom. in eod. Lib. iii. cap. xvi. p. 428.]

[³ Cum præsertim Dalmatica lingua sacros libros Hieronymum vertisse constet, &c.—Hos. Op. Col. 1584. De Sac. Vernac. Leg. Tom. I. p. 664.]

[⁴ Alf. de Castr. Adv. Omn. Hæres. Col. 1539. Lib. i. cap. xiii. fol. 28. 2.]

[⁵ Identidem [ut in lingua sua rem divinam facerent] aliqui de lingua Sclavonica altissima testantur, a Hieronymo impetratum.—Joh. Eck. Enchir. Loc. Com. Lugd. 1572. cap. xxxvii. p. 339.]

[⁶ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718–38. In Matt. Hom. ii. Tom. VII. pp. 30, 1. Id. in cap. ix. Gen. Hom. xxix. Tom. IV. p. 281.]

[⁷ Orig. Op. Par. 1733–59. In Levit. Hom. ix. 5. Tom. II. p. 240.]

[⁸ Chrysost. Op. In Act. Apost. Hom. xix. Tom. IX. p. 160.]

[⁹ Hunc autem psalmum ad eam gratiam pertinere, qua Christiani sumus, testatus est apostolus Paulus: unde ipsam lectionem vobis legi volumus.—August. Op. Par. 1679–1700. In Psalm. xxxi. Enarr. ii. 2. Tom. IV. Pars i. col. 171.]

sostom and St Augustine speaketh of, were uttered in such a tongue as the people might understand. For else Origen saith: *Alioquin non fuisset necessarium, legi hæc in ecclesia, nisi ex his ædificatio aliqua audientibus præberetur*¹⁰: "Otherwise it had not been necessary for these things to be read in the church, unless some profit might come thereof unto the hearers."

St Hierome's translation.

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

Orig. in Levit. cap. vii.

Ephrem made homilies in the Syrian tongue;

And, St Hierome translated the bible into the Sclavon tongue;

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

Cardinal Otho saith: "There were three tongues written in the title of the cross; the Greek, the Hebrew, and the Latin;"

Otho Cardinal. in Stat. Synod. August.

Ergo, in one of these three tongues the people must have their common service¹¹.

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

Eckius de Miss. Lat. Dicenda.

Ergo, the service must be in an unknown tongue¹².

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

M. HARDING. THE SEVENTH DIVISION.

Now concerning the two learned tongues, Greek and Latin; and first the Greek. That the service was in the Greek tongue, and used in the Greek church, I grant. And, to shew what is meant by the Greek church, the learned do understand all the christian people of that country which properly is called Græcia, of Macedonia, Thracia, and of Asia the less¹³, and the countries adjoining. The provinces that were allotted to the patriarch of Alexandria in Egypt, and to the patriarch of Antiochia in Syria, are of the old writers called sometime by the name of the oriental, or east church, sometime of the Greek church. Thus¹⁴ much by us both confessed, M. Jewel, and agreed upon, I say that, if I can shew that the people of some countries of the Greek church, (69) which all had their common prayers and service in the Greek tongue, for the more part understood not the Greek tongue, more than Englishmen now understand the Latin tongue; then I have proved that I promised to prove, that some peoples, I mean whole nations, understood not their service, for that they had it in an unknown tongue.

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

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding, first having divided the whole world into two churches, the Greek and the Latin, afterward maketh offer to prove his purpose. Whereof it may be gathered, that he hath hitherto proved nothing. This division of the church neither is greatly material, nor of our part much denied; albeit many ways it seemeth unperfect¹⁵. For the great churches of Æthiopia, India, and Scythia, planted by St Matthew, by St Thomas, and by St Andrew, besides Arabia, Syria, Persia, Media, Armenia, and a great number of other countries, which never were neither of the Greek church nor of the Latin, are here quite left out.

The division of the church into Greek and Latin.

Two propositions M. Harding hath here chosen to prove. The one is, that all the Greek church had the common service wholly and thoroughly in the Greek tongue: the other is, that some whole countries in the Greek church understood not the Greek tongue.

If both these propositions be proved soundly and substantially, without surmise

¹⁰ Orig. Op. In Levit. Hom. v. 12. Tom. II. p. 214; where *alioquin nec*, &c.]

¹¹ Lingua Latina, cui veluti divino instrumento in ipsa crucis ara sacris usibus dedicato, ecclesia occidentalis religionem christianam fert acceptam, in sacramentorum administratione ... retineatur, et exclusa revocetur.—Statut. Synod. August. Othon.

Card. Præs. cap. 15. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. p. 872.]

¹² Christus in silentio oravit et secrete et secedens a discipulis.—Joh. Eck. Enchir. Loc. Com. cap. xxxvii. p. 343.]

¹³ Lesser, H. A. 1564.]

¹⁴ This, H. A. 1564.] ¹⁵ Unperfite, 1565.]

Asia the Less. or guess, then it behoveth me to yield. But, good reader, mark them well both, and consider the proofs. For if he fail in either of these, he proveth nothing, as I hope it will appear.

M. HARDING. THE EIGHTH DIVISION.

Now, how well I am able to prove this, I refer it to your own consideration. The less¹ Asia, being a principal part of the Greek church, had then the service in the Greek tongue. But the people of sundry regions and countries of the less¹ Asia then understood not the Greek tongue; ergo, the people of sundry regions and countries had then their service in an unknown tongue. The first proposition, or major, is confessed as manifest: no learned man will deny it; and if any would, it may easily be proved. The second proposition, or minor, may thus be proved: Strabo, who travelled over all the countries of Asia, for perfect² knowledge of the same, near about the time of St Paul's peregrination there, who also was born in the same, in his 14th book of Geography writeth, that, whereas within that Cherronesus (that is, the strait between sea and sea) there were sixteen nations, by report of Ephorus; (70) of them all only three were Greeks, all the rest barbarous³. Likewise Plinius, in the sixth book Naturalis Historiæ, cap. 2, declareth, that (71) within the circuit of that land were three Greek nations only, Dories, Iones, Æoles; and that the rest were barbarous⁴: amongst whom the people of Lycaonia was one, who, in St Paul's time, spake before Paul and Barnabas in the Lycaonical tongue.

[All people of the Greek church understood not the Greek service. H. A. 1564.]

[Acts. xiv. 1565, 1569, H. A. 1564.]

The scripture itself reporteth a diversity of language there and thereabout, as it appeareth by the second chapter of the Acts; where the Jews gathered together in Hierusalem, for keeping of the feast of Pentecost, wondering at the apostles for their speaking with so many sundry tongues, amongst other provinces different in language they reckon Pontus, and Asia, Cappadocia, Phrygia, and Pamphilia: which two provinces are of all attributed unto the less¹ Asia: which maketh a good argument, that all Asia the less¹ had not only⁵ the Greek tongue. And therefore so many of them as were of other language, having the service in Greek, had it in a tongue they understood not. They that will seem to search the cause why that land had so great diversity of languages, impute it to the often change of conquests, for that it was overcome and possessed of divers nations; of which every one coveted, with enlarging their empire, to bring into the countries subdued their laws, their customs, and their language. Now, this being proved by good and sufficient authority, that in Asia, of sixteen nations, three only were Greeks, it followeth that the other thirteen, having their service in Greek, had it not in their own, but in a strange tongue. For else, if they had all naturally spoken Greek, why should not they have been called Greeks? Thus we see, it is no new thing, proceeding of a general corruption in the church, some peoples to have the service in an unknown tongue.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

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

Here is a fair gloss. But be not deceived. M. Harding knoweth well enough, it is but a fallacy, that is to say, a deceitful argument, named in the schools, *Ex meris particularibus*, or, *A non distributo, ad distributum*. Unless he amend the major, and make it an universal, and say thus, All Asia the less had the service in the Greek tongue, it can in no wise hold. That Asia the less had the service in Greek, it is doubted of no man, nor learned, nor unlearned. But that all Asia the less had throughout in all parts the same service, if it be denied, M. Harding

The disclos-
ing of
M. Harding's
fallax.

[¹ Lesser, H. A. 1564.]

[² Perfite, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[³ See below, page 272, note 7.]

[⁴ See below, page 274.]

[⁵ One only, H. A. 1564.]

with all his learning is not able to prove it; and therefore he did better to turn it over without any proof at all.

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

He allegeth the Acts of the Apostles, where as mention is made of sundry languages, and, among the same, certain provinces of this Asia specially named for their difference in speech. But what if answer were made, that all there rehearsed were not divers tongues, but rather certain differences in one tongue? Certainly, Beda seemeth plainly so to say. His words be these: "'Verily this man was with him, for he is of Galilee:' not for that the people of Galilee, and the people of Hierusalem, used sundry tongues; but for that every province (of Jewry), having a peculiar manner of utterance in their speech, could not avoid the same⁶." And hereunto he applieth this story of the Acts of the Apostles.

But, saith M. Harding: "There must needs be greater difference between these countries of Asia, and that because of often overthrows and conquests that there had happened." The conjecture is good. But the greatest conquerors that came there were the Macedonians, the Thebans, and other Grecians, who (no doubt) planted there the Greek tongue, as it may soon appear to any man that can with judgment consider of it. St Paul unto the Ephesians, the Galathians, and the Colossians, dwelling all in this same Asia the less, wrote in Greek. And St Luke, writing of St Paul's being and preaching at Ephesus, saith, it came so to pass, *ut omnes qui habitabant in Asia audirent sermonem Domini Jesu, Judæi simul et Græci*: "that all they that dwelt in Asia heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Jews and Greeks." St Luke, that had travelled over that whole country with St Paul, knew none other nation there, but Jews and Greeks: M. Harding hath a guess, there should be some other barbarous people also; but what they were, or whereabouts they dwelt, or what tongue they spake, he cannot tell. Verily Polycarpus was bishop of Smyrna: Gregorius was bishop in Pontus: St Basil was bishop of Cæsaria in Cappadocia; Amphilocheus bishop of Iconium in Lycaonia; Gregorius, St Basil's brother, bishop of Nyssa in Caria, or Thracia. All these, in sundry countries within Asia the less, preached openly in the Greek tongue; and the vulgar people understood them.

"Yet," saith M. Harding, "Strabo, being born in the same country, and living under the emperors Augustus and Tiberius, in the time of St Paul, writeth in his Geography, that, whereas there were then sixteen sundry nations in Asia the less, three only of them were Greeks, and the rest barbarous." I know not whether M. Harding be unwittingly deceived himself, or wilfully go about to deceive others. But well I know that this is no part of Strabo's meaning. For Strabo speaketh not this of his own time, but of the time of Ephorus, that lived well near five hundred years before him. This Ephorus reporteth that in his time there were but three Greek nations as yet entered into Asia, but all the rest then were barbarous⁷. And therefore Apollodorus saith, that before the battle of Troy no people of the Greeks at all ever came over to dwell there⁸. For, if Strabo had meant this of his own time, to what end should he allege the record of Ephorus, that lived so many hundred years before him, for proof of that thing that he had so diligently viewed and seen himself? and specially, seeing his purpose is not to follow, but to reprove Ephorus; as it well appeareth by his words. As for Apollodorus, thus he saith of him: "He seemeth not discreetly to deal herein; for he disordereth and falsely allegeth the words of Homer⁹." And unto this construction of Strabo very well agreeth the place of Plinius here alleged, and con-

[⁶ Vere et hic cum illo erat, nam et Galilæus est. Non quod alia lingua Galilæi atque Alia loquerentur Hierosolymitæ, qui utrique fuerunt Hebræi; sed quod unaquæque provincia et regio suas habendo proprietates, vernaculum loquendi sonum vitare non possit. Unde in Actibus apostolorum, &c.—Ven. Bed. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. In Luc. Evang. cap. xxii. Lib. vi. Tom. V. col. 431. See also Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-

1706. Comm. Lib. iv. in Matt. cap. xxvi. Tom. IV. Pars i. col. 133.]

[⁷ Φησαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἐφόρου, διότι τὴν χερρόνησον κατοικεῖ ταύτην ἑκαίδεκα γένη, τρία μὲν Ἑλληνικά, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ βάρβαρα, κ. τ. λ.—Strabon. Geograph. Lut. Par. 1620. Lib. xiv. pp. 677, 8.]

[⁸ Id. ibid.]

[⁹ Id. ibid. p. 663.]

Asia the
Less.

Acts ii.

Bed. in Luc.
cap. xxi.
Lib. vi.
Ex Hieron.
in Matt. cap.
xxvi.

Acts xix.

Acts xix.

Strabo, Lib.
Geogr. Lib.
xiv.

Strabo, Lib.
xiv. eodem
loco.
τὰ... τοῦ
ποιητοῦ
παράττων
καὶ
καταθέ-
δόμενος.

Asia the
Less.

Plin. Hist.
Nat. Lib. vi.
cap. ii.

cludeth manifestly against M. Harding, as it appeareth by the very words: *In omni [eo] tractu proditur tres tantum gentes Græcas jure dici, Doricam, Ionicam, Æolicam: ceteras barbarorum esse*¹: "In which whole circuit it is written that only three nations be rightly called Greeks; and that the rest are of the barbarians." In that he saith, *proditur*, "it is written;" he meaneth by Ephorus, Apollodorus, or such others as had lived long before. In that he saith, *ceteras barbarorum esse*, "the rest be of the barbarians;" he meaneth that they had arrived thither, not out of Græcia, as had the other three, but out of other countries that were barbarous. But in that he saith, *tres tantum gentes Græcas jure dici*, "that only three nations be rightly, or naturally, called Greeks;" he must needs mean that the rest were called Greeks also, although not so rightly and naturally as the other: for else the exception of this word *jure*, that is, "rightly or naturally," had been in vain. And thus M. Harding, seeking to prove that the people of Asia were no Greeks, allegeth Plinius, by whose words it appeareth necessarily that they were Greeks.

M. Harding
falsifieth
Strabo's
mind.

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

Lib. xiv.
Geogr.

M. Harding's
sylogism.

M. HARDING. THE NINTH DIVISION.

Here perhaps M. Jewel, or some other for him, replieth, and saith that the people of Asia commonly, beside their own proper language, spake the Greek tongue also; and allegeth for the same purpose² St Hierome, who saith: Galatas, ex-
In Proæmio 2 Lib.
Comment. Ep. ad
Galatas.
cepto sermone Græco, quo omnis oriens loquitur, propriam linguam eandem... habere, quam Treviros³: "That the Galathians, beside the Greek language, which all the orient or the east speaketh, have their own peculiar tongue, the very same that they of Trevers have." Lo, saith this replier, St Hierome affirmeth all the orient to speak the Greek tongue; *ergo*, the service in Greek to them was not strange and unknown.

To this I answer, St Hierome meaneth that some of all countries of the orient, or east, spake Greek, as the learned men, gentlemen, merchants, all of liberal education, and such other as had cause to travel those countries. To be short, it was without doubt very common, as being their only learned tongue for all sciences, and the tongue that might best serve to travel withal from country to country within the east, right so as the Latin tongue serveth to the like intents for all nations of the west. And he meaneth not that all and singular persons, of what degree and⁴ condition soever they were, all uplandish people, tillers of the ground, herdmen, and women, spake Greek. For, if it had been so, then had they not had peculiar and proper tongues. For it is not for their simple heads (for the most part) to bear

[¹ C. Plin. Secund. Nat. Hist. Par. 1685. Lib. vi. cap. ii. Tom. I. p. 651.]

[² For that purpose, H. A. 1564.]

[³ Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. ii. in Epist. ad Gal. Præf. Tom. IV. Pars i. cols. 255, 6.]

[⁴ Or, H. A. 1564.]

away two languages. In that St Hierome calleth the Galathians' tongue propriam linguam, a proper and a peculiar tongue to that nation, he doth us to understand the same to pertain to all in particular, that is, to every one of that province, and the Greek to all in general, in respect of other nations there, so as not of necessity it be understood of every one.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding overmuch paineth himself to prove that thing that no wise man will deny him. For how can it seem likely that the whole east, which is in a manner the one half part of the world, containing so many and so sundry nations, should speak all one tongue; seeing we ourselves, in this one little kingdom of England, have the use of five tongues, and not one of them understanding another? I marvel that M. Harding alleged not the fables of Herodotus, that *bek*, in the Phrygians' tongue, signifieth bread; *kiki*, in the Egyptians' tongue, an ointment; *achmach*, one of the guard; or *alila*, or *urotal*, in the Arabic tongue, and such-like⁵. For these might have stand him instead of good proofs, that all the nations of the whole east part of the world spake not Greek. Herod.

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

As touching the Galathians, of whom St Hierome saith, that beside their own natural tongue they had also the use of the Greek, because, as Apollodorus saith, "They of all others arrived last into that country⁶," it is likely they kept their own barbarous speech longer than others. But like as, whether they of⁷ all sorts spake Greek or no, as M. Harding saith, of necessity it cannot be proved, so indeed it forceth nothing: for he cannot prove thereby, that they that understood not the Greek had their service in the Greek. Yet is this the major, and the ground of the whole, which M. Harding so closely dissembleth and passeth by. Strabo,
Geogr.
Lib. xiv.

M. HARDING. THE TENTH DIVISION.

Tract. in Joan.
117. St Augustine, speaking of the title written by Pilate on the cross, saith thus: "It was in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, Rex Judæorum. For these three tongues were there in pre-eminence before all other"; Hebræa, propter Judæos, in Dei lege gloriantes; Græca, propter gentium sapientes; Latina, propter Romanos multis ac pene omnibus jam tunc gentibus imperantes⁸: "The Hebrew for the Jews, that gloried in the law of God; the Greek for the wise men of the gentiles; the Latin for the Romans, bearing rule at that time over many, and almost over all nations." Now where he saith here, that the Greek tongue was in pre-eminence propter gentium sapientes, "for the wise men of the gentiles," he discusseth fully the doubt that might seem to rise of St Hierome's saying, and sheweth that the Greek tongue was common, not to all the vulgar people of the whole orient, but to the wise men only, and that for the attaining of learning. And for this it is to be noted, that the scripture reporteth the vulgar tongue of the Lycaonians to have been uttered in the hearing⁹ of Paul and Barnabas; not by the magistrates, or other the chief, but by the vulgar people. Turbæ levaverunt vocem suam Lycaonice dicentes, &c. Act. xiv¹⁰. And so St Hierome is to be understood to speak in that place, not of all men of the nations of the east, but rather of a great number, and of

[⁵ Herod. Lib. II. capp. ii. xxx. xciv. Lib. III. cap. viii.]

[⁶ Strabon. Geograph. Lut. Par. 1620. Lib. xiv. p. 678.]

[⁷ They all of, 1565.]

[⁸ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. xix. Tractat. cxvii. 4. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 98.]

[⁹ In hearing, H. A. 1564.]

[¹⁰ Act. 2, H. A. 1564.]

some persons of all nations. For else, if all the east had spoken Greek, the soldiers that buried Gordianus the younger emperor apud Circeium Castrum, "at Circey Castle¹," near to the land of Persia, would not have written his title of honour upon his sepulchre in Greek and Latin, in the Persians', Jews', and Egyptians'² tongues, ut ab omnibus legeretur³, "that it might be read of all," as Julius ^{In Gordianis.} Capitolinus writeth: which is an argument that all the east spake not, nor⁴ understood not the Greek tongue. As likewise that Epiphanius writeth, where he saith thus: "Most of the Persians, after the Persical ^{Lib. ii. Hæres. 66.} letters, use also the Syrians' letters; as with us many nations use the Greek letters, yea, whereas in every nation in manner they have letters of their own. And others some much esteem the profound⁵ tongue of the Syrians, and the tongue that is about Palmyra, both the tongue itself, and also the letters of the same. Books also have been written of Manes in the Syrians' tongue⁶." Again, if all the east had spoken Greek, sundry the holy fathers would not have been so envious to the commonweal of the church as to hide their singular works from the reading of all, which they wrote in barbarous and vulgar tongues, to the commodity only of their brethren that understood the same: Antonius, that wrote seven notable epistles to divers monasteries of apostolic sense and speech, as St Hierome witnesseth, in the Egyptian ^{Lib. de Ecclesiast. Script.} tongue⁷. Likewise holy Ephrem of Edessa, Bardesanes of Mesopotamia, who wrote very excellent works in the Syriacal tongue. Even so did Isaac of Antioch, and Samuel of Edessa, priests, write many goodly works against the enemies of the church in the same tongue, as Gennadius recordeth⁸. But what shall we speak of all the east? Neither all the less⁹ Asia, and the countries there adjoining, spake not Greek one generation before the coming of Christ. For if all had spoken Greek, Mithridates, that renowned king of Pontus, had not needed to have learned two and twenty languages of so many nations he was king over, to make answer to suitors, to appoint them orders and laws, and in open audience to speak to them in so many languages without an interpreter, as Pliny writeth¹⁰. Here, if these ^{Natural. Hist. Lib. vii. cap. xxiv.} twenty-two nations of twenty-two sundry tongues had also beside their own language spoken Greek, and understood the same, Pliny would not have uttered that word, sine interprete, "without an interpreter:" and likewise that king had taken vain labour in learning those tongues, where one might have served his turn.

Near to this king's dominion, in the shore of the sea Euxinus, in the land of Colchis, there stood a city named Dioscurias, so much haunted of ^{Lib. vi. Natural. Hist. cap. v.} strangers, that, as Pliny writeth by record of Timosthenes, it was resorted unto of three hundred nations of distinct languages; and that the Romans, for the better expedition of their affairs there, had at length lying in the same one hundred and thirty interpreters¹¹. Now, if all the orient had spoken Greek, as St Hierome's words seem to import, the Romans should not have needed to have maintained there, to their great charges, so great a number of interpreters, to be their agents there. But for proof that all the orient spake not Greek, what need we allege profane writers? The known place of the Acts maketh mention of sundry nations there that had distinct languages, the Parthians, Medians, and Elamites, &c. Act. ii.

To conclude, they that, to maintain their strange opinion of the universal understanding of the service used of old time in the east church, say and affirm that all

[¹ Circesium, now Kerkesia, the Carchemish of scripture.]

[² The Egyptians, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[³ Jul. Capitol. in Hist. August. Script. Lat. Min. Hanov. 1611. Gord. III. p. 378.]

[⁴ Ne, 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

[⁵ Most profound, H. A. 1564.]

[⁶ Χρῶνται γὰρ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν Περσῶν μετὰ Περσικά στοιχεῖα καὶ τῷ Σύρῳ γράμματι, ὥσπερ παρ' ἡμῖν πολλὰ ἔθνη τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς κέχρηται· καὶ τοί γε ὄντων σχεδὸν κατὰ ἔθνος ἰδίῳ γραμμάτων. ἄλλοι δὲ δῆθεν τὴν βαθυτάτην τῶν Σύρων διάλεκτον σεμνύνονται, τὴν τε κατὰ τὴν Παλμύραν

διάλεκτον, αὐτὴν τε καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν στοιχεῖα, κ. τ. λ. —Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hæ. Lib. ii. Hæ. lxi. 13. Tom. I. p. 629.]

[⁷ ... misit Ægyptiace ad diversa monasteria apostolici sensus sermonisque epistolas septem.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693—1706. Catal. Script. Eccles. 88. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 123. Ibid. 33, 115. cols. 111, 2, 26.]

[⁸ Gennad. Illustr. Vir. Catal. 68, 84, in Hieron. Op. Tom. V. cols. 41, 4.]

[⁹ Lesser, H. A. 1564.]

[¹⁰ C. Plin. Secund. Nat. Hist. Par. 1685. Tom. II. p. 42.]

[¹¹ Id. Lib. vi. cap. v. Tom. I. p. 657.]

the orient spake Greek, seem much to diminish the majesty, utility, and necessity of the miraculous gift of tongues, which the Holy Ghost gave in the primitive church for the better furtherance of the gospel. For, if all in those parties had spoken Greek, the gift of tongues had been in that respect needless. Hitherto of the Greek, (72) and of the service in that language.

The seventy-second untruth. For he hath not hitherto spoken one word of the service.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

This labour may well be called *vanitas vanitatum*. For it is a great token of idleness to be so earnest and so copious in proving that thing that no man denieth. And yet he forceth the matter so, as if all the right of his cause lay upon it. He might as well have proved that the Indians, Arabians, Ethiopians, Tartarians, understood no Greek. It is a lewd kind of logic so stoutly to prove that thing that needeth no proof, and to leave the thing that should be proved. The title of the cross written in three sundry languages, as it testifieth that the nations of the east part of the world spake not all one tongue, which thing is not of any wise man denied, so it proveth plainly against M. Harding, that the death of Christ should be published in all tongues. For, as Albertus¹² and Lyra, M. Harding's own doctors, have witnessed, writing upon the same, therefore was the title by God's special provision drawn in the three principal languages, *ut omnes qui de diversis orbis partibus ... venerant, possent illum legere*¹³: "that all they, that were then come to Hierusalem out of sundry parts of the world, might be able to read it." St Hierome likewise saith, the same title was so written *in testimonium universarum gentium*¹⁴; "for the witness of all nations." For it was the will of God that every tongue should confess that Christ is the Lord in the glory of the Father.

Albert. et Lyr. in xix. cap. Johan.

Hieron. in Esai. Lib. vii. cap. xx.

Wherein M. Harding much abridgeth the glory of the cross of Christ, that would the title thereof to pertain only to the wise and learned of the Greeks. For Albertus and Lyra say: "It was so written that all might read it." And as St Hierome saith: "For witness of all nations." Neither can we find that there was any great number of philosophers present at Christ's death, to read that title. As for St Augustine, by these words, *sapientes Græcorum*¹⁵, he understandeth all the Greeks. For, as all the Jews generally gloried of the law, even so all the Greeks generally gloried in their wisdom. And St Paul saith generally of them both: *Judæi signum quærent, Græci sapientiam*: "The Jews call for signs and miracles; and the Greeks call for knowledge." And therefore one of the philosophers said: In old times there were seven wise men among the Greeks, but now there are not so many fools; for that they all gloried in their wisdom.

1 Cor. i.

The people of Lycaonia spake unto Paul and Barnabas, *Lycaonice*; ergo, saith M. Harding, "they spake no Greek." But what if St Luke had said, they spake *Ionice*, *Æolice*, or *Dorice*, which tongues were adjoining fast upon Lycaonia; would he therefore conclude, they spake no Greek? Verily, if a man by way of contention would say, the Lycaonical tongue was a corruption or difference of the Greek tongue, and not a several tongue of itself, M. Harding should have much ado to prove the contrary. Doubtless, they worshipped Jupiter and Mercury, that were the gods of the Greeks, and had the Greek sacrifice, as it manifestly appeareth by the words of St Luke; and it may be credibly gathered that Paul and Barnabas spake to them in Greek. Howbeit, whether it were so or otherwise, saving that M. Harding maketh the matter so certain, it importeth nothing.

Acts xiv.

But this one thing, good reader, I give thee further to consider. These Lycaonians, as M. Harding confesseth, and as plainly appeareth by St Luke, being yet infidels, made their prayers unto their idols, Jupiter and Mercury, in their own tongue. And may it any wise seem likely, that the same, being afterward become Christians, made their prayers unto Almighty God, and to Christ his

Acts xiv.

[¹² Et hoc etiam facit et pertinet ad universalem mundo faciendam tituli manifestationem.—Albert. Magn. Postill. super Joan. Evang. Hagen. 1504. cap. xix. fol. 153.]

[¹³ Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. Johan. cap. xix. Pars V. fol. 239; where

partibus orbis.]

[¹⁴ Hieron. Op. Comm. Lib. vii. in Isai. Proph. cap. xix. Tom. III. col. 187.]

[¹⁵ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. xix. Tractat. cxvii. 4. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 798. See before, page 275.]

Son, in a strange tongue? If it behove idolators to understand their own prayers, much more it behoveth the people of God to do the like. Certainly, if the same Lycaonians were now alive, they would reprove M. Harding's error in their own tongue.

The blazing of the young emperor Gordian's grave with five sundry languages, like as it was needless in this place, as all the rest, the matter being confessed, even so it weigheth very much against M. Harding's side. For if the barbarous soldiers, of their duty and allegiance towards their prince, thought his death worthy to be published in so many tongues; what may then be thought of them that cannot suffer the death of Christ to be published in any one tongue? And if they so furnished a mortal man's memory, as Capitolinus saith, *ut ab omnibus legeretur*¹, "that it might be read of all men;" why then do these men so hide and bury the immortal memory of the glory of Christ, that, saving themselves, they would have it to be read and seen of no man?

The allegation of the Persians' and Syrians' letters; of the tongue used about Palmyra; of epistles written in the Egyptians' tongue by Antonius, in the Syrian tongue by Bardesanes, Ephrem, Isaac, and Samuel; of Mithridates the king of Pontus, that was able to answer two and twenty nations, that were his subjects, without an interpreter; of the resort of three hundred sundry nations unto the city called Dioscurias in Colchis; and once again, of the miracle of tongues and diversity of languages in the Acts of the Apostles, hath some shew and ostentation of learning, and serveth well either to fill up room, or else to reprove and control St Hierome, for that he saith, "All the east part of the world speaketh Greek;" for against us, that neither write so nor speak so, it maketh nothing.

We know that by mean of the great empire that the Greeks had gotten over many countries and kingdoms in all the east, and partly also for that the barbarous nations whom they had subdued had great pleasure in their philosophy and other skilful knowledge, the Greek tongue was learned of many, and carried about into all places of that part of the world; and that Cicero therefore saith: *Græca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus*²; "The Greek tongue is read in manner amongst all nations." And St Augustine likewise: *Quos Paulus dixit Græcos, eos etiam gentium nomine significavit; eo quod hæc lingua maxime excellit in gentibus*³: "Whom Paul called Greeks, them also he uttered by the name of the gentiles; for that the same tongue chiefly excelleth among the gentiles." And yet we doubt not but there were other natural tongues and speeches too, besides the Greek; as the Egyptian, the Syrian, the Arabic, the Persian, the Bactrian, the Indian, the Armenian, the Scythian, and many others. And if I list here to dally for pleasure, and vainly to carry away the reader from the purpose, as M. Harding doth, I could say that Themistocles, a gentleman of Athens, before he presented himself unto the great king of Persia, first learned to speak the Persians' tongue; that the Nestorian heretics translated their books into the Persian, Armenian, and Syrian tongue⁴; that St Augustine saith that St Hierome understood the Hebrew, the Greek, the Chaldee, the Latin, the Persian, the Arabic, and the Median tongue⁵; and that St Chrysostom saith: "So many tongues and voices there be of the Scythians, of the Thracians, of the Romans, of the Persians, of the Moors, of the Indians, of the Egyptians, and of a thousand nations beside⁶;" with many other authorities to like purpose, to avouch the thing that M. Harding so earnestly proveth, and no man denieth, that the nations of the east part of the world had several tongues, and spake not all one only tongue.

[¹ See before, page 276, note 3.]

[² Cic. Pro Arch. Poet. 5.]

[³ The following passage, if not that intended, asserts the same fact:...Græci, quorum lingua in gentibus præminet.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. viii. cap. x. 2. Tom. VII. col. 199.]

[⁴ ... in tantum studii gesserunt, ut ipsa eorum volumina malitiose in Syrorum linguam, et Armeniorum, atque Persarum transferrent.—Liberat. Brev. cap. x. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 105.]

[⁵ Quod ipse etiam Augustinus in libro ad Cyril-

lum de Hieronymo testatur: qui eum scribit non Hebraicam modo, Græcamque et Chaldaicam, sed Latinam, Persicam, Arabicam, ac Medam percepisse: etsi plerique affirmant, hunc ipsum librum minime Augustino adscribendum.—Pet. Crinit. De Honest. Discipl. Lugd. 1585. Lib. vi. cap. vi. p. 209. See also Aug. Op. Ad Cyril. Epist. xviii. Tom. II. Ap. col. 18.]

[⁶ Τοντέστι, τοσαῦται γλώσσαι, τοσαῦται φωναί, Σκυθῶν, Θρακῶν, Περσῶν, Μαυρῶν, Ἰνδῶν, Αἰγυπτίων, ἐτέρων μυρίων ἐθνῶν.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. 1. ad Cor. Hom. xxxv. Tom. X. p. 324.]

Cic. pro
Archia.

Plut. in
Them.

Liberat. cap.
x.
August. ad
Cyrill. cit. a
Petro Crinito,
Lib. vi. cap.
vi.
Chrysost. in
1 Cor. xiv.
Hom. 35.

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

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

M. Harding's
sylogismus.

M. HARDING. THE ELEVENTH DIVISION.

Now concerning the Latin tongue, which is the learned tongue of the west. That the Latin church, or the west church (for so it is called), had the service in Latin, I grant. The chief regions and countries of the Latin church, within the fore-said six hundred years, were these: Italy, Afric, Illyric, both Pannonies (now called Hungary), and Austria, Gallia (now France), and Spain. The country⁷ of Germany, Pole, and Swethen, and those north parts, received the faith long sithence. The countries of Britain here had received the faith in most places, but were driven from the open profession of it again by the cruel persecution of Diocletian the emperor; at which persecution St Alban with many others suffered martyrdom.

After that these countries had been instructed in the faith, as things grew to perfection, they had their service accordingly; no doubt such as was used in the churches, from whence their first apostles and preachers were sent. And because (73) the first preachers of the faith came to these west parts⁸ from Rome, directed some from St Peter, some from Clement, some others afterward from other bishops of that see apostolic; they planted and set up, in the countries by them converted, the service of the church of Rome, or some other very like, and that (74) in the Latin tongue only, for ought that can be shewed to the contrary. Wherein I refer me only to the first six hundred years. Now that such service was understood of those peoples, that spake and understood Latin, no man denieth. For to some nations that was a native and a mother tongue, as the Greek was to the Grecians.

The seventy-third untruth. For⁹ the first preaching of the faith in these west countries came not first from Rome. The seventy-fourth untruth. For the first preachers themselves spake no Latin.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

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

The faith came not first from Rome.

M. Harding wittingly and willingly avoucheth untruth. Rom. xv.

Theodor. de Cur. Græc. Affect.

[⁷ Countries, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[⁸ 1565 omits *for*.]

[⁹ Parties, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

Paul came into this island, now called England, and here planted the gospel¹. The like is commonly surmised, by the writers of the British chronicles, of Joseph of Arimathæa. And, although conjectures in such antiquities be often uncertain and dark, yet it may seem very likely that the religion of Christ came first into this island, not from Rome, but from the Greeks; both for that, in the keeping of Easter-day, we followed the church of Græcia, and not the church of Rome; and also for that, when Augustine was sent in hither by Gregory, we would in no wise acknowledge or receive the bishop of Rome². As for Lazarus, Nathaniel, Saturninus, that preached first in France, I have said before. Aventinus saith Lucius, St Paul's companion, went into Germany³; and St Paul saith, Titus went into Dalmatia.

Beda in Hist. Angl. Lib. ii. Galfrid. Lib. viii. cap. iv. Avent. in Hist. Boior. 2 Tim. iv.

It is known that the church of Rome, for certain other causes, and namely for the great state and renown of that city, even from the beginning was notable above all others, and was careful in enlarging the glory of Christ, and yielded many martyrs unto God. Yet may we not think that all things therefore came from Rome. For Tertullian calleth Hierusalem *matrem et fontem religionis*⁴, "the mother and the spring of religion." And St Augustine saith: *Fides orta est a Græcis*⁵; "The faith sprang first from the Greeks."

Tertul. cont. Marc. Lib. ii. August. Epist. 178.

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

For, good reader, consider this reason: "The planters of the faith came from Rome; *ergo*, they kept every where the order of Rome." If this argument would hold, then would I likewise reason thus: The church of Rome was first planted by them that came from Græcia, or from Hierusalem; *ergo*, Rome keepeth the order of Græcia, or of Hierusalem. But M. Harding, presuming this of himself, without other proof, that the churches of these countries followed the order of the church of Rome, concludeth further; "*ergo*, they had their service in Latin, as had the church of Rome." Every child seeth that this is a *fallax*, or a deceitful argument, called, *A secundum quid ad simpliciter*. He might as well have said thus: They followed the order of the church of Rome; *ergo*, they had their exhortations and sermons in Latin; for so had the church of Rome. But is M. Harding so unadvised, or so negligent in his matters, that he seeth not how aptly his own argument reboundeth upon himself? Verily, of this ground we may in good form and truly reason thus: These churches of the west followed the order of the church of Rome: (this he himself hath taken as an undoubted truth.)

M. Harding's reason against himself.

But the church of Rome had the service in the natural known tongue; (which thing he himself also granteth.)

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

This argument is sound and perfect⁶, and without *fallax*.

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

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

But the church of England followed not the orders of the church of Rome;

[¹ ... ταῖς [ὁ Παῦλος] ἐν τῷ πελάγει διακειμένας νήσοις τὴν ὠφέλειαν προσήνεγκε.—Theodor. Op. Lut. Par. 1642-84. In Psalm. cxvi. Tom. I. col. 871. See also Id. Græc. Affect. Cur. Sern. ix. Tom. IV. p. 610. There however Britain is merely mentioned generally among the nations that had received the gospel.]

[² Bæd. Hist. Eccles. Cant. 1722. Lib. II. cap. ii. pp. 79, 80.

Galfrid. Mon. Brit. Reg. Gest. Par. 1517. Lib. viii. cap. iv. foll. 93, 4.]

[³ Ejus [Pauli] commilito et cognatus Lucius Cyrenensis in Vindelicis, et Rhætiis, provinciisque

Histro conterminis, christianæ pietatis sementem fecit.—Avent. Annal. Boior. Basil. 1580. Lib. II. p. 86.]

[⁴ Tribui Judæ Christus fuit: ut scirent Hierosolymis esse ... matricem religionis, et fontem, non puteum, salutis.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Marcion. Lib. iv. 35. p. 562.]

[⁵ ... Græcis ubi fides orta est.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Alterc. cum Pascent. seu Epist. xx. 6. Tom. II. Append. col. 41. This disputation is judged spurious by the Benedictine editors, who are disposed to ascribe it to Vigilius of Thapsus.]

[⁶ Perfitte, 1565.]

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

M. HARDING. THE TWELFTH DIVISION.

[M. Jewel's allegations solved. H. A. 1564.] *M. Jewel, alleging for the having of the prayers and service in a vulgar tongue (as for England in the English, for Ireland in the Irish, for Dutchland in the Dutch tongue, &c.) authorities and examples of the churches where, in the time of the primitive church, the Greek and Latin tongue was the usual and common tongue of the people, bringeth nothing for proof of that which lieth in controversy. "Arnobius," saith he, "called the Latin tongue sermonem Italum": St Ambrose in Milan, St Augustine in Afric, St Gregory in Rome preached in Latin; and the people understood them⁷. What then? No man denieth you this. "St Basil also speaketh of a sound, which the men, women, and children made in their prayers to God, like the sound of a wave striking the sea-banks⁸." What can you conclude of this necessarily, M. Jewel? All this may be understood of the sounding that one word, Amen, answered at the prayers' end; which is done now by the quire, and may be done by the people also in the lower part of the church. For St Hierome leadeth us so to think; who, commending the devotion of the people of Rome, saith in like manner: Ubi sic ad similitudinem cœlestis tonitruī Amen reboat, et vacua idolorum templa quatiuntur¹⁰? Where else are the churches and the sepulchres of martyrs with so fervent devotion and with so great company resorted unto (which words go before)? where doth Amen give so loud a sound like the thunder-clap out of the air, so as the temples, emptied of idols, shake with it, as at Rome?*

"The people speaketh with the priest at the mystical prayers¹¹," saith Chrysostom, alleged by M. Jewel. What then? So was it long before, even in the apostles' time, as we read in Clement¹², and likewise in St Cyprian¹³, in Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus¹⁴, and many other¹⁵. So is it now. For he shall find in the old fathers, that to Per omnia secula seculorum, (which Chrysostom speaketh of,) to Dominus vobiscum, (so light as they make of it,) to Sursum corda, and to Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro, the people answered (75) as now also they answer, Amen, Et cum spiritu tuo, Habemus ad Dominum, Dignum et justum est.

The seventy-fifth untruth. For¹⁶ it is not so now. M. Harding knoweth the people now answereth not the priest.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here M. Harding taketh in hand to answer the authorities by me alleged, and that with this special note of remembrance in the margin: "M. Jewel's allegation solved¹⁷." It appeareth, his solutions be very short. For whatsoever authority be alleged, it is sufficient for him to say, "What then?" For whereas I said, the common service and ministration in the churches of Rome and Milan, and other places within Italy, was pronounced unto the people in Latin, for that then the Latin tongue was the common natural speech of that country, and that therefore Arnobius calleth the same Latin tongue *sermonem Italum*; and further said that, long after that time, St Ambrose in Milan, St Augustine in Africa, and St Gregory in Rome preached unto the vulgar people in Latin, and in the same tongue ministered the common prayers; all this is soon answered; for M. Harding saith, "What then?"

[⁷ Arnob. Op. Par. 1580. Adv. Gent. Lib. iv. p. 176.]

[⁸ See before, page 56.]

[⁹ Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. In Hexaem. Hom. iv. Tom. I. p. 39.]

[¹⁰ Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. ii. in Epist. ad Gal. Præf. Tom. IV. Pars 1. cols. 255, 6.]

[¹¹ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ii. ad Cor. Hom. xviii. Tom. X. p. 568.]

[¹² Const. Apost. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cosart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Lib. viii. cap. xii. Tom. I. col. 483.]

[¹³ Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Orat. Domin. p. 152.]

[¹⁴ Cyril. Hieros. Op. Par. 1720. Catech. Myst. v. 4, 5. pp. 326, 7.]

[¹⁵ Others, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[¹⁶ 1565 omits *for*.] [¹⁷ Solved, 1565, 1609.]

Dasil. Hex.
4.

Hieron. in
Procemio ad
Galat.
Chrysost. ii.
Cor. Hom.
18.

The privilege
of the Greek
and Latin
tongue.

M. Harding
avoucheth
open
untruth.

Chrysost. in
ii. ad Cor.
Hom. 18.

Ambros. in i.
Cor. xiv.

I alleged the saying of St Basil, that "the sound of men, women, and children, praying in the church together, seemed like the sound of the waves beating against the sea-banks¹," the saying of St Hierome, "that the noise of the people, sounding out Amen together, was like the sound of a thunder²," likewise the saying of Chrysostom: *Communes preces et a populo et a sacerdote fiunt, et omnes unam dicunt orationem... Bene precatur sacerdos populo, et bene precatur populus sacerdoti, &c.*³: "Common petitions be made together, both of the people and of the priest: all together say one prayer. The priest wisheth well unto the people, and the people unto the priest." But, "What then?" saith M. Harding. Why, "What then?" Thinketh M. Harding that the authority of Arnobius, St Ambrose, St Augustine, St Basil, St Hierome, St Chrysostom, and other holy fathers is so light, that he is able to blow them all away with these two vain syllables, "What then?" He will say: "I grant you the prayers were used in the Greek and Latin tongue; but ye have not proved the same of any other tongue that was barbarous." I have already proved the same of the Syrian tongue; which is neither Greek nor Latin, and therefore, by M. Harding's judgment, mere barbarous. Hereafter, God willing, I shall shew the like, largely and at full, of other tongues. In the mean season, it may stand M. Harding in good stead, if it shall please him to shew these privileges granted unto the Greek and Latin tongue, and how they be specially sanctified above others, that in them only we may make our common petitions unto God, and in other tongues we may not make them. Touching the place of St Basil, and the other of St Chrysostom, M. Harding answereth so as though he had no great regard what he say. For he avoucheth that thing for true, that the simplest of all the people knoweth to be apparent false, that is, "that the people now answereth the priest in the time of the holy mysteries, as they did in Chrysostom's time." "The people," saith he, "answered then, as now also they answer." He taketh no shame to say, "The people answered⁴ the priest;" and yet knoweth that the people answereth not the priest. Thus, by this resolution, he answereth that answereth nothing. He answereth that knoweth not, neither what is demanded, nor what to answer. To be short, he answereth that holdeth his peace; and so, answering and not answering, in M. Harding's judgment, is all one thing. But St Chrysostom saith: *Et cum spiritu tuo, nihil aliud est, quam ea, quæ sunt eucharistiæ, communia sunt omnia. Neque enim ille solus gratias agit, sed populus omnis*⁵: "The Lord be with thy spirit" (which words the whole people answereth unto the priest), "is nothing else to say, but the things that pertain to thanksgiving are all common: for it is not the priest only that giveth thanks, but also all the people." Likewise St Ambrose: *Imperitus nescit finem orationis, et non respondet Amen, id est, Verum sit, ut firmetur benedictio. Per hoc enim impletur confirmatio precis, cum respondetur Amen, et omnia dicta rei testimonio in audientium animis confirmantur*⁶: "The ignorant knoweth not the end of the prayer, and answereth not Amen, that is to say, So be it, that the blessing may be confirmed. For thereby the confirmation of the prayer is fulfilled, when Amen is answered, and all the words that be spoken, by the testimony of the thing itself, are confirmed in the minds of the hearers." Thus in Chrysostom's time the whole people and the priest in their common service talked and prayed together.

M. HARDING. THE THIRTEENTH DIVISION.

As for the place he allegeth out of St Augustine upon the psalms, it maketh nothing for his purpose. St Augustine's words be these, otherwise than he reporteth them: Quid hoc sit, intelligere debemus, ut humana ratione, non quasi avium voce, cantemus. Nam et merulæ, et psittaci, et corvi, et picæ, et hujusmodi volucres, sæpe ab hominibus docentur sonare, quod

In Psalm. xviii.
in Expositione
secunda.

[¹ See before, page 281, note 9.]

[² See before, page 281, note 10.]

[³ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ii. ad Cor. Hom. xviii. Tom. X. p. 568.]

[⁴ Answereth, 1565.]

[⁵ Imperitus enim... nescit finem &c. verum; ut

confirmetur benedictio. Per hos enim impletur confirmatio precis, qui respondent, Amen; ut omnia dicta veri testimonio in audientium mentibus confirmantur.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. i. ad Cor. cap. xiv. v. 16. Tom. II. Append. col. 157.]

nesciunt⁶: “Having prayed to God,” saith St Augustine, “that he make us clean of our privy sins, &c., we ought to understand what this is, that we may sing with man’s reason, not with voice, as birds do. For ousels, popinjays, ravens, and pies, and such the like birds oftentimes be taught of men to sound they know not what.” These words are to be taken of the understanding of the sense, not of the tongue, which the service is sung in. For the people of Hippo, where he was bishop, understood the Latin tongue meanly. Which sense cannot rightly and safely be attained of the common people, but is better and more wholesomely taught by the preaching of the learned bishops and priests.

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

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

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

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

St Augustine’s meaning is plain, as is the meaning of other godly fathers in this behalf, that the people should know what they pray, and so sing with reason agreeable to a man, and not chatter with voice as birds do. For if they sing or pray they know not what, he saith that, for their sound of voice and want of sense, they may be well compared with ousels or popinjays. This is the very drift of St Augustine’s meaning. Birds by skill may be trained to record and sound men’s words, although they have no understanding of them; as Plinius⁷ writeth of the raven that was taught to say, *Ave Cæsar imperator*; “All hail, emperor Cæsar;” another that had learned to say, *Salve victor Antoni*; “All hail, Antonius the conqueror.” And Cælius Rhodiginus writeth, that cardinal Ascanius had a popinjay that could pronounce distinctly all the articles of the creed⁸. With such birds let us compare such men as pray they know not what. “They be taught to sound words, but understand not the meaning of them: neither sing they with reason agreeable to a man.” Whether these words agree aptly to my purpose or no, let M. Harding himself be the judge. Certainly he shall have much to do, to rack them to serve for his purpose. Unless perhaps he will reason thus: St Augustine exhorteth men to know what they pray; *ergo*, they may pray in an unknown tongue; or thus: St Augustine willeth men not to sing or chatter like birds; *ergo*, they may pray they know not what.

Cæli. Rhod.
Lib. iii. cap.
xxxii.

And if we receive M. Harding’s gloss of “sense and understanding,” yet standeth he in case as he did before. For if the people understand not the words, much less can they understand the sense and meaning of the same words. Aristotle saith, hearing is the peculiar sense of learning; and therefore they that hear never can never learn. And Cicero saith: *Sententia constare non potest, si verba semoveris*: “Remove the words; and their meaning cannot stand.” Therefore this shift helpeth nothing; unless he think this is a good argument: The people ought to understand the meaning of their prayers; *ergo*, they need not to understand the words. St Augustine’s meaning appeareth in the next words that immediately follow: *Scienter...cantare naturæ hominis divina voluntate concessum est*⁹: “To sing with understanding is granted through God’s will unto the nature of man.” And therefore thus he exhorteth the people: *Carissimi, quod consona voce cantavimus, sereno etiam corde nosse et tenere debemus*¹⁰: “Dearly beloved, that we have sung

August. in
Psalm. xviii.

[⁶ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. xviii. Enarr. II. 1. Tom. IV. col. 81. See before, page 8.]

[⁷ C. Plin. Secund. Nat. Hist. Par. 1685. Lib. x. cap. lx. Tom. II. p. 436.]

[⁸ Cæli. Rhodig. Lect. Antiq. 1599. Lib. III. cap.

xxxii. col. 134.]

[⁹ August. Op. In Psalm. xviii. Enarr. II. 1. Tom. IV. col. 81.]

[¹⁰ Id. ibid. cols. 81, 2; where we find, *ac videre debemus*.]

Justinian's Constitution.

Basil. in Psal. xxviii.

together with tuneable voice, we must understand and keep with pure heart." But this can we not do, unless we understand what we pray. Therefore St Basil saith: *Lingua cantet; mens autem scrutetur sensum eorum quæ dicuntur*¹: "Let thy tongue sing; but let thy mind search out the meaning of the things that thou speakest."

M. HARDING. THE FOURTEENTH DIVISION.

The commandment of Justinian the emperor², which M. Jewel allegeth, that bishops and priests should celebrate the holy oblation, or sacrifice, which we call the mass, not closely, but with utterance and sound of voice, that they might be heard of the people, maketh nothing for the service to be had in the English tongue in the church of England, or in any other vulgar tongue in the church of any other nation; but requireth only of the bishops and priests open pronouncing, vocal, not mental; speaking, not³ whispering with the breath only, in the celebration of the holy sacrifice, and other service. Wherein he agreeth with St Augustine, who, in his book *De Magistro*, saith that, "when we pray, there is no need of speaking, unless perhaps we do as priests do, who when they pray (in public assembly) use speaking for cause of signifying their mind, that is, to shew that they pray, not to the intent God, but men may hear, and with a certain consent through putting in mind (by sound of voice) may be lifted up unto God⁴." Thus⁵ much St Augustine there. And this is the right meaning of that constitution. (76) And thus he ordained for the Greek church only, and thereto only it is to be referred, for that some thought the sacrifice should be celebrated rather with silence, (77) after the manner of the church of Rome, specially at the consecration. And as that constitution pertained to the Greeks, and not to the Latins, so was it not found in the Latin books, until Gregorius Haloander, of Germany, of late years translated the place. And where M. Jewel allegeth this commandment of Justinian against the having of the service in a learned tongue, unknown to the common people; it is to be noted how he demeaneth himself not uprightly, but so as every man may thereby know a scholar of Luther, Calvin, and Peter Martyr. For whereas, by the allegation of that ordinance, he might seem to bring somewhat that maketh for the blessed sacrifice of the church, commonly named the mass, he dissembleth the word of the sacrifice which Justinian putteth expressly, *τὴν θείαν προσκομιδὴν*, id est, divinam oblationem, "the divine or holy oblation," and termeth it otherwise in his replies, by the name of "common prayers⁶;" and in his sermon, by the name of "the words of the ministration⁷," refusing the word of the church, no less than he refuseth to be a member of the church. Thus through foisting and coggling their die, and other false play, these new perilous teachers deceive many poor souls, and rob them of the sure simplicity of their faith. And where was this commandment given? In Constantinople, the chief city of Greece, where the Greek tongue was commonly known.

De Ecclesiasticis diversis capitulis. Constitutione 123. Greg. Haloandro interprete. Nam in veteri translatione nihil tale habetur.

μετὰ φωνῆς.
[Justinian's ordinance truly declared. H. A. 1564.]

The seventy-sixth untruth. For it touched the whole empire.

The seventy-seventh untruth. For the priests in Rome prayed aloud, as appeareth by St Hierome, Leo, Ambrose, &c.

Cap. i.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

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

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

St Augustine saith: "We need no utterance of voice, to pray unto God. For the sacrifice of justice is sanctified in the temple of our mind, and in the secret

[¹ Basil. Op. Par. 1721—30. Hom. in Psalm. xxviii. Tom. I. p. 123.]

[² Justin. Princ. Novell. Constit. Basil. 1561. Const. cxxxvii. (al. cxxiii.) pp. 409, 10. See before, page 8, note 6.]

[³ Nor, H. A. 1564.]

[⁴ August. Op. Par. 1679—1700. Lib. de Magist. 2. Tom. I. col. 542. See before, page 57.]

[⁵ This, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[⁶ See before, page 57.]

[⁷ See before, page 8.]

chamber of our heart⁸." As Clemens Alexandrinus also saith: "God looketh not for the voices of our tongues to declare our meaning; for before our creation he knoweth what thoughts would come into our minds⁹." And therefore God saith in the prophet Esay: *Antequam clament, ego exaudiam*; "I will hear them, yea, before they cry."

Justini-
an's Con-
stitution.

Clement.
Strom. Lib.
vii.
Isai. lxx.

Hereupon St Augustine demandeth this question: "Wherefore then doth the priest lift up his voice and pray aloud in the open assembly in the church?" He answereth: "Not that God, but that men may hear him; that the people by the sound of his voice, and understanding his meaning, may be put in mind, and by consent be joined together, and be lifted up to God¹⁰." This is the very meaning and mind of St Augustine, agreeing fully with these words of St Cyprian: "The priest before prayer prepareth the minds of his brethren, saying thus, 'Lift up your hearts;' to the intent they may be put in mind they ought to think of nothing else but of the Lord. For not the sound of voice, but the mind and understanding, must pray unto the Lord with pure intention¹¹."

Cypr. de Orat.
Dominica.

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

1 Cor. xiv.

And, notwithstanding St Augustine's mind, concerning the speaking of the priest, be plain in itself, yet afterward in the same book he openeth it in this manner more at large: *Constat inter nos, verba esse signa; at signum, nisi aliquid significet, non est signum*¹²: "We are agreed upon this, that the words we speak be tokens. But a token, unless it betoken something, is no token." Now if the priest, after M. Harding's construction, utter his words, which are the tokens of his meaning, in an unknown tongue, and the people understand not what is tokened; according to St Augustine's meaning, he speaketh, and yet saith nothing; and sheweth tokens, and yet tokeneth nothing. Further, St Augustine's words be clear: "The priest in the assembly speaketh aloud, *significandæ mentis causa, ut homines audiant*¹³, &c. to the end to declare his mind, that men may hear him, and by the sound of his voice be put in remembrance." But M. Harding saith: "No: the priest speaketh not aloud, to the intent to declare his mind, neither that men may hear him, nor be put in remembrance, but only to give a token that he prayeth." And thus by his gloss he utterly destroyeth the text.

August. de
Magistro.

Now let us resolve both St Augustine's and Justinian's words into their causes; which is an infallible way of understanding. The end of them both is, according to the doctrine of St Paul, that the people may say, Amen. Then further: The people must answer Amen unto the prayer; then they must¹⁴ understand the prayer. Yet further: The people must understand the prayer; then must the priest utter the same prayer, both with a loud voice, and also in the people's vulgar tongue. Let us again resolve it forward. The priest, by M. Harding's judgment, may pray openly in a strange tongue; then he needeth not to speak aloud. He speaketh not aloud; then cannot the people understand him.

The resolu-
tion of M.
Harding's
reason.

[⁸ Ubi putas sacrificium justitiæ sacrificari, nisi in templo mentis et in cubilibus cordis?—August. Op. Lib. de Magist. 2. Tom. I. col. 542.]

[⁹ Ὅθεν τὰς πολυφώνους γλώσσας οὐκ ἀναμένει ὁ Θεός... ἦν [φωνήν] καὶ πρὸ τῆς δημιουργίας εἰς νόησιν ἤξουσιν ἡκούσαντες.—Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Strom. Lib. vii. 7. Tom. II. p. 856.]

[¹⁰ See preceding page, note 4.]

[¹¹ Ideo et sacerdos ante orationem præfatione præmissa, parat fratrum mentes dicendo, Sursum corda; ut dum respondet plebs, Habemus ad Domi-

num, admoneatur nihil aliud se quam Dominum cogitare debere... quando intentione sincera Dominum debeat non vocis sonus, sed animus et sensus orare.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Orat. Domin. p. 152.]

[¹² Constat ergo inter nos verba signa esse. Constat. Quid signum, nisi aliquid significet, potest esse signum?—August. Op. Lib. de Magist. 3. Tom. I. col. 542.]

[¹³ See preceding page, note 4.]

[¹⁴ Must they, 1565, 1609.]

Justinian's Constitution.

M. Harding uttereth two untruths in one sentence.

In ii. Tom. Concil. in Vita Vigilii.

De Legatis Præs. Con. Tab. Bon. Pos. Pe. Lib. i. Generaliter.

De Eccles. diversis capitulis.

ταῦτα εἰδικῶς περιελαμβάνομεν νόμῳ. In Auth. Coll. i. Ut definitus sit numer. Cler. In Cod. de Episc. et Cler. Generaliter.

Leo de Jejun. vii. Men. Sermon. 6. Ambros. de Sacram. Lib. iv. cap. v. August. in Psal. liv. Hieron. in Præf. Lib. ii. ad Galat.

M. Harding forgetteth himself.

The people understandeth not the priest; then can they not say, Amen. Thus M. Harding must needs conclude his gloss with the open breach of St Paul's doctrine.

M. Harding saith further: "This law took place only in Constantinople, and not in the church of Rome;" and so he coucheth two manifest untruths together in one sentence. But what? will he say, Justinian was not emperor of Rome, or had nothing to do in the church of Rome? Verily, he writeth himself the emperor of Rome, of France, of Almaine, and Germany, &c.; and deposed two bishops of Rome, Silverius and Vigilius¹: whereof it may appear he had somewhat to do in the church of Rome.

Touching this constitution the law saith: *Generaliter dictum generaliter est accipiendum*²: "The thing that is spoken generally must be taken generally." And it is commonly said: *Ubi lex non distinguit, nos distinguere non debemus*: "Where the law maketh no distinction, there ought we to make no distinction." And what reason hath M. Harding, or what witness more than his own, that this only law took no place in the church of Rome? Certainly the rest of the same Novel Constitutions were made not only for Constantinople, or for Rome, but also for the whole empire. And the emperor Justinian in the same title saith thus: "Whatsoever things, touching this matter, were needful for this imperial city of Constantinople, we have comprised in a special law for the same³." But what needeth many words? The emperor himself calleth the constitution that concerneth the clergy a law general, by these words: *κοινῶ τε καὶ γενικῶ νόμῳ . . . περὶ χειροτονίας*, &c. *διευρώσαμεν*⁴: "We have enacted by a general and a common law." And in the code, entreating namely of bishops and clerks, he hath these words: *Et hoc non solum in veteri Roma, vel in hac regia civitate, sed et in omni terra, ubicunque Christianorum nomen colitur, obtinere sancimus*⁵: "This law we will have to take place, not only in the city of old Rome, or in this imperial city (of Constantinople), but also in all the world, wheresoever the name of Christians is had in honour."

And how can M. Harding make himself so sure that the church of Rome was never subject to this law? Certainly, both by Leo bishop of Rome⁶, and also by St Ambrose, bishop of Milan⁷, and other holy fathers, it appeareth otherwise. St Augustine saith of the church of Rome: *Unum psalmum cantamus, unum Amen respondemus*⁸: "We sing one psalm, and we answer one Amen." St Hierome saith: "Even in Rome, at the end of the prayer, the people so sounded out Amen, as if it had been a thunder-clap⁹."

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

To conclude, Justinian saith, "These constitutions were general;" M. Harding alone saith, "They were not general." Justinian saith, "They took place in all the world;" M. Harding alone saith, "They took place only in Constantinople." St Ambrose, St Augustine, St Hierome, Leo, and others say, "They were observed in the church of Rome;" M. Harding alone saith, "They were never observed in

[¹ Ex Lib. Pontif. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. pp. 3, &c.]

[² Generalia generaliter intelligenda sunt.—Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Digest. Lib. xxxvii. Tit. v. 1. Gloss. Tom. I. p. 528.]

[³ "Ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἐχρῆν περὶ τοῦ τοιούτου τρόπου, κατὰ τὴν ἀγιωτάτην μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν τῆς βασιλευούσης ἡμῶν ταύτης πόλεως . . . τούτῳ τῷ εἰδικῶ περιελάβομεν νόμῳ.—Id. Auth. Coll. i. Tit. vi. Novell. vi. 8. Tom. II. p. 14. This was in older editions assigned to Novell. cxliii.]

[⁴ Id. Auth. Coll. i. Tit. iii. Nov. iii. Præfat. Tom. II. p. 6; where ἡγεμονικῶ νόμῳ.]

[⁵ Id. Cod. Lib. i. Tit. iii. 52. Tom. II. p. 22;

where *veteri*.]

[⁶ Hoc enim ore sumitur, quod fide creditur: et frustra ab illis Amen respondetur, a quibus contra id quod accipitur disputatur.—Leon. Magn. Op. Lut. 1623. Sermon. vi. de Jejun. Sept. Mens. col. 248.]

[⁷ ...non otiose dicis tu: Amen...Dicit tibi sacerdos: Corpus Christi; et tu dicis: Amen.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Sacram. Lib. iv. cap. v. 25. Tom. II. col. 372.]

[⁸ August. Op. In Psalm. liv. Enarr. 16. Tom. IV. col. 510.]

[⁹ Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. ii. in Epist. ad Gal. Præf. Tom. IV. Pars i. cols. 255, 6.]

the church of Rome." If he will thus deceive us in plain things, how may we then trust him in doubtful things?

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

Justini-
an's Con-
stitution.

Gregorius
Haloander.

Touching "cogging and foisting," I marvel M. Harding, being so grave a man, would borrow ruffians' terms to scoff withal. As for the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, which is represented unto us in the holy communion, we believe it with our hearts, and confess it with our mouths. Concerning this word *oblatio*, he knoweth well, I translated not the place, but only touched it: neither had I then any manner occasion to speak of the sacrifice, but only of prayers; which thing also I did without any cogging, or any other sleight, following these very words of Justinian: *καὶ τὰς ἄλλας προσευχὰς μετὰ φωνῆς... προσφέρειν*: that is to say: "To offer up other prayers also with loud voice." Neither did I avouch any untruth by Justinian; as M. Harding hath here done by Justinian and St Augustine both together. I know the holy ministration is named of the holy fathers sundry ways: "The supper of the Lord;" "the Lord's table;" "the communion;" "the mystery;" "the sacrament;" "the mystical table;" "the thanksgiving;" "the oblation;" and "the sacrifice." Neither is there any of these names, but we use indifferently, as occasion serveth.

Now, forsomuch as M. Harding taketh occasion, for that I passed this place of Justinian so shortly over, only touching it with one word, as the time then forced me; I think it not amiss, for the better contentation of the reader, to lay it out fully, as it lieth. His words be these: "We command all bishops and priests to minister the holy oblation, and the prayer at the holy baptism, not under silence, but with such voice as may be heard of the faithful people; to the intent that thereof the hearts of the hearers may be stirred to more devotion, and honour-giving to God the Lord. For so the holy apostle teacheth, saying in the first epistle to the Corinthians: 'For if thou only bless with the spirit, how shall he that supplieth the room of the ignorant, say Amen (to God) at thy thanksgiving? For he knoweth not what thou sayest. Thou givest thanks well; but the other is not edified.' For these causes therefore it behoveth that the prayer at the holy oblation, and also other prayers, be offered with loud voice of the holy bishops and priests unto our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Father and the Holy Ghost. And let the holy priests understand, that if they neglect any of these things, they shall make answer therefore at the dreadful judgment of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ. And yet nevertheless we, understanding the same, will not pass it over, nor leave it unpunished¹⁰."

Auth. Const.
cxxxiii.

1 Cor. xiv.
τῷ Θεῷ.

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

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

[¹⁰ Πρὸς τοῦτοις κελεύομεν πάντας ἐπισκόπους τε καὶ πρεσβυτέρους, μὴ κατὰ τὸ σεισινωμένον, ἀλλὰ μετὰ φωνῆς τῷ πιστοτάτῳ λαῷ ἐξακουμένης τὴν θείαν προσκομιδὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ βαπτίσματι προσευχῇ ποιεῖσθαι, πρὸς τὸ κἀντεῦθεν τὰς τῶν ἀκούοντων ψυχὰς εἰς πλείονα κατάρτυξιν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Δεσπότην Θεὸν διανίστασθαι δοξολογίαν. οὕτως γὰρ ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος διδάσκει, λέγων ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους πρώτῃ ἐπιστολῇ, 'Ἐπεὶ ἐὰν εὐλογῇς τῷ πνεύματι, ὁ ἀναπληρῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἰδιώτου πῶς ἐρεῖ τὸ ἀμὴν τῷ Θεῷ ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ; ἐπειδὴ τί λέγεις οὐκ οἶδε. σὺ μὲν γὰρ καλῶς εὐχαριστεῖς, ἀλλ' ὁ ἕτερος οὐκ

οἰκοδομεῖται... διὰ ταῦτα τοῖνυν προσήκει τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ἁγίᾳ προσκομιδῇ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας προσευχὰς μετὰ φωνῆς παρὰ τῶν ὁσιωτάτων ἐπισκόπων τε καὶ πρεσβυτέρων προσφέρεισθαι τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν, σὺν τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι· γινωσκόντων τῶν ὁσιωτάτων ιερῶν, ὡς εἰ πέρ τι τούτων παρίδοιεν, καὶ τῇ φοβερᾷ κρίσει τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπολογησονται, καὶ οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς ταῦτα γινώσκοντες ἐφυσυχάσωμεν, ἢ ἀνεκδίκητα καταλίπωμεν.—Corp. Jur. Civil. Auth. Coll. ix. Tit. xi. Novell. cxxvii. 6. Tom. II. pp. 196, 7.]

Exam-
ples.

The priest must speak aloud ;

Ergo, he may speak in an unknown tongue.

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

Ergo, they need not to understand it.

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

Acts xiii.

M. HARDING. THE FIFTEENTH DIVISION.

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

It appeareth by Arnobius upon the Psalms¹, by Epiphanius writing against heresies², and by St Augustine in his books, De Doctrina Christiana³, that by account of the antiquity there were seventy-two tongues in the world. Cicero saith, that they be in number infinite⁴. Of them all, (78) neither M. Jewel, nor any one of his side, is able to shew that the public service of the church in any nation was ever, for the space of six hundred years after Christ, in any other than in Greek and Latin.

*Psalm. civ.
Lib. 1.
Contra Hæres.
Hæres. 39.
In Tuscul.
Quest.*

The seventy-
eighth un-
truth.
For it shall
appear that
we are able
to shew
manifest ex-
amples to the
contrary.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Arnobius, St Augustine, and Epiphanius say there be threescore and twelve sundry languages in the world : Cicero saith they be infinite. Here must I note by the way, that Cicero's words well alleged do utterly confound M. Harding's doctrine of hearing that thing that the hearers understand not, in such sort as he maintaineth the hearing of mass. For thus he saith : *In his linguis, quas non intelligimus, quæ sunt innumerabiles, surdi profecto sumus*⁴ : "In those tongues that we understand not, which be innumerable, certainly we be deaf." By which words M. Harding might perceive that the simple people, hearing him at his mass, is stark deaf, and heareth nothing. "Yet," saith M. Harding, "is not M. Jewel able to shew that ever the public service was in any other tongue than in Greek or Latin." And thus, being required by me to shew any one example, that the people had their common service in a strange tongue ; and, as it appeareth, not able to shew any, he altereth cunningly the whole case, and willett me to shew. Which thing notwithstanding I might justly refuse to do, by the order of any schools, yet I am well content to yield to his request, both for the goodness and pregnancy of the cause, and also specially, good christian reader, for the better contentation of thy mind ; not doubting, but of thyself⁵ thou wilt be able

Cicero in
Tusc. Quest.

[¹ Arnob. Comm. in Psalm. in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Psalm. civ. Tom. V. Pars III. p. 286.]

[² Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. 1. Hær. xxxix. 7. Tom. I. pp. 288, 9.]

[³ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Doctr.

Christ. Lib. II. capp. iv. v. 5, 6. Tom. III. Pars 1. col. 21. This may be the passage intended ; but Augustine speaks here merely of the diversity of languages, without mentioning any number.]

[⁴ Cic. Tusc. Disp. Lib. v. 40.]

[⁵ Theeself, 1565.]

to find some distrust and want in M. Harding's side; who, notwithstanding so many words, and so great vaunts, yet is able to shew nothing.

And to avoid multitude of words, the case being plain, Eckius saith: "The Indians had their service in the Indian tongue⁶." Durandus saith: "The Jews that were christened had their service in the Hebrew tongue⁷." Yet was neither of these tongues either Greek or Latin.

Nicolas Lyra⁸ and Thomas of Aquine⁹ say: "The common service in the primitive church was in the common vulgar tongue."

By these few it may appear, it was but a bravery that M. Harding said: "Neither M. Jewel, nor any of¹⁰ that side, is able to shew that the public service was in any other tongue than in Greek or Latin." For it is easy to be shewed, even by the doctors of his own side.

But what if Doctor Harding himself have in plain words confessed the same? Although he have wantonly denied Christ, yet, I trow, he will not deny himself. Consider, good reader, his own words, hereafter following in this self-same article. "But St Paul, say they, requireth that the people give assent, and conform themselves¹¹ unto the priest, by answering Amen to his prayer made in the congregation." Hereunto M. Harding answereth thus: "Verily, in the primitive church this was necessary, when the faith was a-learning; and therefore the prayers were made then in a common tongue, known to the people."

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

Yet, good christian reader, for thy better satisfaction, it may please thee to know that in the primitive church the common service was not ministered by one man alone, but by the priest and whole congregation all together, as may appear by the general consent of the old fathers. Clemens Alexandrinus saith: *In orationibus veluti unam vocem habent communem, et unam mentem*¹²: "In the (common) prayers they have all, as it were, one voice and one mind." St Chrysostom saith: "Not only the priest giveth thanks to God, but also all the people. And what dost thou marvel to see the priest and people in the prayers talk together¹³?" And here, to leave St Augustine, St Hierome, St Basil, Nazianzenus, Dionysius Areopagita, with many other like fathers; Isidorus, describing the order of the church in his time, writeth thus: *Oportet, ut quando psallitur, ab omnibus psallatur: [et] cum oratur, [ut] omnibus oretur: cumque lectio legitur, facto silentio, æque audiat a cunctis*¹⁴: "When they sing, they must sing all together: when they pray, they must pray all together; and when the lesson is read, silence being commanded, they must hear all together."

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

Exam-
ples.

Eckius in
Locis Com-
munibus.
Durand. Lib.
iv. cap. i.

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

Fol. 69.
Divis. 28.

M. Harding
contrary to
himself.

Clement.
Alex. Strom.
Lib. vii.

Chrysost. in
2 ad Cor.
Hom. 18.

Isidor. de
Eccles. Offic.
cap. x.

[⁶ Non negamus tamen Indis australibus permisum, ut in lingua sua rem divinam facerent, &c.—Joh. Eck. Enchir. Loc. Com. Lugd. 1572. cap. xxxvii. p. 339.]

[⁷ Rursus in primitiva ecclesia divina mysteria Hebraice celebrabantur.—Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Lugd. 1565. Lib. iv. cap. i. 10. fol. 87.]

[⁸...in primitiva ecclesia benedictiones et cetera communia fiebant in vulgari.—Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. Ad Cor. i. cap. xiv. Pars VI. fol. 55. 2.]

[⁹...quare non dantur benedictiones in vulgari?... Dicendum est, quod hoc forte fuit in ecclesia primi-

tiva, &c.—Thom. Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. In i. ad Cor. cap. xiv. Lect. iii. Tom. XVI. fol. 84.]

[¹⁰ Any one of, 1565.]

[¹¹ Themselves, 1565.]

[¹² Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Stromat. Lib. vii. 6. Tom. II. p. 848.]

[¹³ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ii. ad Cor. Hom. xviii. Tom. X. p. 568. See before, page 282.]

[¹⁴ Isidor. Hispal. Op. Col. Agrip. 1617. De Offic. Eccles. Lib. i. cap. x. p. 393; where we find *oretur ab omnibus: quando lectio.*]

Exam-
ples.

the Greek, or the Latin. Yet, for that nothing seemeth hard for him to say, let us see what the old fathers will report in that behalf. I have already shewed by Theodoretus, Sozomenus, and St Hierome, that the service was in the Syrian tongue¹.

Orig. contra
Celsum, Lib.
viii.

Old father Origen's words, in my judgment, seem very plain. Writing against one Celsus, a wicked heathen, he saith thus: *Græci quidem Græce Deum nominant et Latine Romani, et singuli item nativa et vernacula lingua Deum precantur, et laudibus pro se quisque extollit. Ille enim qui est linguarum omnium Dominus, audit quavis lingua orantes, idque non secus, quam si unam vocem exciperet e variis linguis expressam. Deus enim cum præsit machinæ universi, non est quasi unus aliquis, qui linguam vel Græcam vel barbaram sit sortitus, ut ceteras nesciat*²: "The Greeks name God in the Greek tongue, and the Latins in the Latin tongue; and all several nations pray unto God, and praise him in their own natural and mother-tongue. For he, that is the Lord of all tongues, heareth men praying in all tongues none otherwise than if it were one voice pronounced by divers tongues. For God, that ruleth the whole world, is not as some one man, that hath gotten the Greek or Latin tongue, and knoweth none other."

Ambros. in
1 Cor. xiv.

St Ambrose, speaking of the Jews that were converted to Christ, saith thus: *Hi ex Hebræis erant, qui aliquando Syria lingua, plerunque Hebræa in tractatibus et oblationibus utebantur*⁴: "These were Jews, which in their sermons and oblations used sometime the Syrian tongue, and sometime⁵ the Hebrew."

Basil. in
Epist. ad
Cler. Neoc.

St Basil, writing unto the learned men of Neocæsaria, and shewing in what order the people used to resort to the house of prayer in the night season, and to sing psalms in sides, and to pray together, towards the end thereof hath these words: *Tanquam ab uno ore, et ab uno corde, confessionis psalmum offerunt Domino, et verba pœnitentiæ eorum quisque proprie ascribit sibi*⁶: "As it were from one mouth, and from one heart, they offer up unto the Lord the psalm of confession, and the words of repentance every of them applieth particularly unto himself." Hereby it is plain that the people in St Basil's time sung the psalms together, and understood what they sung.

And lest M. Harding should slip away, as his wont is, and say, "All this was done in the Greek tongue, and not in any tongue barbarous," St Basil hath already prevented him. For immediately he addeth further as it followeth: *Horum gratia si nos fugitis, fugietis etiam Egyptios, et utrasque Lybias, et Thebanos, et Palestinos, et Arabas, et Phœnices, et Syros, et eos qui ad Euphratem incolunt, et in universum omnes, quibus vigiliæ, et orationes, et communes psalmodiæ in honore habentur*⁷: "If ye flee us for thus singing and praying together, then must ye flee the Egyptians, and both the countries of Lybia, and the Thebans, and the Palestines, and the Arabians, and the Phœnicians, and the Syrians, and the borderers of Euphrates; and generally ye must flee all them that have watchings, and prayers, and common psalmody in estimation." I trow, M. Harding will not say all these nations spake Greek or Latin.

Hieron. ad
Heliod.
Epitaphium
Nepotiani.

St Hierome, writing unto Heliodorus of the death of Nepotianus, seemeth to avouch the same. These be his words: *Nunc passionem Christi, et resurrectionem ejus cunctarum gentium et voces et literæ sonant. Taceo de Hebræis, Græcis, et Latinis, quas nationes . . . suæ . . . crucis titulo Dominus dedicavit. . . Bessorum feritas et pellitorum turba populorum, qui mortuorum quondam inferiis homines immolabant, stridorem suum in dulce Christi fregerunt melos, et totius mundi una vox est Christus*⁸: "Now both the voices and letters of all nations do sound out Christ's passion and resurrection. I leave the Jews, the Greeks, and the Latins, which nations the Lord hath dedicate with the title of his cross. The savage nature of the Bessians, and people that for their wildness go clad in skins, which some-

[¹ See before, pages 269, 70.]

[² Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Cont. Cels. Lib. viii. 37. Tom. I. pp. 769, 70.]

[³ Syra, 1565.]

[⁴ Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. i. ad Cor. cap. xiv. v. 19. Tom. II. Append. col. 157; where Syra, and aut for et.]

[⁵ Sometimes, 1565.]

[⁶ Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Ad Cler. Neoc. Epist. cccvii. Tom. III. p. 311.]

[⁷ Id. ibid.]

[⁸ Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Heliod. Epist. xxxv. Epit. Nepot. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 268; where we read *crucis fregerunt*, and *Christus est*.]

times made sacrifices of men's bodies, have turned their barbarous speech into the sweet harmony of Christ. Christ is now the voice of the whole world."

Æneas Sylvius saith, that when Cyrillus and Methodius had converted the Sclavons unto God, which was about the year of our Lord eight hundred and three-score, and were suitors that they might minister the common prayers and other service unto them in their common Sclavon tongue, and great stay was made therein by the pope and his cardinals, a voice was heard, as it had been from heaven: *Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum; et omnis lingua confiteatur ei*: "Let every spirit praise the Lord; and let every tongue acknowledge him;" and that thereupon they were suffered to use their own tongue⁹.

Touching this matter, Innocentius the third hath decreed thus;—and whether it make for the purpose or no, let M. Harding himself be judge. His words be these: *Quoniam in plerisque partibus, intra eandem civitatem atque diocesim, permisti sunt populi diversarum linguarum, habentes sub una fide varios ritus et mores; districte præcipimus, ut pontifices hujuscemodi civitatum sive diocesim provideant viros idoneos, qui secundum diversitates rituum et linguarum divina illis officia celebrent, et ecclesiastica sacramenta ministrent*¹⁰: "For so much as in many places, within one city and one diocese, there be nations mingled together of many tongues, having divers orders and customs under one faith; we do therefore straitly command, that the bishops of such cities or dioceses provide meet men to minister the holy service, according to the diversity of their manners and tongues."

Here might I allege much more out of divers writers, even out of Abdias himself, whom M. Harding so much esteemeth. But I will only note the complaint of one John Billet concerning this case, and so make an end. His words be these: *In primitiva ecclesia prohibitum erat, ne quis loqueretur [linguis] nisi esset qui interpretaretur. Quid enim... prodesset loqui, nisi intelligeretur? ... Inde etiam inolevit laudabilis consuetudo,... ut pronuntiatio literaliter evangelio, statim [in] vulgari... populo exponeretur. Quid autem nostris temporibus est agendum, ubi nullus, vel rarus invenitur legens, vel audiens, qui intelligat? ... Videtur ergo potius esse tacendum, quam psallendum*¹¹: "It was forbidden in the primitive church that no man should speak with tongues, unless there were some present to expound it. For what should speaking avail without understanding? And hereof grew a laudable custom, that, after the gospel was read literally, it should straightway be expounded in the vulgar tongue. But what shall we do in our days, when as there is either none at all, or very seldom, that readeth or heareth, and understandeth? It seemeth it were better now to hold their peace than so to sing."

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

M. HARDING. THE SIXTEENTH DIVISION.

For further answer to the authority of Justinian's ordinance, we hold well with it. Good men think it meet, the service to¹² be uttered now also with a distinct and audible voice, that all sorts of people, specially so many as understand it, may the more be stirred to devotion, and thereby the rather be moved to say Amen, and give their assent to it, through their obedience and credit they bear to the church, assuring themselves the same to be good and healthful, and to the glory of God.

Exam-
ples.

Æneas Sylv.
Hist. Bohem.
cap. xiii.

Extra de
Offic. Judicii
Ordinarii.
Quoniam in
plerisque.
Rituum et
linguarum.

Johan. Billet
in Summa de
Div. Offic.

[⁹ Æn. Sylv. Op. Basil. 1571. Hist. Bohem. cap. xiii. p. 91.]

[¹⁰ Innoc. III. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decretal. Greg. IX. Lib. I. Tit. xxxi. cap. 14. col. 413; where *hujusmodi*, and *diocesum*.]

[¹¹ Joan. Belet. Div. Offic. Explic. ad calc. Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Lugd. 1565. Proëm. fol.

489. 2; where we find *si non for nisi, hinc illa laudabilis inolevit consuetudo, secundum literam, quid vero de nostris temporibus dicemus, si viz, ac ne viz quidem inveniatur qui quæ legerit vel audierit intelligat, and tacendum potius esse.*]

[¹² *To* is omitted, H. A. 1564.]

Africa.

Saunce Bell.
Paternoster.

And for that purpose we have commonly seen the priest, when he sped him to say his service, to ring the saunce¹ bell, and speak out aloud, Pater noster; by which token the people were commanded silence, reverence, and devotion.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Cic. pro
Cœl.
Cvpr. in Orat.
Domin.

I must needs answer M. Harding, as Cicero sometime answered his adversary: *Mimi ergo exitus est, non fabulæ*²: "This gear goeth by gesture, and not by speech." St Cyprian, declaring the order of the church in his time, saith: *Sacerdos ante orationem... parat animos fratrum, dicendo, Sursum corda*³: "The priest before the prayers prepareth the hearts of the brethren, saying thus unto them, 'Lift up your hearts.'"

Chrysost. in
2 ad Cor.
Hom. 18.

The deacons in St Chrysostom's and Basil's time used to call upon the people with these words: *Oremus; Attendamus*: "Let us pray;" "Let us give ear:" like as also the priest in the heathen sacrifices was wont to command silence, and to say to the multitude, *Favete linguis*. This was done in the church of Christ, as St Cyprian saith, to put the people in remembrance that in their prayers they should think of nothing else but only of the Lord. And therefore Chrysostom saith: "The priest in the holy ministration speaketh unto the people, and the people unto the priest⁴." But M. Harding, for ease and expedition, hath devised a shorter way, to teach the people by a bell-rope. He turneth his back unto his brethren, and speaketh out two words aloud, *Pater noster*; and causeth the *sanctus* bell to play the part of a deacon, to put the people in remembrance that now they must pray. If any other man would say so much, he were a scoffer: M. Harding speaketh it, and it is good earnest, and cause sufficient to avoid Justinian's law. Augustus Cæsar warned his son-in-law Tiberius, *Ut ore, non digito loqueretur*; "That he should speak with his mouth, and not with his finger." And Cato was wont to say, when he saw two augurs meet together, "He marvelled that either of them could abstain from smiling; for that their whole profession and occupation stood in mocking of the people." I will not apply this to M. Harding, notwithstanding he seem to profess the like. God grant his bell may remember him to fear God, lest he himself be left "as a sounding piece of brass, or as a tinkling cymbal."

Sueton. in
August.

Plut. in
Catone.

1 Cor. xiii.

M. HARDING. THE SEVENTEENTH DIVISION.

Now to say somewhat touching the common prayers, or service of the churches of Africa, where St Augustine preached in Latin, as you say, and I deny not; and thereof you seem to conclude that the common people of that country understood and spake Latin, as their vulgar tongue. That the African churches had their service in Latin, it is evident by sundry places of St Augustine in his exposition of the Psalms, in his books *De Doctrina Christiana*, and in his sermons, and most plainly in an epistle that he wrote to St Hierome, in which he sheweth that the people of a city in Africa was greatly moved and offended with their bishop, for that, in reciting the scriptures, for part of the service to them he read out of the fourth chapter of Jonas the prophet, not cucurbita, after the old text, which they had been accustomed unto, but hedera, after the new translation of St Hierome⁵. Now, as I grant that some understood it, so I have cause to doubt whether some others understood it, or no. Nay, rather I have great probability to think they understood it not. For the bewraying of Hannibal's ambassadors to the Romans by their Punical language, whereof Titus Livius writeth⁶, and likewise the conference betwixt Sylla the noble man of Rome, and Bocchus king of Numidia, had by mean of interpreters adhibited of both parts⁷, as Sallust recordeth in *Bello Jugurthino*, declareth that the tongue of Africa was the Punical tongue before the Romans' conquest. Now, the same people remaining there until St Augustine's time, what should move us to judge that they forgot⁸ their own native and mother-tongue, and learned anew the

[All people of the Latin church understood not the Latin service. H. A. 1564.]

Lid. xxiii. Belli Punici.

[¹ Saunce: a corruption of Sanctus.]

[² Cic. Pro M. Cœl. 10; where *est jam exitus*.]

[³ Cyp. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Orat. Domin. p. 152. See before, page 285, note 11.]

[⁴ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ii. ad Cor. Hom. xviii. Tom. x. p. 563.]

[⁵ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Hieron. Epist. lxxi. 5. Tom. II. col. 161.]

[⁶ Tit. Liv. Hist. Lib. xxxiii. cap. xxxiv.]

[⁷ Parties, H. A. 1564.]

[⁸ Forgat, 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

Latin tongue? I confess that many understood and spake Latin, by reason of the Romans' common resort thither, of their laws there executed, of their garrisons there abiding, and specially of the great multitude of Latin people thither sent to inhabit, deductis coloniis, by Augustus the emperor first, then by Adrianus, and afterward by Commodus, who would have had the great city Carthago, newly re-edified, to be called after his own name, Alexandria Commodiana, as Lampridius writeth⁹. These Roman colonies, that is to wit, multitudes of people sent to inhabit the country, placed themselves about the sea-coasts in the chief cities, in Carthago, Utica, Hippo, Leptis, &c. and thereabout. And by these¹⁰ means the Roman or Latin speech spread abroad there, and became to be very common, as that which remained still among the inhabitants that were of the Roman kind, and was learned by long use and custom of others dwelling amongst them, specially in the cities where the Romans bare the sway and government. For these considerations I think the Latin tongue was there very common. But that it was common to the inward parties of the country also, and to the uplandish people, amongst whom the old accustomed language is longest kept, as experience teacheth; it is not likely. For though the nobility and cities change their language, to be the more in estimation, yet the common and base people of the country fall not so soon to a change. In this realm of England, after William Conqueror's time, by occasion of great resort¹¹ of Frenchmen hither, and of our countrymen into France, also of the French laws, and special favour by the princes borne, and preferments bestowed upon them¹² that spake French, the most part of the nobility, lawyers, merchants, captains, soldiers, and wealthy folk, had skill in the understanding and speaking of the French tongue; but yet the common and uplandish people spake little or nought at all: whereof grew this proverb in England of old time, "Jack would be a gentleman, but Jack can no French." The like may be thought of the Latin tongue in Africa.

What shall we think of the uplandish people there, when as Septimius Severus the emperor, yea, after the apostles' time, had not very good skill in the Latin tongue, but in the Punical tongue, and that being born at Leptis? Of whom Aurelius Victor saith thus in *Epitome*: *Latinis literis sufficienter instructus, . . . Punica lingua promptior, quippe genitus apud Leptim provinciæ Aphricæ*¹³: "Severus was learned in the Latin letters sufficiently, but in the Punical tongue he was readier, as being born at Leptis, within the province of Africa." Here the Latin tongue is attributed to instruction and teaching, and the Punical tongue to nature. *Ælius Spartianus*, writing the life of this Severus to Diocletian, sheweth that when his sister, a woman of Leptis, came to Rome to him, *vix Latine loquens*, her brother the emperor was ashamed of her, and blushed at her, for that she could scantily speak Latin, and therefore commanded her away home again to her country; for these be the very words of *Spartianus*¹⁴. Now if such noble personages lacked the Latin speech in the chief part of Africa, it is soon understood what is to be deemed of the common and vulgar people abroad in the country.

Let us come down lower, even to *St Hierome's* time. *St Hierome*, writing to a noble young Roman virgin, called *Demetrias*, being in Africa, exhorting her to keep herself in that holy state of virginity, saith thus: *Urbs tua quondam orbis caput*¹⁵: "Thy city, once the head of the world, is become the sepulchre of the Roman people. And wilt thou take a banished husband, thyself being a banished woman in the shore of *Lybia*? What woman shalt thou have there to bring thee to and fro?" *Stridor Punicæ linguæ procacia tibi Fescennina cantabit*¹⁶: "The jarring Punical tongue shall sing thee bawdy songs at thy wedding." Lo, in *St Hierome's* time they of Africa spake the Punical tongue, and that by the sea-side, where the Romans of long time had made their abode. Of this may be gathered, that the Latin speech was not in the further parts¹⁷ within the country very common. *St Augustine* in sundry places of his works sheweth that the people of Africa, called *Punics*, spake the Punical tongue, acknowledging a likeness and

*De Verbis Domini
secundum Luc. Serm.
35.*

[⁹ *Æl. Lamprid. in Hist. August. Script. Min. Hanov. 1611. Commod. cap. xvii. p. 284.*]

[¹⁰ This, H. A. 1564.]

[¹¹ Resorts, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[¹² Those, H. A. 1564.]

[¹³ *Aurel. Vict. Epit. cap. xx. in eod. p. 762; where*

eloquentia for lingua.]

[¹⁴ *Æl. Spart. in eod. Sever. cap. xv. p. 299.*]

[¹⁵ *Caput, etc. H. A. 1564.*]

[¹⁶ *Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Demetr. Epist. xvii. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 786.*]

[¹⁷ Farther parties, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

Africa.

cousinage, as it were, to be between that and the Hebrew tongue¹. But most evident witness for the Punical tongue is to be found in his forty-fourth epistle, Ad Maximum Madaurensen; in which he answereth him soberly for his scoffing and jesting at certain Punical words in derogation of the Christians. After wondering that he, being an African born, and writing to Africans, should find fault with the Punical names and words, and after commendation of the tongue, for that many things have right wisely been commended to memory by great learned men in books of the Punical language, at length concluded against him thus: *Pœniteat te certe ibi natum, ubi hujus[modi] linguæ cunabula recalent*²: "In good sooth thou mayest be sorry in thy heart that thou wert³ born there, where the cradles of such a tongue be warm again." By which words he seemeth to charge him with an unnatural grief and repenting that he was born in that country where they speak Punic ere they creep out of their cradles: whereby it appeareth the mother-tongue of those parts⁴ of Africa which he speaketh of to be the Punical, and not the Latin.

To conclude, if they had all spoken Latin, and not some the Punical tongue, St Augustine would never have written, *Punici Christiani baptismum, ... salutem; ... eucharistiam, vitam vocant*⁵: "That those Christians which speak the Punical tongue, call baptism in their language, health or salvation; and the eucharist, life." Wherefore we see that there were Latin Christians and Punical Christians in Africa, of whom all understood not the Latin service.

Lib. i. de Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione, cap. xxiv.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here M. Harding, as his wont is, taketh needless pains without profit, to prove that thing that is not denied. I said that at the city of Hippo in Africa, where St Augustine was bishop, the common service of the church was pronounced in Latin, and that no marvel, for that the whole people there understood and spake the Latin tongue. For answer whereof, reply is made, and that by guesses and likelihoods, that the whole people of Africa, in all the mountains and uplandish countries, was never trained up in the Latin tongue. Which thing neither is denied by me, nor anywise toucheth this question. For it is easy to be known by St Augustine, St Hierome, and others, in infinite places, that the people of that country had a natural tongue of their own, distinct from all others, and several only to themselves⁶. And therefore to prove the same in such earnest sort, by Titus Livius, by Sallust, by Aurelius Victor, by Ælius Spartianus, by St Augustine, and by St Hierome, it was only spending of time without winning of matter. St Augustine saith, *eucharistia* in the Punic tongue was called "life;" and *baptismus*, in the same tongue, was called "health;" and rehearseth these words, *mammon*⁷ and *iar*⁸, and other like words, and certain proverbs, used in the same tongue. St Hierome saith that *alma*, in the Punic tongue, signifieth "a virgin," according to the Hebrew⁹. Quintilian saith that this word *mappa* was borrowed of the Punic, and made Latin, as *rheda* and *petoritum* were borrowed of the Gauls¹⁰. Neither is there any reason to lead us but that they had other words and sentences of their own sufficient to express their minds.

But after the Romans had once subdued them, the better to stablish and confirm their empire, they forced them to receive both the Roman laws, and also the Roman tongue; as they had done before in several countries within Italy, and in other places more. Which thing unto some seemed so grievous, that, as it is reported by Cato, Turrhenus, the last king of Etruria, notwithstanding he were content to yield his country to the Romans, yet could never be won to yield his

August. de Verbis Dom. sec. Luc. Serm. 35. August. in Psal. cxliii. Hieron. in Isai. Lib. iii. cap. vii. Lib. i. cap. ix.

Ex. Orig. Caton.

[¹ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Serm. cxliii. 2. Tom. V. col. 568.]

[² Id. Ad Max. Madaur. Epist. xvii. 2. Tom. II. col. 21.]

[³ Were, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[⁴ Parties, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[⁵ Id. De Pecc. Mer. et Remiss. Lib. i. cap. xxiv. 34. Tom. X. col. 19; where for *eucharistiam* we read *sacramentum corporis Christi*.]

[⁶ Themselves, 1565.]

[⁷ Id. Serm. cxliii. 2. Tom. V. col. 568.]

[⁸ Id. In Psalm. cxliii. Enarr. 8. Tom. IV. col. 1407.]

[⁹ *Lingua quoque Punica, quæ de Hebræorum fontibus manare dicitur, proprie virgo alma appellatur.*—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. iii. in Isai. Proph. cap. vii. Tom. III. col. 71.]

[¹⁰ M. Fab. Quintil. Inst. Orat. Lib. i. cap. v. 57.]

tongue¹¹. For the better performance hereof, they had it enacted by a law, that the judge in every province should hear, and determine matters, and pronounce sentence only in Latin, as it appeareth by these words: *Decreta a prætoribus Latine debent interponi*¹². By mean whereof St Hierome saith: "The Punic tongue in his time was much altered from that it had been before"¹³.

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

But that the whole people of the city of Hippo, where the service was ministered in the Latin tongue, understood and spake Latin, who can witness better than St Augustine himself, that was then bishop of Hippo? And to pass over that he reporteth of himself, that, being born in Tagasta, a city of Africa, he learned the Latin tongue *inter...blandimenta nutricum*¹⁴, "as he was playing under his nurse," signifying thereby that his nurses understood and spake Latin; in his book, *De Catechizandis Rudibus*, he writeth thus: "Let them know there is no voice that soundeth in God's ears but the devotion of the mind. So shall they not scorn at the head priests and ministers of the church, if they happen, in making their prayers unto God, to speak false Latin, or not to understand the words that they speak, or to speak them out of order"¹⁵. He addeth further; *Non quod ista corrigenda non sint, ut populus ad id, quod plane intelligit, dicat, Amen*: "Not for that such faults should not be amended, to the end that the people, to the thing that they plainly perceive, may say Amen." Here St Augustine willet that the priests utter their Latin service distinctly and truly, that the people may understand them. Again he saith thus: *Volens etiam causam Donatistarum ad ipsius humillimi vulgi, et omnino imperitorum, atque idiotarum notitiam pervenire, et eorum, quantum fieri posset per nos, inherere memorie, psalmum, qui eis cantaretur, per Latinas literas feci*¹⁶: "Being desirous that the cause of the Donatists should come to the knowledge of the lowest sort, and of them that be utterly ignorant and void of learning, and as much as in us lay, might be fixed in their memory, I wrote a psalm for them to sing in the Latin tongue." And Possidonius, writing St Augustine's life, saith, that Valerius, that was bishop of Hippo before St Augustine, for that he was a Greek born, and had small skill in the Latin tongue, was the less able to preach unto the people, and to discharge his duty there¹⁷.

I doubt not but by these few words it may well appear that the people of Hippo understood the Latin, albeit not in such good order as they that had learned it at the school; and therefore would oftentimes speak amiss, placing one word for another, and gender for gender, and case for case; as for example, *dolus* for *dolor*. St Augustine saith: *Multi fratres imperitiores Latinitatis loquuntur sic, ut dicant, dolus illum torquet, pro eo quod est, dolor*¹⁸. And for that cause, in his sermons unto the people, he submitteth oftentimes¹⁹ himself unto their capacity. For thus he speaketh unto the people: *Sæpe...et verba non Latina dico, ut vos intelligatis*²⁰: "Many times I utter words that be no Latin, that ye may understand me." And again he saith: *Ego dicam ossum: sic enim potius loquar. Melius est, [ut] nos reprehendant grammatici, quam non intelligant populi*²¹:

Africa.

De Re Judic.
&c.
Decreta.
Hieron. in
Præfat. in
Lib. ii.
Comm. ad
Gal.August.
Confess.
Lib. i. cap.
xiv.
De Catechiz.
Rud. cap. ix.Retract. Lib.
i. cap. xx.Possid. in
Vita August.
cap. v.August. in
Johan.
Tractat. vii.August. in
Psalm. cxxiii.August. in
Psalm. cxxviii.

[¹¹ M. Caton. Orig. Lib. Basil. 1530, p. 13.]

[¹² Tryphonin. in Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Digest. Lib. XLII. Tit. i. 48. Tom. I. p. 618; where *interponi debent*.]

[¹³ ...quum et Aphri Phœnicum linguam nonnulla ex parte mutaverint.—Hieron. Op. Comm. Lib. II. in Epist. ad Gal. Præf. Tom. IV. cols. 255, 6.]

[¹⁴ August. Op. Confess. Lib. i. cap. xiv. 23. Tom. I. col. 78.]

[¹⁵ Noverint etiam non esse vocem ad aures Dei, nisi animi affectum: ita enim non ardebunt, si aliquos antistites et ministros ecclesiæ forte animadverterint, vel cum barbarismis et solæcismis Deum invocare, vel eadem verba quæ pronuntiant non intelligere, perturbateque distinguere. Non quia ista minime corrigenda sunt, ut &c.—Id. De Catechiz. Rud. cap.

ix. 13. Tom. VI. col. 272.]

[¹⁶ Id. Retract. Lib. i. cap. xx. Tom. I. col. 31.]

[¹⁷ Valerius...exsultabat...ut sibi...homo concederetur...qui posset verbo Dei...ecclesiam...ædificare: cui rei se homo natura Græcus, minusque Latina lingua et litteris instructus, minus utilem pervidebat.—August. Vit. Auct. Possid. cap. v. Tom. X. Post-append. col. 260.]

[¹⁸ August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. i. Tractat. vii. 18. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 349.]

[¹⁹ Oft times, 1565.]

[²⁰ Id. In Psalm. cxxiii. Enarr. 8. Tom. IV. col. 1407.]

[²¹ Habeo in abscondito quoddam ossum. Sic &c...reprehendant nos, &c.—Id. In Psalm. cxxviii. Enarr. 20. Tom. IV. col. 1545.]

Africa.

"I will say *ossum*, for your better understanding; although it be no Latin word, And so hardly let us speak. For better is it that the grammarians find fault with us, than the people should not understand us." Hereby it is plain, that at the city of Hippo, whereof I specially spake, the common service of the church was pronounced and ministered in the Latin tongue; for that the whole people there universally understood and spake Latin.

M. HARDING. THE EIGHTEENTH DIVISION.

And whereas St Augustine, as you allege him¹ without shewing the place (as your manner is, whereby you may easily deceive the reader), hath these words in his sermons to the common people divers times: Nunc loquar Latine, ut omnes intelligatis: "Now will I speak Latin, that you may all understand me;" of that saying, if any such be, may be gathered that sometime² he spake in the Punical tongue to the Punical Christians, not understanding the Latin; but now among the Latin Africans that were of the Roman kind, and understood not the Punic, he would speak Latin, that all such should understand him.

Whoso desireth further to be persuaded that the people of Africa, called Pœni, spake and understood their own Punical tongue, and not the Latin tongue; as likewise the people of Spain, named Iberi, spake that language which was proper to them; let him read Titus Livius, De bello Macedonico. For there he recordeth, that when those of Africa, or of Spain, and the Romans came together for parle and talk, they used an interpreter.

And Ulpianus, the lawyer, a great officer about Alexander Severus, the emperor, at the beginning of christian religion, writeth, that Fidei commissa may be left in all vulgar tongues, and putteth for examples the Punical, and the French, or rather Gallicall tongue³.

In l. fidei commissæ. ff. d. leg. 3.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

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

But in my judgment better it is not to note the places at all, than falsely to note them, as M. Harding's manner is to do: as where he untruly allegeth the decree of the council of Ephesus against Nestorius, for the communion in one kind⁴; which decree neither is to be found in that council, nor ever was recorded or mentioned by any old father; or where he allegeth the decree of the first council of Nice for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, himself confessing that the same decree was burnt, I know not how, and could never yet be seen until this day. Verily, this is a ready way to deceive the reader. I pass by other petite faults; as that he allegeth the sixth book of Ambrose⁵, *De Sacramentis*, instead of the fifth; or the xxxiv. chapter of the sixth book of Eusebius⁶, instead of the xlv.: or that Stephen Gardiner allegeth Theophilus Alexandrinus, instead of Theophylactus; or the third book of St Augustine, *De Sermone Domini in monte*, whereas St Augustine never wrote but two⁷. The place wherewith M. Harding findeth himself grieved is to be found in St Augustine, *De Verbis apostoli*: the words be these: *Proverbium notum est Punicum; quod quidem Latine vobis*

Fol. 23. a.

Fol. 18. b.

Cont. Arch.
Cant. Lib. iv.De Verbis
Apost. Serm.
25.

[¹ See before, page 56, note 7.]

[² Sometimes, 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

[³ Fidei commissæ quocunque sermone relinqui possunt: non solum Latina, vel Græca, sed etiam Punica, vel Gallicana.—Ulp. in Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Digest. Lib. xxxii. De Leg. et Fid. Lib. iii. 11. Tom. I. p. 450.]

[⁴ See before, page 220.]

[⁵ See before, page 168.]

[⁶ See before, page 149, in which place in the original edition of Harding's answer the error noted by Jewel is found.]

[⁷ See before, page 53.]

[⁸ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Serm. clxvii. 4. De Verb. Apost. Tom. V. col. 804.]

*dicam, quia Punice non omnes nostis*⁹: "There is a common proverb in the Punic tongue, which I will report unto you in Latin, because ye do not all understand the Punic." Here it is plain that the Latin tongue was known to all the hearers, and the Punic tongue only unto some. And therefore in another sermon unto the people he saith thus: *Omnes novimus, Latine non dici sanguines, aut sanguina*⁹: "We do all know" (reckoning himself with the people) "that these words, *sanguines*, or *sanguina*, are no Latin:" and again, as I have before reported, touching a Latin psalm that he made¹⁰ for the common people, he writeth thus: "Being desirous that the cause of the Donatists should come to the knowledge of the lowest sort, and of them that be utterly ignorant and void of learning, and, as much as in us lay, might be fixed in their memory, I wrote a psalm for them to sing in the Latin tongue"¹¹.

Africa.

August. in
Psal. I.Retract. Lib.
I. cap. xx.

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

M. HARDING. THE NINETEENTH DIVISION.

Thus¹² much or more might here be said of the language of the people of Gallia, now called France, which then was barbarous and vulgar, and not only Latin; and (79) yet had they of that nation their service then in Latin, as all the west church had. That the common language of the people there was vulgar, the use of the Latin serving for the learned, as we must needs judge, we have first the authority of

The seventy-ninth untruth, boldly avouched, but no way proved.

Ab Urbe condita, lib. vii. Titus Livius; who writeth, that a Galloes, or, as now we say, a French-

man, of a notable stature, provoked a Roman to fight with him, man for man, making his challenge by an interpreter¹³. Which had not been done in

case the Latin tongue had been common to that nation. Next, the place of Ulpianus before mentioned¹⁴. Then the record of Ælius Lampridius, who writeth that a woman of the order of the Druids cried out aloud to Alexander Severus, Mammæa

her son, the emperor, as he marched forward on a day with his army, Gallico ser-

mone, "in the Gallical tongue," these words boding his death, which

right so shortly after followed: *Vadas: nec victoriam speres; ne militi tuo credas*¹⁵: "Go thy way, and look not for the victory; trust not thy soldiers"¹⁶.

Lastly, the witness of St Hierome, who, having travelled over that region, and therefore being skilful of the whole state thereof, acknowledgeth the people of Treveres, and of that territory, to have a peculiar language diverse from Latin and Greek¹⁷.

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

An easy proof without premisses.

⁹ Id. in Psal. I. Enarr. 19. Tom. IV. col. 472; where we find *nec* for *aut*.]

¹⁰ Had made, 1565.]

¹¹ Id. Retract. Lib. I. cap. xx. Tom. I. col. 81. See before, page 295.]

¹² This, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

¹³ Tit. Liv. Hist. Lib. vii. cap. xxvi.]

¹⁴ See before, page 296, note 3.]

¹⁵ Æl. Lamprid. in Hist. August. Script. Lat. Min. Hanov. 1611. Alex. Sever. cap. lx. p. 355; where *nec te militi*.]

¹⁶ Soldier, H. A. 1564.]

¹⁷ Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. II. in Epist. ad Gal. Præf. Tom. IV. cols. 255, 6. See before, page 274.]

France.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

A short answer may serve, where nothing is objected. This guess standeth upon these two points. The first is this: "The people of Gallia understood not the Latin tongue." The second is this: "That, notwithstanding, the same people had their service in Latin:" whereof the conclusion followeth; *ergo*, they had service in an unknown tongue. The major hereof is proved, with much ado, by Titus Livius, by Ulpianus, by Ælius Lampridius, and by St Hierome. He might as well have added the story of Brennus; Cæsar's Commentaries; Quintilian, that nameth two mere French words, *rheda* and *petoriturum*¹; and Cicero, who in his oration *pro Fonteio*, and elsewhere, calleth the men of the country *Barbaros*. Thus M. Harding taketh great pains to prove that thing that is confessed, and needeth no proving.

Quint. Lib. I.
cap. ix.
Cic. pro
Font.

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

The best that he can make hereof is but a guess and a likelihood; for thus he saith: "It will seem probable, I doubt not." But I assure thee, good reader, it will prove nothing, I doubt not. For weigh the probability of these reasons: "The people of Gallia had a speech peculiar to themselves², and spake no Latin;" *ergo*, they had the Latin service. Or thus: "The first preachers in Gallia came from Hierusalem, and spake the Hebrew tongue;" *ergo*, they ministered the service and common prayers in the Latin tongue. These be M. Harding's probabilities, wherewith he doubteth not this matter is proved.

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

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

But that the service in the churches of Gallia was not said in such order as M. Harding guesseth, but in a tongue known unto the people, it is evident by Severus Sulpitius, in the life of St Martin. The people of the city of Tours in France, then called Gallia, upon the vacation of the bishopric were desirous to have St Martin to be their bishop; notwithstanding there were others that thought him a very simple man, and in all respects unworthy of any bishopric. In this contention the matter fell out in this wise, as Sulpitius sheweth: *Cum fortuito³ lector, cui legendi eo die officium erat, interclusus a populo defuisset, turbatis ministris, dum exspectatur, qui non aderat, unus e circumstantibus, sumpto psalterio, quem primum versum invenit arripuit: Psalmus autem hic erat: Ex ore infantium et lactentium perfecisti laudem, &c. Quo lecto, clamor populi tollitur, [et] pars adversa confunditur⁴*: "Whereas by chance the reader, whose office was to read in the church that day, was shut out by mean of the throng, and the ministers were troubled, looking about for him that was not there, one of the company took the psalter, and read that verse that came next to hand. The verse of the psalm was this: 'Out of the mouth of infants and sucklings thou

Sulp. in Vita
Mart.

[¹ M. Fab. Quintil. Inst. Orat. Lib. 1. cap. v. 57.]

[² Themselves, 1565.]

[³ Fortuito, 1565, 1609.]

[⁴ Sulp. Div. Mart. Vit. ad calc. Abd. Apost. Hist. Par. 1571. Lib. 1. foll. 193, 4; where *fortuito*.]

has wrought praise.' As soon as that verse was read, the people made a shout; and the contrary part was confounded. Here we see the practice of the church of Gallia. The reader pronounced the scriptures; and the people understood them. Whether it were in the vulgar tongue, or in the Latin, it was a tongue known unto the people. Therefore M. Harding might have better advised himself before he thus assured the world that "the people of Gallia had their service undoubtedly in an unknown tongue."

France.

M. HARDING. THE TWENTIETH DIVISION.

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

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

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

M. HARDING. THE TWENTY-FIRST DIVISION.

[The antiquity of the Latin service in the church of England. H. A. 1564.]

Which ere I answer, I will, according to my promise, prove that about nine hundred years past, yea, a thousand also, and therefore some deal within his six hundred years, even in St Gregorius's⁵ time, the service was in an unknown tongue in this land of England, then called Britain, and begun to be called England, at least, for so much as sithence and at these days is called by the name of England. Beda, an Englishman, that wrote the ecclesiastical story of the English nation in the year of our Lord 731, and of their coming to⁶ Britain about 285, recordeth that St Augustine and his company, who were sent hither to convert the English people to the faith of Christ, which the Britons had here⁷ professed long before, having a safe-conduct granted them by king Ethelbert to preach the gospel where they would, said and sung their service in a church, builded of old time in the honour of St Martin, adjoining on the east side of the head city of Kent,

They were Italians, and spake no English; neither was this the ordinary service of the English church.

Lib. i. Hist. Ecclesiast. cap. xxvi.

whiles the Romans dwelt in Britain. The words of Beda be these: In hac (ecclesia) . . . convenire primo, psallere, orare, missas facere, prædicare, et baptizare cœperunt⁸: "In this church they began first to assemble themselves together, to sing, to pray, to say mass, to preach, and to baptize." It is plain that this was the service. And, no doubt, they resorted to it, who "believed and were of them baptized, wondering (as Beda⁹ saith) at the simplicity of their innocent life, and sweetness of their heavenly doctrine¹⁰." In English it was not, for they had no skill of that tongue, as Beda⁹ sheweth¹¹, Lib. i. cap. xxiii. And therefore, ere they entered the land, they took with them, by commandment of St Gregory, Lib. i. cap. xxv. interpreters out of France¹². Which interpreters served for open preaching, and private instruction, exhortation, and teaching. In singing and saying the service there was no use of them.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

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

And lest any man be deceived by ambiguity of names, this Augustine, whom M. Harding calleth "Saint," and some others, "the apostle of England," was not that great learned father and doctor of the church, whom we worthily call St Au-

[⁵ Gregory's, H. A. 1564.]

[⁶ In to, H. A. 1564.]

[⁷ Here had, H. A. 1564.]

[⁸ Bed. Hist. Eccles. Cant. 1722. Lib. i. cap. xxvi. p. 61; where *primo convenire*.]

[⁹ Bede, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[¹⁰ ...baptizabantur, mirantes simplicitatem inno-

centis vitæ, ac dulcedinem doctrinæ eorum cœlestis.

—Id. ibid.]

[¹¹ ...gentem, ejus ne linguam quidem nossent.

—Id. ibid. cap. xxiii. p. 59.]

[¹² Acceperunt...præcipiente...Gregorio, de gente Francorum interpretes.—Id. ibid. cap. xxv. p. 60.]

England.
Augustine.

Galf. Monem.
Lib. viii.
cap. iv.

gustine, but another of the same name, as far unlike him in learning and holiness, so also two hundred years behind him in course of age; a man, as it was judged by them that saw him and knew him, neither of apostolic spirit, nor any way worthy to be called a saint, but an hypocrite, a superstitious man, cruel, bloody, and proud above measure. And notwithstanding he withdrew the English nation from their gross idolatry, wherein he had no great travail, yet it is certain he planted not religion in this realm; for it was planted here, and had grown, and continued still four hundred years and more, before his coming. But it is thought of many that he corrupted the religion that he found planted here before with much filth of superstition; and therefore Galfridus saith that the bishops, and learned men of this island, would none either¹ of him, nor of the pope, that sent him².

Beda, Lib. ii.
cap. ii.

And that it may the better appear what a one this Augustine was, and what opinion the faithful people of this realm had of him, I will rehearse a short story that is written by Beda in that behalf. "The bishops of this country," saith Beda, "before they would go to the council where as Augustine should be president, first went unto a holy wise man that lived an anchor's life, and desired his counsel, whether that, at Augustine's preaching, they should leave the traditions that they had so long used, or no. He answered, 'If he be a man of God, follow him.' 'But how shall we know,' said they, 'whether he be a man of God, or no?' He answered again, 'If he be gentle and lowly of heart, it is likely enough that he carrieth the yoke of the Lord, and offereth unto you to carry the same. But if he be disdainful and proud, then it is certain he is not of God; neither ought you to regard what he saith.' Then said the bishops again, 'But how may we know whether he be disdainful and proud, or no?' 'Provide ye,' saith this holy man, 'that he may be in the council sitting before you come. Then, if he arise up from his chair at your coming, and salute you, know you that he is the man of God, and therefore hearken to him. But if he disdain you, and will not once move his place, specially seeing you are the more in number, then set you as little by him, and disdain him too.' And as this holy man had told them, so did they. When they came into the council-house, Augustine sate still and would not move. Whereupon they refused him, and would not hear him, as a man disdainful and proud of heart, and therefore no man of God. Upon which refusal, Æthelbertus the king raised his power, and slew great numbers of the Britons, and a thousand and two hundred godly religious men, even as they were at their prayers³." Hitherto Beda. Wherefore the authority of this Augustine's doings must needs seem the less, yea, although it were all true that M. Harding reporteth of him. And further, I trust, it will be proved, that the things that M. Harding allegeth stand without the compass of six hundred years⁴; and therefore, notwithstanding they were true, yet cannot greatly further his purpose. This Augustine, upon his arrival into England, had a place allotted him in Kent. There he and his company sung, and prayed, and said mass (this mass was a communion, as shall appear), and preached, and baptized. In what language, it is not noted by Beda. But be it in Latin. Hereof M. Harding formeth up this argument:

[¹ Neither, 1565.]

[² Galfrid. Mon. Brit. Reg. Gest. Par. 1517. Lib. viii. cap. iv. fol. 93, 4.]

[³ ...qui ad præfatum ituri concilium, venerunt primo ad quemdam virum sanctum ac prudentem, qui apud eos anachoreticam ducere vitam solebat, consulentes, an ad prædicationem Augustini suas deserere traditiones deberent. Qui respondebat: Si homo Dei est, sequimini illum. Dixerunt: Et unde hoc possumus probare? At ille: Dominus, inquit, ait: Tollite jugum meum super vos, et discite a me, quia mitis sum et humilis corde. Si ergo Augustinus ille mitis est et humilis corde, credibile est quia jugum Christi et ipse portet, et vobis portandum offerat: sin autem inmitis ac superbus est, constat quia non est de Deo, neque nobis ejus sermo curandus. Qui rursus siebant: Et unde vel hoc dinoscere valemus? Procurate, inquit, ut ipse prior cum suis ad locum

synodi adveniat, et si vobis adpropinquantibus ad-surrexerit, scientes quia famulus Christi est, obtemperanter illum audite: sin autem vos spreverit, nec coram vobis adsurgere voluerit, cum sitis numero plures, et ipse spernatur a vobis. Fecerunt ut dixerat. Factumque est, ut venientibus illis sederet Augustinus in sella. Quod illi videntes, mox in iram conversi sunt, eumque notantes superbia, cunctis quæ dicebat contradicere laborabant..... Siquidem post hæc...rex...Aedilfrid...maximam gentis perfidæ stragem dedit..... Exstinctos in ea pugna ferunt, de his qui ad orandum venerant, viros circiter mille ducentos, et solum quinquaginta fuga esse lapsos.—Bæd. Hist. Eccles. Cant. 1722. Lib. ii. cap. ii. pp. 80, 1.]

[⁴ A better opportunity will occur in the Defence of the Apology of examining the chronology of this period.]

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

Ergo, The English people had the Latin service.

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

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

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

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

M. HARDING. THE TWENTY-SECOND DIVISION.

Whereas St Augustine, after that the English nation had received the faith, and he had been archbishop⁵ over them, having found, the faith being one, diversity of customs in divers churches, one manner of masses in the holy Roman church, another in that of France; for this and certain other purposes sent two of his clergy, Laurence and Peter, to Rome, to be advertised, amongst other things, what order, manner, and custom of masses, it liked St Gregory the churches of the English nation should have. Hereunto that holy father answered, that what he espied either in the Roman or French, or any other church, that might be most acceptable to Almighty God, he should choose out and gather together, and commend the same to the church of England, there to be left in custom to continue. Lib. I. cap. xxvii⁶. If it had then been thought necessary the service of the mass to be in English, or if it had been translated into the English tongue, it is not to be thought that Bede, who declareth all things concerning matters of religion so diligently, specially professing to write an ecclesiastical story, would have passed over that in silence. And if the mass had been used in the English tongue, the monuments and books so much multiplied among the churches would have remained in some place or other. And doubtless some mention would have been made of the time and causes of the leaving such kind of service, and of the⁷ beginning the new Latin service. As certain of St Gregory's works, turned into English by Bede himself, have been kept, so as they remain to this day.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here was a short victory. Peter and Paul could never so easily conquer kingdoms. But this matter stood not so much in winning the unfaithful, as in killing the godly. After that was once done, straightways Augustine had the conquest, and was out of hand made archbishop, and wrote to Rome both thereof, and also for resolution of certain questions⁸, meet, as he saith, for that rude people of England; as, whether a woman might be baptized while she were great with child, or after her delivery; and how long after she should forbear the church; with certain other secret questions, touching both man and wife, so childish, and so rude, that a man may well doubt whether Augustine were ruder or the people. Among other things, he demanded counsel touching the mass, for that in divers countries he had seen divers orders of masses: and yet, good reader, of them all he had seen no private mass. For the mass in Rome at that time was a communion, as I have already shewed, and as it appeareth by these words, which the deacon pronounced at every mass aloud unto the people: "He that receiveth not the communion, let him give place." The difference stood in addition of certain ceremonies. For the countries abroad, as we may judge, kept still that simple order that they had first received. But the church of Rome was ever altering. For Gregory himself, unto whom this Augustine writeth,

Beda, Lib. I.
cap. xxvii.

[⁵ Been made archbishop, H. A. 1564.]

[⁶ Sed mihi placet, sive in Romana, sive in Galliciarum, seu in qualibet ecclesia, aliquid invenisti quod plus omnipotenti Deo possit placere, sollicite eligas, et in Anglorum ecclesia...institutione præcipua, quæ

de multis ecclesiis colligere potuisti, infundas.—Bæd. Hist. Eccles. Lib. I. cap. xxvii. p. 63.]

[⁷ H. A. 1544, omits *the*.]

[⁸ Id. *ibid.* pp. 62, &c.]

England.

Plat. in Vit.
Pont.
Sabell. En-
nead. viii.
Lib. v.

added the Introite, and the anthems, and Alleluia, and willed the Introite to be doubled twice, and the *Kyrie eleeson* nine times, and added also a certain portion to the canon¹. Of these, and other like differences, Augustine demandeth; and of the same Gregory maketh answer. Hereof M. Harding guesseth thus: "It appeareth not by Beda the service was in English;" *ergo*, the service was in Latin. What kind of logic have we here? Or how may this reason hold? It concludeth *ab auctoritate negative*. I believe M. Harding himself will not allow it. By the like form of reasoning a man might as well say: It appeareth not by Beda that the preachers instructed or exhorted the English people in English; *ergo*, they instructed and exhorted the English people in Latin. Yet again he guesseth further: There is no book to be found of the English service in that time; *ergo*, the service was in Latin. O what folly is this! Who is able to shew any book written in English a thousand years ago? Or if it could be shewed, yet who were able to understand it? There is no book to be found of the prayers that the Druids made in France, or the Gymnosophistæ in India; and will M. Harding thereof conclude that therefore the Druids, or the Gymnosophistæ, prayed in Latin? Such regard he hath to his conclusions.

M. HARDING. THE TWENTY-THIRD DIVISION.

*St Gregory himself is a witness of right good authority unto us, that this land of England, which he calleth Britain² in his time, that is almost a thousand years past, had the common prayers and service in an unknown tongue, without doubt in Latin, much in like sort as we have of old time had till now. His words be these: Ecce . . . [omnipotens Dominus] pene cunctarum . . . gentium³ *Expositionis in Job. Lib. xxvii. cap. vi.* corda penetravit: ecce, in una fide orientis limitem occidentisque conjunxit: ecce, lingua⁴ Britanniae, quæ nihil⁵ aliud noverat, quam barbarum fremdere, jamdudum in divinis laudibus Hebræum cœpit Halleluia resonare⁶." "Behold, our Lord Almighty hath now pierced the hearts almost of all nations: behold, he hath joined the borders of the east and the west in one faith together: behold, the tongue of Britain, that could nothing else but gnash barbarously, hath begun now of late in divine service to sound the Hebrew Halleluia."*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

St Gregory in that place upon Job speaketh not one word, neither of the Latin, nor of the English service. Only he sheweth the mighty power of God, that had converted all the world to the obedience of his gospel. These be his words: *Omnipotens . . . Dominus coruscantibus nubibus cardines⁷ maris operuit: qui emicantibus prædicatorum miraculis, ad fidem etiam terminos mundi perduxit. Ecce enim pene cunctarum jam gentium corda penetravit: Ecce, in una fide orientis limitem occidentisque conjunxit⁸*: "The Almighty Lord with his shining clouds hath covered the corners of the sea; for he hath brought the ends of the world unto the faith, at the sight of the glorious miracles of the preachers. For behold, he hath well near pierced through the hearts of all nations, and hath joined together the borders of the east and the west in one faith." Now, saith M. Harding, "Gregory is a witness of right good authority, that this realm of England had the service in an unknown tongue." Verily, Gregory's authority in this case were right good, if he would say the word. "But," saith M. Harding, "St Gregory reporteth that the English people, in the praising of God, pronounced the Hebrew Halleluia;" *ergo*, he is witness to the Latin service. This argument may be perfected⁸ and made thus: The English people in their prayers said Halleluia: Halleluia is an Hebrew word; *ergo*, the English people had the Latin service.

Gregor. in
Job. Lib.
xxvii. cap.
vi.

[¹ Plat. de Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Gregor. I. p. 73. Sabell. Rapsod. Hist. Par. 1509. Ennead. viii. Lib. v. Pars III. fol. 35. 2.]

[² Brittanie, 1611.]

[³ Jam gentium, H. A. 1564.]

[⁴ Linguae, 1611.]

[⁵ Nil, H. A. 1564.]

[⁶ Gregor. Magn. Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Moral. Lib. xxvii. in cap. xxxvi. B. Job. cap. xi. 21. Tom. I. col. 862.]

[⁷ Cardinis, 1611.]

[⁸ Perfited, 1565.]

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

England.

The people of England in their prayers pronounced the Hebrew *Halleluia*; ergo, they had the Hebrew service.

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

M. HARDING. THE TWENTY-FOURTH DIVISION.

Bede, in the end of his second book, sheweth, that one James, a deacon of the church of York, a very cunning man in song, soon after the faith had been spread abroad here, as the number of believers grew, began to be a master or teacher of singing in the church, after the manner of the Romans⁹. The like he writeth of one Eddi, surnamed Stephanus, that taught the people of Northumberland to sing the service after the Roman manner; and of Putta, a holy man, bishop of Rochester, commending him much for his great skill of singing in the church, after the use and manner of the Romans, which he had learned of the disciples of St Gregory¹⁰.

He lived in the year of our Lord 640.

Anno Dom. 668.
Anno 660.

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

Marvellous proofs.

Anno 680.

Because Bede's ecclesiastical story is not very common, I have thought good here to recite his own words, thus Englished: "This abbat Benedict took with him the foresaid John, to bring him into Britain, that he should teach in his monastery the course of service for the whole year, so as it was done at St Peter's in Rome. John did as he had commandment from¹¹ the pope, both in teaching the singing men of the said monastery the order and rite of singing and reading with utterance of their voice, and also of writing and pricking those things that the compass of the whole year required in the celebration and keeping of the holy days; which be kept in the same monastery till this day, and be copied out of many round about, on every coast. Neither did that John teach the brethren of that monastery only; but also many other made all the means they could to get him to other places, where they might have him to teach¹²." Thus¹³ far Bede. I trow, no man will think that this Roman taught and wrote the order and manner of singing, and pronouncing the service of the churches of this land, in the English tongue. If it had been deemed of the learned and godly governors of christian people then a necessary point to salvation, to have had the service in the English, no man had been so apt and fit to have translated it, as he, who in those days had, by special grace of God, a singular gift to make songs and sonnets in English metre,

[⁹ Reliquerat autem [Paulinus] in ecclesia sua Eburacensi Jacobum diaconum... Qui quoniam cantandi in ecclesia erat peritissimus... crescente numero fidelium, etiam magister ecclesiasticæ cantionis juxta morem Romanorum seu Cantuariorum multis cœpit existere.—Bæd. Hist. Eccles. Cant. 1722. Lib. II. cap. xx. p. 102.]

[¹⁰ Id. ibid. Lib. iv. cap. ii. p. 143.]

[¹¹ Of. H. A. 1564.]

[¹² Accepit et præfatum Johannem Abbatem Britanniam perducendum; quatenus in monasterio suo cursum canendi annuum, sicut ad sanctum Petrum Romæ agebatur, edoceret: egitque Abba Johannes

ut jussionem acceperat pontificis, et ordinem videlicet ritumque canendi ac legendi viva voce præfati monasterii cantores edocendo, et ea quæ totius anni circulus in celebratione dierum festorum poscebat, etiam literis mandando: quæ hæcenus in eodem monasterio servata, et a multis jam sunt circumquaque transcripta. Non solum autem idem Johannes ipsius monasterii fratres docebat, verum de omnibus pene ejusdem provinciæ monasteriis ad audiendum eum, qui cantandi erant periti, confuebant. Sed et ipsum per loca in quibus doceret, multi invitare curabant.—Id. ibid. Lib. iv. cap. xviii. p. 161.]

[¹³ This, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

England.

Anno 680.

to serve religion and devotion. His name was Cednom, of whom Bede writeth marvellous things: how he made divers songs containing matter of the holy scripture with such exceeding sweetness, and with such a grace, as many, feeling their hearts compunct and pricked with hearing and reading of them, withdrew themselves from the love of the world, and were enkindled with the desire of the heavenly life. "Many," saith Bede, "of the English nation attempted after him to make religious and godly poetries, but none could do comparably to him. For he was not (saith he, alluding to St Paul's words) taught of men, neither by man, that art of making godly songs; but received from God that gift freely. And therefore he could make no wanton, trifling, or vain ditties, but only such as pertained to godly religion, and might seem to proceed of a head guided by the Holy Ghost¹." Lib. iv. cap. xxiv. This divine poet Cednom, though he made many and sundry holy works, having their whole argument out of holy scripture, as Bede reporteth, yet never made he any piece of the service to be used in the church. Thus the faith hath continued in this land, among the English people, from the fourteenth year of the reign of Mauritius the emperor, almost these thousand years; and until the late king Edward's time the English service was never heard of, at leastway, never in the church of England, by public authority, received and used.

[Cednom, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[Gal. i. 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[The first entry of the English service, H. A. 1564.]

The eightieth untruth. For his examples reach nothing so far.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

I little thought M. Harding would so much have bewrayed his want, to prove his matter by pipers and poets, and specially being all without the compass or six hundred years. For it is plain by Beda, that this James, the deacon, lived under king Edwin, about the year of our Lord six hundred and forty³; Putta and Edda, in the year six hundred and sixty-eight⁴; John the arch-chaunter, and Cednom, or Cedman (for so his name is read in Beda, written in parchment), in the time⁶ of pope Agatho, in the year six hundred and eighty, in whose name this decree is written: *Sic omnes sanctiones apostolicæ sedis accipiendæ sunt tanquam ipsius divina voce Petri firmatæ*⁶: "All the constitutions of the apostolic see must be received so as if they were confirmed by the very heavenly voice of St Peter." Unto such a tyranny the church of Rome at that time was grown. And the gloss upon the same saith: *Papa sanctitatem [suam] recipit a cathedra*⁷: "The pope receiveth his holiness of his chair." Therefore herein M. Harding hath somewhat misreckoned himself. Although all the rest were certain, yet these witnesses come too late to make good proof.

Beda, Lib. ii. cap. xiv. Beda, Lib. iv. cap. xxi. Beda, Lib. iv. cap. i.

Dist. xix. Sic omnes.

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

The force of his reason seemeth to weigh thus:

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

Ergo, They had the Latin service.

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

[¹ Cujus [Caedmonis] carminibus multorum sæpe animi ad contemptum seculi et appetitum sunt vitæ celestis accensi. Et quidem et alii post illum in gente Anglorum religiosa poemata facere tentabant; sed nullus eum æquiparare potuit. Namque ipse non ab hominibus, neque per hominem institutis canendi artem didicit; sed divinitus adjutus gratis canendi donum accepit. Unde nihil unquam frivoli et supervacui poematis facere potuit; sed ea tantummodo quæ ad religionem pertinent, religiosam ejus linguam decebant.—Id. ibid. Lib. iv. cap. xxiv. p. 170.]

[² 1565 omits *for*.]

[³ Id. ibid. Lib. ii. capp. xiv. xx. pp. 95, 101, 2. Bede states that it was after the death of Edwin that Paulinus quitted York, leaving James the deacon there.]

[⁴ Id. ibid. Lib. iv. cap. ii. p. 143.]

[⁵ Id. ibid. Lib. iv. capp. xviii. xxiv. pp. 161. 70. The dates assigned in the edition quoted are almost exactly those which Jewel gives.]

[⁶ Agath. Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xix. can. 2. col. 82; where we find *apostolicæ sedis sanctiones, divini Petri voce, and firmatæ sint*.]

[⁷ Ibid. col. 81.]

Triptolemus taught all nations to plough the⁸ ground after the manner of England.
the Athenians;

Ergo, he taught all nations in the Athenian tongue.

Or: Abraham taught the Egyptians arithmetic and astronomy;

Ergo, Abraham taught the Egyptians in the Chaldee tongue.

For doth M. Harding believe it is not possible to learn the Roman music without the Roman speech; or that the note cannot be taught without the ditty? Verily, I reckon him no good musician that will say so. By the like reason he might say: Damasus besought St Hierome to send to him *Græcorum psallentiam*⁹, "the music of the Greek church," to the intent to practise the same in the church of Rome; *ergo*, Damasus used the Greek service in the church of Rome.

Damasus ad Hieron.

But Beda himself is best able to expound his own meaning. Having occasion to entreat of Adrianus and Theodorus, that came into England the year of our Lord 668, he writeth thus: *Sonos cantandi in ecclesia, quos eatenus in Cantio tantum noverant, ab hoc tempore per omnes Anglorum ecclesias discere cœperunt*¹⁰: "From that time they began to learn throughout all the churches of England the sounds of singing, or the notes of music, which before that time were known only in Kent." Beda saith: "They learned the sounds, or notes, or harmony," and maketh no mention of the tongue or ditty. But let M. Harding's conclusions stand for good:

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

Ergo, they had the Latin service;

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

No Latin service in England within six hundred years.

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

Now, forsomuch as M. Harding saith, By mean of the arrival and conquest of the Englishmen, who then were infidels, the faith was utterly banished out of this realm, and remained only in a few Britons, and Augustine at his coming restored the same again, and therefore is called of some the Englishmen's apostle; I think it necessary therefore shortly to touch somewhat of the state of the church within this land, both before the entry of our English nation, and also in the first time of our being here. Gildas saith that Joseph of Arimathea, that took down Christ from the cross, being sent hither by Philip the apostle, out of France, began first to preach the gospel in this realm, in the time of Tiberius the emperor¹¹. Nicephorus saith that Simon Zelotes about the same time came into this island, and did the like¹². Theodoretus saith that St Paul, immediately after his first delivery in Rome, under the emperor Nero, preached the gospel in this island, and in other countries of the west¹³. Tertullian saith the island of Britain was subject unto Christ in his time¹⁴. And Origen witnesseth the like of the same island in his time¹⁵; at which time Lucius, the king of this realm, was baptized, and received the gospel, and sent to Rome to Eleutherius, the bishop there, for

Gildas. Anno Dom. 38.

Niceph. Lib. ii. cap. iv. Anno 38. Theod. de Curandis Græcorum Affect. Lib. ix. Tertull. Adv. Jud. Anno 230. Orig. in Ezech. Hom. 4. Anno 240.

[⁸ Their, 1565.]

[⁹ See before, p. 265, note 9.]

[¹⁰ Bæd. Hist. Eccles. Cant. 1722. Lib. iv. cap. ii. p. 143; where *Cantia*.]

[¹¹ Gild. Sap. De Excid. Brit. Pars i. 6. in Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Stud. Galland. Venet. 1765-81. Tom. XII. p. 194. But Gildas does not mention Joseph of Arimathea. See Stillingfleet's Works. Lond. 1709-10. Orig. Brit. chap. i. Vol. III. pp. 4, &c.]

[¹² ...καὶ πρὸς ἰσπερίον ὠκεανὸν εἰσβαλὼν, καὶ τὰς Βρετανικὰς νήσους εὐαγγελισάμενος.—Niceph.

Call. Hist. Eccles. Lut. Par. 1630. Lib. ii. cap. xl. Tom. I. p. 202.]

[¹³ See before, page 280, note 1. Jewel, it may be added, cited Theodoret and other authors here named, on the authority of the Magdeburg Centuriators. See Eccles. Hist. Basil. 1564-74. Cent. I. Lib. ii. col. 23.]

[¹⁴ Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Jud. 7, p. 213.]

[¹⁵ Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Ezech. Hom. iv. Tom. III. p. 370.]

England.

Ambros. de
Obit. Theod.
Euseb. de Vit.
Constant.
Lib. iii.
Soz. Lib. ii.
cap. i.
Chrysost.
Adv. Gent.
Tom. v.
Beda, Lib. ii.
cap. ii.

his advice touching the ordering of his church and realm. Helena, being an Englishwoman, wife unto Constantius the emperor, and mother unto Constantinus, is notably praised for her faith and religion by St Ambrose¹, by Eusebius², by Sozomenus³, and others.

Chrysostom saith, that in his time the island of Britain had received "the power of the gospel⁴."

Now let us consider in what state this realm stood, touching religion, at the coming of Augustine, at which time M. Harding surmiseth the whole faith was utterly decayed. First, Beda saith there were among the Britons seven bishops, and one archbishop, and one and twenty hundred monks, about Bancor; and, as he further avoucheth, *plures viri doctissimi*, "many more great learned men," that utterly refused to receive this Augustine with his new religion⁵.

As touching the English nation, it appeareth by Beda, that the queen herself was christened, and had St Martin's church appointed her freely to pray in with her company⁶. Whereof it may be thought, the king was no great enemy unto the faith; and therefore the like also may well be thought of a great number of the people.

Thus much shortly of the first planting of the religion of Christ within this island, and of the continuance of the same from the time of Joseph of Arimathea until the coming in of Augustine. Now, touching the common prayers that they used among themselves all that while.

First, it were very much for M. Harding to say that St Paul, or Joseph of 1. Arimathea, or Simon Zelotes, being all Hebrews born, took order that the service here should be ministered unto the people in the Latin tongue.

Again, Eleutherius, the bishop of Rome, for general order to be taken in the 2. realm and churches here, wrote his advice unto Lucius the king in this sort: *Suscepisti... in regno Britanniae, miseratione divina, legem et fidem Christi. Habetis penes vos in regno utramque paginam: ex illis, Dei gratia, per concilium regni vestri, sume legem, et per illam, Dei patientia, vestrum rege Britanniae regnum. Vicarius vero Dei estis in regno [illo]*⁷: "Ye have received in the kingdom of Britain, by God's mercy, both the law and faith of Christ. Ye have both the new testament and the old. Out of the same, through God's grace, by the advice of your realm, take a law, and by the same, through God's sufferance, rule you your kingdom of Britain. For in that kingdom you are God's vicar." He willeth him to order matters according to the law of God. Now the law of God willeth the service so to be said as the people may understand it, and give consent unto it by saying Amen: but the people of this realm could not have said Amen unto the Latin service; therefore no man can well think that king Lucius appointed the common service to be said in that tongue.

Further, it may well be judged that the greatest furtherers of religion within 3. this realm were Grecians, and for order of the church had instructions evermore from the Greek church, and not from Rome; as it may appear by the keeping of the Easter-day, and by other good conjectures mentioned by Beda. Now, if the Grecians had refused the common vulgar tongue of this country, doubtless they would have appointed their own Greek tongue for the public ministration, and not the Latin.

Again, M. Harding allegeth St Gregory, that the tongue of this nation was 4. never otherwise taught, but only to roar out their barbarous language⁸: how then can he so suddenly say that, from the time of Joseph of Arimathea, they had evermore the service in the learned Latin tongue?

Besides this, St Gregory, writing unto Augustine, "willeth him, of the sundry 5.

[¹ Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Obit. Theodos. Orat. 40, &c. Tom. II. cols. 1209, &c.]

[² Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. De Vit. Constant. Lib. iii. capp. xlii. &c. pp. 415, &c.]

[³ Sozom. in eod. Lib. ii. capp. i. ii. pp. 360, &c.]

[⁴ *Kai γάρ αἱ Βρετανικαὶ νῆσοι... τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ ῥήματος ἤσθοντο. καὶ γὰρ κακεῖ ἐκκλησίαι καὶ θυσιαστήρια πεπηγασιν.*—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Cont. Jud. et Gent. Tom. I. p. 575.]

[⁵ Bed. Hist. Eccles. Cant. 1722. Lib. ii. cap. ii. pp. 79, 80. Bede does not mention the archbishop

here.]

[⁶ Id. ibid. Lib. i. cap. xxvi. p. 65.]

[⁷ This epistle may be seen in Sammes Britan. Ant. Lond. 1676. p. 261. The author took it, he declares, from a MS. preserved among the records of London, being that used by Jewel. We find there *suscepisti, miseratione divina in regno, and potentia vestrum reges.*]

[⁸ Gregor. Magn. Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Moral. Lib. xxvii. in cap. xxxvi. B. Job. cap. xi. 21. Tom. I. col. 862.]

Gregor. in
Job. Lib.
xxvii. cap. vi.
Ecce lingua
Britanniae,
quæ nil aliud
noverat,
quam barba-
rum frendere.

others⁹ that he had seen in divers countries, to take such as he could judge might do most good¹⁰." But M. Harding granteth that, at the first planting of the faith, England. it is necessary the common prayers be ministered in the known tongue; therefore it must needs be thought that Augustine, coming hither, as it is supposed, to plant the faith, judged that thing best that M. Harding saith was necessary, and so ministered the common prayers in the known tongue.

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

Howbeit, it seemeth by M. Harding's conclusion, that he maketh his account only from the fourteenth year of the emperor Mauritius, which was in the year of our Lord five hundred four-score and sixteen: "Sithence which time," he saith, Anno 596. "until the time of king Edward the sixth, there was never in this realm other than the Latin service." I may not greatly blame this division. For of the six hundred years after Christ, whereupon I join with him in issue, liberally and of his own accord he giveth me back five hundred four-score and sixteen, and of so great a number reserveth unto himself but only four poor years, and yet is not very certain of the same. But if Marianus Scotus' account be true, that Marian. Scot. Augustine came into this realm, not the fourteenth year of the emperor Mauritius, but four years after, which was just the six hundredth year after Christ¹¹, Anno 600. then he reserveth not one year at all unto himself, but yieldeth me back all together. Surely Abbas Urspergensis writeth thus: "Gregorius, in the year of our Lord six hundred and three, having sent in Augustine and Mellitus, converted England to the faith¹²." All this hitherto maketh with me, unless M. Harding will say, the people of this country had christian service before they were christened. Abbas Urspergen. in Vita Mauriti. Anno 603.

M. HARDING. THE TWENTY-FIFTH DIVISION.

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

As concerning the order of the common prayers, and public service, in such sort as we have now, and that age had not, St Paul mentioneth nothing, neither speaketh one word in that whole chapter, but of the use of the miraculous gift, as is said before. And therefore his sayings out of that chapter be not fitly alleged of M. Jewel, and the rest of our adversaries, against the manner of prayers and service of the church, now received, and of long time used, which in the west is uttered in the Latin tongue, not by way of miracle, or peculiar gift, but according to the institution and ordinance of the church. Profecto enim cœlum ecclesia tum fuit: "In very deed," saith Chrysostom, "the church then was a heaven, when as the Holy Ghost administered all things, moderated all the heads of the church, taught¹³ each one with his

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

In 1 Cor. xiv. Hom. 37.

The eighty-first untruth. For sundry doctors, both old and new, allege these words to this self-same purpose.

⁹ Orders, 1565, 1609.]

¹⁰ See before, page 301, note 6.]

¹¹ Marian. Scot. Chronic. Basil. 1559. Lib. ii. Etas vi. col. 372.]

¹² Anno Domini DCIII. Gregorius missis doc-

toribus, Augustino, Mellito, Johanne, aliisque pluribus, Anglos ad Christum convertit.—Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. Anni Maurit. p. 157.]

¹³ Caught, 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

England.

inspiration. As for now, we keep but the steps only of those things. We speak two or three of us, and that asunder, and, one holding his peace, another beginneth. But these be but signs only and memorials of things. And so when we have begun (he meaneth *Dominus vobiscum*), et cum spiritu tuo, the people answereth; meaning to signify thereby, that so in old time they spake, not of their own wisdom, but of the instinct of the Spirit of God¹. Thus² much Chrysostom of the heavenly manner of the primitive church in the apostles' time. Now, if in these days the manner were like, if it pleased the Holy Ghost to pour upon us the like abundance of grace, as to do all things for us, to rule the heads of all faithful people, to carry each one of us with his divine inspiration, and, when we came to church together for comfort and edifying, to give into our hearts, and put into our mouths by daily miracle what we should pray, and what we should preach, and how we should handle the scriptures; in this case no catholic christian man would allow the unfruitful speaking with strange and unknown tongues, without interpretation, to the let and hinderance of God's word to be declared, and to the keeping of the people only in gazing and wondering, from saying Amen, and giving their assent to the godly blessing and thanksgiving. But the order of the church now is far otherwise. We have not those miraculous gifts, and right well may we do without them. For the speaking with tongues was instead of a sign or wonder, not to them that believed, but to the unbelievers. And signs be for the unfaithful: the faithful have no need of them. In churches, I mean where ancient order is kept, whiles the service is sung or said, the ministers do not speak with tongues, or with a tongue, in such sort as St Paul understood; but they do read and rehearse things set forth and appointed to them. St Paul rebuketh them, who, speaking with tongues, letted the preachers, so as the people present might not be edified. The Latin service is not so done in the church, as the exposition of the scriptures be thereby excluded. In the apostles' time they came to church, to the intent they might profitably exercise the gifts God gave them, and by the same, specially by the gift of prophesying, edify one another, and teach one another. Now-a-days they come not together to church³, one to teach another, and to expound the scriptures in common; but to pray, and to hear the opening of God's word, not one of another, without order, but of some one, to wit, the bishop, priest, curate, or other spiritual governor and teacher.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

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

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

M. Harding seemeth hereof to reason of this sort: St Paul forbade the Corinthians to use the special miracle and gift of God, without profiting the congregation; ergo, now having the Latin tongue without miracle, we may minister the service therein, although the congregation have no profit by it. This reason is strange, and holdeth as simply as the rest. Yet hath he given special advertisement in the margin, that this place of St Paul serveth nothing

[¹ Καὶ γὰρ οὐρανὸς ἡ ἐκκλησία τότε, τοῦ Πνεύματος πάντα δημαγωγούντος καὶ τῶν προεστῶτων ἕκαστον κινούντος, καὶ ἐνθουν ποιοῦντος. ἀλλὰ νῦν τὰ σύμβολα κατέχοντες τῶν χαρισμάτων ἐκείνων μόνον. καὶ γὰρ καὶ νῦν δύο ἢ τρεῖς λέγομεν, καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος, καὶ ἑτέρου συγῶντος ἕτερος ἀρχεται. ἀλλὰ σημεῖα ταῦτα μόνον ἐστὶν ἐκείνων καὶ ὑπο-

μνήματα. διὸ ἐπειδὴν ἀρξώμεθα λέγειν, ὁ λαὸς ἀντιφθέγγεται, τῷ πνεύματι σου, δεικνύς ὅτι τὸ παλαιὸν οὕτως ἔλεγον, οὐκ οἰκεία σοφία, ἀλλὰ τῷ Πνεύματι κινούμενοι.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. 1. ad Cor. Hom. xxxvi. Tom. X. p. 339.]

[² This, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[³ To church together, H. A. 1564.]

to our purpose. If this note be so certain, and so authentical as he would seem to make it, then were the doctors, both new and old, that took it otherwise, not well advised. For Lyra, writing upon the same, saith thus: *Si populus intelligat orationem... sacerdotis, melius reducitur in Deum, et devotius respondet, Amen. Ideo dicit Paulus, Si tu sacerdos benedixeris spiritu, et populus non intelligat, quid proficit populus simplex et non intelligens? Quapropter in primitiva ecclesia benedictiones et cetera omnia fiebant in vulgari*⁴: "If the people understand the prayer of the priest, they are the better brought unto God, and with greater devotion they answer, Amen. Therefore St Paul saith, 'If thou, being a priest, bless with thy spirit, and the people understand thee not, what profit then hath the people, being simple, and not understanding thee?' Therefore in the primitive church both the blessings, and all other things, were done in the vulgar tongue." The vulgar tongue, saith Lyra, was used in the primitive church, upon occasion of these words of St Paul. In the council of Acon, it is written thus: *Psallentium in ecclesia Domino mens concordare debet cum voce, ut impleatur illud apostoli, Psallam spiritu, psallam et mente*⁵: "The voice and mind of them that sing unto the Lord in the church must agree together." The reason thereof is taken out of this place of St Paul: "I will sing with my spirit, I will sing with my mind." Chrysostom saith, St Paul driveth the whole tenor of this matter unto the profit of the hearers. These be his words: *Est autem quod Paulus dicit hujusmodi: Nisi dixerō quod percipi facile clareque a vobis possit, sed linguarum munere præditum me esse tantum ostendam, nullum ex his, quæ non intelligetis, fructum facientes abibitis. Nam quæ utilitas esse possit ex voce non intellecta?*⁶ "St Paul's saying standeth thus: Unless I utter my words so as they may clearly and plainly be perceived of you, but only shew myself⁷ to have the gift of tongues, ye shall have no fruit of those things that ye know not. For what profit can ye get of a voice that ye cannot understand?" And again, the same Chrysostom saith further⁸: *Sic et vos, nisi significantem vocem dederitis, verba (quod dicitur) vento, hoc est, nemini facietis*: "Even so you, unless you give a sound that may be known, as the proverb is, ye shall throw forth your words into the wind, that is to say, ye shall speak to no man."

Concil.
Aquisgr.
cap. 132.

Chrysost. in
1 Cor. Hom.
35.

So likewise the emperor Justinian, where he commandeth all bishops and priests to minister the sacraments and other prayers aloud and with open voice, he avoucheth the same by this place of St Paul. For thus he saith: *Sic enim divinus apostolus docet, dicens, Si solum spiritu benedixeris, qui implet locum idiotæ, quomodo dicet Amen super tuam benedictionem? Non enim intelligit quid dicas*⁹: "So the holy apostle saith: 'If thou only bless or pray with thy spirit, how shall he that supplieth the room of the unlearned say Amen unto thy blessing? For he knoweth not what thou sayest.'" It appeareth by these authorities, notwithstanding M. Harding's note, that St Paul maketh somewhat for our purpose.

De Eccles.
Div. Capit.

Howbeit, we build not our proofs upon the miracle and gift of tongues, that lasted but for a while; but upon these express and plain words of St Paul, which no man can deny: "He that speaketh with tongue speaketh not unto men, but unto God; for no man heareth him. If the trumpet give an uncertain voice, who shall prepare himself unto the war? Even so you, unless ye utter such words as have signification, how shall it be known what we¹⁰ say? For ye shall speak into the wind. I will pray with my spirit, I will pray with my mind: I will sing with my spirit, I will sing with my mind. If thou bless with thy spirit, how shall the ignorant say Amen unto thy thanksgiving? For he knoweth not what thou sayest. In the church I had liefer to speak five words with my mind, so that I may instruct others, than ten thousand words with my tongue. Let all things be done to the profit of the people." These words be evident: the exposition of Lyra, of the council of Acon, of Chrysostom, and

1 Cor. xiv.

[⁴ Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. Ad Cor. i. cap. xiv. Pars VI. fol. 55. 2; where we read *ideo dicit*: Ceterum si benedixeris. i. tu sacerdos vel episcopo. Spiritu. i. absque hoc quod populus intelligat... quid proficit, &c. propterea quod in primitiva, &c. and cetera communia.]

[⁵ Concil. Aquisgr. cap. 132. in Crabb. Concil.

Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 698.]

[⁶ Chrysost. Op. In Epist. i. ad Cor. Hom. xxxv. Tom. X. p. 323.]

[⁷ Meself, 1565.]

[⁸ Farther, 1565.]

[⁹ See before, page 287, note 10.]

[¹⁰ Ye, 1565, 1609.]

Justinian, is plain. And yet must we, upon M. Harding's warrant, needs believe that all this maketh nothing for the English service to be had in the church of England.

M. HARDING. THE TWENTY-SIXTH DIVISION.

And forasmuch as all the people cannot hear the priest's prayers at the altar (which hath from the apostles' time hitherto ever been a place to celebrate the holy oblation at), turning himself for the most part to the east, according to the² apostolic tradition, in what tongue soever they be uttered, for distance of the place they remain in, it is no inconvenience, such admitted into the quire, as have better understanding of that is said or sung, that the rest remain in seemly wise in the nether part of the church, and there make their humble prayers to God by themselves in silence, in that language they best understand, conforming themselves to the priest's blessing and thanksgiving, through faith and obedience, with their brethren in the quire, and giving assent to the same, understanding some good part of that is done, as declared by often preaching, and by holy outward ceremonies, perceivable to the senses of the simplest.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

There have been altars, saith M. Harding, even from the apostles' time, and that even as it is used now, far off from the body of the church. Neither could the people beneath hear the priest standing about³ at the altar, or understand what he meant, but only were instructed by holy reverend ceremonies, and gave consent unto all that was said by the priest, and yet knew not what he said.

This man could never utter so many untruths together without some special privilege. For first, where he saith, The apostles in their time erected altars, it is well known, that there was no christian church yet built in the apostles' time. For the faithful, for fear of the tyrants, were fain to meet together in private houses, in vacant places, in woods and forests, and in caves under the ground. And may we think that altars were built before the church? Verily Origen, that lived two hundred years after Christ, hath these words against Celsus: *Objicit nobis, quod non habeamus imagines, aut aras, aut templa*⁴: "Celsus chargeth our religion with this, that we have neither images, nor altars, nor churches."

Likewise saith Arnobius, that lived somewhat after Origen, writing against the heathens: *Accusatis nos, quod nec templa habeamus, nec imagines, nec aras*⁵: "Ye accuse us, for that we have neither churches, nor images, nor altars."

And Volaterranus and Vernerius testify, that Sixtus, bishop of Rome, was the first that caused altars to be erected⁶.

Therefore M. Harding was not well advised, so confidently to say that altars have ever been, even sithence the apostles' time.

Neither afterward, when altars were first used, and so named, were they straightway built of stone; as Durandus and such others say they must needs be, and that, *quia petra erat Christus*⁷: "because Christ was the stone." For Gerson saith that Sylvester, bishop of Rome, first caused stone altars to be made, and willed that no man should consecrate at a wooden altar, but himself only, and his successors there⁸. And notwithstanding both for continuance and steadiness such altars were used in some places, as it appeareth by Gregorius Nyssenus⁹,

[¹ Or, 1565, 1609.]

[² H. A. 1564, omits *the*.]

[³ Above, 1565.]

[⁴ Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Κέλσος φησὶν, ἡμᾶς βωμοὺς καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νεὺς ἰδρύσθαι φέγγειν.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Cont. Cels. Lib. viii. 17. Tom. I. pp. 754, 5.]

[⁵ The following is probably the passage intended: In hac enim consuetis parte crimen nobis maximum impietatis affigere, quod neque ædes sacras venerationis ad officia construamus, non deorum alicujus simulacrum constituamus, aut formam; non altaria fabricemus, non aras, &c.—Arnob. Op. Par. 1580.

Adv. Gent. Lib. vi. p. 194.]

[⁶ Several authors name Sixtus II. as having introduced the use of consecrated altars. See Stella, Vit. Pontif. Basil. 1507. fol. B.]

[⁷ Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Lugd. 1565. Lib. i. cap. vii. 28. fol. 34. 2. See page 15, note 14.]

[⁸ Postea Silvester papa statuit ut omnia altaria essent lapidea, et quod nullus super illud altare ligneum [in ecclesia Lateranensi] nisi solus Romanus pontifex celebret.—Floret. Lugd. 1499. Lib. iv. De Sac. Euchar. fol. 94. 2.]

[⁹ Gregor. Nyss. Op. Par. 1638. In Bapt. Christ. Tom. III. pp. 369, 70.]

The eighty-second untruth. The altars to communion tables stood in the midst of the church, as shall appear.

The people taught by ceremonies.

Communion tables or altars.

Orig. contra Cels. Lib. iv.

Arnobius, Lib. ii.

Volaterranus. Vernerius.

Durand. Lib. iv. Gerson. contra Floret. Lib. iv.

Gregor. Nyss. de Sancto Baptismate. August. ad Bonifacium, Epist. i.

St Basil's brother; yet it is plain by St Augustine, that in his time in Africa they were made of timber. For he saith that "the Donatists in their rage wounded the priest, and brake asunder the altar-boards¹⁰." And again he saith that "the deacon's duty was to carry or remove the altar¹¹;" which thing cannot be expounded of a heap of stones, but only of the communion table. And therefore St Chrysostom commonly calleth it *ἡ ἁγία τράπεζα*, "the holy board," and St Augustine, *mensa Domini*, "the Lord's table," as other fathers also do in infinite places¹².

Communion tables or altars.

August. in Quæst. Vet. et Nov. Test. Quæst. 101.

And notwithstanding it were "a table," yet was it also called "an altar;" not for that it was so indeed, but only by allusion unto the altars of the old law. And so Irenæus calleth Christ "our altar¹³," and Origen calleth our heart "our altar¹⁴;" not that either Christ or our hearts be altars indeed, but only by a metaphor or a manner of speech. Such were the altars that were used by the old fathers immediately after the apostles' time.

Iren. Lib. iv. cap. xxxiv. Orig. in Matt. Tract. 25.

Now, whether it may seem likely that the same altars stood so far off from the hearing of the people as M. Harding so constantly affirmeth, I refer myself¹⁵ to these authorities that here follow.

Eusebius thus describeth the form and furniture of the church in his time: *Absoluto templo, ac sedibus excelsissimis ad honorem præsidium et subselliis ordine collocatis ornato, et post omnia sancto sanctorum, videlicet altari, in medio constituto* &c.¹⁶: "The church being ended and comely furnished with high thrones for the honour of the rulers, and with stalls beneath set in order, and last of all, the holy of holies, I mean the altar, being placed in the midst." Eusebius saith not, the altar was set at the end of the quire, but in the midst of the church among the people.

Euseb. Lib. x. cap. iv. Ex Oratione Panegyrica in Encænii.

St Augustine likewise saith thus: *Christus quotidie pascit: mensa ipsius est illa in medio constituta. Quid causæ est, o audientes, ut mensam videatis, et ad epulas non accedatis*¹⁷? "Christ feedeth us daily; and this is his table here set in the midst. O my hearers, what is the matter that ye see the table, and yet come not to the meat?" In the council of Constantinople it is written thus: *Tempore diptychorum cucurrit omnis multitudo cum magno silentio circumcirca altare, et audiebant*¹⁸: "When the lesson or the chapter was a reading, the people with silence drew together round about the altar, and gave ear." And to leave others, Durandus, examining the cause why the priest turneth himself about at the altar, yieldeth this reason for the same: *In medio ecclesiæ aperui os meum*¹⁹: "In the midst of the church I opened my mouth." And Platina noteth that Bonifacius, bishop of Rome, was the first that in the time of the ministration divided the priest from the people²⁰.

August. de Verb. Dom. sec. Johan. Serm. 42.

Concil. Constant. v. Act. i.

Durand. Lib. v. Platina.

To leave further²¹ allegations, we see by these few that the quire was then in the body of the church, divided with rails from the rest, whereof it was called *cancelli*, "a chancel," and commonly of the Greeks *presbyterium*, for that it was a place specially appointed unto the priests and ministers, and shut up from all others, for disturbing the holy ministry; as it appeareth notably by the story of St Ambrose, that willed the emperor Theodosius himself to depart forth²², and by

Theod. Lib. v. cap. xviii.

[¹⁰ ... stantem ad altare ... lignis ... ejusdem altaris effracti immaniter ceciderunt. — August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Corr. Donatist. seu Epist. clxxxv. 27. Tom. II. col. 654.]

[¹¹ Nam utique [Romanæ ecclesiæ diaconi] et altare portarent et vasa ejus, &c. — Id. Quæst. ex Utroq. (Vet. et Nov. Test.) Mixt. Quæst. ci. Tom. III. Append. col. 92. These questions are not a genuine work of Augustine.]

[¹² For the names given by Chrysostom, Augustine, and other fathers to the communion table, see Bingham, Orig. Eccles. Book VIII. chap. vi. 14.]

[¹³ Est ergo altare in cœlis. — Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. iv. cap. xviii. (olim xxxiv.) 6. p. 252.]

[¹⁴ Altare ergo quod votum significat, est hominis cor, ... votum ... posuisti super cor tuum, quasi super

quoddam altare. — Orig. Op. In Matt. Comm. Ser. 18. Tom. III. p. 842.]

[¹⁵ Meself, 1565.]

[¹⁶ Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. x. cap. iv. Orat. Paneg. p. 312.]

[¹⁷ August. Op. Serm. cxxxii. 1. Tom. V. 645.]

[¹⁸ Concil. Constant. sub Menna, Act. v. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. V. col. 185.]

[¹⁹ Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Lib. iv. cap. xiv. 11. fol. 111. See before, page 78, note 1.]

[²⁰ Divisit et populum a clero dum celebraretur. — Plat. De Vit. Pont. col. 1551. Bonifac. II. p. 66.]

[²¹ Farther, 1565.]

[²² Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. v. cap. xviii. pp. 222, 3.]

Naz. in Vita
Basil.
De Con. Dist.
ii.
Sacerdotum.
Concil. Laod.
cap. 19.

Nazianzenus in the life of St Basil¹, and by a decree under the name of Clemens², and by the council of Laodicea concerning the same³; and, as it may be gathered by St Chrysostom, at certain times of the service was drawn with curtains⁴.

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

Chrysost. in
Epist. ad
Ephes. Hom.
3.
Chrysost. in
2. ad Cor.
Hom. 18.

And whereas M. Harding imagineth that the people for distance of place could not hear what the priest said, a man that hath considered the old fathers with any diligence may soon see he is far deceived. For Chrysostom saith:

"The deacon at the holy mysteries stood up, and thus spake unto the people: *Oremus pariter omnes*: 'Let us pray all together⁵.' And again he saith: 'The priest and the people at the ministration talk together. The priest saith, 'The Lord be with you:' the people answereth, 'And with thy spirit⁶.' Justinian the emperor commanded that the priest should so speak aloud at the holy ministration,

Clement.
Stromat.
Lib. vii.

"as the people might hear him⁷." Clemens Alexandrinus saith: *Est ergo, quod est hic apud nos altare, terrestris congregatio eorum, qui sunt dedicati orationibus; qui veluti unam vocem habent communem, et unam mentem*⁸:

"The altar that we have is an earthly congregation of men given to prayers, which have, as it were, both voice and mind common together." And, to leave rehearsal of others, Bessarion saith: *Sacerdote...verba illa...pronunciante, assistens populus in utraque parte respondet, Amen*⁹:

Bessar. de
Sacram.
Euch.

"The priest speaking these words, the people standing by, at each part of the sacrament, or on every side, saith Amen."

Now judge thou, good reader, what truth may seem to be in that M. Harding addeth hereto, that the people, remaining in seemly wise in the nether part of the church, was instructed by certain ceremonies and tokens shewed in the

1 Cor. xiv.

quire, and gave assent and said Amen unto the priest praying at the altar, although they understood no part of his prayer. Certainly St Paul saith: *Quomodo dicet Amen ad tuam gratiarum actionem? quandoquidem nescit quid dicas*:

August. de
Catechiz.
Rud. cap. ix.

"How shall he say Amen, and give assent unto thy thanksgiving? For he knoweth not what thou sayest." So saith St Augustine, *ut populus ad id, quod plane intelligit, dicat Amen*¹⁰:

Ambros. in
1 Cor. cap.
xiv.

"that the people, unto that they plainly understand, may say Amen." Likewise St Ambrose: *Imperitus...audiens, quod non intelligit, nescit finem orationis, et non respondet Amen; id est, Verum, ut confirmetur benedictio. Per hos enim impletur confirmatio precis, qui respondet Amen; ut omnia dicta veri testimonio in audientium mentibus confirmetur*¹¹:

"The unlearned, hearing that he understandeth not, knoweth not the end of the prayer, neither saith Amen, that is to say, It is true; that the priest's blessing may be confirmed. For by them that answer Amen the prayer is confirmed; whereby is meant, that whatsoever is spoken by the testimony of the truth be made good in the minds of the hearers."

Seeing therefore that neither altars were erected in the apostles' time; nor the communion table, that then was used, stood so far off from the body of the church; nor the people gave assent to that they understood not; so many untruths being found in M. Harding's premises, we may well and safely stand in doubt of his conclusion.

M. HARDING. THE TWENTY-SEVENTH DIVISION.

Whereas you, M. Jewel, allege St Paul for your purpose, and make him to say thus, otherwise than he wrote, "If thou make thy prayer in the congre- [12 Fol. 15, H. A. 1564.] 1 Cor. xiv.

[¹ Gregor. Naz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. In Laud. Basil. Orat. xliii. 27. 52. Tom. I. pp. 792, 808, 9.]

[² Clemens Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 30. col. 1925.]

[³ Concil. Laod. can. 19. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 1500.]

[⁴ Ὅταν ἰδῆς ἀνεκκόμμενα τὰ ἀμφίθυμα, κ. τ. λ.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Ephes. cap. i. Hom. iii. Tom. XI. p. 23.]

[⁵ Id. ibid.]

[⁶ Id. in Epist. II. ad Cor. Hom. xviii. Tom. X. p. 568.]

[⁷ See before, page 287, note 10.]

[⁸ Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Stromat. Lib. vii. 6. Tom. II. p. 848.]

[⁹ Bessar. de Sacram. Euch. in Biblioth. Patr. per M. de la Bigne, Par. 1624. Tom. VI. col. 481.]

[¹⁰ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Catechiz. Rud. cap. ix. 13. Tom. VI. col. 272.]

[¹¹ Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. i. ad Cor. cap. xiv. v. 16. Tom. II. Append. col. 157.]

[¹² See before, page 8.]

gation with thy spirit, or noise of strange words, how shall the unlearned man thereunto say Amen? For he knoweth not what thou sayest;" you bombast this text with your own counterfeit stuffing. The translation authorised by king Edward and his council is truer, and followeth the Greek nearer, which hath thus: "When thou blessest with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest?" Here the apostle St Paul speaketh of blessing or thanksgiving with the spirit; which spirit, what it is, it is not easy to declare, after the judgment of your own patriarch John Calvin¹³. St Ambrose taketh it for the spirit we have received in baptism, that doth incline and move us to prayer¹⁴: St Thomas for the Holy Ghost given to us, for reason, and for the power imaginative¹⁵: Erasmus for the voice itself¹⁶: Isidorus Clarius for the power of pronouncing or utterance¹⁷: some for the breath that passeth the throat; some for the intention: St Augustine very subtly pro apprehensione quæ ideas concipit, et signa rerum¹⁸: Calvin in his Institutions, De Oratione, cap. 15, for the sound of the mouth that is caused of the breath of a man's throat, and rebounding of the air¹⁹: Chrysostom for the spiritual gift, or the gift of the Holy Ghost to speak with tongues²⁰: which Calvin himself, sitting in judgment, as it were, upon this doubtful matter, alloweth best, and condemneth the mind of all others, and also his own, though unawares²¹, as it seemeth; and so he would condemn your noise of strange words likewise, if he heard it. This text, being so doubtful of itself in sense, so put out of tune by your noise of strange words, wherewith you descant upon the word "spirit," so violently applied by your new-fangled exposition, maketh little to the condemnation of the Latin service in the Latin church, specially seeing that St Paul meaneth by that miraculous speaking with tongues, used or rather abused among the Corinthians, a far different manner of speaking from that speaking whereby the priest uttereth the common service.

The priest, I grant, saying his service to his parish, speaketh with a tongue; but such manner of speaking is not that which St Paul meant. For the priest understandeth it for the better part, if he be learned; and (83) the people be not utterly ignorant, because of often preaching, long custom, solemn feasts, and sundry ceremonies. And therefore your argument, gathered out of that text, concludeth nothing against having the service in the learned Latin tongue, not perfectly²² understood of the unlearned people. Verily, if you admit the exact judgment of St Augustine concerning this place of St Paul, then must you seek for other scriptures and proofs of your English service. For, as he discusses this point learnedly, by "the tongue" St Paul meaneth not the Latin, Greek, or Hebrew, among the unlearned people, or any other alien or strange tongue, but only, and that by way of metaphor, "any manner of utterance whereby the signs of things are pronounced before they be understood." And by "the spirit" he understandeth not a noise of strange words, after your strange interpretation; but, as it is here "in a certain proper and peculiar manner taken, a power of the soul

The eighty-third untruth. For the simple people understandeth not one word or syllable of the Latin tongue.

Vide Augustinum. Lib. xii. de Genes. ad Litteram. c. vii. viii. et ix. to. 3.

[¹³ Quid sit autem spiritus, non ita facile est explicare.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. In Epist. i. ad Cor. cap. xiv. 14. p. 195. Calvin recites the opinions of Ambrose and Augustine, and others mentioned in this place.]

[¹⁴ Spiritus autem qui datur in baptismo, scit quid oret animus, dum loquitur, aut perorat lingua sibi ignota.—Ambros. Op. Comm. in Epist. i. ad Cor. cap. xiv. v. 14. Tom. II. Append. col. 157.]

[¹⁵ Spiritu, i. in lingua, quæ non intelligatur, seu imaginatione et motus a Spiritu sancto.—Thom. Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. In i. ad Cor. cap. xiv. Lect. iii. Tom. XVI. fol. 84.]

[¹⁶ Orabo spiritu... Precabor voce.—Erasm. Op. L. Bat. 1703-6. Paraphr. in Epist. ad Cor. i. cap. xiv. 15. Tom. VII. col. 903.]

[¹⁷ Per spiritum intelligit hic vim illum pronuntiandi.—Bibl. Sac. adjunct. Schol. Auct. Isid. Clar. Venet. 1557. Ad Cor. i. cap. xiv. fol. 473.]

[¹⁸ August. Op. De Gen. ad Litt. Lib. xii. capp.

viii. ix. 19, 20. Tom. III. Pars i. cols. 302, 3. The exact words of the text are not given; but the notion will be found in these chapters.]

[¹⁹ Spiritus voce singulare linguarum donum significans, &c.—Calvin. Op. Inst. Lib. iii. cap. xx. 33. p. 237. Calvin does not in this place express the opinion attributed to him. In the place quoted above, note 11, he says: Probabilior est eorum opinio, qui spiritum gutturi interpretantur, hoc est flatum. He then mentions an objection to this interpretation and proceeds: Adducor ut in sensu hujus verbi assentiar Chrysostomo, qui exponit, sicuti prius, de spirituali dono.—Ibid. pp. 195, 6.]

[²⁰ Τὸ καὶ τῷ πνεύματι, τούτέστι, τῷ χάρισματι, καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ προσεύχεσθαι.—Chrysost. Op. In Epist. i. ad Cor. Hom. xxxv. Tom. X. p. 325.]

[²¹ Unwares, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[²² Perfectly, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

inferior to the mind, which conceiveth the similitudes of things, and understandeth them not¹. And things so uttered be uttered with the tongue and spirit, whether it be in English or Latin, or any other language.

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

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here M. Harding hath found a sport to pass the time withal. He maketh M. Calvin a patriarch, and setteth him on high in judgment to condemn all the world. St Paul's meaning is bombasted and brought out of tune with a noise of strange words. And in this point he doubleth, and sheweth copy, and playeth round about merrily with his own fantasy. Wherein he may not be much offended if I say unto him, as St Hierome said sometime unto St Ambrose, for his commentaries upon St Luke: *Verbis ludis: sententiis dormitas²*: that is: "Your words be pleasant; but your senses be half asleep."

Ruffinus.

For that I saw these words of St Paul, "If thou bless with thy spirit," might seem doubtful, and divers expositions rising thereupon, I thought it meet, for the more ease of the unlearned, to open what St Paul might seem to mean by this word "spirit," in that place; and, following the judgment of sundry old fathers, I called it a sound or noise of unknown words. This is it that M. Harding here so pleasantly calleth "stuffing, and bombast, and a strange new-fangled interpretation." Wherein he sheweth himself to be somewhat short-witted, as may soon appear. For within a few lines after, expounding these words of St Paul, *Quam decem millia verborum in lingua*, he himself useth the like bombast and the very same stuffing.

Verily, if he will utterly condemn all manner paraphrase, or adding of other words for declaration of that seemeth hard or doubtful in the text, then must he needs condemn not only the Septuagints, but also all other interpreters of the scriptures. Hereof Origen, weighing in what sort the apostle St Paul allegeth the words of the prophet David, writeth thus: *Sed...quod dixit apostolus, Sicut scriptum est,...Non est justus quisquam, non est intelligens, non est requirens Deum; non iisdem sermonibus invenitur in psalmo, sed alii permittuntur, alii assuuntur, alii relinquuntur. Quod a studiosis quibusque si observetur diligentius, puto dari in hoc apostolicam auctoritatem, ut cum scripturæ testimoniis utendum fuerit, sensum magis ex ea quam verba capiamus³*: "But whereas St Paul saith, 'As it is written, There is not one just man, there is not one of understanding, there is not one that seeketh after God;' this place is not found in the psalm by these words, but some words are altered by St Paul, and some others are added unto, and some are left out. Which thing if the reader advisedly consider, I think that herein the apostle's authority is declared, that, when we have need to use the testimony of the scriptures, we rather take the meaning thereof than the words." Origen saith St Paul both altered the words of the prophet, and added to, and took fro; yet, I trust, M. Harding will not say St Paul bombasted or stuffed the scriptures.

Orig. in Epist.
ad Rom. cap.
iii. Lib. iii.

Perhaps he will reply, St Paul, by this word "spirit," meant not a strange tongue, or a noise of unknown words; and therefore this stuffing is counterfeit. And because M. Harding saith so, perhaps the simple reader will so believe it. But, if the old doctors and fathers so expound it, then all this strange mirth and triumph might have been spared.

St Ambrose openeth St Paul's meaning, and sheweth what he understood by

[¹...propterea translato verbo linguam appellavit quamlibet signorum prolationem priusquam intelligantur.....qui modo proprio vocatur spiritus, vis animæ quædam mente inferior, ubi corporalium rerum similitudines exprimuntur.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Genes. ad Litt. Lib. xii. capp. viii. ix. 19, 20. Tom. III. Pars i. cols. 302, 3.]

[² Ante paucos dies quorundam in Matthæum et

Lucam commentarios vos legisse dixistis: e quibus alter et sensibus hebes esset; et alter in verbis luderet, in sententiis dormitaret.—Ruffin. Invect. in Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Lib. ii. Tom. IV. Pars ii. col. 432.]

[³ Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. iii. 2. Tom. IV. pp. 504, 5; where we find *eisdem, assumuntur*, and *ab studiosis*.]

this word "spirit," in this wise: *Si [tu] benedixeris spiritu, hoc est, si laudem Dei lingua loquaris ignota audientibus*⁴: "If thou bless with thy spirit, that is to say, if thou utter the praise of God in a tongue unknown unto the hearers." This, I trow, is no bombast, nor counterfeit stuffing: it is St Ambrose⁵ interpretation.

Likewise St Chrysostom, expounding the same words, saith thus: *Si tu benedixeris spiritu, &c. Est quod dicit hujusmodi: si peregrina lingua gratias agas, quam nec intelligas ipse, nec ceteris idem interpreteris, plebeius non potest subicere, Amen*⁶: "If thou bless with thy spirit, &c." The meaning hereof," saith St Chrysostom, "is this: if thou give thanks unto God (or pray) in a strange tongue, which neither thou knowest thyself⁷, nor canst expound unto others, the unlearned cannot say, Amen. This," Chrysostom saith, "is St Paul's very meaning." M. Harding saith: "No: it is a strange new-fangled interpretation."

Erasmus in his paraphrase turneth it thus: *Si tu decantes laudes Dei sermone omnibus incognito*⁸: "If thou sing out the praises of God in a tongue unknown unto all thy hearers." Dionysius the Carthusian likewise saith thus: *Si tu benedixeris spiritu, id est, non verbis quæ ab aliis intelligantur, sed tantum lingua*⁹: "If thou bless with thy spirit, that is to say, not with such words as others may understand, but only with the¹⁰ tongue."

Anselmus saith: *Spiritus meus [orat,] id [est], flatus oris mei orat, dum loquor in oratione*¹¹: "My spirit prayeth, that is, the breath of my mouth prayeth, so long as I continue speaking." Whatsoever opinion M. Harding have of Erasmus, yet, I trow, of his modesty he will not say that either Dionysius the Carthusian, or St Ambrose, or St Chrysostom, or Anselmus, devised new-fangled expositions, or descanted upon St Paul, or set his text out of tune.

"But," he saith, "the place of St Paul is doubtful; St Ambrose, St Augustine, St Chrysostom, Isidorus, Erasmus, and Thomas of Aquine understood it diversely." And will he therefore conclude thus: These fathers mistook St Paul's sense; *ergo*, St Paul had no sense? Or: Divers doctors touching this place had divers judgments; *ergo*, we must have no judgment? Or must we follow none of them, because some were deceived? Or must we follow them all together, because they were doctors? Indeed they dissented somewhat in the taking of this word "spirit," as it is evident; but whether it were the Holy Ghost that St Paul meant thereby, or imagination, or reason, or the gift of tongues, or the sound of the mouth, or the power of utterance, or the voice itself, it is certain and confessed by these and all other doctors and fathers, that St Paul spake of "an unknown tongue," and, as St Gregory saith, *de strepitu oris*¹², "of the babbling of the mouth;" and so consequently of "a noise of strange words," wherewith M. Harding's tender ears are so much offended.

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

Again: St Paul willeth, that the priest utter the common prayers in the congregation in such language as the unlearned may be edified thereby, and answer Amen; *ergo*, M. Harding seemeth to say, the priest may utter the common prayers in an unknown tongue. Surely these arguments would make a strange noise in the schools, and set all logic quite out of tune. But if St Paul's words make nothing against the Latin service, as it is now used, what is it then that

[⁴ Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. i. ad Cor. cap. xiv. v. 16. Tom. II. Append. col. 157.]

[⁵ Ambroses, 1565, 1609.]

[⁶ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. i. ad Cor. Hom. xxxv. Tom. X. p. 325.]

[⁷ Theeself, 1565.]

[⁸ ... si tu laudes Dei decantas sermone omnibus ignoto, &c.—Erasm. Op. L. Bat. 1703-6. Paraphr. in Epist. ad Cor. i. cap. xiv. 16. Tom. VII. col. 903.]

[⁹ Dionys. Carthus. in Nov. Test. Col. 1532. In i. ad Cor. Enarr. cap. xiv. Art. 14. Tom. II. fol. 57;

where we have *hoc est*, and *solum lingua*.]

[¹⁰ Thy, 1565.]

[¹¹ Anselm. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. In i. Epist. ad Cor. cap. xiv. Tom. II. p. 160. These commentaries are wrongly attributed to Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury: they are the work of another Anselm, of Laon.]

[¹² ... quia dicit Gregorius, Quid prodest strepitus oris, &c.?—Hugon. de S. Char. Col. Agrip. 1621. Epist. i. ad Cor. cap. xiv. Tom. VII. fol. 112. 2.]

The
learned
Latin
tongue.

St Paul condemneth? Why concludeth he thus: "How shall the ignorant say Amen at thy thanksgiving? For he knoweth not what thou sayest." Why setteth he the whole difference in knowing, and not knowing? Or what misliketh he else, but the sound or noise of a strange tongue, whereby he thinketh the people in nowise can be edified? If all this be nothing, as M. Harding saith, then let him turn the whole course of St Paul's words, and say thus: "Pray thou in a strange unknown tongue, that the people may say Amen. For so may they say, although they know not what thou prayest."

The allegation of "the learned Latin tongue," which M. Harding so often useth, may serve rather to astonish¹ the simple, than to make any good sufficient proof. So the subtle old heretics, Marcus and Heracleon, as it is reported by St Augustine and Arnobius, used in their prayers certain Hebrew, and other strange unknown words, to the intent to amaze their hearers with admiration, and the more to commend and set forth their treachery².

No tongue is to be accounted learned in itself, but only in respect of some other thing, and, as the learned term it, *per accidens*, that is, either for the eloquent manner of utterance, or for the substance of learned matter therein contained, or for the learning and knowledge of the speaker. But the Latin service, besides that it is not eloquent in itself (as indeed it needeth not to be), sometimes it holdeth not good congruity, but is utterly void of reason. Wherein let this one example stand for many. In the praises of the blessed virgin it is written thus: *Cujus Dominus humilitatem respiciens, angelo nuntiante, concepit Redemptorem mundi*. By the learning of this learned tongue we are taught it was not our lady, but our Lord, that was mother unto Christ; for so it falleth out in construction: "Our Lord conceived the Redeemer of the world." The substance of the matter therein contained is sometimes vain and full of fables, sometimes wicked and idolatrous; the priests that utter this tongue, for the most part such as are hardly able to make it learned. Pope Zachary saith that a priest in his time baptized a child by these words: *In nomine patria, et filia, et spirita sancta*³. And St Augustine saith that divers priests in his time, in their common Latin service, where as the people understood the Latin tongue, uttered barbarisms and solæcisms, that is to say, spake false Latin⁴; and further saith: *Multa in illis reperiuntur contra catholicam fidem*⁵: "In the same prayers many things are found contrary to the catholic faith." Such is this tongue, that M. Harding here so highly commendeth to be so learned.

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

Caligula, the emperor, set golden loaves, and all other services of whole gold before his guests, and bade them eat. Indeed, they had a glorious sight to look upon. Yet had they nothing neither to eat nor to drink, for contentation of nature. Even so would M. Harding set his glittering service of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin before the people, and bid them feed. A goodly shew, no doubt, to gaze and to wonder at. But, alas! nothing have they there either to receive or to taste of; either to move them to repentance, or to comfort and quiet their conscience. It is notably well said by St Augustine: *Quid . . . prodest clavis aurea, si aperire quod volumus non potest? aut quid obest lignea, si hoc potest? quando nihil querimus, nisi aperire quod clausum erat*⁶: "What availeth a golden key, if it cannot open

[¹ Astonne, 1565.]

[² August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Hæres. 14, 16. Tom. VIII. col. 8.]

[³ Retulerunt nuntii tui, quod fuerit . . . sacerdos, qui Latinam linguam penitus ignorabat, et dum baptizaret . . . diceret: Baptizo te in nomine patria, et filia, et spiritu sancta.—Zach. Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. iv. can. 86. col. 2010.]

[⁴ Aug. Op. De Catechiz. Rud. cap. ix. 13. Tom.

VI. col. 272.]

[⁵ Id. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. iv. can. 72. col. 2004; where we read *eis*. See also Op. De Bapt. contr. Donatist. Lib. vi. cap. xxv. 47. Tom. IX. col. 176.]

[⁶ Patere, 1565, parere, 1609.]

[⁷ Id. De Doctr. Christ. Lib. iv. cap. xi. 26. Op. Tom. III. Pars i. col. 74; where *nisi patere quod clausum est*.]

August. ad
Quod vult
Deum.
[Arnobius,
1565.]

De Consecr.
Dist. iv.
Retulerunt.

August. de
Catechiz.
Rud. cap. ix.

De Consecr.
Dist. iv.
Si non.

August. de
Doctr. Christ.
Lib. iv. c. 26.
xi.

that we would have opened? Or what hurteth a wooden key, if it be able to open? Seeing we desire nothing, but that the thing that is shut may be opened."

"The people," saith M. Harding, "is not utterly ignorant what the priest saith. They understand him, although not perfectly⁸, nor in exact wise, yet they understand him." Thus he doubteth and staggereth between perfect and imperfect⁹, as not having yet well measured the people's understanding. For to say the ignorant perfectly⁸ understand the Latin tongue were against the manifest truth: to say they understand no part thereof at all were directly against St Paul; for he requireth understanding. Therefore M. Harding divideth the matter, and saith: "They understand the Latin tongue, although not exactly or perfectly⁸:" that is to say, they understand neither the scriptures, nor the prayers, nor any one thing that is spoken, nor sentence, nor word, nor syllable, nor letter. They hear the priest speak, and know not what he saith. They see him turn and gesture, and know not what he meaneth. This, saith M. Harding, is the understanding of the Latin tongue. But, alas! is this the understanding that St Paul requireth, "that the people may be edified, and answer Amen?" And what pleasure hath he in abridging and bridling the understanding of God's people? Why should they not rather understand perfectly⁸ what the priest saith? Why should there be any imperfection in godly things? St Paul wisheth that we may all grow unto a perfect⁹ man in Christ Jesus¹⁰; and St Augustine wisheth that the people may say Amen "to that they plainly and perfectly⁸ understand¹¹."

Eph. iv.

August. de
Catechiz.
Rud. cap. ix.

M. HARDING. THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DIVISION.

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

Verily, in the primitive church this was necessary, when the faith was a-learning. And therefore the prayers were made then in a common tongue known to the people, for cause of their further instruction; who, being of late converted to the faith, and of painims made Christians, had need in all things to be taught. But after that the faithful people was multiplied and increased in great numbers, and had been so well instructed in all points of religion, as by their own accord they conformed themselves to the ministers at the common prayers; in the Latin church the service was set out in Latin; and it was thought sufficient, part of the people in the quire to answer for the whole¹². And this hath been esteemed for a more expedite and convenient order, than if it were in the vulgar tongue of every nation.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Whoso will maintain an untruth, ought to be circumspect and to remember well how his tales may stand together. M. Harding a little before wrote thus: "Cicero saith, tongues be in number infinite. Of them all, neither M. Jewel, nor any one of his side is able to shew that the public service of the church in any nation was ever, for the space of six hundred years after Christ, in any other tongue than in Greek or Latin." Now, contrariwise, either of forgetfulness what he hath said before, or of some better¹³ advice, he saith thus: "Verily in the primitive church this was necessary, when the faith was a-learning; and therefore the prayers were made then in a common tongue known to the people, for cause of their further instruction." By these words he utterly overthroweth that he so confidently said before, and very well confirmeth my assertion. M. Jewel may now take his ease: for M. Harding himself is able to prove against himself, that in the primitive church the service was ministered in the common tongue; and that he confirmeth for a verity, and saith: "It was necessary so to be, and could not be otherwise." These sayings of M. Harding's, being directly contrary, cannot possibly stand both together. If the one be true, the other of necessity must needs be false.

M. Harding
contrary to
himself.

The reason that he gathereth in this place standeth upon the diversity of

[⁸ Perfetely, 1565.]

[⁹ Perfit and unperfit, 1565.]

[¹⁰ Jesu, 1565.]

[¹¹ August. Op. De Catechiz. Rud. cap. ix. 13.]

Tom. VI. col. 272.]

[¹² Whole people, H. A. 1564.]

[¹³ Some other better, 1565.]

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

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

If M. Harding mind to persuade the world, he had need to bring other arguments. But what if the people be not instructed? What if they know nothing, no, not the articles of the christian faith? What if there be no man to instruct them? What if the priest be even as is the people, and "the blind lead the blind?" Yet, I trow, M. Harding will not alter his new decree; but his strange service must continue still. Verily, the understanding of God is the soul and life of God's church; and, as it was necessary at the first planting thereof, so is it always necessary for the continuance of the same. St Hilary saith: *Ecclesiæ, in quibus verbum Dei non vigilat, naufragæ fiunt*¹: "The churches, wherein God's word is not watchful, suffer wreck." Neither did St Paul say, Let this order hold for the time, while the faith is a-learning, as M. Harding would have him say; but thus he saith: *Hæc quæ scribo Domini sunt mandata. Omnia ad ædificationem fiant*: "The things that I write are the commandments of the Lord. Let all things be done to edify." The edifying of the people, which is the final cause hereof, continueth still; therefore ought the understanding of the people, which is the efficient cause hereof, to continue still.

1 Cor. xiv.

M. HARDING. THE TWENTY-NINTH DIVISION.

*I grant they cannot say Amen to the blessing or thanksgiving of the priest, so well as if they understood the Latin tongue perfectly*². *Yet they give assent to it, and ratify it in their hearts, and do conform themselves unto the priest, though not in special, yet in general; that is to wit, though not in every particular sentence of praise and thanksgiving, or in every several petition, yet in the whole. For, if they come to church with a right and good intent, as the simple do no less than the learned; their desire is to render unto God glory, praise, and honour, and to thank him for benefits received, and withal to obtain of him things behoveful for them in this life and in the life to come. And without doubt this godly affection of their minds is so acceptable to God, as no understanding of words may be compared with it. This requisite assent, and conforming of themselves to the priests*³, *they declare by sundry outward tokens and gestures; as by standing up at the gospel, and at the preface of the mass; by bowing themselves down and adoring at the sacrament; by kneeling at other times, as when pardon and mercy is humbly asked, and by other like signs of devotion in other parts of the service.*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Yet once again M. Harding would make the world believe that the ignorant people understandeth the Latin tongue, although not perfectly²; and that they may in general give their consent unto whatsoever the priest saith, although they know not one word what he saith. And so between St Paul and M. Harding there appeareth a plain contrariety. For St Paul saith: "The unlearned cannot say Amen to thy prayer, because he knoweth not what thou sayest." "Yes," saith M. Harding, "although he know not what thou sayest, yet may he nevertheless say Amen." But hereto he layeth his correction: "I grant," saith he, "they can-

[¹ ... ecclesiæ, intra quas verbum Dei non vigilaverit, naufragæ sunt.—Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Comm. in Matt. cap. viii. l. col. 644.]

[² Perfely, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[³ Priest, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

not say Amen to the blessing and thanksgiving of the priest, *so well* as if they understood the Latin tongue."

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

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

The people is devout and godly disposed;

Ergo, they must have their prayers in a strange tongue.

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

Kneeling, bowing, standing up, and other like, are commendable gestures and tokens of devotion, so long as the people understandeth what they mean, and applieth them unto God, to whom they be due. Otherwise they may well make them hypocrites; but holy or godly they cannot make them. Cœlestinus writeth thus unto the bishops of France: *Docendi... potius sunt, quam illudendi: nec imponendum est eorum oculis, sed mentibus infundenda præcepta sunt*⁴: "The people must rather be taught than mocked: neither must we deceive their eyes, but must pour wholesome precepts into their hearts."

Inter Decreta
Cœlest. Pap.
I.

M. HARDING. THE THIRTIETH DIVISION.

And whereas St Paul seemeth to disallow praying with tongue⁵ in the common assembly, because of want of edifying, and to esteem the utterance of five words or sentences with understanding of his meaning, that the rest might be instructed thereby, more than ten thousand words in a strange and unknown tongue; all this is to be referred to the state of that time, which was much unlike the state of the church we be now in. The tongue of the prayers which St Paul speaketh of was utterly strange and unknown, and served for a sign to the unbelievers. The Latin tongue, in the Latin church, is not altogether strange and unknown. For beside the priest, in most places, some of the rest have understanding of it, more or less; and now we have no need of any such sign. They needed instruction: we be not ignorant of the chief points of religion. They were to be taught in all things: we come not to church specially and chiefly to be taught at the service, but to pray, and to be taught by preaching. Their prayer was not vailable for lack of faith, and therefore was it to be made in the vulgar tongue, for increase of faith. Our faith will stand us in better stead, if we give ourselves to devout prayer. They, for lack of faith, had need of interpretation, both in prayers, and also in preaching, and all other spiritual exercises: we, having sufficient instruction in the necessary rudiments of our faith, for the rest have more need, by earnest and fervent prayer, to make suit unto God for an upright, pure, and holy life, than to spend much time in hearing for knowledge. Concerning which thing Chrysostom hath this saying: *Profecto si orare cum diligentia insuescas, nihil est quod doctrinam tui conservi desideres, quum ipse Deus sine ullo interprete mentem abunde luce afficiat*⁶: "Verily, if thou use to pray diligently, there is nothing why thou shouldest desire teaching of thy fellow-servant; seeing God himself doth abundantly lighten thy mind, without any interpreter."

The words of
Chrysostom
much
abused.

[⁴ Cœlestin. Papæ I. ad Episc. Gall. Epist. ii. 1. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 526.]

[⁵ Tongues, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[⁶ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. De Incompr. contr. Anom. Hom. iii. Tom. I. p. 469.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here M. Harding, by counterpoints, and by sundry circumstances of difference, compareth the state of the primitive church and his church of Rome together; and thereof would seem to prove that St Paul's words, which St Paul himself calleth *mandata Domini*, "the Lord's commandments," stood good only for that time present, and for no time afterward: as if he would say, God's will were mutable, or his commandments hold only for term of years.

I grant, there appear great notes of difference between the order of the primitive church, and the order that now is in the church of Rome. For, to leave all that M. Harding hath here touched by way of comparison, and to note that may seem near to this purpose, the rulers there wished and laboured that the people might abound in knowledge: here their whole labour and study is that the people may abound in ignorance. There the ministers spake with sundry tongues, that the people of all nations might understand them: here the minister speaketh in a strange tongue, to the intent that no man may understand him. There the simple and the ignorant were made eloquent: here the bishops, and cardinals, and greatest learned, are made dumb. And, to prosecute no further, there appeared in the primitive church the undoubted works of the Holy Ghost, and the very tracts and steps of Christ's feet; and therefore Irenæus, and other old fathers, in cases of doubt, appealed evermore to the order and example of that church¹. And Tertullian saith: *Hoc adversus omnes hæreses valet, id esse verum, quodcunque prius; id esse adulterinum², quodcunque posterius³*: "This mark prevaieth against all heresies: that is the truth that was used first; that is false and corrupt that was brought in afterward." And therefore the holy fathers in the council of Nice made this general shout, and agreed upon the same: τὰ ἔθνη ἀρχαία κρατεῖτω⁴: "Let the ancient orders hold still;" referring themselves thereby to the use and order of the primitive church. Contrariwise, Valentinus, Marcion, and other like heretics, thought themselves wisest of all others; and therefore utterly refused, as M. Harding and his fellows now do, to stand to the apostles' orders. Thus Irenæus writeth of them: *Dicent se non solum presbyteris, sed etiam apostolis... sapientiores [esse, et] sinceram veritatem invenisse⁵*: "They will say that they are wiser not only than other priests, but also than the apostles, and that they have found out the perfect⁶ truth." I say not, M. Harding is so wickedly minded as Valentinus or Marcion was; but thus I say: He utterly refuseth to stand to the apostles' orders, and followeth other late devised fantasies; and therein undoubtedly doth even as the old heretics Marcion and Valentinus did.

Now let us consider M. Harding's reasons:

1. "The state," saith he, "of the primitive church was far unlike the state of the church we be now in;"
Ergo, we are not bound to St Paul's commandments.
2. Again he saith: "Some one or other in a parish understandeth somewhat of the Latin tongue:
3. "The people is sufficiently instructed in religion.
4. "They come together now, not so much to be instructed, as to pray;"

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

O, what meaneth M. Harding thus to deal? Loth I am to make the comparison; but true it is: very children do not use to reason in so childish sort. He knoweth well that commonly neither any one of the whole parish understandeth the Latin tongue, nor oftentimes the priest himself. He knoweth that the people of his church is not instructed in religion, nor no man suffered to instruct them. And, notwithstanding both these parts were granted true, yet could he not any way conclude, that therefore the people should have their

[¹ Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. III. cap. iii. pp. 175, &c.]

[² Adulterum, 1565.]

[³ Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Prax. 2. p. 635. See before, page 25, note 9.]

[⁴ Concil. Nic. can. 6. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et

Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. col. 32. See before, page 69, note 24.]

[⁵ Iren. Op. Contr. Hær. Lib. III. cap. ii. 2; where *dicentes, and invenisse veritatem.*]

[⁶ Perfit, 1565.]

service in a strange unknown tongue. Thus neither is the antecedent true; nor doth the consequent thereof follow. Now judge thou, good christian reader, whether these proofs bear weight sufficient to lead thy conscience.

He saith prayers in the common vulgar tongue were necessary in the primitive church, for breeding of the faith. But what thing can he breed⁷ by prayers in a strange tongue? What knowledge, what faith, what charity? The apostles were not void of faith; yet they said unto Christ: "O Lord, increase our faith." Luke xvii. Christ, speaking of the latter days, saith thus: "When the Son of man shall come, he shall scarcely find faith in the world." Luke xviii. Doubtless, the thing that was good to rear the faith is also good to repair the faith; and that was then necessary to increase faith, is also necessary now to continue faith.

But to what end doth he allege the words of Chrysostom⁸? Did that good father ever minister the common service unto the people in a strange tongue? Chrysost. contra Anom. Hom. 3. M. Harding knoweth, the people understood Chrysostom, what he prayed, and answered him in their own tongue, and prayed with him all together. Or did Chrysostom ever check the people for their knowledge, or discourage them from reading the scriptures? Certainly he oftentimes rebuketh them for not reading, and willet them to buy the scriptures, to read the scriptures, and to confer at home with their families of the scriptures⁹. And whereas M. Harding, to withdraw the people's hearts from reading, saith the scriptures are dark and dangerous, and no man able to wade in them without a guide; St Chrysostom contrariwise, to encourage the people to read the scriptures, saith they be plain and easy, and that the ignorant and simple man, by prayer unto God, may attain the knowledge of them, without any master or teacher, by himself alone. For these be his words, even as M. Harding hath alleged them: *Profecto si orare cum diligentia insuescas, nihil est, quod doctrinam conserui tui desideres, cum ipse Deus, sine ullo interprete, mentem tuam abunde luce afficiat*¹⁰: "If thou use to pray diligently, there is no cause why thou shouldest desire the teaching of thy fellow-servant; for God himself will abundantly lighten thy mind, without any interpreter." The like saying he hath often elsewhere. Declaring the story of queen Candace's chamberlain, he writeth thus: *Fieri non potest, ut is qui divinis scripturis magno studio ferventique desiderio vacat, semper negligatur: licet enim desit nobis hominis magisterium, tamen ipse Dominus superne intrans corda nostra, illustrat mentem, rationi jubar suum infundit, detegit occulta, doctorque fit eorum quæ ignoramus*¹¹: "It cannot be that any man, with great study and fervent desire reading the scriptures, should still be left destitute. For, although we lack the instruction of man, yet will God himself from above enter into our hearts, and lighten our mind, and cast a beam of light into our reason, and open things that be hidden, and become our teacher of such things as we know not." Therefore this place of Chrysostom standeth M. Harding in small stead, unless it be by the countenance of an ancient doctor to make the simple believe he hath said somewhat. The reason that he gathereth hereof is this: The unlearned man, be he never so simple, may read the scriptures in his own vulgar tongue, and understand the same without a teacher; *ergo*, the common service ought to be ministered unto the lay-people in an unknown tongue. Chrysost. 1 Thess. Hom. 3. Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 2. Chrysost. in Psal. xliii. Chrysost. ad Coloss. Hom. 9. Chrysost. contra Anom. Hom. 3. Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 35.

M. HARDING. THE THIRTY-FIRST DIVISION.

I would not here that any man should lay to my charge the defence of ignorance, as though I envied the people any godly knowledge. I wish them to have all heavenly knowledge, and to be ignorant of nothing necessary to their salvation. Yea, even with my very heart I wish with Moses, Quis tribuat, ut omnis populus prophetet, et det Dominus illis Spiritum suum! "O that all the people could

[⁷ Be bred, 1565.]

[⁸ See before, page 319.]

[⁹ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In ii. Epist. ad Thess. cap. ii. Hom. iii. Tom. XI. p. 528.

Id. in Matt. Hom. ii. Tom. VII. pp. 29, &c.

Id. Expos. in Psalm. xliii. Tom. V. p. 145.

Id. in Epist. ad Col. cap. iii. Hom. ix. Tom. XI. p. 390.]

[¹⁰ Id. De Incompr. contr. Anom. Hom. iii. Tom. I. p. 469.]

[¹¹ Id. in Gen. cap. xiv. Hom. xxv. Tom. IV. pp. 349, 50.]

General
Councils.

prophesy, and were learned in God's holy word, and that our Lord would give them his Spirit !” But all the common people to understand the priest at the service, I think wise and godly men judge it not a thing so necessary, as for the which the ancient order of the church, with no little offence, public and universal authority not consulted, should be condemned, broken, and quite abrogated, by private advice of a few.

If default were in this behalf justly found, it is known to whom the redress pertaineth. Concerning the state of religion, in all ages the general council representing the universal church for all sores hath ordained wholesome remedies. Where they be not heard, of whom Christ said, “He that heareth you heareth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me ;” it is to be feared that, concerning the service, the new learned boldness is not so acceptable to God as the old simple humility. It were good the people, having humble and reverent hearts, understood the service : I deny not.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

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

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

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

It appeareth well God is not bound to such orders. He hath oftentimes restored his church, and reformed abuses and heresies, by particular conference within several realms and countries ; as we see by these private councils holden at Carthage under St Cyprian¹ ; at Neocæsaria in Pontus² ; at Ancyra in Galatia³ ; at Gangra in Paphlagonia⁴ ; and by other like, without any consent of a general council. So likewise saith St Ambrose against Secundus and Palladius : “The bishops of the east part, and so the bishops of the west, have ever used severally to assemble themselves together, as occasion was offered, and to reform their churches by themselves, without troubling the whole world⁵.”

But, saith M. Harding, Christ himself hath by special words commended the authority of councils : *Qui vos audit, me audit* : “He that heareth you heareth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me.” We deny not the truth of these words : notwithstanding it is plain Christ spake there no more of a council

Cypr. Tom. ii.
In i. Tom.
Concil.

In Concil.
Aquil. in Col-
latione cum
Palladio.

Luke x.

[¹ Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Concil. Carthag. pp. 229, &c.]

[² Concil. Neocæs. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. pp. 220, &c.]

[³ Concil. Ancyra. in eod. Tom. I. pp. 197, &c.]

[⁴ Concil. Gangr. in eod. Tom. I. pp. 287, &c.]

[⁵ Ambrosius episcopus dixit : Interim quia su-

perioribus temporibus concilium sic factum est, ut orientales in orientis partibus constituti, haberent concilium, occidentales in occidente ; nos in occidentis partibus constituti, convenimus ad Aquileiensium civitatem, &c. — Concil. Aquil. in eod. Tom. I. p. 397.]

than of any one private man having commission from him, and doing his commandment; whereunto the whole council is bound to yield, no less than others, and without which the council, be it never so general, is no council. But where did ever Christ give commandment that the service should be said in a strange unknown tongue? Or where did any general council ever decree it? Once again I ask M. Harding, and gently desire his answer, Where did any general council, from the beginning of the world, ever decree that the people should hear their service in a strange unknown tongue? If there be any such council, why doth he not shew it? If there be none, nor never were any, why doth he thus mock the world with the name of a council?

General
Councils.

Cicero saith very well of himself: *Nihil nobis opus erat lege, de quibus nihil esset actum legibus*: "To restore me from exile I needed no law, against whom there was nothing done by law." So may we likewise say, we need no council to restore God's truth, that was taken away from us without a council. Every prince is bound in the whole to see the reformation of his own church and country. Neither will God hold him excused if he say, I will tarry till all other princes and the whole world do the like. Josue, that noble prince, when he had assembled all the tribes of Israel before him, thus he spake unto them: *Si malum vobis videtur, ut serviat Dominus, optio vobis datur: ego autem, et domus mea, serviemus Domino*: "If ye think it ill to serve the Lord, ye shall have your choice; but I and my house will serve the Lord." It pleased God to plant his church in this realm, three hundred years before the first general council was holden at Nice⁶. "The Lord's hand is not shortened." He is likewise able now to reform the same by his holy word, without tarrying for a general council.

Cicero de
Legib. Lib.
iii.

Josh. xxiv.

Polyd.
Gild.
Theod.
Isai. lix.

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

Matt. viii.

M. HARDING. THE THIRTY-SECOND DIVISION.

*Yet all standeth not in understanding. St Augustine saith notably: Turbam non intelligendi vivacitas, sed credendi simplicitas tutissimam facit*⁷: "That, as for the common people, it is not the quickness of understanding, but the simplicity of believing, that maketh them safest of all." And in another place: *Si propter eos solos Christus mortuus est, qui certa intelligentia possunt ista discernere, pene frustra in ecclesia laboramus*⁸: "If Christ," saith he, "died only for them which can with certain or sure understanding discern those⁹ things (concerning God), then is the labour we take in the church in manner in vain." God requireth not so much of us, how much we understand, as how much we believe, and through belief how much we love. And when we shall all appear before Christ, in that dreadful day of judgment, (84) we shall not be required to give an account of our understanding, but (faith presupposed) of our charity.

Contra Mani-
cheos Epist. Fun-
dament. cap. iv.

Ad Eudodum
Epist. 102.

The eighty-
fourth un-
truth. For it
is written:
'He that
knoweth not
shall not be
known.'
1 Cor. xiv.
[31.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

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

Chrysost. in
1 Cor. Hom.
33.

[⁶ Polyd. Verg. Angl. Hist. Basil. 1555. Lib. II. pp. 37, 8. See also before, pages 280, 305.]

[⁷ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. Contr. Epist. Manich. quam voc. Fund. cap. iv. 5. Tom. VIII. col.

153.]

[⁸ Id. ad Evod. Epist. clxix. 4. Tom. II. col. 604.]

[⁹ These, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

into the wind, and speaketh¹ in vain²." And therefore the very substance of the public prayer resteth in the understanding of the hearer.

No man may justly presume of that M. Harding saith: "We shall not render account of our knowledge." For at that terrible day of the Lord we shall assuredly render account of our wilful ignorance. Christ himself, unto whom God hath given all judgment, saith: "If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the pit." And again: "This is the condemnation of the world: light is come into the world; and men love the darkness more than the light." This (saith Christ) is the condemnation of the world. And the wise man saith, the wicked at that terrible time shall make their moan on this sort: *Aberravimus a via veritatis, et justitiæ lumen non fulsit nobis, et sol intelligentiæ non exortus est nobis*: "We strayed from the way of the truth; and the light of justice shined not before us; neither did the sun of understanding arise unto us." Chrysostom oftentimes complaineth of the people's negligence in this behalf: *Non sum, inquis, monachus: uxorem habeo et filios, et curam domus. Hoc illud est quod omnia quasi una quadam peste corrumpit, quod lectionem divinarum scripturarum ad solos putatis monachos pertinere, &c.*³: "Thou wilt say, I am no monk: I have wife, and children, and charge of household. This is it that, as it were with a pestilence, infecteth all together, that ye think the reading of the holy scriptures belongeth only unto monks." He addeth further: *Multo est gravius atque deterius, superfluum esse putare legem Dei, quam illam omnino nescire. Hæc enim verba sunt, quæ de diabolica prorsus meditatione promuntur*⁴: "The fault is greater, and more grievous, to think God's law is superfluous (and not needful for thee), than to be ignorant whether there be any such law, or no. For these words come even from the persuasion of the devil." Again he saith: *Hæc diabolica inspirationis operatio est, non sinentis nos aspicere thesaurum, ne divitias acquiramus. Propterea ille suadet, nihil omnino esse commodi divinas audire leges, ne quando ex auditu sequi videat actionem*⁵: "This is the working of the devil's inspiration: he would not suffer us to see the treasure, lest we should get the riches. Therefore he counselleth us, that it utterly availeth nothing to hear the laws of God, lest that, upon the hearing, he may see our doing follow." Here we see the doctrine of simple ignorance, which M. Harding so stiffly maintaineth, is called by Chrysostom, "The devil's study:" "The devil's judgment:" "The devil's inspiration." And where he saith, "God will call us to no reckoning of our knowledge, or lack of knowledge;" Chrysostom plainly avoucheth the contrary, by these words: *Dices, Non legi: Non est hæc excusatio, sed crimen*⁶: "Thou wilt say, I have not read the scriptures: this is no excuse, but a sin."

Christian simplicity is not wilful ignorance, that is to say, to believe every fable that is told, and to examine and know nothing. As Christ saith, "Be ye simple as doves;" so he also saith, "Be ye wise as serpents." "Take heed ye be not deceived." St Paul saith: "He that knoweth not shall not be known." Chrysostom hereof writeth thus: *Paulus ait, Verbum Christi inhabitet in vobis abundanter. Sed quid ad hæc respondent fucis stultiores? Benedicta omnis anima simplex: Et, Qui simpliciter ambulat, in fiducia ambulat. Hoc videlicet omnium malorum est causa, quod non multi scripturarum testimonia in opportunis rebus sciunt adducere. Non enim eo loco simplex pro stulto, aut pro eo qui nihil novit, intelligendus est; sed pro homine non malo, nec versuto. Nam si ita intelligeretur, supervacaneum fuisset dicere, Estote prudentes, sicut serpentes*⁷: "St Paul saith, 'Let the word of God dwell in you abundantly.' But what will these fools say hereto? O, say they, Blessed is the simple soul: and, He that walketh simply walketh surely. This is the very cause of all mischief, that in cases of necessity there be not many able to allege the scriptures. For a simple man, in that place, may not be taken for a fool, or a man that knoweth nothing; but for a man that meaneth no ill, or worketh no fraud. For if it were to be taken so, it had been

[¹ Speakest, 1565, 1609.]

[² Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. i. ad Cor. Hom. xxxv. Tom. X. cols. 323, 5, 6. The words are not precisely as cited; but the sense is identical.]

[³ Id. In Matt. Hom. ii. Tom. VII. p. 30.]

[⁴ Id. *ibid.*]

[⁵ Id. *ibid.* p. 32.]

[⁶ Id. in Epist. ad Hebr. cap. x. Hom. xvii. Tom. XII. p. 170.]

[⁷ Id. in Joan. Hom. xvii. Tom. VIII. pp. 102, 3.]

in vain for Christ to say, 'Be ye wise as serpents.'" Therefore M. Harding, in the defence of ignorance, thus assuring the world that God will not be offended with want of knowledge, deceiveth the people of God, and saith not the truth. The reason that M. Harding hereof gathereth standeth thus:

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

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

M. HARDING. THE THIRTY-THIRD DIVISION.

[The benefit of prayer uttered in a tongue not understood. H. A. 1564.]

Now, though the people know not the Latin tongue, and albeit it were better they had the service in their own vulgar tongue, for the better understanding of it; yet as it is, forasmuch as (85) it consisteth in manner altogether of the scriptures, that great profit cometh both to the reader and to the hearer of it, Origen sheweth at large in the twentieth homily upon Josue. Because it were over long to bring all that he saith there to this purpose, the sum of the whole may thus be abridged: First, that the heavenly powers and angels of God, which be within us, have great liking in our utterance of the words of the scripture. "Though we understand not the (86) words we utter with our mouth, yet those powers," saith he, "understand them, and thereby be invited, and that with delight, to help us." And speaking of the powers that be within us, to whom charge of our souls and bodies is committed, he saith that, "if the scriptures be read of us, they have pleasure therein, and be made the stronger toward taking heed to us, yea, and that if we speak with tongues, and our spirit pray, and our sense be without fruit." And there he allegeth to that purpose the common place of St Paul to the Corinthians, calling it "marvellous, and in a manner⁹ a mystery," shewing how the spirit prayeth, the sense being without fruit. After this he declareth the evil powers and our ghostly enemy¹⁰ the devil, by our reading and hearing of the scriptures, to be driven from us. "As by enchantments," saith he, "snakes be staid from doing hurt with their venom; so, if there be in us any serpent of contrary power, or if any snake wait privily to mischief us, by virtue of the holy scripture rehearsed (so that for weariness thou turn not away thy hearing) he is put away¹¹." St Augustine confirmeth the same doctrine, where he

The eighty-fifth untruth. For⁸ in the Romish service there are infinite vanities, besides the scriptures.

The eighty-sixth untruth. For Origen speaketh of the ignorance of the allegory, not of the words.

In Prologo Psalmorum.

saith: Psalmus dæmones fugat, angelos in adjutorium invitat¹²: "The psalm (read devoutly, or heard) putteth devils to flight, and provoketh angels to help." At length Origen shewing how by meat or drink we find remedy for sore eyes, though we feel no benefit forthwith in eating or drinking, he concludeth his special part of comparison¹³ with these words: "In this wise we must believe also of the holy scripture, that it is profitable, and doth good to the soul, etiamsi sensus noster ad præsens intelligentiam non capit, although presently our sense do not attain the meaning or understanding; because our good powers by these words be refreshed and fed; and the contrary, that is, our adversary powers, are weakened, and put to flight." At length, making objection to himself on the behalf of his hearers, as though they should lay this doctrine to his charge, for excuse of taking further pains in preaching and expounding the scriptures to them, thereto he answereth, and saith: "No, no, we have not said these to you for that cause, neither have we uttered these things to you for excuse, but to shew you, in scripturis sanctis

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

[⁸ 1565 omits *for*.]

[⁹ In manner, 1565 and H. A. 1564.]

[¹⁰ Enemies, H. A. 1564.]

[¹¹ ...celestes virtutes et angeli Dei, qui nobiscum sunt...libenter et grate accipiunt, si semper verba scripturæ...ex nostro ore promamus; quia etsi nos non intelligimus quæ de ore proferimus, illæ tamen virtutes quæ nobis adsunt intelligunt, et velut carmine quodam invitatae adesse nobis, et ferre auxilium delectantur...Constat ergo multas esse virtutes intra nos, quibus vel animarum nostrarum vel corporum cura permissa est, quæ...cum scripturæ leguntur a nobis, delectantur, et validiores erga nostri diligentiam fiunt, si linguis loquamur, et spiritus noster oret, sensus autem noster sine fructu sit. Dixit enim et hoc sanctus apostolus, et mirum quodammodo myste-

rium humanis auribus protulit, &c....Si quis vestrum aliquando perspexit præcantationibus sopitum serpentem...ita etiam lectionis divinæ virtute, si quis intra nos est contrariæ potestatis serpens, si quis ad insidiandum coluber latet, si patienter feras, si non tædio fatigatus avertas auditum, scripturæ carminibus et divini sermonis assiduitate depellitur.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Lib. Jes. Nav. Hom. xx. 1. Tom. II. p. 444.]

[¹² August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Lib. Psalm. Prolog. Tom. IV. fol. h. 2; where *ad adjutorium*. The Benedictine editor says of this prologue: Ipsa est Basilii ad ejus commentarium in Psalmos præfatio ex interpretatione Rufini.]

[¹³ Of the comparison, H. A. 1564.]

Origen.

esse vim quandam, quæ legenti etiam sine explanatione sufficiat¹: “*That in the holy scriptures there is a certain power or strength, which is sufficient for one that readeth it, yea, without any expounding of it.*” This sufficiency he referreth, I think, to the procuring of the good powers to help us, and to the driving away the malice of evil² powers, our ghostly enemies, that they hurt us not.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding altereth his judgment.

It appeareth M. Harding is not so certain of his doctrine, but he may alter and vary without discredit. He held before for certain, that the ignorant people understandeth the Latin tongue, although not perfectly³, or in exact wise. Now he seemeth to be resolved otherwise, that they understand it not at all. These contrary sayings will hardly stand together, unless he mean, the people’s understanding, and no understanding, is all one thing.

Orig. in Jos. Hom. 23.
περι Αποχ. Lib. iii. cap. iii.
Orig. in Num. Hom. 20.

Origen, as he is here alleged, saith: “That the very reading or hearing of God’s word profiteth much, and rejoiceth the angels both within and about us, although we understand it not.” For better understanding hereof, I must briefly note certain particular opinions that this godly father had of angels and heavenly powers. And to leave much that might be said, he held thus; that angels have their offices allotted unto them diversly, some over trees, some over herbs, some over other things; that some have power to teach grammar, some logic, some rhetoric, some other sciences; and that some others are appointed to guide and guard us in this life, and shall appear before God, at the general judgment, to yield account of our doings⁴. By these it may appear what Origen meaneth by the angels that, as he saith, “be about us.”

M. Harding wresteth Origen from his purpose.
Orig. in Esai. Hom. 2.

His saying is very comfortable unto the simple mind, that delighteth in God’s word, although oftentimes not understanding the deep sense of it. Of reading the scriptures his purpose was to speak, and not of having the service or prayers in a strange tongue. Wherefore M. Harding was the more to blame, thus to wrest his author to a wrong purpose. Origen oftentimes exhorted the people to the reading of the scriptures. Upon Esay the prophet he writeth thus: *Utinam... omnes faceremus illud quod scriptum est, Scrutamini scripturas*⁵: “I would we would all perform that is written, Search the scriptures.”

Orig. in Jos. Hom. 20.

In this place upon Josue he layeth this objection against himself: “It may be said, The scriptures be hard.” He answereth: “Yet, that notwithstanding, if thou read them, they shall do thee good. For the Lord Jesus Christ, if he find us occupied in the scriptures, and exercised in the study thereof, not only vouchsafeth himself to be refreshed and fed in us, but also, seeing such a banquet prepared, bringeth with him his Father unto us⁶.” In the end he concludeth thus: *Hæc... idcirco diximus, ne fastidium capiamus audientes scripturas, etiamsi [eas] non intelligamus*⁷: “These things have I said, that we loathe not to hear the scriptures, although we understand them not.” And thus much Origen spake, not of the grammatical or plain understanding of the scriptures, that riseth of the letter, but of the allegory, or profound sense, whereunto the unlearned cannot well attain. For so he expoundeth his own meaning, writing upon the gospel of St Matthew: *Etiam illi salvantur, qui literam evangelii, hoc est, simplicem narrationem, sequuntur.*

Orig. in Matt. Tract. xxvi.

[¹ Solent medici præbere interdum cibum aliquem, interdum etiam potum dare, verbi gratia ad discutiendam caliginem visus: nec tamen in edendo ipso cibo, vel in potando sentimus quia utile est, et prodest oculis, &c....Hoc ergo modo credendum est etiam de scriptura sancta, quia utilis est, et animæ prodest, etiamsi sensus, &c. quoniam...et bonæ virtutes quæ nobis adsunt, reficiuntur in his sermonibus et pascuntur, et contrariæ torpescunt his meditationibus et effugantur. Sed fortasse dicitur ab auditoribus: Hæc nobis idcirco dicis, ut te ab officio disputationis excuses...Non ista de causa hæc diximus, nec excusantes nos ista protulimus; sed ut ostenderemus in scripturis, &c.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Lib. Jes. Nav. Hom. xx. 2. Tom. II. pp. 444, 5.]

[² Of the evil, H. A. 1564.] [³ Perfiteley, 1565.]

[⁴ Orig. Op. In Lib. Jes. Nav. Hom. xxiii. 3. Tom. II. p. 451.]

Id. De Princip. Lib. III. cap. iii. 2, 3, &c. Tom. I. pp. 143, &c.

Id. in Num. Hom. xx. 4. Tom. II. p. 351.]

[⁵ Id. in Isai. Hom. ii. 2. Tom. III. p. 109.]

[⁶ Quid dico quia divinæ virtutes pascantur... Ipse Dominus noster Jesus Christus si nos inveniat his vacantes, et hujusmodi studiis et exercitiis operam dantes, non solum pasci et refici dignatur in nobis; verum etiam si has epulas apud nos viderit apparatus, Patrem secum dignatur adducere.—Id. in Lib. Jes. Nav. Hom. xx. 1. Tom. II. p. 444.]

[⁷ Id. ibid. 2. ibid.; where intelligimus.]

*Sola enim narratio simplex sufficit simplicioribus ad salutem*⁸: "Even they be saved that follow the letter, that is to say, the plain story of the gospel. For only the simple story is sufficient unto the salvation of the simple." So far forth may the unlearned have profit by reading of the scriptures, although he further understand them not. So likewise saith St Augustine: *Qui diligit legem Dei, etiam quod in ea non intelligit honorat*⁹: "Whoso loveth the law of God honoureth in it even that thing that he understandeth not." Likewise he confesseth of himself, that, at his first entry into the faith of Christ, he received great profit by reading the epistle of St Paul unto the Romans, "although he were not then able thoroughly to conceive the meaning of it"¹⁰; and further, that, by the counsel of St Ambrose, he read the prophet Esay; and, although he fully understood him not, yet was he thereby made the meeter to receive the grace of God¹¹. The like also writeth St Hierome, by way of prophecy of the latter days, before the coming of Christ: *In adventu... Messie... populus elevabitur, et prophetabit, qui sub magistris ante fuerat consopitus, et ibunt ad montes scripturarum: Ibi invenient montes Mosen et Josue filium Naue, montes prophetas, montes novi testamenti, apostolos et evangelistas: et cum ad tales montes confugerit, et in hujusmodi montium fuerit lectione versatus, si non invenerit qui eum doceat, ... tamen illius studium comprobabitur, quod confugerit ad montes*¹²: "At the coming of Messias the people shall be lifted up, and shall prophesy, that before lay asleep under their masters; and they shall go to the mountains of the scriptures, and there shall they find mountains, Moses, and Josue the son of Naue, the mountains of the prophets, the mountains of the new testament, the apostles, and the evangelists. And when they shall flee to such mountains, and shall be occupied in the reading thereof, if they find not one to teach them, yet shall their endeavour and good-will be allowed, for that they have fled unto the mountains." Thus¹³ may the simple have profit by the reading of the scriptures, albeit he fully understand them not. Thus be the angels delighted: thus is the devil molested and grieved with the same; as Origen himself witnesseth by these words: [*Dæmonibus*] *super omnia... est tormentorum genera, et super omnes pœnas, si quem videant verbo Dei operam dare, scientiam divinæ legis et mysteria scripturarum intentis studiis perquirentem*¹⁴: "Unto the devils it is a grief above all kinds of torment, and above all pains, if they see any man labour the word of God, seeking with earnest mind the knowledge of God's law, and the mysteries of the scriptures."

St Augustine, as M. Harding allegeth him, saith: "The psalm chaseth away devils"¹⁵. But St Augustine giveth not such power unto a psalm pronounced only with the lips, in a strange unknown tongue, but unto a psalm understood, and believed, and pronounced from the heart. For to say, The word of God, only because it is written or spoken, is available of itself without understanding, as M. Harding seemeth to say, is a superstitious and a Jewish kind of folly. Chrysostom saw and reproveth the superstition thereof in his time by these words: *Quidam sacerdotes partem aliquam evangelii alligant circa collum. Dic, sacerdos insipiens: Nonne quotidie evangelium in ecclesia legitur, et auditur ab hominibus? Cui ergo in auribus posita evangelia nihil prosunt, quomodo eum poterunt circa collum suspensa salvare?... Ubi est virtus evangelii? In figuris literarum, an in intellectu sensuum*¹⁶? "Certain

Origen.

Aug. in Psal. cxix.

Aug. Confess. Lib. vii. cap. xii.

Aug. Confess. Lib. ix. cap. v.

Hieron. in Nahum. cap. iii.

Orig. in Num. Hom. 27.

August. in Prolog. in Librum Psalm.

Chrysost. in Matt. in Op. Imp. Hom. 43.

[⁸ Litteram autem evangelii qui sequuntur, id est, simplicem narrationem ipsius, salvantur: quoniam et ipsa sola evangelii narratio, &c.—Id. in Matt. Comm. Ser. 27. Tom. III. p. 847.]

[⁹ Qui enim diligit Dei legem, etiam, &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. cxviii. Serm. xxxi. 5. Tom. IV. col. 1360.]

[¹⁰ Probably the passage is intended in which Augustine says: Avidissime arripui... præ ceteris apostolum Paulum: &c.—Id. Confess. Lib. vii. cap. xxi. 27. Tom. I. col. 143; though it was not till afterwards that he attained a spiritual understanding of the scripture.—Id. ibid. Lib. viii. cap. xii. 29. col. 156.]

[¹¹ Et insinuavi... Ambrosio... ut moneret quid potissimum mihi de libris tuis legendum esset, quo percipiendæ tantæ gratiæ paratior aptiorque fierem. At ille jussit Isaiam prophetam... Veruntamen ego

primam hujus lectionem non intelligens... distuli repetendum, &c.—Id. ibid. Lib. ix. cap. v. 13. Tom. I. col. 162.]

[¹² Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Naum Proph. cap. iii. Tom. III. col. 1590; where we find *Christi for Messie, elevabitur et properabit populus, ibi, ibique inveniet, Jesum, hujusmodi, and tunc et illius.*]

[¹³ This, 1563.]

[¹⁴ Orig. Op. In Num. Hom. xxvii. 8. Tom. II. p. 378.]

[¹⁵ See before, page 325, note 12.]

[¹⁶ Phylacteria alligant circa collum, quidam vero partem aliquam evangelii scriptam. Dic &c.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Opus Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xliii. ex cap. xxiii. Tom. VI. p. clxxxiv.]

Origen.

priests there be that bind a piece of the gospel about their necks. Tell me, thou foolish priest, is not the gospel every day read and heard of men in the church? If the gospel do not profit a man being put in his ear, how then can it profit him being tied at his neck? For wherein resteth the power of the gospel? In the form of the letters, or in the understanding of the sense?" So may we say unto M. Harding: Wherein resteth the power of the psalms, wherewith the devil is vanquished? in the bare sound of the words, or in the sense and meaning of the same? Certainly St Augustine saith: The word of God worketh in our hearts, *non quia dicitur, sed quia creditur*¹: "Not because it is spoken, but because it is believed." Likewise saith St Basil: *Non qui ore profert verba psalmi, psallit Domino, sed quicunque de puro corde proferunt psalmodiam*²: "He singeth not unto the Lord that uttereth the words of the psalm, but they that from a pure heart pronounce the psalmody." Likewise Origen: *Fiduciam habet ad Deum, non propter...verba orationis vel psalmi, quamvis videantur bene composita, et de scripturis electa, sed quia...altare cordis sui bene construxit*³: "He that prayeth hath trust in God, not for the words of his prayer, or of the psalm, although they seem to be well made, and chosen out of the scriptures, but because he hath well made up the altar of his heart." This was Origen's whole and only purpose. He exhorteth not the people to hear service in a strange language. Neither is M. Harding able to shew that there was any such service in the whole church of God, either then in Origen's time, or within four hundred years after him. Only he encouraged the people to read the scriptures, yea, although they were not able to reach the bottom of them, as it plainly appeareth by his own words following: *In scripturis sanctis est vis quædam, quæ legenti etiam sine explanatione sufficiat*: "In the holy scriptures there is a certain virtue sufficient for the reader, yea, although they be not expounded." And therefore he allegeth these words of St Paul, "My spirit prayeth, but my sense is without fruit;" not to warrant M. Harding's strange order of prayer, which neither St Paul nor Origen himself ever knew; but only to shew, that as God of his mercy helpeth our weakness in praying, so likewise in reading the scriptures he helpeth our weakness in understanding. St Paul saith: *Quid oremus quemadmodum oporteat, nescimus: sed ipse Spiritus postulat pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus*: "We know not what to pray as it is meet for us to pray; but the Spirit of God entreateth for us with sighs that cannot be expressed." "Thus," saith Origen, "the angels of God delight to see us praying. Thus they delight to see us reading." But if they delight only to see us pray, or hear in a strange tongue we know not what, as M. Harding would gather, then are they the angels of darkness, and not of God.

Out of this place of Origen M. Harding gathereth these reasons: "The angels are delighted to hear us read or pray, although we of our weakness know not thoroughly what we speak;" *ergo*, the people in Origen's time had the common service in a strange tongue. The error or fraud hereof may the better appear by that I have afore⁴ declared. It is called *fallacia ab amphibologia*, that is, of the doubtful taking of one word. For this word, "understanding," hath two significations. For we understand the words, and we understand the meaning of the words. Origen saith: "The people understood not the meaning of the scripture⁵;" *ergo*, saith M. Harding, they understood not the words of the scripture⁶. Again, Origen saith: "They had no full and perfect⁶ understanding;" *ergo*, saith M. Harding, they had no understanding at all. And therein standeth the falsehood⁷ of his argument. And again, the words that Origen writeth of reading the scriptures, M. Harding applieth the same to the common service; and so violently and perforce altereth and depraveth Origen's meaning, and concludeth one thing for another. And thus this good father is drawn in to prove that thing that he never neither knew, nor did, nor willed to be done.

[¹ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. xv. Tractat. lxxx. 3. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 703.]

[² Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Hom. in Psalm xxix. Tom. I. pp. 126, 7.]

[³ Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Matt. Comm.

Ser. 18. Tom. III. p. 842.]

[⁴ Before, 1565.]

[⁵ Scriptures, 1565, 1609.]

[⁶ Perfite, 1565.]

[⁷ Falshead, 1565.]

August.
Tract. lxxx.
in Joh.

Basil. in Psal.
xxix.

Orig. in Matt.
Tract. xxv.

1 Cor. xiv.

Rom. viii.

M. HARDING. THE THIRTY-FOURTH DIVISION.

I trust, wise, godly, and stedfast men, who be not carried about with every wind of doctrine, will be moved more with the authority of Origen, a man always in the judgment of all the christian world accounted most excellently learned, than with the scorning of Calvin, who, speaking of the ancient Latin service used in England and In Institutionib. France, saith: Ad ecclesiam ex sono non intellecto nullus penitus fructus redit⁸: that, "of the sound not understood, no fruit at all returneth to the church;" using that word of despite that might better be spoken by a minstrel of his pipe and tabret, than by a preacher of the divine service. Neither hereof with any milder spirit speaketh his disciple and subminister, Theodoret⁹ Beza, the hot minister of the deformed churches of France: Quæcunque...preces ab aliquo concipiuntur eo idiomate, quod ipse non intelligat, pro Dei ludibrio sunt habendæ¹⁰: "What prayers soever be made," saith he, "of any man in a tongue that he understandeth not, they be to be taken for a mockery of God." Whosoever here alloweth Calvin and Beza, condemned of the church, must condemn Origen, for this point never reprov'd or¹¹ touched of any, that have not spared him wheresoever they could charge him with any error. If all prayers made in an unknown tongue be a mocking to¹² God, as Beza saith, then were the prayers uttered by miracle in the primitive church with tongues, which the utterers themselves understood not, after the mind of Chrysostom, a mocking of God; for I see nothing whereby they are excluded from his (87) general saying and universal proposition. Verily this teaching of Beza is not sound: I ween, if he were out of the protection of his deformed churches, and convented before a catholic bishop to give an account of this doctrine, he would step back and revoke that rash saying again. For else he should seem to grant that God gave at the beginning of the church the gift of tongues to be mocked withal; which were very absurd and blasphemous. St Paul wisheth that all the Corinthians spake with tongues, but rather that they prophesied.

The eighty-seventh untruth. For¹³ this general saying of Chrysostom is untruly reported.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

I marvel much what soundness of doctrine M. Harding can mean, having thus taken upon him to be the proctor of ignorance; or how he can well commend others for constancy and stedfastness, finding himself with so light winds so often removed; or wherefore he should so highly commend that old father Origen, at whose hands he findeth so small relief.

That he thus bitterly chargeth that godly-learned father, John Calvin, for saying thus, "Of the unknown service there redoundeth no manner profit to¹⁴ the church;" it toucheth many others more, and not him only. St Augustine saith thus: *Si [Moses mihi] Hebræa voce loqueretur, frustra pulsaret sensum meum, nec inde mentem meam quicquam tangeret¹⁵*: "If Moses should speak unto me in the Hebrew tongue (for that I understand it not), he should beat my senses in vain; neither should there any thing thereof enter into my mind." St Chrysostom saith: *Nisi dixero quod percipi facile clareque a vobis possit, sed linguarum munere præditum me esse tantum ostendam, nullum ex his quæ non intelligitis fructum facientes abibitis, credo. Nam quæ utilitas esse ex voce non intellecta potest¹⁶?* "Unless I speak that you may plainly and clearly understand, but only shew myself¹⁷ to have the gift of tongues, ye shall depart away, having no fruit of those things that ye understand not. For of a voice that ye know not what profit can ye have?" Again he saith: *Et vos, nisi significantem sonum dederitis...verba vento, hoc est, nemini facietis¹⁸*: "And you, unless ye utter a sound with understanding, ye shall speak to the wind, that is to say, ye shall speak to nobody." And to pass by all others, Nicolas Lyra saith thus: *Si tu sacerdos benedixeris...spiritu, id est,*

August. Confess. Lib. xi. cap. iii.

Chrysost. in 1 Cor. xiv. Hom. 35.

No fruit.

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

[⁸ Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Inst. Lib. III. cap. xx. 33. p. 237; where *quam* for *ecclesiam*.]

[⁹ Theodore, 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

[¹⁰ Bez. Tractat. Theolog. Genev. 1570-3. Confess. cap. iv. 16. Vol. I. p. 11.]

[¹¹ Nor, H. A. 1564.]

[¹² Of, 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

[¹³ 1565 omits *for*.]

[¹⁴ Unto, 1565, 1609.]

[¹⁵ August. Op. Confess. Lib. xi. cap. iii. 5. Tom. I. col. 197.]

[¹⁶ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. i. ad Cor. Hom. xxxv. Tom. X. p. 323.]

[¹⁷ Meself, 1565.]

[¹⁸ Chrysost. *ibid*.]

The Latin
church.
The
Psalms.
No profit.

*absque hoc quod populus intelligat, ... quid proficit populus simplex et non intelligens*¹? "If thou, being the priest, do bless with thy spirit, that is to say, if the people understand thee not, what profit hath the simple people thereby, not understanding thee?" Therefore, as M. Harding saith M. Calvin in this point was a scorner, so might he as well have said, St Augustine, St Chrysostom, Nicolas Lyra, and others, are all scorners.

"If all prayers," saith M. Harding, "made in a strange tongue be a mocking of God, as Beza saith, then were the prayers uttered by miracle in the primitive church with tongue which the utterers themselves understood not, after the mind of Chrysostom, a mocking of God." This exposition of Chrysostom is very strange, and agreeth with few others; and yet is the same here by M. Harding untruly reported. For Chrysostom saith not, that whosoever in the primitive church uttered the prayers with tongue understood not himself what he said; but plain the contrary. For thus he saith: *Linguis loquens se ipsum ædificat: quod quidem fieri non potest, nisi quæ loquatur norit*²: "He that speaketh with tongues profiteth himself; which cannot be unless he understand what he saith." And he addeth further: *Et hactenus quidem disputat de illis, qui ea, quæ loquuntur, intelligunt*³: "Hitherto St Paul disputeth of them that understand what they say." Hereby it is plain that M. Harding's general proposition is not generally true. "But others," Chrysostom saith, "there were that abused the gift of tongues, and knew not themselves what they said"⁴. And whether this were a mocking of God or no; let M. Harding judge. Chrysostom saith: "It was a confusion of the church, a bragging and ostentation of themselves, without consideration either of themselves or of others; that such a one was Simon Magus; that such were the Jews that betrayed themselves unto the devil"⁵. And St Augustine compareth them unto ousels, pies, and ravens, that cry and chatter they know not what⁶. Therefore I doubt not but M. Beza's exposition will stand, both before God, and also before any good catholic bishop.

Chrysost.
1 Cor. xiv.
Hom. 35.

Eadem
homilia.

M. HARDING. THE THIRTY-FIFTH DIVISION.

If our new masters condemn the Latin service in the Latin church, for that the people understand it not; thereof it must⁷ follow, that the English service, so much of it as consisteth of David's Psalms, which is the most part, be also condemned. The like may be said of other nations. For how many shall we find, not of the people only, but also of the best learned men, that understand the meaning of them, in what tongue soever they be set forth? St Hilary compareth the book of Psalms to a heap of keys, that be to open the doors of every house of a great city, laid together: amongst⁸ whom it is hard to find which key serveth which lock; and without the right key no door can be opened⁹. St Augustine likeneth the people of Africa, singing the psalms which they understood not, to ousels, popinjays, ravens, pies, and such other birds, which be taught to sound they know not what⁶; and yet they understood the tongue they sung¹⁰ them in. And therefore he exhorteth them to learn the meaning of them at his preaching, lest they should sing not with human reason (as it¹¹ is before recited), but with voice only, as birds do.

[¹ Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. Ad Cor. i. cap. xiv. Pars VI. fol. 55. 2. See before, page 309, note 4.]

[² Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. i. ad Cor. Hom. xxxv. Tom. X. p. 322.]

[³ Id. *ibid.*]

[⁴ Καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ χάρισμα εὐχῆς ἔχοντες πολλοὶ μετὰ γλώττης...ὁ νοῦς δὲ οὐκ ᾔδει τὸ λεγόμενον.—Id. *ibid.* p. 325.]

[⁵ ...σύγχυσις ἐσται...τὸ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐπίδειξιν ἔχει μόνον, κ. τ. λ....τοιούτους ἦν ὁ Σίμων, ὃς ἐπειδὴ πρὸς δόξαν εἶδε κενὴν, οὐδὲ τὸ ἐαυτοῦ χρήσιμον εἶδε. τοιοῦτοι καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι, οἱ διὰ ταύτην τῷ διαβόλῳ τὴν οἰκείαν προέπιον σωτηρίαν.—Id. *ibid.*

pp. 325, 6.]

[⁶ See before, pages 282, 3.]

[⁷ Must it, 1565, 1609 and H. A. 1564.]

[⁸ Among, 1565, 1609 and H. A. 1564.]

[⁹ Nam liber omnis [psalmodum] similis est urbi pulcræ atque magnæ, cui ædes complures diversæque sint, quarum fores propriis clavibus diversisque claudantur: quæ cum unum in locum congestæ permixtæque sint, volenti unamquamque ædem aperire, maximam ignaro afferant difficultatem, ut clavem uniuscujusque ædis inveniat.—Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Prolog. in Lib. Psalm. 24. col. 13.]

[¹⁰ Sang, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[¹¹ H. A. 1564 omits it.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

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

The
Psalms.
Esth. iii. 8.

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

We grant, the psalms be hard, as it is alleged, for the deep senses, and high mysteries, and secret prophecies of Christ and of his church therein contained. Besides that, M. Harding hath found out a bunch of keys in St Hilary wherewith to shut out all the people. Notwithstanding the right use of keys is rather to open than to shut. Chrysostom saith: *Clavis...est verbum scientie scripturarum, per quam aperitur hominibus janua veritatis*¹²: "The key is the word of knowledge of the scriptures, by the which the gate of the truth is opened unto men." And Tertullian likewise saith: *Clavis est interpretatio legis*¹³: "The key is the exposition of the law." And therefore Christ saith: "Wo be unto you, ye scribes and Pharisees, that shut up the kingdom of God before men; for ye enter not yourselves, neither suffer others that would enter." And thus they do, saith Tertullian, *Docentes potius praecepta et doctrinas hominum*¹⁴: "Teaching rather the commandments and doctrines of men." But if there be so many keys bound together, what if M. Harding have missed in his choice, and have taken one key for another?

Chrysost. in
Op. Imp. in
Matt. cap.
xxiii.

Tertul. contra
Marc. Lib. iv.
Matt. xxiii.

His reason standeth thus: The simple people understandeth not the deep meaning of the psalms; *ergo*, they understand nothing in the psalms. By this key M. Harding may happen to shut out himself. This is a false kind of reasoning, which in the schools is called *A secundum quid ad simpliciter*. For albeit the people understand not all the high mysteries of the scriptures, yet it followeth not that therefore they understand nothing in the scriptures. For in the scriptures there is both strong meat for men, and also milk for children; "and in the same," saith St Gregory, "the elephant may swim, and the lamb may wade afoot"¹⁵.

Greg. in
Epist. ad
Leandr.

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

Verily it appeareth both by David himself, and also by sundry old fathers, that the simplest of all the people were able to understand the psalms. David exhorteth "young men and maids, old men and children, to praise the name of the Lord." Children were able to receive Christ with psalms, and to sing aloud, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord;" and applied the same aptly unto Christ. St Hierome saith: "The poor husbandman sung the psalms at his plough"¹⁶. St Basil exhorteth the artificer "to sing psalms in his

Psal. cxlviii.

Matt. xxi.

Hieron. ad
Marcell.
Basil. in Psal.

[¹² Chrysost. Op. Opus Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xlv. ex cap. xxiii. Tom. VI. p. clxxxvi.]

[¹³ Quam vero clavem habebant legis doctores, nisi interpretationem legis?—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Marcion. Lib. iv. 27. p. 549.]

[¹⁴ Id. ibid.]

[¹⁵ Quasi quidam...est fluvius...in quo et agnus

ambulet, et elephas natet.—Gregor. Magn. Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Ad Leandr. cap. iv. De Expos. Lib. Job. Tom. I. cols. 5, 6.]

[¹⁶ Quoquumque te verteris, arator stivam tenens, alleluia decantat. Sudans messor psalmis se avocat, &c.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Paul et Eustoch. ad Marcell. Epist. xlv. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 552.]

The
Psalms.

Chrysost. ad
Coloss. Hom.
9.
Prolog. in
Psalm.
Theod. Lib.
iv. cap. xix.
In Prolog.
in Psalm.

shop¹." Apollinaris turned the psalms into Greek verses, that children might learn them in the schools². St Chrysostom saith unto the father: "Teach thy child to sing the psalms³." St Augustine saith: "Psalms were purposely made that young men and children might learn to sing them⁴." Protogenes in the stead of poets' fables, and other like things, gave David's psalms to children to expound⁵. And that every of these understood what they sung, it may appear by these words of St Augustine: *Simul et cantare videmur, et quod ad animæ utilitatem pertinet, docemur*⁶: "Both we seem to sing, and also withal are taught that thing that is profitable for our soul." Therefore, if any in Africa sung they knew not what, St Augustine compareth them to ravens or popinjays. But will M. Harding thereof conclude thus: They that know not what they sing, sing like ravens or popinjays; *ergo*, the people ought to have their service in a strange tongue?

M. HARDING. THE THIRTY-SIXTH DIVISION.

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

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

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

James iv.
Psalm. xxxiv.
1 Cor. i.
John x.

M. HARDING. THE THIRTY-SEVENTH DIVISION.

And whereas of the service in the vulgar tongue the people will frame lewd and perverse meanings of their own lewd senses; so of the Latin service they will make no constructions either of false doctrine or of evil life. And as (88) the vulgar service pulleth their minds from private devotion to hear and not to pray, to little benefit of knowledge, for the obscurity of it; so the Latin giveth⁷ them no such motion; they occupy themselves, whiles the priest prayeth for all and in the person of all, in their private prayers, all for all, and every one for himself.

The eighty-
eighth un-
truth. For
the vulgar
service in-
creaseeth de-
votion, as by
sundry autho-
rities it shall
appear.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

He that understandeth what he heareth read, saith M. Harding, hath his mind wandering, and is drawn abroad with vain imaginations. But whoso understandeth not one word at all, neither what he heareth, nor what he speaketh himself, hath his mind closely fixed upon that he speaketh. Thus M. Harding,

[¹ τὰ δὲ τῶν ψαλμῶν λόγια καὶ κατ' οἶκον μελωδοῦσι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀγορᾷ περιφέρουσι.—Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Hom. in Psalm. i. Tom. I. p. 90.]

[² This work is still extant. It may be seen in Biblioth. Patr. per M. de la Bigne, Par. 1624. Tom. VIII. pp. 163, &c. See Cave, Script. Eccles. Hist. Lit. Oxon. 1740-3. Vol. I. p. 225.]

[³ Διδαξον αὐτὸν ἄδειν ψαλμοὺς, κ. τ. λ.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Col. cap. iii. Hom. ix. Tom. XI. p. 392.]

[⁴ Propterea ergo psalmodum nobis per modulos apta sunt carmina, ut qui vel ætate puerili, vel adulescentes sunt moribus, quasi cantilena quadam psalentes delectari videantur.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Lib. Psalm. Prolog. Tom. IV. fol. h. 2.]

[⁵ Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Scrip. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. iv. cap. xviii. p. 172.]

[⁶ August. Op. In Lib. Psalm. Prolog. Tom. IV. fol. h. 2; where *videmur, utilitatem animæ, and doceamur.*]

[⁷ Giving, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

as he hath made a new divinity, so is he also bold to make a new philosophy. For, naturally, the mind, understanding what it heareth or readeth, and being attentive unto the same, hath less cause to wander and stray abroad. St Basil saith: *Lingua psallat; mens autem scrutetur sensum eorum quæ dicis: ut psallas spiritu, et psallas etiam mente*⁸: "Let thy tongue sing; and let thy mind search out the meaning of that thou speakest, that thou mayest sing with thy spirit, and sing also with thy mind."

The
Psalms.

Basil. in Psal.
xxviii.

But forasmuch as M. Harding saith the understanding of the priest is a hindrance unto private devotion, in favour whereof he utterly defaceth the public prayers; it shall behove us to consider what the old fathers have thought in that behalf. Chrysostom thereof writeth thus: *Non æque exoras, cum solus Dominum obsecras, atque cum fratribus tuis. Est enim in hoc plus aliquid, videlicet concordia, conspiratio, copula amoris, et caritatis, et sacerdotum clamores. Præsumunt enim ob eam rem sacerdotes, ut populi orationes, quæ infirmiores per se sunt, validiores illas complexæ simul in cælum evehantur*⁹: "Thou dost not so soon obtain thy desire when thou prayest alone unto the Lord, as when thou prayest with thy brethren. For herein there is somewhat more, the concord, the consent, the joining of love and charity, and the cry of the priests. For to that end the priests are made overseers, that they, being the stronger sort, may take with them the weaker prayers of the people, and carry them up into heaven." Likewise again he saith: *Quod quis apud se ipsum precatus accipere non poterit, hoc cum multitudine precatus accipiet. Quare? Quia etiamsi non propria virtus, tamen concordia multum potest*¹⁰: "The thing that a man cannot obtain praying by himself alone, praying together with the multitude he shall obtain. And why so? For although not his own worthiness, yet the concord and unity prevaileth much." Thus then stood the order of Christ's church: the whole multitude gave ear unto the priest, and at the end of his prayer lifted up their voices unto heaven all together, and said, Amen; which voice oftentimes was so great, that, as it is aforesaid, St Hierome likeneth it unto a thunder-clap; St Basil, unto the roaring of the sea. At that time M. Harding's private devotion, as it is now used in his church, would have been called private superstition. And whereas he thus strangely saith, devotion is hindered by understanding; his own doctor, Nicolas Lyra, saith otherwise, and condemneth him: *Si populus intelligat orationem... sacerdotis, melius reducitur in Deum et devotius respondet Amen*¹¹: "If the people understand the prayer of the priest, they are the better reduced unto God, and with more devotion they answer, Amen." The emperor Justinian, where he commandeth all bishops and priests to minister the service with a loud voice, giveth this reason withal: *Ut mentes audientium ad majorem animi compunctionem, et ad reddendam Domino gloriam excitentur*¹²: "That the minds of the hearers may be stirred up to more devotion, and to render praise unto the Lord." And St Basil saith: *Tanquam ab uno ore et uno corde confessionis psalmum offerunt Domino; et verba pœnitentiæ eorum quisque proprie ascribit sibi*¹³: "As it were from one mouth, and from one heart, they offer up unto the Lord the psalm of confession, and the words of repentance every of them applieth particularly unto himself." So likewise it is written in the prologue before St Augustine upon the psalms: *Quomodo debite potest Deo psallere, qui ignorat quid psallat*¹⁴? "How can he sing duly (or devoutly) unto God, that knoweth not what he singeth?" It is thought by these, notwithstanding M. Harding's contrary and private judgment, that the understanding of the public service is no hindrance unto devotion; and their authority in this case may serve, unless M. Harding will condemn them altogether, as he doth others, for "new masters."

Chrysost. de
Incomp. Dei
Nat. Hom.
3.

Chrysost. in
2 ad Thess.
Hom. 4.

Lyra in 1 Cor.
xiv.

In Novell. de
Eccles. Diversis
Capitulis.
eis πλείονα
καταύξειν.
Basil. ad
Cler. Neoc.

Prolog. in
Aug. super
Psal.

[⁸ Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Hom. in Psalm. xxviii. Tom. I. p. 123.]

[⁹ Chrysost. Op. De Incomp. contr. Anom. Hom. iii. Tom. I. p. 469.]

[¹⁰ Id. In 11. Epist. ad Thess. cap. iii. Hom. iv. Tom. XI. p. 535.]

[¹¹ Bibl. cum. Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. Ad Cor. i. cap. xiv. Pars VI. fol. 55. 2.]

[¹² Justin. Princ. Novell. Constit. Basil. 1561. Const. cxxxvii. pp. 409, 10. See also before, page 287, note 10.]

[¹³ Basil. Op. Ad Cler. Neoc. Epist. ccvii. 3. Tom. III. p. 161.]

[¹⁴ August. Op. Præf. ejusd. Recent. in Comm. August. Tom. IV. fol. h. 2; where *Deo psallere potest, and quid psallat ignorat.*]

Prayers,
common
and
private.

The eighty-ninth untruth. For the service in the vulgar tongue never was cause of schism or heresy.

M. HARDING. THE THIRTY-EIGHTH DIVISION.

(89) *The nations that have ever had their service in the vulgar tongue, the people thereof have continued in schisms, errors, and certain Judaical observances, so as they have not been reckoned in the number of the catholic church: as the Christians of Moscovia, of Armenia, of Prester John his land in Ethiopia. Bessarion, asking by way of a question of the Greeks his countrymen, what church that is against the which hell-gates shall never prevail, answereth himself, and saith: Aut... Latina aut Græca est ecclesia: tertia enim dari non potest: siquidem aliæ omnes hæresibus sunt plenæ, quas sancti patres et generales synodi condemnarunt*¹: *"Either it is the Latin or the Greek church; for there is no third that can be granted. For all other churches be full of heresies, which the holy fathers and general councils have condemned."* Wherefore of these churches no example ought to be taken for service in the vulgar tongue; as neither of the churches of Russia, and Moravia, and certain other, to whom, above six hundred years past, it was granted to have the mass in the Sclavons' tongue, through special licence thereto obtained of the see apostolic by Cyrillus and Methodius, that first converted them to the faith. Which manner of service, so many of them as be catholic, for good causes have left, and used² the Latin, as other Latin churches do. Concerning the rest yet keeping their Sclavon tongue, beside other errors and defaults, for which they are not herein to be esteemed worthy to be followed, we may say of them the words of Gregory Nazianzene: *Privilegia paucorum non faciunt legem communem*: *"The privileges of a few make not a thing lawful in common."*

[Such nations as use church service in their own tongue continue in schisms. H. A. 1564.]

In Epistola ad Græcos.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

This argument seemeth to hold thus: Service in the vulgar tongue is cause of schisms and errors; *ergo*, within six hundred years after Christ it was ministered in some place in a tongue unknown unto the people. The force of this conclusion is evident: a very child may soon see through it. If the antecedent were true, then should the Jews, the Greeks, and the Latins, which evermore had their service in the vulgar tongue, for that cause have been full of schisms and errors. St Augustine, St Hierome, and other fathers, say that pride and wilfulness of mind³, Tertullian saith that knowledge of philosophy and affiance of learning, hath caused division and heresies in the church, and therefore calleth the philosophers the patriarchs of heretics⁴. The bishops in the council of Toledo say thus: *Ignorantia est mater omnium errorum*⁵: "Ignorance is the mother of all error." But that the understanding of the common service was ever thought the cause of schism or error in the church, I think it was never either written or spoken by any old doctor, either Greek or Latin, or Jew or Gentile. Epiphanius reckoneth up four-score sundry heresies that had been before his time⁶; St Augustine reckoneth four-score and nine⁷. Yet do they not say that any one of all those heresies ever sprang of understanding the common service. No man would say thus but M. Harding: neither will M. Harding thus say, when, faction and contention laid apart, he shall either say that he knoweth, or have regard to that he saith.

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

[¹ Bessar. ad Græc. Epist. in Odor. Raynald. Cont. Baron. Annal. Eccles. Luc. 1747-56. Tom. X. p. 369; where *ecclesia est*, and *omnes aliæ*.]

[² Use, H. A. 1564.]

[³ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Bapt. contr. Donatist. Lib. III. 27. Tom. IX. col. 120.]

[⁴ ... hæreticorum patriarchæ philosophi.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Hermog. 8. p. 269.]

[⁵ Ignorantia mater cunctorum errorum.—Concil. Tolet. iv. cap. 24. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 201.]

[⁶ Epiph. Κατὰ Αἰρεσέων Ὁγδοήκοντα. Op. Par. 1622. Tom. I. p. 1.]

[⁷ August. Op. Lib. de Hæc. Tom. VIII. cols. 4, 5. Augustine here reckons up 88 heresies.]

Tertull. contra Hermog.

Concil. Tolet. iv. cap. 24.

Epiph. De Hæres. August. ad Quodvult Deum.

"The Christians of Russia and Moravia," saith M. Harding, "afterward upon good causes received the Latin service." Howbeit of all these good causes he uttereth none. But after Cyrillus and Methodius by long preaching and great pains had converted them to the faith of Christ, and, for the better continuance of that they had begun, were desirous that the people so converted might have their common service in their mother-tongue, and the matter stood in suspense at Rome, in the consistory, before the bishop there and his cardinals, a voice was heard by an angel from heaven: *Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum: et omnis lingua confiteatur ei*: "Let every spirit praise the Lord; and let every tongue make confession unto him." By this story it appeareth, the angel of God from heaven was author that these nations should have their service in their common tongue. Now if M. Harding be able to shew that either evangelist, or angel, or voice from heaven, ever willed them to leave their own natural speech, and to use the Latin, then may he say they had good causes so to do. Bessarion's authority in this case cannot seem great, both for other sundry causes, which I leave, and also for that he lived at the least fourteen hundred years after Christ; and, being out of his own country, and created cardinal, and bishop of Tusculum, he manifestly flattered the bishop of Rome.

Æn. Sylv.
Hist. Bohem.
cap. x. ii.

M. HARDING. THE THIRTY-NINTH DIVISION.

Wherefore to conclude, seeing (90) in six hundred years after Christ the service of the church was not in any other than in the Greek and Latin tongue, for that any man is able to shew by good proof, and the same not understood of all people; seeing the authorities by M. Jewel alleged import no necessary argument, nor direct commandment of the vulgar tongue, but only of plain and open pronouncing, and that where the tongue of the service was understood; seeing the church of the English nation had their service in the Latin tongue, to them unknown, well near a thousand years past; seeing the place of St Paul to the Corinthians either pertaineth not to this purpose, or, if it be so granted, for the diversity of states of that and of this our time, it permitteth a diversity of observation in this behalf, though some likeness and resemblance yet reserved; seeing great profit cometh to the faithful people having it so as they understand it not; finally, seeing the examples rehearsed herein to be followed be of small authority in respect either of antiquity or of true religion; as the bold assertion of M. Jewel is plainly disproved, so the old order of the Latin service in the Latin church, whereof England is a province, is not rashly to be condemned; specially whereas, (91) being first committed to the churches by the apostles of our country, and the first preachers of the faith here, it hath been authorised by continuance almost of a thousand years without control or gainsaying, to the glory of God, the wealth of the people, and the¹⁰ procuring of help from heaven always to this land.

The ninetieth untruth. For the contrary is sufficiently proved in the fifteenth division of this article. A heap of untruths laid together.

And to add hereunto thus¹¹ much last of all, though it might be granted that it were good the service were in the vulgar tongue, as in English for our country of England; yet doubtless good men and zealous keepers of the catholic faith will never allow the service devised in king Edward's time, now restored¹² again, not so much for the tongue it is in, as for the order itself and disposition of it, lacking some things necessary, and having some other things (92) repugnant to the faith and custom of the catholic church.

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

The ninety-second untruth, joined with a slander. For our service containeth nothing contrary to the faith.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here, M. Harding, it appeareth ye begin to mislike your own dealing, that, after so many words, and so great a countenance of learning, ye should be found so nakedly and so unsensibly to deceive the people. And therefore, having no manner authority of ancient council or doctor to allege against the English tongue in the church of England, yet, lest in the end, having said so much, ye

[⁸ Æn. Sylv. Op. Basil. 1571. Hist. Bohem. cap. xiii. p. 91.]

[⁹ 1565 omits for.]

[¹⁰ H. A. 1564 omits the.]

[¹¹ This, 1565 and H. A. 1564.]

[¹² Restore, 1611.]

should seem to say nothing, ye begin to find fault with the order of our service, and, without any manner of proof, ye say there are many things therein contained contrary to the catholic faith; and so, contrary to your own knowledge, ye maintain one untruth by another.

You know that we serve God according to his holy word, and the order of his primitive church. For, as Tertullian saith the christian people did in his time: *Coimus ad divinarum scripturarum commemorationem, si quid præsentium temporum qualitas aut præmonere cogit, aut recognoscere. Certe fidem sanctis vocibus pascimus, spem erigimus, fiduciam figimus*¹: "We meet together to hear the rehearsal of the holy scriptures, if the state of the present time do force us either to forewarn anything, or else to call anything to remembrance. Verily we feed our faith with those holy words, we confirm our hope, we assure our trust." We minister the holy sacraments in pure and reverent sort: we baptize in the name of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost: we receive the sacrament of Christ's body and blood from the holy table: we make our humble confession and fall to the ground, and pray all together, with one heart, and one voice, in spirit and truth; and specially we pray for you, and for such others, that ye may consider from whence ye are fallen, and repent yourselves, and return to God: we excommunicate open offenders: we receive again them that shew themselves penitent: we instruct our youth in the faith of Christ: we make collections and provide charitably for the poor. Of all these things what one thing is contrary to the catholic faith? O M. Harding, it is written: "The mouth that lieth destroyeth the soul." And Christ saith: "The blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall never be forgiven, neither in this life, nor in the life to come."

Now, good christian reader, for the better contenting of thy mind, I beseech thee to look back and to consider the whole substance of all that M. Harding hath laid in for proof of this article, what weight it beareth, and how well it serveth to his purpose. He hath entreated largely of singing in the quire, at what time and where it first began, and likewise hath proved, by a great long discourse of situation of countries and diversity of tongues, that neither all the east part of the world understood the Greek, nor all the people of Africa, Mauritania, Spain, and France, understood the Latin; which labour in this case was nothing needful. But that all the nations of the east part had their service in the Greek tongue, and that all the people of Africa, Mauritania, Spain, and France, had their service in the Latin tongue, (which thing only stood in question, and therefore was only to be proved,) he hath hitherto utterly left unproved. Touching the public service within this island, the story of Augustine of Rome, and Edda, and Putta, and other poets and singing-men, as I have shewed, standeth him in small stead. Contrary to his own knowledge, he saith that the fourteenth chapter of St Paul to the Corinthians cannot necessarily be applied to this purpose. And further he saith, that even from the apostles' time the priest evermore made his prayers in the quire, far off from the hearing of the people; that the ignorant people understandeth the Latin tongue, although not in most exact wise, or perfectly²; that they are now better instructed in the articles of the faith than they were in the time of the apostles; that it is sufficient for them now to be taught by gestures and ceremonies; and that they have great profit by hearing their service, although they know not what they hear. Again, he saith that the Greek and Latin be learned tongues, and therefore all the service of the church, throughout the whole world, ought to be ministered in one of them; that all the psalms and all other scriptures are hard, and far pass the capacity of the people; that understanding of the matter causeth the mind to wander; and, to be short, that prayer in the common tongue hath evermore bred schisms and divisions in the church. He hath openly falsified Strabo, Justinian, Origen, Chrysostom, and others, and hath forced them to say the thing they never meant.

This is the whole summary of all that he had to say. Hereof he would seem to conclude, that within the first six hundred years after Christ the common service was ministered openly in a tongue unknown unto the people; albeit, he

Tertull. in
Apolog.

Wisd. i.
Matt. xii.

[¹ Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Apologet. 39. p. 34; where *literarum divinarum*.]

[² Perfitely, 1565.]

hath hitherto alleged neither scripture, nor council, nor decree, nor doctor, nor example, or practice of the primitive church, to prove the same.

Of the other side, it is sufficiently proved of our part, that the fourteenth chapter to the Corinthians must of necessity belong to the use of common prayers; and that in the primitive church the service was everywhere ministered in the vulgar tongue; and that the priest and the people prayed all together³. I have proved, not only that the nations that understood Greek or Latin had their service in the Greek or Latin tongue, but by Theodoretus, Sozomenus, St Ambrose, and St Hierome, that the Syrians had their service in the Syrian tongue⁴; by St Basil, that the Egyptians had their service in the Egyptian tongue, the Lybians, the Thebans, the Palestines, the Arabians, and the Phœnicians, each of them in their own tongue⁵; by Origen, that all barbarous people had their service in their several barbarous tongues⁶; by Sulpitius, that the people of France, then called Gallia, had their service in the French tongue⁶. St Hierome saith: *Vox quidem dissona, sed una religio. Tot pene psallentium chori, quot gentium diversitates*⁷: "The voice is divers; but the religion is all one. There be well near so many companies of people singing as there be diversities of nations." To be short, I have proved by St Chrysostom, and by Lyra, and others, that there can no manner profit redound unto the people of prayers made in a strange tongue.

Seeing therefore M. Harding's doctrine standeth upon so simple grounds, as I have shewed, and serveth only to maintain ignorance, and the kingdom of darkness, it is now thy part, gentle reader, to judge indifferently between us, both how justly he hath coloured the same with such a face of antiquity, and also how truly and substantially he hath answered my assertion.

[³ See before, pages 287, 9, 308, 9.]

[⁴ See before, pages 268, 70, 90.]

[⁵ See before, page 290.]

[⁶ See before, page 298.]

[⁷ Paul. et Eustoch. ad Marcell. Epist. xlv. in Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 551.]

Justinian,
Lyra, et
Thom.

Hieron. ad
Marcell.