

OF REAL PRESENCE.

THE FIFTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

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

[OF THE TERMS REALLY, SUBSTANTIALLY, CORPORALLY, CARNALLY, NATURALLY, FOUND IN THE DOCTORS TREATING OF THE TRUE BEING OF CHRIST'S BODY IN THE BLESSED SACRAMENT.

—ARTICLE V. H. A. 1564.]

M. HARDING. THE FIRST DIVISION.

(126) *Christian people hath ever been taught that the body and blood of Jesus Christ, by the unspeakable working of the grace of God and virtue of the Holy Ghost, is present in this most holy sacrament, and that verily and indeed. This doctrine is founded upon the plain words of Christ, which he uttered in the institution of this sacrament, expressed by the evangelists and by St Paul. As they were at* The hundred and twenty-sixth untruth. For M. Harding is not able to prove that the people in the primitive church was thus taught.

supper, saith Matthew, Jesus took bread and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said¹: "Take ye, eat ye, this is my body;" and, taking the cup, he gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying: "Drink ye all of this; for this is my blood of the new testament, which shall be shed for many in remission of sins."

With like words almost Mark, Luke, and Paul do describe this divine institution. Neither said our Lord only, "This is my body;" but, lest some should doubt how his words are to be understood, for a plain declaration of them, he addeth this further, "which is given for you." Likewise of the cup he saith not only, "This is my blood;" but also, as it were to put it out of all doubt, "which shall be shed for many."

Now, as faithful people do believe that Christ gave not a figure of his body, but his own true and very body in substance; and likewise not a figure of his blood, but his very precious blood itself at his passion and death on the cross for our redemption; so they believe also that the words of institution² of this sacrament admit no other understanding, but that he giveth unto us in these holy mysteries his self-same body and his self-same blood in truth of substance, which was crucified and shed forth for us. Thus to the humble believers scripture itself ministereth sufficient argument of the truth of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, against the sacramentaries, who hold opinion, that it is there but in a figure, sign, or token (127) only.

The hundred and twenty-seventh untruth. For this is no part of our doctrine.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

I know not well whether M. Harding do this of purpose, or else it be his manner of writing. But this I see, that, being demanded of one thing, he always turneth his answer to another. The question is here moved, "whether Christ's body be really and corporally³ in the sacrament." His answer is, that Christ's body is joined and united really and corporally unto us. And herein he bestoweth his whole treaty, and answereth not one word unto the question.

In the former articles he was able to allege some forged authorities, some counterfeit practice of the church, some words of the ancient doctors, although mistaken, some shew of natural and worldly reason, or, at the least wise, some

[¹ Saith, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[² The institution, 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

[³ Corporal, 1611.]

colour or shift of words. But in this matter, for direct proof he is able to allege nothing; no, not so much as the help and drift of natural reason.

Where he saith, "Christian people hath ever been thus taught from the beginning," it is great marvel that either they should be so taught without a teacher; or their teacher should thus instruct them, without words; or such words should be spoken, and never written. Verily M. Harding, by his silence and want herein, secretly confesseth that these words, really, carnally, &c. in this matter of the sacrament, were never used of any ancient writer; for if they were, either he or his fellows would have found them.

But Christ saith: "This is my body;" "this is my blood;" and to put the matter out of doubt, he addeth, "which is given for you;" "which shall be shed for you." Hereupon M. Harding foundeth his carnal presence; notwithstanding Christ himself useth not any of these words, nor any other word leading thereunto. And doctor Fisher, sometime bishop of Rochester, a famous man of M. Harding's side, saith expressly, that this sense cannot in any wise be gathered of the bare words of Christ. For thus he writeth: *Hactenus Matthæus; qui et solus testamenti novi meminit. Neque ullum hic verbum positum est, quo probetur, in nostra missa veram fieri carnis et sanguinis Christi præsentiam*¹: "Hitherto St Matthew; who only maketh mention of the new testament. Neither are there any words here written, whereby it may be proved that in our mass is made the very presence of the body and blood of Christ." And further he avoucheth it thus: *Non potest igitur per ullam scripturam probari*²: "Therefore it cannot be proved by any scripture." Here we see great variety of judgment in M. Harding's own side, and that in matters of greatest weight. M. Harding thinketh his carnal presence is proved sufficiently by these words of Christ, "This is my body:" Doctor Fisher contrariwise saith: "It cannot be proved, neither by these words of the scripture, nor by any other." And yet it was ever thought M. Fisher was as learned in every respect as M. Harding.

And, albeit M. Harding lay such hold upon these words of Christ, as if they were so plain, yet others of his friends, by their diverse and sundry constructions touching the same, have made them somewhat dark and doubtful, and cannot yet thoroughly agree upon them. Some of them say, "Christ's natural body is in the sacrament, howbeit not naturally:" some others say, "It is there both naturally, and also sensibly:" some of them say precisely, "Never man used either of these two terms, naturally or sensibly, in this case of Christ's presence in the sacrament." Yet others of them put the matter out of doubt, and say, "Christ is there present naturally"³. And in the council holden in Rome under pope Nicolas the second, it was determined, and Berengarius forced to subscribe, that Christ is in the sacrament sensibly; or, as they then grossly uttered it in Latin, *sensualiter*⁴. Some of them say: "Christ's body is not divided or broken in the sacrament, but only the accidents"⁵. But pope Nicolas with his whole council saith: "Christ's body itself is touched with fingers, and divided, and broken, and rent with teeth, and not only the accidents"⁴. Thus, to leave other more contrarities, it is plain hereby that the best learned of that side are not yet fully agreed upon the sense of Christ's words, notwithstanding their suitors and well-willers are otherwise persuaded of them. And doth M. Harding believe that christian people were thoroughly resolved herein, when their doctors and teachers were not resolved; or that the scholars were better instructed than their masters?

Now, if this article cannot be proved, neither by any words of the scriptures, as doctor Fisher saith, and as it further appeareth by the dissension of the teachers; nor by any one of all the old doctors and fathers, as M. Harding granteth

[¹ Joan. Roffens. Def. Reg. Assert. contr. Babyl. Captiv. Col. 1525. cap. x. 2. fol. 80.]

[² Id. ibid. fol. 80. 2.]

[³ A Detection of the Deuil's Sophistrie, Lond. 1546. fol. 14. 2.]

[⁴ Ego Berengarius...anathematizo omnem hæresim, præcipue eam ... quæ astruere conatur panem et vinum ... post consecrationem solummodo sacramentum, et non verum corpus et sanguinem Do-

mini nostri Jesu Christi esse, nec posse sensualiter, nisi in solo sacramento manibus sacerdotum tractari, vel frangi, aut fidelium dentibus atteri. — Confess. Bereng. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 42. col. 1932.]

[⁵ A Detection of the Deuil's Sophistrie, foll. 15, 6.]

Jo. Fisherus contra Captiv. Bab. N. 8. et O.

D. Smyth, de Eucharist. Steph. Gardinerus. D. Smyth.

Steph. Gardiner in the Devil's Soph. fol. 6. De Con. Dist. 2. Ego Berengar.

Steph. Gardiner in the De il's Soph. fol. 15. Ego Berengar. Manibus tractari, frangi, dentibus atteri.

by his silence; then may godly and catholic christian people well stay their judgments, and stand in doubt of this carnal and fleshly presence. Indeed the question between us this day is not of the letters or syllables of Christ's words, for they are known and confessed of either party; but only of the sense and meaning of his words, which, as St Hierome saith, is the very pith and substance of the scriptures⁶. And the law itself saith: *In fraudem [legis facit], ... qui salvis verbis legis sententiam ejus circumvenit*⁷: "He committeth fraud against the laws, that, saving the words of the law, overthroweth the meaning." And St Augustine seemeth herein to find fault with certain in his time. His words be these: *Cum in unam partem procliviter ire cœperint, non respiciunt divinæ auctoritatis alia testimonia, quibus possint ab illa intentione revocari, et in ea, quæ ex utrisque temperata est, veritate ac moderatione consistere*⁸: "When they once begin to run headlong of one side, they never consider other testimonies of divine authority, whereby they might be withdrawn from their purpose, and so might rest in that truth and measure that is tempered and tuned of both." If it be true that M. Harding saith, that this is the only sense and meaning of Christ's words, that his body is in such gross sort really and fleshly in the sacrament, and that, unless Christ mean so, he meaneth nothing; it is great wonder that none of the ancient catholic doctors of the church, no, not one, could ever see it; or, if they saw it, yet, being so eloquent, lacked words, and were never able to express it.

But he saith, "It is no bare figure, as the sacramentaries hold opinion;" and therefore he thinketh he may conclude that Christ's body is really present. So might he also say: The sacrament of baptism is no bare figure; therefore Christ is therein really present. Certainly St Augustine, speaking of the rock in the wilderness, writeth thus: *Hinc est, quod dictum est, Petra erat Christus. Non enim dixit, Petra significat Christum, sed tanquam hoc esset: quod utique per substantiam non hoc erat, sed per significationem*⁹: "Therefore it is written, 'The rock was Christ.' For St Paul saith not, The rock signified Christ, but as though it had been Christ indeed; whereas it was not Christ in substance, but by way of signification, or by a figure." St Paul saith not, The rock was a figure of Christ, but, "The rock was Christ." And St Basil in the¹⁰ like sort saith: *Christus revera petra est immobilis, et inconcussa*¹¹: "Christ indeed is the sure and the firm rock." Yet I trow M. Harding will not therefore say, Christ was really or carnally in the rock.

Neither can I think M. Harding is such a deadly enemy unto figures as he would now seem to be. For he himself in these few words of Christ, touching the institution of this holy sacrament, as it shall be shewed hereafter more at large, is fain to seek help of sixteen or more sundry figures; and the same so strange, so gross, and so insensible, that neither St Augustine, nor St Hierome, nor any other old divine ever knew them, nor any good grammarian would allow them. So many, and such figures, it is lawful for him to devise and use, to maintain the falsehood; but for us, in defence of the truth, it may not be lawful to use one.

Verily the old catholic fathers were never so curious in this behalf, nor thought it such heresy, to expound Christ's words by a figure. Briefly for a taste hereof, St Augustine saith: [*Christus*] *adhibuit [Judam] ad convivium, in quo corporis et sanguinis sui figuram discipulis [suis] commendavit, et tradidit*¹²: "Christ received Judas to his banquet, wherein he gave unto his disciples the figure of his body and blood." Likewise Tertullian saith: [*Christus*] *acceptum panem, et distributum discipulis, corpus suum illum fecit, dicendo, Hoc est corpus meum, hoc est, figura corporis mei*¹³: "Christ, receiving the bread, and the same being divided unto

Figure.

Hieron. ad Galat. cap. i. Pan. de Leg. et Senat. et Long. Cont. Contra Legem.

August de Fide et Oper. cap. iv.

August. sup. Levit. Quæst. 57.

1 Cor. x. Basil. de Pœnit.

August. in Psal. iii.

Tertull. contra Marcion. Lib. iv.

[⁶ Nec putemus in verbis scripturarum esse evangelium; sed in sensu: non in superficie; sed in medulla. — Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. i. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. i. Tom. IV. Pars 1. col. 230.]

[⁷ Paul. in Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Digest. Lib. 1. Tit. iii. 29. Tom. I. p. 78.]

[⁸ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Fid. et Oper. cap. iv. 5. Tom. VI. col. 167.]

[⁹ Id. Quæst. in Hept. Lib. iii. In Levit. Quæst.

lvii. 3. Tom. III. Pars 1. col. 516.]

[¹⁰ 1565 omits *the*.]

[¹¹ Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Hom. in Pœnit. Tom. II. p. 606. The Benedictine editor doubts the genuineness of this homily.]

[¹² August. Op. Enarr. in Psal. iii. 1. Tom. IV. col. 7.]

[¹³ Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Marcion. Lib. iv. 40. p. 571; where *illum suum fecit, Hoc est corpus meum dicendo, id est*.]

Figure.

Ambros. de
illis qui trinit-
antur Myst.
cap. ultimo.

his disciples, made it his body, saying, 'This is my body,' that is to say, the figure of my body." St Ambrose saith: *Ante benedictionem verborum celestium alia species nominatur: post consecrationem corpus [Christi] significatur*¹: "Before the blessing of the heavenly words it is called another kind: after the consecration the body of Christ is signified." Here I must protest, that, as M. Harding is troubled with want of witness in this case, so am I oppressed with multitude. If I should allege all the rest of the ancient godly fathers that write the like, I should be over tedious to the reader. And another place, hereafter following, will serve more aptly to this purpose. But by the way, gentle reader, I must give thee to understand that St Augustine hereof writeth thus: *Ea demum est miserabilis animæ servitus, signa pro rebus accipere, et supra creaturam corpoream oculum mentis ad hauriendum æternum lumen levare non posse*²: "Indeed this is a miserable bondage of the soul to take the signs in the stead of things that be signified; and not to have power to lift up the eye of the mind above the bodily creature, to receive the light that is everlasting." And again: *In principio cavendum est, ne figuratam locutionem ad literam accipias. Et ad hoc enim pertinet, quod ait apostolus, Litera occidit; Spiritus autem vivificat. Cum enim figurate dictum sic accipitur, tanquam proprie dictum sit, carnaliter sapitur. Neque ulla mors animæ congruentius appellatur*³: "First of all, thou must beware that thou take not a figurative speech according to the letter. For thereunto also it appertaineth that the apostle saith, 'The letter killeth; the Spirit giveth life.' For, when the thing that is spoken in a figure is so taken as if it were plainly spoken (without figure), there is fleshly understanding; neither is there any death more fitly called the death of the soul." By these words, good reader, St Augustine stirreth up thy senses, to consider well what thou doest, lest perhaps thou be deceived.

August. de
Doct. Christ.
Lib. iii. cap.
v.
The bondage
of the soul.

Ibidem.

The death of
the soul.

And whereas M. Harding thus unjustly reporteth of us, that we maintain a naked figure and a bare sign or token only, and nothing else; if he be of God, he knoweth well he should not thus bestow his tongue or hand to bear false witness. It is written: "God will destroy them all that speak untruth." He knoweth well we feed not the people of God with bare signs and figures, but teach them that the sacraments of Christ be holy mysteries, and that in the ministration thereof Christ is set before us even as he was crucified upon the cross; and that therein we may behold the remission of our sins, and our reconciliation unto God; and, as Chrysostom briefly saith, "Christ's great benefit, and our salvation"⁴. Herein we teach the people, not that a naked sign or token, but that Christ's body and blood indeed and verily is given unto us; that we verily eat it; that we verily drink it; that we verily be relieved and live by it; that we are bones of his bones, and flesh of his flesh; that Christ dwelleth in us, and we in him. Yet we say not, either that the substance of the bread or wine is done away; or that Christ's body is let down from heaven, or made really or fleshly present in the sacrament. We are taught, according to the doctrine of the old fathers, to lift up our hearts to heaven, and there to feed upon the Lamb of God. Chrysostom saith: "*Ad alta contendat oportet, qui ad hoc corpus accedit*"⁵: "Whoso will reach to that body must mount on high." St Augustine likewise saith: "*Quomodo tenebo absentem? Quomodo in cælum manum mittam, ut ibi sedentem teneam? Fidem mitte, et tenuisti*"⁶: "How shall I take hold of him, being absent? How shall I reach up my hand into heaven, and hold him sitting there? Send up thy faith, and thou hast taken him." Thus spiritually and with the mouth of our faith we eat the body of Christ and drink his blood, even as verily as his body was verily broken, and his blood verily shed upon the cross. And thus St Augustine, and St Chrysostom, and other holy fathers taught the people in their time

Deut. v.
Exod. xx.
Psalm. v.
Gal. iii.
Rom. v.

Chrysost. ad
Pop. Antioch.
Hom. 60.

Eph. v.
1 John iv.

Sursum corda.

Chrysost. in
1 Cor. x.
Hom. 24.

August. in
Joh. Tract. 50.

[¹ Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Lib. de Myst. cap. ix. 54. Tom. II. col. 339.]

[² August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Doctr. Christ. Lib. III. cap. v. 9. Tom. III. Pars I. col. 47.]

[³ Id. ibid.]

[⁴ It is possible that the following passage may have been in the author's mind: ... hoc est enim honorum caput, quoniam Filio suo non pepercit, ut servos alienatos salvaret. — Chrysost. Op. Lat. Basil.

1547. Ad Pop. Ant. Hom. lx. Tom. V. col. 398. See also Hom. lxi. col. 401; where, speaking of the blood of Christ in the sacrament, Chrysostom says: Hic est salus animarum nostrarum, &c.]

[⁵ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. I. ad Cor. Hom. xxiv. Tom. X. p. 216.]

[⁶ August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. xi. Tractat. I. 4. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 630.]

to believe. Indeed the bread that we receive with our bodily mouths is an earthly thing, and therefore a figure, as the water in baptism is likewise also a figure; but the body of Christ that thereby is represented, and there is offered unto our faith, is the thing itself, and no figure. And in respect of the glory thereof, we have no regard unto the figure. Therefore St Bernard, alluding to the same, saith thus: *Annulus non valet quicquam: ... hereditas est quam quærebam*⁷: "The sealing-ring is nothing worth: it is the inheritance that I sought for."

Figure.

Bernard. de Cœna Domini.

1. To conclude, three things herein we must consider: first, that we put a difference between the sign and the thing itself that is signified.
2. Secondly, that we seek Christ above in heaven, and imagine not him to be present bodily upon the earth.
3. Thirdly, that the body of Christ is to be eaten by faith only, and none otherwise.

And in this last point appeareth a notable difference between us and M. Harding. For we place Christ in the heart, according to the doctrine of St Paul: *Eph. iii.* M. Harding placeth him in the mouth. We say, Christ is eaten only by faith: M. Harding saith, he is eaten with the mouth and teeth. But, God's name be blessed! a great number of godly people doth already perceive the uncomfortable and unsavoury vanity of this doctrine. For they have learned of St Cyprian, that Christ's blessed body is *cibus mentis, non ventris*⁸, "meat for the mind, not for the belly;" and they have heard St Augustine say: *Quid paras dentem et ventrem? Crede, et manducasti*⁹: "What preparest thou thy tooth and thy belly? Believe, and thou hast already eaten."

Now consider thou, good christian reader, with thyself¹⁰, whether it be better to use this word "figure," which word hath been often used of Tertullian, St Augustine, and of all the rest of the ancient fathers, without controlment; or else these new-fangled words, "really," "corporally," "carnally," &c. Which words M. Harding is not able to shew that, in this case of being really in the sacrament, any one of all the old fathers ever used.

M. HARDING. THE SECOND DIVISION.

Again (128), we cannot find where our Lord performed the promise he had¹¹ made in the sixth chapter of John, "The bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world," but only in his last supper: where if he gave his flesh to his apostles, and that none other but the very same which he gave for the life of the world, it followeth that in the blessed sacrament is not mere bread, but that same his very body in substance. For it was not mere bread, but his very body, that was given and offered up upon the cross.

The hundred and twenty-eighth untruth, joined with dangerous doctrine.

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This principle is not only false in itself, but also full of dangerous doctrine, and may soon lead to desperation. For if no man may eat the flesh of Christ, but only in the sacrament, as here by M. Harding it is supposed; then all christian children, and all others whosoever that depart this life without receiving the sacrament, must needs be damned, and die the children of God's anger. For Christ's words be plain and general: "Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, ye shall have no life in you." Whereunto we may add this minor: Christian children receive not the sacrament; and therefore, by M. Harding's judgment, "eat not the flesh of the Son of man." Hereof it must needs follow, that christian children have no life in them, but are the children of damnation. This is the conclusion of M. Harding's doctrine. But little care these men who or how many perish, so their fantasies may stand upright. But our doctrine, grounded upon God's holy word, is this, that as certainly as Christ gave his body upon the cross, so certainly he giveth now the self-same body unto the faithful; and

John vi.

[⁷ Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Cœn. Dom. Serm. 2. Vol. I. Tom. III. col. 890.]

[⁸ Cyp. Op. Oxon. 1632. De Cœn. Dom. (Arnold.) p. 44. See before, page 141, note 11.]

[⁹ August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxv. 12 Tom. III. Pars II. col. 489.]

[¹⁰ Theeself, 1565.]

[¹¹ 1565, and H. A. 1564, omit had.]

Figure.

1 Cor. ii.

Ambros. in
Psal. cxviii.
Serm. 18.August. de
Civ. Lib. xxi.
cap. xx.

Non solum.

August. de
Util. Pœnit.
cap. i.
Manducave-
runt eundem
cibum quem
nos.August. in
Serm. ad Inf.
Citat. a Beda.
1 Cor. x.Quando ipse
hoc, quod
illud sacra-
mentum sig-
nificat,
invent.

that, not only in the ministration of the sacrament, as M. Harding untruly imagineth, but also at all times, whensoever we be able to say with St Paul, "I think I know nothing but Jesus Christ, and the same Christ crucified upon the cross." Therefore St Ambrose writeth thus: *Quid petis, O Judæe? ut tribuat tibi panem, quem dat omnibus, dat quotidie, dat semper*¹: "O thou Jew, what desirest thou? That Christ should give thee bread? He giveth it to all men: he giveth it daily: he giveth it at all times." If it be true that St Ambrose saith, that Christ giveth that bread, which is his body, at all times, then is it false that M. Harding saith, that Christ performeth his promise, and giveth his body only at the ministration of the sacrament. And therefore St Augustine saith: *Non tantum in sacramento, sed etiam re ipsa comedunt corpus Christi*²: "They eat Christ's body, not only in the sacrament, but also in very deed." Here St Augustine saith, contrary to M. Harding's doctrine, that we eat Christ's body, not only in the sacrament, but also otherwise; yea, and so far he forceth this difference, that he maketh the eating of Christ's body in the sacrament to be one thing, and the very true eating thereof indeed to be another thing. Again, touching the fathers of the old law, he saith that Abraham, Moses, Aaron, and others, received the body of Christ truly and effectually, long time before that Christ either had received flesh of the blessed virgin, or had ordained the sacrament; and that even the self-same body that is received now of the faithful³. To be short, of christian children, and other faithful that never received the sacrament, he writeth thus: *Nulli est aliquatenus ambigendum, tunc unumquemque fidelium corporis sanguinisque Domini participem fieri, quando in baptisate efficitur membrum Christi, &c.*⁴: "No man may in any wise doubt, but that every faithful man is then made partaker of the body and blood of Christ, when in baptism he is made a member of Christ; and that he is not without the fellowship of that bread and of that cup, although, before he eat of that bread, and drink of that cup, he depart this world, being in the unity of Christ's body. For he is not made frustrate of the communion and benefit of that sacrament, while he findeth that thing which is signified by the sacrament." So far St Augustine. By these we may see, it is not all true that M. Harding so constantly avoucheth. If it might have pleased him to take advice of Beda, St Augustine, St Ambrose, and other godly fathers, he should soon have found that the faithful may otherwise eat Christ's body, and that verily and indeed, and not only in the sacrament.

M. HARDING. THE THIRD DIVISION.

If the words spoken by Christ in St John of promise, that he performed in his holy supper, "The bread that I will give is my flesh," had been to be taken, not as they seem to mean, plainly and truly, but metaphorically, tropically, symbolically, and figuratively, so as the truth of our Lord's flesh be excluded, (129) as our adversaries do understand them, then the Capernaites had not⁵ any occasion at all of their great offence. Then should not they have had cause to murmur against Christ, as the evangelist sheweth: "The Jews," saith St John, "strove among themselves; *cap. vi. saying, How can he give us his flesh to eat?*" And much less his dear disciples, to whom he had shewed so many and so great miracles, to whom he had before declared so many parables, and so high secrets, should have had any occasion of offence. And doubtless, if Christ had meant they should eat but the sign or figure of his body, they would not have said, *Durus est hic sermo*: "This is a hard saying; and who can abide to hear it?" For then should they have done no greater thing, than they had done oftentimes before in eating the Easter lamb. And how could it seem a hard word or saying, if Christ had meant nothing else but this: *The bread that I will give is a figure of my body, that shall cause you to remember me?*

The hundred and twenty-ninth untruth, joined with untrue report. For we understand these words of Christ's very flesh and blood.

[¹ Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. In Psalm. cxviii. Expos. Serm. xviii. 28. Tom. I. col. 1203.]

[² ... non solo sacramento, sed re ipsa manducaverunt corpus Christi.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. xxi. cap. xx. Tom. VII. col. 639.]

[³ Id. Serm. ecclii. De Util. Agend. Pœn. ii. cap. i. 3. Tom. V. cols. 1364, 5.]

[⁴ Ven. Bed. Col. Agrip. 1612. Ad Cor. i. cap. x. Tom. VI. col. 365. See before, page 132, note 2.]

[⁵ Had not had, H. A. 1564.]

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This reason holdeth only of the ignorance of the Capernaïtes, and hangeth thus: The Capernaïtes mistook Christ's words, and understood not what he meant; *ergo*, Christ's body is really and carnally in the sacrament. And thus M. Harding, as his manner is, buildeth one error upon another.

For understanding hereof it shall be necessary, first, to open the very sense and meaning of Christ's words; next, to shew how perversely and grossly the Capernaïtes were deceived; and, last of all, to consider M. Harding's conclusion.

First of all, the Jews desired Christ to give them bread in the wilderness, as Moses had given before unto their fathers. Christ, to pull them from the gross and material cogitations of their bellies, promised them another kind of bread, that should be spiritual, and last for ever. Thus he said unto them: "My Father giveth you true bread from heaven. Whoso eateth of this bread shall live for ever." And that they might understand what he meant, he saith⁶ further: "I am the bread that came from heaven. The bread that I will give you is my flesh, which I shall give for the life of the world." Thus he spake of the spiritual eating and digesting of his flesh in the hearts of the faithful. And so immediately after he opened his own mind. For when he saw the Jews, for that they understood him not, were offended, he said further unto them: "It is the Spirit that giveth life; the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I speak are spirit and life." Which words St Augustine in plain⁷ sort expoundeth thus: *Spiritualiter intelligite, quod locutus sum. Non hoc corpus, quod videtis, manducaturi estis, et bibituri illum sanguinem, quem fusuri sunt, qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vobis commendavi: spiritualiter intellectum vivificat vos*⁸: "Understand ye spiritually that I have spoken. Ye shall not eat (with your bodily mouth) this body that you see; nor shall ye (with your bodily mouth) drink that blood which they shall shed, that shall crucify me. I give you a certain sacrament. The same being spiritually understood giveth you life." So saith St Basil: *Gustate, et videte, quoniam suavis est Dominus*: "Taste ye, and see, that the Lord is gracious." And further he saith: "We have oftentimes marked (in the scriptures), that the inward powers of the mind have their names of the outward members of the body. Therefore, forasmuch as our Lord is the true bread, and his flesh the true food, it must needs be that the delectation and pleasure of the same be moved and caused within us by a spiritual kind of taste⁹." Again he saith: "Further we say, that there is a certain spiritual mouth of the inner man, wherewith he is fed, receiving the word of life, which is the bread that came from heaven¹⁰." Likewise saith St Augustine: *Fides habet oculos suos*¹¹: "Faith hath eyes of her own to see withal." Again: *Intus bibendo felix sum*¹²: "Happy am I when I drink (in my heart) within." And again: *Panis . . . iste interioris hominis quaerit esuriam*¹³: "This bread seeketh the hunger of the inner man." So saith Leo: *Circa hoc corpus aquilæ sunt, quæ alis circumvolant spiritualibus*¹⁴: "About this body be eagles, that flee about it with spiritual wings." So likewise Origen: *Idcirco . . . et verum lumen dicitur, ut habeant oculi animæ, quo illuminentur: idcirco et verbum, ut habeant aures, quod audiant: et idcirco panis vitæ, ut habeat gustus*

John vi.

August. in
Psal. xcviij.Basil. in Psal.
xxxiii.ἀνάγκη τὴν
ἡδονὴν...
τοῦ ἄρτου
διὰ γεύσε-
ως ἡμῶν
νοητῆς ἐγ-
γιγνεσθαι.
ἐστὶ μὲν τὶ
καὶ νοητὸν
στόμα τοῦ
ἐνδον ἀν-
θρώπου.
August.
Epist. 96.
August. in
Johan. Tract.
96.
Ibidem.
De Consec.
Dist. 2. In
quibus.
Origen. in
Cant. Cantic.
Hom. 2.

[⁶ Said, 1565, 1609.] [⁷ Plainier, 1565.]

[⁸ August. Op. In Psalm. xcviij. Enarr. 9. Tom. IV. col. 1066; where *vivificabit*.]

[⁹ Πολλαχού τετηρήκαμεν, ὅτι τοῖς ἔξωθεν μέ-
λεσιν ὁμονύμως αἱ τῆς ψυχῆς προσαγορεύονται
δυνάμεις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄρτος ἐστὶν ἀληθινὸς ὁ Κύριος
ἡμῶν, καὶ ἡ σὰρξ αὐτοῦ ἀληθὴς ἐστὶ βρώσις, ἀνάγκη
κ. τ. λ.—Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Hom. in Psalm.
xxxiii. Tom. I. pp. 148, 9.]

[¹⁰ Πρὸς δὴ τοῦτο λέγομεν, ὅτι ἐστὶ κ. τ. λ., ᾧ
τρέφεται μεταλαμβάνων τοῦ λόγου τῆς ζωῆς, ὅς
ἐστὶν ἄρτος ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς.—Id. ibid. p.
144.]

[¹¹ It does not seem that the passage is in the
epistle indicated. It may be found August. Op. Ad
Consent. Epist. cxx. 8. Tom. II. col. 349; where
habet namque fides.]

[¹² Id. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxv. 17.
Tom. III. Pars II. col. 493.]

[¹³ Id. ibid. Tractat. xxvi. 1. col. 494.]

[¹⁴ Leo in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret.
Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. xxxviii.
col. 1931; where *circumvolant*. But the passage
seems really to belong to Ambrose. See Op. Expos.
Evang. sec. Luc. Lib. viii. cap. xvii. 56. Tom. I.
col. 1484.]

Spiritual eating.

*animæ, quod degustet*¹: "Therefore is Christ called the light, that the eyes of the soul may have whereby they may be lightened: therefore he is called the word, that the ears of the soul may have what to hear; and therefore he is called the bread of life, that the sense of the soul may have what to taste." So Tertullian: *Auditu devorandus est, intellectu ruminandus, et fide digerendus*²: "Christ by hearing must be devoured, by understanding must be chewed, and by faith must be digested." In like sort Chrysostom: *Magnus iste panis, qui replet mentem, ... non ventrem*³: "This is that great bread, that feedeth not the belly, but the mind." Therefore St Augustine saith: [*Christus*] *dixit, se [esse] panem qui de cælo descendit, hortans ut credamus in ipsum. Credere enim in eum, hoc est manducare panem vivum*⁴: "Christ named himself the bread that came from heaven, exhorting us to believe in him. For believing in him is the eating of the bread of life."

Tertul. de Resur. Carn.

Chrysost. ex variis locis in Matt. Hom. 9.

August. in Johan. Tract. 26.

Hereby it is plain that Christ's meaning is spiritual, as Christ himself and all the old fathers and doctors of the church have expounded it; not real, carnal, gross, and fleshly, as M. Harding imagineth. M. Harding will say, that the eating with the mouth and the grinding with the teeth is a work spiritual. By this sense he is a good proctor for the Capernaïtes, and must needs say, that they had a spiritual understanding. Howbeit Chrysostom will not well suffer this evasion. His words be plain: *Quid est carnaliter intelligere? Simpliciter, ut res dicuntur; neque aliud quippiam cogitare*⁵: "What is it to understand carnally? It is to understand plainly, even as the things be uttered, and to think upon nothing else." Therefore St Augustine saith: *Figura est, ... præcipiens passioni Domini communicandum [esse], et suaviter atque utiliter recondendum in memoria, quod Christus pro nobis mortuus sit*⁶: "The saying of Christ touching the eating of his flesh is a figure or manner of speech, commanding us to be partakers of Christ's passion, and with comfort and profit to lay up in our memory, that Christ hath suffered death for us." This, therefore, was Christ's meaning, and this is the very eating of his flesh.

Chrysost. in Johan. Hom. 47.

August. de Doct. Christ. Lib. iii. cap. xvi.

Orig. in Prolog. in Cant. Cantie.

Hieron. Lib. iii. in Matt. cap. xvi.

August. in Johan. Tract. 11.

Tertul. de Resur. Carn.

Now let us see what sense the Capernaïtes gathered hereof. Origen saith: *Accidit, ut simpliciores ... nescientes distinguere, ... quæ sint, quæ in scripturis divinis interiori homini, quæ ... exteriori deputanda sint, vocabulorum similitudinibus falsi, ad ineptas quasdam fabulas et figmenta inania se contulerint*⁷: "It happeneth sometime that simple men, being not able to put difference between those things in the scriptures that pertain to the inner man, and those things that pertain to the outer⁸ man, are deceived by the likeness of words, and so fall into foolish fables and vain fantasies." So saith St Hierome: *Cum seniores putentur in ecclesia et principes sacerdotum, simplicem sequendo literam occidunt Filium Dei*⁹: "Whereas they are taken for the elders in the church, and the chief of the priests, by following the plain letter, they kill the Son of God." Even thus it happened unto the Capernaïtes: that Christ spake spiritually of eating with faith, they understood grossly of eating with the teeth; as though they should swallow down his flesh into their bodies, as other meats¹⁰; even in such gross sort as M. Harding would now teach the people to eat Christ's body.

Tertullian openeth their error in this wise: *Durum et intolerabilem existimarunt sermonem ejus; quasi vere carnem suam illis edendam determinasset*¹¹: "They thought his speech was hard and intolerable; as though he had determined to give them his flesh verily and indeed to be eaten" (with their mouths). Therein, saith Tertullian, stood their error.

[¹ Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Cantic. Cantieor. Lib. II. Tom. III. p. 66; where *idcirco et panis*.]

[² ... *devorandus auditu, et ruminandus intellectu, et &c.*—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Resur. Carn. 37. p. 406.]

[³ Chrysost. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. Ex Matt. cap. v. De Orat. Domin. Hom. Tom. V. col. 716.]

[⁴ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 1. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 494; where *credamus in eum*.]

[⁵ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Joan. Hom.

xlvii. Tom. VIII. p. 278.]

[⁶ August. Op. De Doctr. Christ. Lib. III. cap. xvi. 24. Tom. III. Pars I. col. 52; where *dominicæ, and pro nobis caro ejus crucifixa et vulnerata sit*.]

[⁷ Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Cantic. Cantieor. Prolog. Tom. III. p. 28.] [⁸ Utter, 1565.]

[⁹ Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. III. in Matt. cap. xvi. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 75.]

[¹⁰ August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. iii. Tractat. xi. 5. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 377.]

[¹¹ Tertull. Op. De Resur. Carn. 37. p. 406.]

Now, to consider M. Harding's guesses: first he saith: The Capernaïtes were offended with Christ's words; *ergo*, it is likely Christ meant, he would give his body really and carnally in the sacrament. First, Nicolas Lyra, M. Harding's own doctor, saith that "these words of Christ in the sixth of John pertain not unto the sacrament¹²." Again, it is but a simple guess to build religion upon an error. He might rather say thus: The Capernaïtes thought they should eat Christ's flesh really and fleshly with their mouths; but that was not Christ's meaning, as it well appeareth; for they were deceived; *ergo*, Christ meant not they should eat his flesh really and fleshly with their mouths.

He addeth further: If Christ had meant he would give them only a figure of his body in his remembrance, there had been no cause why either the Capernaïtes or any other should be offended. Neither do we say that Christ, in the sixth chapter of John, speaking of the spiritual eating by faith, made mention of any figure, but only of his very flesh and very blood, indeed and verily to be eaten and drunken. Notwithstanding we say that Christ, afterward in his last supper, unto the same spiritual eating added also an outward sacrament, which of the old fathers is oftentimes and commonly called a figure. But hereof groweth M. Harding's error, for that, as Origen saith, "he putteth no difference between the body and the spirit, and things severally pertaining to them both¹³." The bread is a figure; but Christ's body is the thing itself, and no figure. The bread is in the earth; Christ's body is in heaven. The bread is subject to corruption; Christ's body is immortal, and glorious, and subject to no corruption. Therefore Rabanus Maurus saith: *Sacramentum... ore percipitur; virtute sacramenti interior homo satiatur. Sacramentum... in alimentum corporis redigitur; virtute... sacramenti æternam vitam adipiscimur*¹⁴: "The sacrament is received with the mouth; by the virtue of the sacrament the inner man is repaired. The sacrament is turned into the nourishing of the body; by the virtue of the sacrament we get everlasting life." And St Augustine saith: *Sacramentum... de mensa dominica sumitur, quibusdam ad vitam, quibusdam ad exitium: res vero ipsa, cuius sacramentum est, omni homini ad vitam, nulli ad exitium, quicumque ejus particeps fuerit*¹⁵: "The sacrament is received from the Lord's table, of some unto life, of some unto destruction: but the thing itself whereof it is a sacrament (that is, the body of Christ) is received of every man unto life, and of no man unto destruction, whosoever be partaker of it."

M. HARDING. THE FOURTH DIVISION.

To conclude shortly: if Christ would so have been understood, as though he had meant to give but a figure only of his body, it had been no need for him to have alleged his omnipotency and almighty power to his disciples, thereby the rather to bring them to belief of his true body to be given them to eat. Hoc vos scandalizat? "Doth this offend you?" saith he. "What if you¹⁶ see the Son of man ascend where he was before? It is the Spirit that giveth life," &c. As though he had said: Ye consider only my humanity, that seemeth weak and frail, neither do you esteem my divine power by the great miracles I have wrought. But when as ye shall see me by power of my Godhead ascend into heaven, from whence I came unto you, will you¹⁶ then also stand in doubt whether ye may believe that I give you my very body to be eaten? Thus by signifying his divine power, Christ confounded their unbelief touching the verity and substance of his body, that he promised to give them in meat.

[¹² ... quia in eodem contextu litteræ declaratur: de qua manducatione et potatione intelligi debet, videlicet de spirituali.—Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. Psalm. cx. Repl. Pars III. fol. 254.]

[¹³ Orig. Op. In Cantic. Cant. Prolog. Tom. III. p. 28. See the last page.]

[¹⁴ Raban. Maur. Op. Col. Agrip. 1626. De Inst. Cler. Lib. I. cap. xxxi. Tom. VI. p. 11; where *æterna vitæ dignitas adipiscitur*.]

[¹⁵ August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 15. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 500.]

[¹⁶ Ye, H. A. 1564.]

Nicol. Lyra
in Psal. cx.

Orig. in Prolog.
in Cant.
Cantic.

Raban. Maur.
Lib. I. cap.
xxxii.

August. in
Johan. Tract.
26.

A simple
proof. For
Christ like-
wise sheweth
his omnipo-
tent power in
the water of
baptism.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding wandereth still about his figures, and out of God's omnipotent power deviseth a very feeble argument. For thus he reasoneth:

Christ maketh mention of his ascension into heaven;

Ergo, his body is really in the sacrament.

He hath no just cause to be offended, for that I lay his logic thus abroad. It behoveth the reader to see by what force each thing is proved. Verily, if he conclude not thus, he runneth at riot, and concludeth nothing.

As touching Christ's ascension into heaven, St Augustine and other ancient fathers seem to use the same, to prove that there is no such gross presence in the sacrament. St Augustine thereof writeth thus: *Si ergo videritis Filium hominis ascendentem*¹, &c.: "If you shall see the Son of man ascending up where he was before," &c. And what is this? Hereby he openeth that thing wherewith they were offended. For they thought he would give them his body; but he told them that he would ascend into heaven, and that whole as he was. When ye shall see the Son of man ascend thither, where he was before, then shall you see that he giveth not his body in such sort as you imagine; then shall you perceive that his grace is not consumed or wasted by morsels."

St Chrysostom saith, as it is before alleged: *Ad alta oportet eum contendere, qui ad hoc corpus accedit. Aquilarum, non graculorum, est hæc mensa*²: "He must mount on high, that will come to this body. For this table serveth for eagles, and not for jays." So saith St Hierome: *Ascendamus cum Domino [in] cœnaculum, magnum, stratum, et mundatum; et accipiamus ab eo sursum calicem novi testamenti*³: "Let us go up with the Lord (into heaven) into that great parlour, spread and clean; and let us receive of him above the cup of the new testament." The like might be alleged of other more catholic and ancient fathers. For Cyrillus saith in most plain words: *Sacramentum nostrum hominis manducationem non asserit, mentes credentium ad crassas cogitationes irreligiose inducens*⁴: "Our sacrament avoucheth not the eating of a man, leading the minds of the faithful in ungodly manner to gross (or fleshly) cogitations."

Doubtless it seemeth to make very simple proofs⁵ of M. Harding's side, to say thus:

Christ's body is ascended into heaven;

Ergo, the same body is really and fleshly in the sacrament.

But M. Harding will say: Christ, speaking to the Capernaïtes, made mention of his omnipotent power; therefore in the sacrament there must needs be a fleshly presence. First, as it is before alleged, Nicolas Lyra saith: "Christ's words to the Capernaïtes pertain nothing to the sacrament, but only unto the spiritual eating of Christ's body, which indeed is the omnipotent work of the Spirit of God⁶."

And again, would M. Harding make all the world believe, if Christ's body be not fleshly and grossly in the sacrament, according to his fantasy, that then God therefore is not omnipotent? Verily, the old catholic fathers acknowledge God's omnipotency in the water of baptism; yet is not Christ therefore really present in the water. St Chrysostom saith: *Cum baptizatis*⁷, *sacerdos te non baptizat; sed Deus est, qui caput tuum invisibili potentia continet; et nec angelus, nec archangelus, nec ullus alius audeat accedere et tangere*⁸: "When thou art baptized, it is not the

August. in
Johan. Tract.
27.

Illi enim pu-
tabant eum
erogaturum
corpus suum.
Certe vel tunc
intelligetis,
quod gratia
ejus non con-
sumitur
morsibus.

Chrysost. in
1 Cor. x.
Hom. 24.

Hieron. ad
Hedib. Quæst.
2.

Cyril. ad Ob-
ject. Theod.
Anath. 11.
ἡ ὑψηλο-
φασία.

Nicol. Lyra
in Psal. cx.

Chrysost. in
Matt. Hom.
51.

[¹ Si, &c. ubi erat prius? Quid est hoc? Hinc solvit quod illos moverat: hinc aperuit unde fuerant scandalizati... Illi enim, &c., ille autem dixit se adscensurum in cœlum, utique integrum. Cum videritis Filium hominis adscendentem ubi erat prius; certe vel tunc videbitis, quia non eo modo quo putatis erogatur corpus suum; certe, &c. quia, &c.—Id. ibid. Tractat. xxvii. 3. col. 502.]

[² Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. i. ad Cor. Hom. xxiv. Tom. X. p. 216.]

[³ Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Hedib. Epist. Quæst. ii. Tom. IV. Pars i. col. 172. See before,

page 12, note 5.]

[⁴ Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Apolog. adv. Orient. Anath. xi. Def. Cyril. Tom. VI. p. 193.]

[⁵ Proof, 1565.]

[⁶ Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. Psalm. cx. Repl. Pars 111. fol. 254. See before, page 453, note 12.... quoniam eucharistia est opus Dei mirabilissimum.—Id. ibid. fol. 253.]

[⁷ Baptizatis, 1565.]

[⁸ Chrysost. Op. In Matt. Hom. i. Tom. VII. p. 517.]

priest that dippeth thee, but it is God, that by his invisible power holdeth thy head; and neither angel, nor archangel, nor any other power dareth to approach and touch thee." St Augustine saith: *Paulus baptizavit tanquam minister; . . . Dominus baptizavit tanquam potestas*⁹: "Paul baptized as a servant; the Lord baptized as the power itself." Again: *Nec . . . jam baptizare cessavit [Dominus]; sed adhuc id agit, non ministerio corporis, sed invisibili opere majestatis*¹⁰: "The Lord letteth not yet to baptize; but continueth baptizing still; not by the ministry of his body, but by the invisible work of his majesty." So likewise saith Leo the bishop of Rome: [*Christus*] *dedit aquæ, quod dedit matri. Virtus enim Altissimi et obumbratio Spiritus sancti, quæ fecit ut Maria pareret Salvatorem, eadem facit ut regeneret unda credentem*¹¹: "Christ gave unto the water the same that he gave unto his mother. For the power of the Highest and the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost, that caused Mary to bear the Saviour, the same causeth that water doth regenerate the believer." It appeareth by these authorities, that Christ in the water of baptism sheweth his invisible and omnipotent power. Yet will not M. Harding say that Christ is therefore really and fleshly present in the water of baptism.

August. in Johan. Tract. 5.

August. contr. Lit. Petil. Lib. iii. cap. xlix.

Leo de Nativ. Serm. 4.

Therefore it was but vain labour to allege Christ's omnipotent power to prove this fleshly presence in the sacrament.

M. HARDING. THE FIFTH DIVISION.

These places of the scripture, and many other reporting plainly that Christ at his supper gave to his disciples his very body, even that same which the day following suffered death on the cross, have ministered just cause to the (130) godly and learned fathers of the church to say, that Christ's body is present in this sacrament really, substantially, corporally, carnally, and naturally. By use of which adverbs they have meant only a truth of being, and not a way or mean of being. And though this manner of speaking be not thus expressed in the scripture, yet is it deduced out of the scripture. For if Christ spake plainly, (131) and used no trope, figure, nor metaphor, as the scripture itself sufficiently declareth to an humble believer, and would his disciples to understand him, so as he spake in manifest terms when he said, "This is my body which is given for you;" then may we say, that in the sacrament his very body is present, yea, really, that is to say, indeed, substantially, that is, in substance, and corporally, carnally, and naturally; by which words is meant that his very body, his very flesh, and his very human nature, is there, not after corporal, carnal, or natural wise, but invisibly, unspeakably, miraculously, supernaturally, spiritually, divinely, and by way to him only known.

The hundred and thirtieth untruth.

For not one of the ancient fathers ever used any of these terms, touching Christ's presence in the sacrament.

The hundred and thirty-first untruth. For M. Harding himself is forced in the same words to acknowledge a great many figures.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

By these words that Christ at his last supper spake unto his disciples, "This is my body," it is plain, saith M. Harding, that he gave unto them the very same body that was crucified the next day upon the cross; and upon occasion thereof the learned fathers had just cause to say, that Christ's body is really and carnally in the sacrament. This argument is called *petitio principii*, which is, when a thing is taken to make proof that is doubtful, and standeth in question, and ought itself to be proved. This *fallax* may well beguile children; but among the learned it is counted in reasoning a great folly. The order or form hereof is naught; the antecedent unproved; the consequent false, as shall appear.

M. Harding saith these words, "This is my body," must needs be taken without metaphor, trope, or figure, even as the plain letter lieth, and none otherwise. So saith M. Harding only upon his own credit. But the old catholic doctors of the church, of whom, he saith, he hath such store, say not so. St Augustine, St

[⁹ Baptizavit ergo Paulus tamquam minister . . . baptizavit autem Dominus tamquam potestas.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. i. Tractat. v. 7. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 323.]

[¹⁰ Id. Contr. Lit. Petil. Lib. III. cap. xlix. 59. Tom. IX. col. 327.]

[¹¹ Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. In Nativ. Serm. v. cap. v. col. 52.]

Accord-
ing to the
letter.

Hoc.

Est.

Erit.

Traditur.

Frangitur.
Facite.
Panis.Accipit.
Benedixit.
Fregit.
Dedit.August. de
Doct. Christ.
Lib. iii. cap.
v.Orig. Hom. 7.
In Levit.Tertull.
contr.
Marcion.
Lib. iv.
August. in
Psal. iii.August. ad
Bonifac.
Epist. 23.

Ambrose, St Hierome, St Chrysostom, St Basil, Tertullian, and others call the sacrament a figure, a token, a sign, an example, an image, a similitude, a remembrance; as hereafter, God willing, shall be shewed more at large upon better occasion, in an article specially touching the same. Even Duns himself, with sundry others of that side, saw that, following the very bare letter, we must needs say that "the bread itself is Christ's body¹." For so the words stand: "This (bread) is my body:" which were a great inconvenience, and a repugnance in nature. For salving whereof they are driven to say that Christ, when he pointed to the bread, and said, "This," meant not "this bread," but, as they call it, *individuum vagum*, which is one certain thing in general; but what one thing, they cannot tell: but sure they be it was no bread. *Est* they expound *erit*, that is to say, "this shall be." Again, *erit, hoc est, transubstantiabitur*, that is, "the substance of this uncertain general one thing, that no man knoweth, shall be changed into the substance of my body." "Is given," they expound, "shall be given:" "is broken," they expound, "shall be broken:" "do ye this," they expound, "sacrifice ye this." "This bread," they expound thus, "this that was bread." And whereas these verbs stand together in order and construction, and rule all one case, *accipit, benedixit, fregit, dedit*, "he took, he blessed, he brake, he gave;" they are fain to shift it thus: "He took the bread; he blessed it away, and in place of it put another substance; he brake the accidents or shews of bread; he gave his body." Upon these few words of Christ thus many figures have they imagined; and besides these, a great many more, as in place more convenient it shall be declared: yet saith M. Harding, these words of Christ must of fine force be taken even according to the order and nature of the bare letter. "And this," he saith, "is sufficient to the humble believer." Howbeit, christian humility standeth not in error, but in truth; and St Augustine saith, as it is before alleged: *Ea demum est miserabilis animæ servitus, signa pro rebus accipere*²: "To take the signs instead of the things that thereby be signified is (not the humility of a christian faith, but) the miserable servitude of the soul." And Origen, that old learned father, saith: *Si...secundum literam sequaris id quod dictum est, Nisi manducaveritis carnem Filii hominis, non habebitis vitam in vobis, litera illa occidit*³: "If you follow these words of Christ according to the letter, 'Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, ye shall have no life in you,' this letter killeth."

Upon these grounds of his own M. Harding reareth up this conclusion: "Then," saith he, "may we say, that Christ is in the sacrament really," &c. Indeed a man may say much, that hath no regard what he say. But if he will say, as the old godly fathers said, then must he say: *Hoc est corpus meum, hoc est, figura corporis mei*⁴: "This is my body, that is to say, a figure of my body." For so the old learned father Tertullian saith. Then must he say: [*Christus*] *corporis...sui figuram discipulis [suis] commendavit*⁵: "Christ delivered unto his disciples a figure of his body." For so the old learned father St Augustine saith. Then must he say: *Sacramentum corporis Christi secundum quendam modum corpus Christi est*⁶: "The sacrament of Christ's body after a certain phrase, or manner, or trope, or figure of speech, is the body of Christ." For so again St Augustine saith.

Here M. Harding, seeing the inconveniences and absurdities of his doctrine, thought good to heal it up with some plaister. By these words, really, carnally, &c., "the godly learned fathers," saith he, "meant that Christ's very body and flesh is there, but not in any natural or carnal wise." And thus M. Harding's doctors

[¹ See Joan. Duns Scot. Op. Lugd. 1639. In Sentent. Lib. iv. Dist. viii. Quæst. 2. Dist. xi. Quæst. 3. Tom. VIII. pp. 422, 38, 606, 9, 16, 8, 9. Also Tom. XI. pp. 627, 8, 70.]

[² August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Doctr. Christ. Lib. III. cap. v. 9. Tom. III. Pars 1. col. 47.]

[³ Si enim secundum literam sequaris hoc ipsum quod dictum est, Nisi manducaveritis carnem meam

... occidit hæc litera.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Levit. Hom. vii. Tom. II. p. 225.]

[⁴ Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Marcion. Lib. iv. 40. p. 571. See before, page 447, note 13.]

[⁵ August. Op. In Psalm. iii. Enarr. 1. Tom. IV. col. 7.]

[⁶ Id. ad Bonifac. Epist. xviii. 9. Tom. II. col. 267; where the words *secundum quendam modum* come first.]

wrote one thing, and meant another. For M. Harding knoweth that all adverbs, taken of nouns, signify evermore a quality, and never the substance; which thing children are taught to know in the grammar school; and may be resolved thus: *Viriliter, virili modo: muliebriter, muliebri modo*. And therefore his very canonists say in their manner of eloquence: *Deus non est remunerator nominum, sed adverbiorum*: "God rewardeth not nouns, but adverbs:" that is to say, God regardeth not the doing of any thing, but the manner of the doing. But M. Harding thinketh he may take upon him to overlook and to master the grammar rules. For unless we make nouns adverbs, and adverbs nouns, these men's divinity cannot stand. Therefore, as they have devised a new divinity, so must our children learn for their pleasure a new grammar.

But what are these old learned fathers, that say Christ's body is thus really and fleshly in the sacrament? Where be their words? What be their names? If they have neither names nor words, how can they be allowed for sufficient witnesses? M. Harding well knoweth that the old learned fathers never said so: yet must he needs imagine both causes that moved them so to say, and also expositions, what they meant by so saying. So Montanus, the blind senator, being at supper with the emperor Tiberius, highly commended the great mullet, that he heard say was set on the table before them, and shewed how round, how fair, how fat it was, how it filled the charger, and how it lay, and evermore turned his face, and pointed with his finger to the higher end of the table; and yet was not the mullet there, but far beneath at the lower end⁷. Reason would that M. Harding had first been sure of the effect, before he had thus gone about to guess the causes.

M. HARDING. THE SIXTH DIVISION.

(132) *And the fathers have been driven to use these terms for the⁸ more ample and full declaration of the truth, and also for withstanding and stopping objections made by heretics. And because the catholic faith, touching the verity of Christ's body in the sacrament, was not impugned by any man for the space of a thousand years after Christ's being in earth, and about that time (133)*

Berengarius first began openly to sow the wicked seed of the sacramentary heresy, which, then soon confuted by learned men, and by the same first author abjured and recanted, now is with no less wickedness, but more busily and more earnestly set forth again; the doctors, that sithence have written in the⁸ defence of the true and catholic faith herein, have (134) more often used the terms before⁹ mentioned, than the old and ancient fathers that wrote within M. Jewel's six hundred years after Christ; who doubtless would no less have used them, if that matter had been in question or doubt in their time. And albeit these terms were strange and new, as used within these five hundred years only, and that the people were never taught for six hundred years after Christ, as M. Jewel saith more boldly than truly, and therefore more rashly than wisely; yet the faith by them opened and declared is universal and old, verily no less old than is our Lord's supper, where this sacrament was first instituted.

Berengarius.

The hundred and thirty-second untruth. For the fathers never used these terms.

The hundred and thirty-third untruth.

For beside St Augustine, St Hierome, St Ambrose and others, Johan. Scotus and Bertramus wrote hereof 200 years before Berengarius.

The hundred and thirty-fourth untruth.

For the old writers in this case used them never.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding thinketh he may lead along his simple reader, and easily carry away the matter under the bare titles and names of the learned fathers. But what privy mystery is this? As I said before, have M. Harding's doctors no names? Or is not he able to name his own fathers? He should have set them out, as his wont is, with all their circumstances, what they were, when and where they lived, what they wrote, and how they have been ever and are now esteemed among the learned. But he well knew that these good fathers lived all within the compass of two hundred or three hundred years past, as Thomas, Duns, Ockam, Henricus de Gandavo, Robertus de Collo Torto, and such others. These be M. Harding's great fathers, by whom he claimeth his new

[⁷ Juv. Sat. iv. 119-21. The emperor was Domitian, and the blind flatterer Catullus.]

[⁸ H. A. 1564, omits *the*.]

[⁹ Afore, H. A. 1564.]

Berengarius.

doctrine; in respect of St Augustine, St Hierome, St Chrysostom, St Ambrose, and others, not worthy to have the name of children.

“But the catholic faith touching the sacrament,” saith M. Harding, “for the space of a thousand years stood upright. Berengarius was the first that began to sow the seed of the sacramentary heresy.” It is likely M. Harding hath no great regard how his tales hang together. For before, in the first article, to serve his turn, he said, the Messalians were the first fathers of this heresy¹. Now he seemeth to be otherwise advised, and saith, this heresy was never heard of within six hundred years after the Messalians were repressed; and that the first founder of it was Berengarius. Yet M. Harding might soon have known that one Johannes Scotus², a famous learned man, and scholar unto Beda, and one Bertramus, as appeareth by his book, held and maintained the same doctrine in the time of the emperor Lotharius, two hundred years and more before Berengarius. Wherefore it seemeth not to be so true as M. Harding assureth it, that Berengarius was the first author of this doctrine.

But, for further declaration hereof, it shall be necessary to open Berengarius' whole judgment in this matter, and afterward to consider the confutation of the same. Thus therefore Berengarius wrote, as his greatest adversary Lanfrancus reporteth of him: *Per consecrationem altaris panis et vinum fiunt sacramentum religionis: non ut desinant esse quæ erant, &c.*³: “By the consecration of the altar the bread and the wine are made a sacrament of religion, not that they leave to be the same they were before, but that ‘they be altered into another thing,’ and become that they were not before, as St Ambrose writeth. And the sacrifice of the church standeth of two things, the one visible, the other invisible; that is to say, the sacrament, and the matter or substance of the sacrament. Which substance notwithstanding, that is to say, the body of Christ, if it were before our eyes, it should be visible. But being taken up into heaven, and sitting at the right hand of the Father, until all things be restored, according to the words of the apostle St Peter, it cannot be called thence. Therefore St Augustine saith, ‘When Christ is eaten, life is eaten; and when we eat him, we make no parts of him.’ And again, St Augustine saith: *Sacramentum est sacrum signum*: ‘A sacrament is a holy token.’ And what this word *signum* meaneth, he declareth in his book, *De Doctrina Christiana*: *Signum est res præter speciem quam ingerit sensibus, aliud quiddam faciens in cogitationem venire*: ‘A sign is a thing that, besides the sight that it offereth unto the eyes, causeth another thing to come into our mind.’ Again, unto Bonifacius: ‘Unless sacraments had some likeness of the things whereof they be sacraments, then were they no sacraments at all.’ And again: ‘Sacraments be visible signs of heavenly things; but the things themselves, being invisible, are honoured in them: neither is that element, being consecrate by the blessing, so to be taken, as it is in other uses.’” This is the judgment of Berengarius, agreeing thoroughly with the words and sense of the holy fathers, and confirmed and avouched by the same.

Now let us see the confutation hereof. In a council holden at Rome under

¹ See before, page 188.]

² Scotus Erigena.]

³ *Per consecrationem altaris fiunt panis et vinum, &c., sed ut sint quæ erant, et in aliud commutentur, quod dicit beatus Ambrosius in libro de Sacramentis.* [Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Sacram. Lib. iv. cap. iv. 15. Tom. II. col. 369.] ... *Sacrificiumque ecclesiæ duobus constat, duobus conficitur, visibili sacramento et re sacramenti. Quæ tamen res, id est Christi corpus, si esset præ oculis, visibilis esset: sed elevata in cælum, sedensque ad dexteram Patris usque in tempora restitutionis omnium, quod scribit apostolus Petrus, cælo devocari non poterit ... Unde B. Augustinus in evangelio: Quando Christus manducatur, vita manducatur; nec quando manducamus, partes de illo facimus.* [August. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. cans. 58, 75, cols. 1943, 55.] ... Unde beatus

Augustinus in libro de Civitate Dei, Sacramentum, &c. [August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. x. cap. v. Tom. VII. col. 241.] Signum diffinit in libro de Doctrina Christiana. Signum, &c. aliud aliquid ex se faciens, &c. [De Doctr. Christ. Lib. II. cap. i. l. Tom. III. Pars I. col. 19.] ... Augustinus in epistola ad Bonifacium episcopum: Si sacramenta rerum, quarum sacramenta sunt, similitudinem non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent. [Ad Bonifac. Epist. xviii. 9. Tom. II. col. 267.] Idem de Catechizandis Rudibus: Signacula quidem rerum divinarum sunt visibilia, sed res invisibiles in eis honorantur; nec sic habenda est species benedictione sanctificata, quemadmodum habetur in usu quolibet. [Lib. de Catech. Rud. cap. xxvi. 50. Tom. VI. col. 293.]—Lanfranc. De Euchar. Sacram. Lib. in Biblioth. Patr. per M. de la Bigne, Par. 1624. Tom. VI. cols. 197-200.]

The thirty-third division.

Johannes Scotus. Bertramus.

Lanfranc. de Sacram. Euchar.

Ambros. de Sacram. Lib. iv. cap. iv. Sacramentum et res sacramenti. Acts iii.

August. de Con. Dist. 2. Qui manducas.

August. de Doctr. Christ.

August. ad Bonifac. Epist. 23.

August. de Catech. Rudib.

pope Nicolas the second, Berengarius was forced to recant in this wise: [*Credo*] *corpus... Domini nostri Jesu Christi... sensualiter, ... [et] in veritate, manibus sacerdotum tractari, [et] frangi, et fidelium dentibus atteri*⁴: "I believe that the body of our Lord Jesus Christ sensibly, and in very deed, is touched with the hands of the priests, and broken, and rent, and ground with the teeth of the faithful." This was the consent and judgment of that council. And what thinketh M. Harding of the same? Certainly the very rude gloss findeth fault herewithal, and giveth this warning thereof unto the reader: *Nisi sane intelligas verba Berengarii, &c.*⁵: "Unless you warily understand these words of Berengarius, you will fall into a greater heresy than ever he held any." Thus these fathers, by their own friend's confession, redress the less error by the greater; and in plain words in general council, by solemn way of recantation, profess a greater heresy than by their own judgment ever was defended by Berengarius.

Berengarius.
De Consecr.
Dist. 2. Rgo
Berengar.
This is an
horrible
blasphemy.

Gloss. ibid.

Further, if this be indeed the catholic faith, as M. Harding would so fain have all the world to believe, and Bertramus and Johannes Scotus, both very famous and great learned men, wrote openly against it, with the good contentation of the world, and without the apparent controlment of any man, two hundred years or more before Berengarius was born; let him better advise himself, whether these words were truly, or boldly, or rashly, or wisely, with such affiance uttered and avouched of his side, that this his faith was never impugned by any man before the time of Berengarius.

But that M. Harding calleth the catholic faith is indeed a catholic error, the contrary whereof hath evermore been taught and defended by all the old learned catholic fathers, as may well appear by that is already, and hereafter shall be, alleged of their writings. Certainly they, that now condemn Berengarius for using the plain words and expositions of the old fathers, would as well condemn St Augustine, St Hierome, St Ambrose, and the rest, were it not for the credit and authority of their names.

"The doctors that have been sithence the time of Berengarius," saith M. Harding, "have more often used these terms, 'really,' 'carnally,' &c. than other old doctors within six hundred years after Christ." In these few words M. Harding hath handsomely conveyed in a great untruth: for this comparative, "more often," presupposeth the positive. Therefore the sense hereof must be this: The old doctors often used these terms, "really," "fleshly," &c. albeit not so often as others of the latter⁶ years. But M. Harding knoweth this is untrue. For neither hath he here yet shewed, nor is he able to shew, that, in this case of the sacrament, any of these terms was ever used by any one of all the old ancient writers. Whereof we may well reason thus: The old catholic fathers, in treating of the substance of the sacrament, never used any of these words, "really," "carnally," &c. Therefore it is likely, they never taught the people to believe that Christ's body is present really and fleshly in the sacrament. Contrariwise, they in their sermons called the sacrament "a figure," "a sign," "a remembrance of Christ's body:" therefore it is likely, they would have the catholic people so to judge and believe of the sacrament.

M. HARDING. THE SEVENTH DIVISION.

Here, before that I bring in places of ancient fathers, reporting the same doctrine, and in like terms as the catholic church doth hold concerning this article, lest our opinion herein might happily appear over carnal and gross, I think it necessary briefly to declare what manner a true body and blood⁷ is in the sacrament. Christ in himself hath but one flesh and blood in substance, which his Godhead took of the virgin Mary once, and never afterward left it off. But this one flesh and blood, in respect of double quality, hath a double consideration. For at what time Christ lived here in earth among men, in the shape of

[The flesh and blood of Christ⁷ of double consideration. H. A. 1564.]

[⁴ Confess. Berengar. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 42. col. 1932.]

[⁵ Gloss. in eod. ibid.; which proceeds: in ma-

jorem incidet hæresim, quam ipse habuit.]

[⁶ Later, 1565, 1609.]

[⁷ Blood of Christ, H. A. 1564.]

man, his flesh was thrall, and subject to the frailty of man's nature, sin and ignorance excepted. That flesh, being passible unto¹ death, the soldiers at the procurement of the Jews crucified. And such manner blood was at his passion shed forth of his body, in sight of them which were then present. But, after that Christ rose again from the dead, his body from that time forward ever remaineth immortal, and lively, in danger no more of any infirmity or suffering, much less of death; but is become, by divine gifts and endowments, a spiritual and a divine body, as to whom the Godhead hath communicated divine and godly properties and excellencies, that been above all man's capacity of understanding. This flesh and body thus considered, which sundry doctors call corpus spirituale, et deificatum, "a spiritual, and a² deified body," is given to us in the blessed sacrament. This is³ the doctrine of the church, uttered by St Hierome in his commentaries upon the epistle to the Ephesians, where he hath these words: Dupliciter vero sanguis . . . Lib. i. cap. i. et caro intelligitur, vel spiritualis illa atque divina, de qua ipse dixit, Caro mea vere est cibus, et sanguis meus vere est potus; et, Nisi manducaveritis carnem meam, et sanguinem meum biberitis, non habebitis vitam æternam; vel caro quæ crucifixæ est, et sanguis, qui militis effusus est lancea⁴. That is: "The blood and flesh of Christ is understood two ways; either that it is that spiritual and divine flesh, of which he spake himself, 'My flesh is verily meat, and my blood is verily drink;' and, 'Except ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood, ye shall not have life in you;' or that flesh which was crucified, and that blood which was shed by piercing of the soldier's spear." And to the intent a man should not take this difference according to the substance of Christ's flesh and blood, but according to the quality only, St Hierome bringeth a similitude of our flesh, as of which it hath been in double respect said: Juxta hanc divisionem et in sanctis etiam diversitas sanguinis et carnis accipitur; ut alia sit caro, quæ visura est salutare Dei, alia Luke iii. caro et sanguis⁵, quæ regnum Dei non queant possidere⁶: "According to this division, diversity of blood and flesh is to be understood in saints also; so as there is one flesh which shall see the salvation of God, and another flesh and blood, which may not possess the kingdom of God." Which two states of flesh and blood seem (as it appeareth to the unlearned) quite contrary.

But St Paul dissolveth this doubt, in the fifteenth chapter of his first epistle to the Corinthians, saying, that flesh of such sort as we bear about us in 1 Cor. xv. this life, earthly, mortal, frail, and burdenous to the soul, cannot possess the kingdom of God, because corruption shall not possess incorruption. But after resurrection we shall have a spiritual, glorious, incorruptible, and immortal flesh, and like in figure to the glorious body of Christ, as St Paul saith: "This corruptible body must put on incorruption, and this mortal, immortality." Then such flesh, or our flesh of that manner and sort, shall possess the kingdom of God, and shall behold God himself. And yet our flesh, now corruptible, and then incorruptible, is but one flesh in substance, but diverse in quality and property. Even so it is to be thought of our Lord's flesh, as is afore said. The due weighing of this difference giveth much light to this matter, and ought to stay many horrible blasphemies, wickedly uttered against this most blessed sacrament.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here M. Harding much troubleth his head with a needless labour, and in the end concludeth against himself. For that the Son of God was made man, even like unto one of us, thrall and subject to the infirmities and miseries of this mortal life; and that, as he himself complaineth in the psalm, he seemed a vile worm and no man, the shame of the world, and the outcast of the people; and that God the Father afterward advanced⁷ him with glory, and set him at his right hand, above all powers and principalities, and gave him a name above all names, and endued him with a spiritual and a glorious body, and united the same unto

Psal. xxii.

Eph. i.
Phil. ii.

[¹ Until, H. A. 1564.]

[² H. A. 1564, omits a.] [³ Is, omitted, 1611.]

[⁴ Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. i. in Epist. ad Ephes. cap. i. Tom. IV. Pars i. col. 328;

where *vel caro et sanguis quæ crucifixæ est et qui.*]

[⁵ Sanguinis, 1611.]

[⁶ Id. *ibid.*; where *ejus* for *etiam*.]

[⁷ Advanced, 1565.]

the Godhead, and crowned him with honour and glory—all these things are known even unto babes and children, that have been godly brought up, and have learned the principles of their faith; and are so far from all doubt amongst us, that we believe Christ “shall transform our mortal bodies, and make them like unto the body of his glory.” And therefore St Augustine saith: *Corpus Domini pro ipsa cœlesti habitatione cœlestem accepit mutationem: et hoc [nos] sperare in die ultimo jussi sumus. Ideo dicit apostolus, . . . qualis cœlestis, tales et cœlestes, id est, immortales, non solum animis, sed etiam corporibus*⁸: “The body of our Lord, according to that heavenly habitation, hath received an⁹ heavenly change; and we ourselves are commanded at the last day to hope for the same. Therefore the apostle saith: ‘As he is that is heavenly, so are they that are heavenly,’ that is to say, immortal, and that not only in soul, but also in body.” This is the comfortable article of our belief; and therefore with us, and with all other faithful, it is out of all doubt and question.

Only Stephen Gardiner, who, for his constancy and fastness in his religion, would needs be called Constantius, hath given the world to understand by public writing, that Christ is not yet fully possessed in this glory. These be his words: *Tempus humilitatis Christi in conversatione visibili et terrena præstandæ plane præterit: sed humilis dispensationis tempus eo usque manet, donec tradiderit regnum Deo [et] Patri*¹⁰: “The time of Christ’s humility in visible and earthly conversation is undoubtedly past: but the time of the dispensation or service of his humility remaineth still, until he deliver up the kingdom unto God his Father.” Thus one of them saith, Christ’s body is deified and become God: another saith, it is yet still in the dispensation and service of humility, and therefore is not yet deified. It seemeth they be not yet well resolved of Christ’s glory, how much or how little they may allow him. Neither indeed have they any certain direction to guide themselves herein; but only, as occasion is offered, to shift off objections, they are fain to take hold in any thing, true or false, to serve their turn. A man may well say unto them, as St Augustine sometime said unto the heretic Faustus Manicheus: [*Dices,*] *Hoc pro me facit: illud contra me. Tu es*¹¹ *ergo regula veritatis. Quicquid contra te fuerit, non est verum*¹²: “Thou wilt say, This thing is for me: that thing is against me. Then art thou the rule of truth. Whatsoever is against thee is not true.”

But to what end allegeth M. Harding the spiritual state of Christ’s glorious body? Doth he not remember that the old heretic abbat Eutyches maintained his fantasies by the same, and was deceived? “Christ’s body,” said he, “is glorious; therefore it is changed into the very substance and nature of God, and hath now no shape or proportion of a body¹³.” This is an old heresy, long sithence reproved by Leo, Gelasius, and other old fathers, and condemned by the council of Chalcedon; very much like unto this of M. Harding’s, if it be not fully the same. We believe the body of Christ’s¹⁴ is endued with immortality, brightness, light, and glory: yet is it nevertheless the same body it was before. And therefore St Augustine saith: *Corpus Domini secundum substantiam etiam post resurrectionem caro appellata est*¹⁵: “The body of our Lord in respect of the substance of it, yea, after it is risen again, is called flesh.” And again: *Domini corpori suo immortalitatem dedit, naturam non abstulit*¹⁶: “The Lord gave to his body immortality; but he took not away the nature or substance of it.”

And, notwithstanding certain of the old fathers call the body of Christ *corpus deificatum*, as M. Harding allegeth; yet it is not their meaning, that the same body, according to the natural signification and sound of that word, is changed

Christ’s
body
deified.

Phil. iii.
August.
contr. Adi-
mant. cap.
xii.

1 Cor. xv.

Marc. Anton.
Constant.
Ad Object.
144.

August.
contr. Faust.
Manich. Lib.
xi. cap. ii.

Eutych. in
Conc. Chal.

August.
Retract. Lib.
i. cap. xxii.

August. in
Epist. 57. ad
Dard.

[⁸ Nam quoniam Domini nostri corpus... sic levatum est ... ut pro, &c. Ideo dixit, &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. contr. Adimant. cap. xii. 4. Tom. VIII. col. 125.]

[⁹ A, 1565.]

[¹⁰ Confut. Cavill. in Sacros. Euch. Sacr. Par. 1552. fol. 103.]

[¹¹ Est, 1611.]

[¹² August. Op. Contr. Faust. Lib. xi. cap. ii. Tom. VIII. col. 219; where *sonat* for *facit*.]

[¹³ The opinions of Eutyches may be found Flav.

et Leon. Epistt. in Concil. Calched. Pars i. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. IV. cols. 13, &c. See below, page 481, note 5.]

[¹⁴ Christ, 1565, 1609.]

[¹⁵ ... substantiam, secundum quam Domini corpus etiam, &c.—August. Op. Retract. Lib. i. cap. xxii. 3. Tom. I. col. 33.]

[¹⁶ ... cui profecto [carni] immortalitatem, &c.—Id. Lib. ad Dard. seu Epist. clxxxvii. 10. Tom. II. col. 681.]

Christ's
body
deified.

and transformed into a divine nature, and made God, and so is no longer a natural body. For, as it is true that God was made man, even so, and in like sense, it is also true that man was made God, without any change of substance of either nature. And therefore the fathers say, Christ's body is deified, or made God, for that it is united in person and glory with the nature of God. To this purpose, although not altogether in like sense, St Augustine seemeth to say, that men are deified and made gods. Thus he writeth: *Homines dixit deos, et¹ gratia sua deificatos; non de substantia sua natos²*: "He called men gods, as being deified, and so made by his grace; but not as born so of his substance." So saith Dionysius: *Pontifex ipse mutatur in Deum³*: "The bishop himself is turned into God." Likewise St Cyprian calleth the scriptures *scripturas deificas⁴*, "the scriptures that make men gods." And Clemens Alexandrinus saith: *Sacræ literæ nos deificas⁵*: "The holy scriptures make us gods." By these and other like words is meant, not that men are changed from their own natural substance, and indeed become gods, as the letter seemeth to import; but only that men are endued with godly virtues and qualities, and so made the children of God. And so Dionysius himself⁶ saith: *Hæc mutatio nostri in Deum, est Dei in nobis similitudo, quantam capere natura potest⁷*: "This changing of us into God is the likeness or image of God within us, as far as nature can receive."

But St Hierome saith: "Christ's flesh hath double understanding, and may be taken either for his spiritual or divine flesh, or else for his mortal flesh, as it was crucified;" and is thought to make much for M. Harding. For answer hereunto, first of all, this one thing I pray thee, good reader, to consider, that St Hierome in that whole place speaketh not one word, neither of the sacrament, nor of any real or fleshly presence. Therefore M. Harding can have but very poor help hereof to prove his purpose. Only he expoundeth what St Paul meant by these words, "We have redemption by his blood:" and his meaning, as it appeareth by the whole drift of his words, is this, that the salvation, which we have in Christ, standeth not in that he was a mere natural man, as were Codrus, Decius, Curtius, or such others, that died for the safety and delivery of their countries; but in that his humanity was united and joined in one person with the nature of God. His words be these: *Quis iste, aiunt, tantus ac talis, qui possit pretio suo totum orbem redimere? Jesus Christus Filius Dei proprium sanguinem dedit, et, nos de servitute eripiens libertate donavit. Et revera, si historiis gentilium credimus, quod Codrus, et Curtius, et Decii Mures pestilentias urbium, et fames, et bella suis mortibus represserint; quanto magis hoc in Dei Filio possibile judicandum est, quod cruore suo non urbem unam purgaverit, sed totum orbem⁸*? "They say, what was he, such a one, and so mighty, that by his price was able to redeem the whole world? Jesus Christ the Son of God gave his own blood, and, delivering us from bondage, hath made us free. And indeed, if we believe the heathen story⁹, that Codrus, Curtius, and Decii Mures removed pestilences, famines, and wars from their cities by their death; how much more may we judge the same possible in the Son of God, that he by his blood hath purged, not only one city, but also the whole world!" Immediately after this follow the words that M. Harding hath here alleged: *Dupliciter vero, &c.*: "For the blood and flesh of Christ hath double understanding." By the whole course of these words thus going before, it is easy to perceive St Hierome's meaning: that is, that we have our salvation in Christ, and do eat him, and drink him, and live by him, not for that his flesh was mortal

[¹ Ex, 1565.]

[² August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. xlix. Enarr. 2. Tom. IV. col. 444; where *ex gratia.*]

[³ ... αὐτόν τε τὸν Ἱεράρχην ... θεωθῆναι.—Dionys. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. i. 2. Tom. I. pp. 231, 2.]

[⁴ Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Zel. et Livor. p. 226; Id. ad Cornel. Epist. lii. p. 97. The expression in these places is *deifica disciplina*. But see the opinion of Crescens in the Council of Carthage, *ibid.* p. 232; where we find...*ex scripturis deificis.*]

[⁵ ... τὰ ἱεροποιούντα καὶ θεοποιούντα γράμματα.—Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Cohort. ad Gent. 9. Tom. I. p. 71.]

[⁶ Himself also, 1565.]

[⁷ Ἡ δὲ θεώσις ἐστὶν ἢ πρὸς Θεὸν ὡς ἐφικτὸν ἀφομοίωσις τε καὶ ἔνωσις.—Dionys. Areop. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. i. 3. Tom. I. p. 233.]

[⁸ Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. i. in Epist. ad Ephes. cap. i. Tom. IV. Pars i. col. 328; where *et talis*, and *unam sed totum purgavit orbem.*]

[⁹ Stories, 1565.]

August. in
Psal. xlix.

Dionys. de
Eccles.
Hierarch.
cap. i.
ἐχέτ
θεωθῆναι.
Cypr. de Zel.
et Livor. et
Lib. ii. Epist.
8.
Clemens in
Protrept.
Dionys. de
Eccles.
Hierarch.
cap. i.

Eph. i.

Hieron. ad
Ephes. cap. i.

only, and crucified upon the cross; but for that it was spiritual and divine, that is to say, the flesh of the Son of God. And herein stood that great contention, that Cyrillus and other godly fathers had against Nestorius; as it is well known unto the learned. And therefore St Paul saith: "That I live now, I live in the flesh¹⁰ of the Son of God."

Christ's
body
deified.

Gal. ii.

Therefore, notwithstanding St Augustine say, *Christus crucifixus est lac sugentibus, et cibus proficientibus*¹¹, "Christ crucified is milk unto the sucklings, and harder meat unto the strong;" and notwithstanding Angelomus say, "Christ's body is hay, whereby the gentiles are fed¹²;" yet must both these, and also all other like places be taken, not of bare mortal flesh alone, but of the flesh of the Son of God; which St Hierome calleth divine and spiritual, for that it is personally and inseparably joined with the Godhead.

August. in
Johan.
Tractat. 88.
Angelom. in
1 Reg. cap. i.

Again, St Hierome's meaning is that the same flesh of Christ, being thus divine and spiritual, must also spiritually be received, and not in any such carnal or fleshly wise as it¹³ is here imagined by M. Harding. For notwithstanding Christ's body be spiritual, yet is that no sufficient warrant to prove that therefore M. Harding's opinion is not, as he saith, over gross and carnal. For the Manichees and the Messalian heretics had gross and carnal imaginations of God himself, notwithstanding God be only spirit, and most spiritual. And therefore St Augustine saith of them: *Ecce ego . . . derideo carnales homines, qui nondum possunt spiritualia cogitare*¹⁴: "Behold, I laugh to scorn these carnal and fleshly men, that are not yet able to conceive things spiritual."

August.
contr.
Epist. Fund.
cap. xxiii.

For proof hereof St Hierome himself saith: *De hac quidem hostia, quæ in Christi commemoratione mirabiliter fit, edere licet; de illa vero, quam Christus in ara crucis obtulit, secundum se nulli edere licet*¹⁵: "Of this oblation, which is marvellously made in the remembrance of Christ, it is lawful to eat; but of that oblation, which Christ offered upon the altar of the cross, according to itself (that is to say, in gross and fleshly manner) it is lawful for no man to eat." By these words St Hierome also sheweth a great difference between the sacrifice that is made in the remembrance of Christ, and the very sacrifice indeed that Christ made upon the cross. So St Chrysostom saith: *Si carnaliter quis accipiat, nihil lucratur*¹⁶: "If a man take it fleshly, he gaineth nothing." So likewise St Augustine saith, as it is alleged before: "It is a figure or form of speech, willing us to be partakers of Christ's passion, and comfortably to remember that Christ hath died for us¹⁷." This St Hierome calleth the eating of the divine and spiritual flesh of Christ. Therefore Clemens Alexandrinus saith, not only in like sense, but also in like form of words: *Duplex est sanguis Domini: alter carnalis, quo redempti sumus; alter spiritualis, quo uncti sumus. Et hoc est bibere Jesu sanguinem, participem esse incorruptionis Domini*¹⁸: "There are two sorts of Christ's blood: the one fleshly, wherewith we are redeemed; the other spiritual, wherewith we are anointed. And this is the drinking of the blood of Christ, to be partakers¹⁹ of his immortality." In like sort St Augustine saith: *Judas Christum carnalem tradidit, tu spiritualem; furens evangelium sanctum flammis sacrilegis tradidisti*²⁰: "Judas betrayed Christ carnal; but thou hast betrayed Christ spiritual: for in thy fury thou betrayedst the holy gospel to be burnt in wicked fire." Here St Augustine calleth Christ spiritual, for that the manner of the betraying was spiritual. Likewise that ancient father Clemens calleth Christ's blood spiritual, not in respect of difference in itself, but only in respect of the spiritual receiving.

De Consecr.
Dist. 2.
De hac.

Chrysost. in
Johan. Hom.
47.

August. de
Doctr. Christ.
Lib. iii. cap.
xvi.

Clement.
Alex. in
Pædag. Lib.
ii. cap. ii.

August.
contr. Lit.
Petil. Lib. ii.
cap. viii.

[¹⁰ Now in the flesh I live in the faith, 1565.]

[¹¹ *Christus crucifixus...illis [parvulis] ergo tamquam lacteus potus; istis [capacioribus] tamquam solidus cibus.*—August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. xvi. Tractat. lxxxviii. 2. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 739.]

[¹² *Herba ergo onagri est, hæc ipsa Mediatoris incarnatio, per quam ipsa gentilitas jam satiatur.*—Angelom. Strom. in Lib. Reg. I. cap. i. in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. IX. p. 704.]

[¹³ 1565 omits it.]

[¹⁴ August. Op. Lib. Contr. Epist. Manich. Fund. cap. xxiii. 25. Tom. VIII. col. 165.]

[¹⁵ Hieron. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 76. col. 1955.]

[¹⁶ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Joan. Hom. xlvii. Tom. VIII. p. 278.]

[¹⁷ August. Op. De Doctr. Christ. Lib. III. cap. xvi. 24. Tom. III. Pars I. col. 52. See before, page 452.]

[¹⁸ Clement. Alex. Op. Pædag. Lib. II. cap. ii. Tom. I. p. 177.]

[¹⁹ Partaker, 1565.]

[²⁰ August. Op. Contr. Lit. Petil. Lib. II. cap. viii. 17. Tom. IX. col. 221; where *carnaliter tradidit*, and *spiritualiter furens*. They are the words of Petilian.]

Christ's
body
deified.

Athanas. de
Pec. in Spirit.
Sanct.

And I think M. Harding will not deny but these words of Clemens and Augustine, agreeing so near both in sense and phrase with the words of Hierome, may stand for sufficient exposition to the same. Certainly, as Christ's blood is not really or bloodily present to anoint us, so is it not really or bloodily present to nourish us: for this nourishing and this anointing are both spiritual. And therefore the old learned father Athanasius writeth thus: *Quomodo unum unius hominis corpus universo mundo sufficeret? quod, tanquam in illorum cogitationibus versatum, Christus commemorat. A quibus cogitationibus ut eos avocaret, quemadmodum paulo ante sui descensus e cœlis, ita nunc reditus sui in cœlum mentionem facit*¹: "The Capernaïtes demanded, how one body of one man might suffice the whole world; which thing, as being in their cogitations, Christ calleth to remembrance. To remove them from which cogitations (of gross and fleshly eating), as he before made mention of his coming down from heaven, so now likewise he maketh mention of his repair again into heaven."

To conclude, once again, gentle reader, I must do thee to remember, that St Hierome in this whole place never spake one word, neither of any real or fleshly presence, nor of the sacrament. Yet notwithstanding, M. Harding, as though St Hierome had plainly and undoubtedly spoken of both, hereof gathereth his reason thus: St Hierome saith, We eat not the flesh of Christ that was crucified; *ergo*, Christ's flesh is really and fleshly in the sacrament. This argument is evident to the eye, and needeth no answer.

His reason would better have framed thus: St Hierome saith, We cannot eat the flesh of Christ that was crucified; *ergo*, we cannot really and carnally eat the flesh of Christ. Whereof it must necessarily follow, even by the authority that M. Harding hath here alleged, that Christ's body is not really and fleshly in the sacrament. Such relief hath M. Harding found in these words of St Hierome.

M. HARDING. THE EIGHTH DIVISION.

Now, whereas M. Jewel denieth that christian people were of old time taught to believe that Christ's body is really, substantially, corporally, carnally, or naturally in the sacrament, I do plainly affirm the contrary. Yet I acknowledge, that the learned fathers (135) which have so taught would not thereby seem to make it here outwardly sensible or perceptible. For they confess all with St Chrysostom, that the thing which is here given us is not sensible, but that under visible signs invisible things be delivered unto us². But they thought good* to use the aforesaid terms, to put away all doubt of the being of his very body in these holy mysteries, and to exclude the only imagination, fantasy, figure, sign, token, virtue, or signification thereof. For in such wise the sacramentaries have uttered their doctrine in this point, as they may seem by their manner of speaking and writing here to represent our Lord's body only, indeed being absent; as kings oftentimes are represented in a tragedy, or mean persons in a comedy. Verily, the manner and way by which it is here present, and given to us and received of us, is secret, not human ne natural; true for all that. And we do not attain it by sense, reason, or nature, but by faith. For which cause we do not over basely consider and attend the visible elements; but, as we are taught by the council of Nice, lifting up our mind and spirit, we behold by faith on that holy table put and laid (so for the better signification of the real presence their term soundeth) the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world. And here, say they, we receive his precious body and blood ἀληθῶς³, that is to say, verily and indeed: which is no otherwise nor less than this term really importeth.

The hundred
and thirty-
fifth untruth.
For the old
fathers never
taught us so.
* Another
untruth, as
afore.

Homil. 63.
in Matth. et
60. ad Pop.
Antioch.

Lifting up
the mind.
Behold by
faith.

κεῖσθαι.

[¹ Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Epist. iv. ad Serapion. 19. Tom. I. Pars II. p. 710.]

[² ...ἐν αἰσθητοῖς τὰ νοητά σοι παραδίδωσι.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718–38. In Matt. Hom. lxxxiii. Tom. VII. p. 787. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. Ad Pop. Ant. Hom. lx. Tom. V. col. 395.]

[³ Ἐπὶ τῆς θείας τραπέζης πάλιν κἀνταῦθα μὴ τῷ προκειμένῳ ἄρτῳ καὶ τῷ ποτηρίῳ ταπεινῶς προσέχωμεν· ἀλλ' ὑψώσαντες ἡμῶν τὴν διάνοιαν,

πίστει νοήσωμεν κεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐκείνης τραπέζης τὸν Ἄμνον τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν αἰρουτα τὴν ἀμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου, ἀθύτως ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν θυόμενον καὶ τὸ τίμιον αὐτοῦ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα ἀληθῶς λαμβάνοντας ἡμᾶς, πιστεύειν ταῦτα εἶναι τὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀναστάσεως σύμβολα.—Gelas. Cyz. Hist. Concil. Nic. cap. xxx. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671–2. Tom. II. col. 233.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here M. Harding once again, as before, will teach us what the old fathers meant by those words that they never uttered. I trow, he hath some privy divination, that thus taketh upon him to know what men mean before they speak. Cicero saith: *Peritum esse necesse est eum, qui, silentium quid sit, intelligat*: "It must needs be some cunning fellow that understandeth what silence meaneth, and knoweth what they speak that speak nothing." He saith: "The fathers thought good to use the aforesaid term⁴, to put away all doubt of the being of Christ's very body in these holy mysteries." Verily, this is a marvellous boldness, so often and with such confidence and countenance to say the old fathers used these terms, and yet not once to shew any one of them all that ever used them. It may be thought that he hath either too great affiance in himself, or too little regard unto his reader. As for this vain muster of names, of Chrysostom, Hilary, Gregory Nyssene, and Cyril, as it shall appear by the view, it helpeth him nothing.

Cic. de
Divin. 2.

The sacramentaries, saith M. Harding, utter their doctrine by these terms, figure, sign, token, signification, and virtue. I may not answer this discourtesy of talk with like discourtesy. Only I will say of these men, as St Augustine sometime said of the Arians: *Cum se tanta...voragine impietatis immergant, nos, tanquam opprobrio novi nominis, homousianos vocant, ...quia contra illorum errorem homousion defendimus*⁵: "Whereas they have drowned themselves in such a dungeon of wickedness, now they call us homousians, to reproach us with a new name, because we defend the unity of the holy Trinity against their error." But if they be all sacramentaries that use these terms, then must St Augustine, St Hierome, St Chrysostom, St Ambrose, and all other the holy fathers that used the same, needs be condemned for sacramentaries. But if they be sacramentaries that shamefully abuse and corrupt the holy sacraments, then may M. Harding and his friends rightly be called sacramentaries. M. Harding addeth: "Chrysostom saith, In visible signs things invisible be delivered;" *ergo*, the body of Christ is really and fleshly in the sacrament. First, if M. Harding had well considered that whole homily, happily he would have charged Chrysostom himself with his sacramentary quarrel, as now he doth others. For, touching the sacrament, Chrysostom even there writeth thus: *Quando dicunt, Unde patet Christum fuisse immolatum? hæc afferentes mysteria ora ipsorum conviuimus. Si enim mortuus Jesus non est, cujus symbolum ac signum hoc sacrificium est*⁶? "When they say, How may we know that Christ was offered? bringing forth these mysteries, we stop their mouths. For if Christ died not, whose sign and token is this sacrifice?" But to return to the matter: O how light occasions these men take to deceive the simple! M. Harding knoweth that Chrysostom speaketh not these words only of the sacrament of Christ's body, but also generally of all other mysteries. For he addeth immediately: *Sic et in baptismo per aquam, quæ res sensibilis est, donum illud conceditur. Quod autem in ea conficitur, regeneratio scilicet et renovatio, intelligibile quiddam est*⁷: "Even so in baptism the gift is granted by water, which is a thing sensible. But the regeneration and renovation that therein is wrought is a thing spiritual." Wherefore, if M. Harding upon occasion of these words will force his real and fleshly presence in the one sacrament, he must likewise force the same in the other.

August.
contr. Serm.
Arian. cap.
xxxvi.Chrysost. in
Matt. Hom.
83.

And forasmuch as, these two sacraments being both of force like, these men, to advance⁸ their fantasies in the one, by comparison so much abase the other; and specially for the better opening of Chrysostom's mind, I think it good briefly and by the way somewhat to touch what the old catholic fathers have written of God's invisible working in the sacrament of baptism. Dionysius generally of all mysteries writeth thus: *Angeli Deum, &c.*⁹: "The angels, being creatures spiritual,

Dionys.
Eccles.
Hierarch.
cap. i.[⁴ Terms, 1565.][⁵ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. contr. Serm. Arian. cap. xxxvi. 34. Tom. VIII. cols. 646, 7; where *quia contra eorum errorem Græco vocabulo ὁμοούσιον defendimus*.][⁶ Chrysost. Op. In Matt. Hom. lxxxii. Tom. VII. p. 783.][⁷ Id. ibid. p. 787.][⁸ Avance, 1565.][⁹ Αἱ μὲν, ὡς νόες, νοῦσι [Θεὸν τε καὶ θείαν

Laid on
the table.

Concil. Nic.
πλήρη τοῦ
θείου πνεύματος
ἴσκει τὰ
ὕδατα.

Chrysost. in
1 Cor. cap. ii.
Hom. 7.

Ego non simpli-
citer video,
quod video.

Nasians. de
Sanct. Baptis.
μείζον τῶν
ὁραμένων
ἐστὶ τὸ
μυστήριον.

Ambros. de
Spirit. Sanct.
Lib. iii. cap.
xi.

Ambros. de
his qui initi-
antur Myst.
cap. iii.

Tertull. de
Baptism.
Basil. de
Sanct.
Baptism.

Chrysost. in
Matt. Hom.
51.

Ambros. de
Sacram. Lib.
i. cap. v.

Bernard. sup.
Missa est
Gabriel.
Serm. 3.

so far forth as it is lawful for them, behold God and his godly power. But we are led as we may, by sensible outward tokens (which he calleth images), unto the contemplation of heavenly things." The fathers in the council of Nice say thus: "Baptism must be considered not with our bodily eyes, but with the eyes of our mind. Thou seest the water: think thou of the power of God that in the water is hidden. Think thou that the water is full of heavenly fire, and of the sanctification of the Holy Ghost¹." Chrysostom, speaking likewise of baptism, saith thus: *Ego non aspectu judico ea, quæ videntur, sed mentis oculis, &c.*²: "The things that I see I judge not by sight, but by the eyes of my mind. The heathen, when he heareth the water of baptism, taketh it only for plain water; but I see not simply or barely that I see: I see the cleansing of the soul by the Spirit of God." So likewise saith Nazianzenus: *Mysterium (baptismi) majus est, quam ea quæ videntur*³: "The mystery of baptism is greater than it appeareth to the eye." So St Ambrose: *Aliud est, quod visibiliter agitur; aliud, quod invisibiliter celebratur*⁴: "In baptism there is one thing done visibly to the eye: another thing is wrought invisibly to the mind." Again he saith: *Ne solis corporis tui oculis credas: magis videtur, quod non videtur, &c.*⁵: "Believe not only the⁶ bodily eyes (in this sacrament of baptism): the thing that is not seen is better seen: the thing that thou seest is corruptible; the thing that thou seest not is for ever." To be short, in consideration of these invisible effects Tertullian saith: "The Holy Ghost cometh down, and halloweth the water⁷." St Basil saith: "The kingdom of heaven is there set open⁸." Chrysostom saith: "God himself in baptism by his invisible power holdeth thy head⁹." St Ambrose saith: "The water hath the grace of Christ: in it is the presence of the Trinity¹⁰." St Bernard saith: *Lavemur in sanguine ejus*¹¹: "Let us be washed in his blood."

By the authorities of thus many ancient fathers it is plain that, in the sacrament of baptism, by the sensible sign of water the invisible grace of God is given unto us. Wherefore, as M. Harding by force of Chrysostom's words proveth his fleshly presence in the one sacrament, so may he by the force of the same words as well prove that the power of God, the heavenly fire, the grace, and the blood of Christ is really and fleshly present in the other.

All this notwithstanding, he hopeth to find some help in two words, uttered, as he saith, in the council of Nice, *κείσθαι* and *ἀληθῶς*; one of which words, either of forgetfulness or of purpose, he hath devised and set to of himself. For as this whole Greek authority, alleged here by M. Harding, was never found in the old allowed Nicene council, but only hath been sought out and published of late years; even so this word *κείσθαι* was never found in the Greek¹², neither as it is commonly set abroad, nor as it is alleged by D. Cuthbert Tonstal¹³.

κεισθαι.
ἀληθῶς.

De Euchar.
Lib. i.

ἀρετήν] κατὰ τὸ αὐταῖς θεμιτόν· ἡμεῖς δὲ αἰσθη-
ταῖς εἰκόσιν ἐπὶ τὰς θείας, ὡς δυνατὸν, ἀναγόμεθα
θεωρίας.—Dionys. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De
Eccles. Hierarch. cap. i. 2. Tom. I. p. 232.]

[1 Τὸ βάπτισμα ἡμῶν οὐ τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς ὀφ-
θαλμοῖς κατανοητέον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νοεοῖς. ὕδωρ
ὄραε, νόησον τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι κρυπτομένην τοῦ
θεοῦ δύναμιν...πλήρη τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ τοῦ Πνεύμα-
τος καὶ τοῦ θείου, κ. τ. λ.—Gelas. Cyz. Hist. Concil.
Nic. cap. xxx. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart.
Lut. Par. 1671-2, Tom. II. p. 233.]

[2 Ἀκούων χουτρὸν ἐκεῖνος [ὁ ἄπιστος] ἀπλῶς
ὕδωρ νομίζει· ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ τὸ ὀρώμενον ἀπλῶς βλέπω,
ἀλλὰ τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς καθαρόν τὸν διὰ τοῦ Πνεύ-
ματος...οὐ γὰρ τῇ ὄψει κρίνω τὰ φαινόμενα, ἀλλὰ
τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τῆς διανοίας.—Chrysost. Op. Par.
1718-38. In Epist. i. ad Cor. Hom. vii. Tom. X.
p. 51.]

[3 Gregor. Nazianz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. In
Sanct. Baptism. Orat. xl. 25. Tom. I. p. 711.]

[4 Perhaps the following may be the passage in-
tended: Alterum igitur invisibile, alterum visibile
testimonium sacramento consequimur spiritali.—
Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Spirit. Sanct. Lib.

iii. cap. x. 68. Tom. II. col. 678.]

[5 Non ergo solis corporis tui credas oculis:
magis videtur quod non videtur; quia istud tem-
porale, illud æternum adspicitur, quod oculis non
comprehenditur.—Id. Lib. de Myst. cap. iii. 15.
Tom. II. col. 328.]

[6 Thy, 1565, 1609.]

[7 Supervenit enim statim Spiritus de cælis, et
aquis superest, sanctificans eas de semetipso.—
Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Baptism. 4. p. 257.]

[8 Βασιλεία οὐρανῶν ἡνοικταί.—Basil. Op. Par.
1721-30. Hom. in Sanct. Baptism. Tom. II. p. 114.]

[9 Chrysost. Op. In Matt. Hom. i. Tom. VII.
p. 517.]

[10 ...aqua sanat, quæ habet gratiam Christi...
sanctificetur fons, et adsit præsentia Trinitatis æternæ.
—Ambros. Op. De Sacram. Lib. ii. cap. v. 15, 8.
Tom. II. col. 352, 3.]

[11 Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. Sup. Missus est,
Hom. iii. 14. Vol. I. Tom. III. col. 748.]

[12 It appears as given in Labbe and Cossart.
See before, page 464, note 3.]

[13 Tonst. De Verit. Corp. et Sang. Dom. in
Euchar. Lut. 1554. Lib. i. fol. 40.]

But let it be lawful for M. Harding to use some corruption, and to do in this place as he commonly doth in other, the better to furnish out the matter. Yet must this word *κείσθαι*, which signifieth "to be set" or "placed," needs sound a real presence? Or when St Paul saith, *Christus habitat in cordibus nostris per fidem*, "Christ dwelleth in our hearts by faith;" must he needs mean that Christ is really and fleshly placed within our hearts? Verily, St Hierome, writing unto Marcella of the holy grave, wherein Christ's body sometime was laid, hath these words: *Quoties ingredimur in sepulchrum Domini, toties jacere in sindone cernimus Salvatorem*¹⁴: "As often as we enter into the sepulchre of the¹⁵ Lord, so often we see our Saviour lying in his shroud." And in the council of Chalcedon it is written thus: *In qua scriptura duce naturæ jacent*¹⁶? "In what scripture lie these two natures of Christ?" Here is the self-same word that M. Harding hath added of his own to the council of Nice. Yet, I think, he will not therefore say that either the two natures of Christ are really contained in the scriptures, or the very body of Christ lieth still shrouded fleshly and really in the grave. Again, this word *κείσθαι*, which signifieth "to be laid" or "placed," in the natural signification requireth both situation of place, and also a bodily description, and order of parts. But M. Harding himself in the next article following saith: "Christ's body is not here by local presence, either by filling or by changing of place;" therefore it followeth that Christ's body is not laid on the table by any natural or fleshly presence.

The words of the council of Nice only withdraw us from the natural and visible elements of the bread and the wine, and require our inner spiritual sight, and the contemplation of the mind. The words be plain: *Ne proposito pani et poculo humiliter intenti simus*¹⁷: "That we consider not basely the bread and the wine that are set before us." And therefore St Augustine saith: *In sacramentis fidelium dicitur, Sursum corda*¹⁸: "In the sacraments of the faithful it is said, 'Lift up your hearts.'" By which words we are put in remembrance that there is nothing in the action to be considered, but only Christ the Lamb of God, that hath taken away the sins of the world. And therefore Chrysostom saith: "We must become eagles, and soar above, if we list to come near to that body¹⁹." Thus with the spiritual eyes of our hearts we see the Lamb of God. And as St Ambrose saith: *Magis videtur quod non videtur*²⁰: "The thing is better seen that (with our bodily eyes) is not seen." For the same cause St Augustine saith: *In sacramentis videndum est, non quid sint, sed quid ostendant. Signa enim rerum sunt, aliud existentia, et aliud significantia*²¹: "In sacraments we must consider not what they be indeed, but what they represent. For they are tokens of things, being one thing in themselves²², and signifying another." And as touching our beholding of Christ in the sacrament, in most plain wise he writeth thus: *Sic nos facit moveri, tanquam videamus præsentem Dominum in cruce*²³: "It worketh such motions in us, as if we saw our Lord himself present upon the cross." And this is it that Eusebius Emissenus writeth, as he is alleged of Gratian, *ut coleretur jugiter per mysterium;... et perennis illa victima viveret in memoria, et semper præsens esset in gratia*²⁴: "that the body (that was once offered for our price) should evermore be worshipped by a mystery; and that that everlasting sacrifice should live in remembrance, and be present in grace for ever." In this spiritual

Laid on the table.

Eph. iii.

Hieron. ad Marcell.

Concil. Chalced. Act. 1. κείνται.

In the next Article, Division 1.

τῷ προκειμένῳ ἄρτῳ, καὶ τῷ ποτηρίῳ. August. de Bono Persev.

Chrysost. 1 Cor. Hom. 34.

Ambros. de his qui init. Myst. cap. iii.

August. contr. Max. Lib. iii. cap. xxii.

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Semel Christus. Et in Psal. xx.

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Quia corpus.

[¹⁴ Quod quotiescumque ingredimur, toties, &c.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Paul. et Eustoch. ad Marcell. Epist. xlv. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 548.]

[¹⁵ Our, 1565, 1609.]

[¹⁶ Ὅτι ἐν κοίᾳ γραφῆ κείνται, δύο φύσεις;—Concil. Constant. Act. vi. in Concil. Calched. Act. 1. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. IV. col. 213.]

[¹⁷ Gelas. Cyz. Hist. Concil. Nic. cap. xxx. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. II. col. 233. See before, page 464, note 3.]

[¹⁸ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Don. Persev. cap. xiv. 33. Tom. X. col. 839; where ut sursum cor habeamus.]

[¹⁹ Chrysost. Op. In Epist. 1. ad Cor. Hom. xxiv. Tom. X. p. 216.]

[²⁰ Ambros. Op. Lib. de Myst. cap. iii. 15. Tom. II. col. 328.]

[²¹ Hæc enim sacramenta sunt, in quibus non quid sint, sed quid ostendant semper attenditur: quoniam signa sunt rerum, aliud, &c.—August. Op. Contr. Max. Arian. Lib. II. cap. xxii. 3. Tom. VIII. col. 725.]

[²² Themselves, 1565.]

[²³ Id. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 51. col. 1938; where videamus in cruce pendentem Dominum. Op. In Psalm. xxi. Enarr. ii. 1. Tom. IV. col. 93.]

[²⁴ Euseb. Emiss. in eod. ibid. can. 35. col. 1927; where victima illa.]

Laid on
the table.

August. in
Serm. ad
Infant. citat.
a Bed. in
1 Cor. x.

ἀληθῶς.

sort is Christ laid present upon the table; but not in M. Harding's gross and fleshly manner. And therefore St Augustine saith in like sense unto the faithful communicants: *Vos estis in mensa, . . . vos estis in calice*¹: "You are upon the table, you are in the cup." As St Augustine saith the people is laid upon the table, even so, and none otherwise, the council of Nice saith the Lamb of God is laid upon the table.

The other Greek word that M. Harding holdeth by is ἀληθῶς, which is, "verily" or "truly;" and that in his judgment soundeth no less than really or fleshly. And thus, although he hunt like a wanton spaniel, and range at riot, and beat up butterflies, yet at the last he thinketh he hath found somewhat. Howbeit, I marvel he seeth no better his own error. For he might soon have known that these two words "truly" and "fleshly" have sundry meanings; and that, in the sense that Christ spake unto the Jews, the one of them doth utterly exclude the other. For neither doth he that eateth grossly and sensibly with his teeth eat "truly" and "verily," as Christ meant; nor doth he that eateth spiritually with his faith eat grossly and fleshly, as the Capernaïtes meant. Therefore it is great folly to say, "verily" and "fleshly" are all one thing. Indeed, the spiritual eating of Christ's body by faith is the true eating; and he that eateth the same most spiritually eateth most truly. Otherwise Christ saith: *Ego sum vitis vera*: "I am the true vine." St Hierome calleth the faithful people *vitem veram*², "the true vine." Cyrillus calleth Christ *verum manna*³, "the true manna." St Hierome saith: *Nos vere sumus unus panis*⁴: "We are verily one bread." Origen saith: *Apostoli vere erant cœli*⁵: "The apostles verily were the heavens." And to be short, they were wont to sing at the blessing of the paschal taper: *Hæc sunt . . . festa paschalia, in quibus vere . . . Agnus occiditur*⁷: "This is the paschal feast, wherein verily and indeed the Lamb is slain." By these few examples, both the difference between these two words "truly" and "fleshly," and also the slenderness of M. Harding's collection, may soon appear. For, notwithstanding we do verily eat Christ, yet it followeth not that we do grossly and naturally eat him with our bodily mouths; and, although Christ be verily meat, yet it followeth not that he is therefore really and fleshly in the sacrament. And therefore St Augustine in this respect utterly removeth the natural office of the body. His words be plain: *Quid paras dentem aut ventrem? Crede, et manducasti*⁸: "What preparest thou thy tooth or thy belly? Believe, and thou hast eaten." Again: *Credere in eum, hoc est manducare panem vivum*⁹: "Believing in him is the eating of the bread of life."

John xv.

Hieron. in
ii. cap. Hier.
Lib. i.
Cyril. Lib. iii.
cap. xxiv.
in Johan.
Hieron. ad
Gal. cap. iv.
Orig. in Gen.
cap. i. Hom.
in Manuali.

August. in
Johan.
Tractat. 96.

M. HARDING. THE NINTH DIVISION.

The hundred
and thirty-
sixth un-
truth.
For these
terms are not
all one.

And touching these terms; first, verily, or (136) which is all one, really and substantially, methinketh M. Jewel should bear the more with us for use of the same, sith that Bucer himself, one of the greatest learned men of that side, hath allowed them; yea, and that after much writing against Luther in defence of Zwinglius and Ecolampadius by him set forth, and after that he had assured himself of the truth in this article by divine inspiration; as most constantly he affirmeth with these words: *Hæc non dubitamus divinitus nobis et per scripturam revelata de hoc sacramento: "We doubt not," saith he, "but these things, concerning the*¹⁰ *sacrament, be revealed unto us from God, and by the scripture." If you demand where this may be found, in the acts of a council holden between the Lutherans and Zwinglians for this very purpose in Martin Luther's house at Wittenberg, in the year of our Lord 1536, you shall find these words: Audivimus D. Bucerum explicantem*

[¹ Ven. Bed. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. Ad Cor. i. cap. x. Tom. VI. col. 365. See August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Serm. cccxix. Tom. V. col. 976.]

[² . . . ut vitis electa vel vera sit.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. i. in Jer. Proph. cap. ii. Tom. III. col. 537.]

[³ Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Comm. in Joan. Evang. Lib. III. cap. vi. Tom. IV. p. 319.]

[⁴ Vnis, 1565.]

[⁵ Vere in Christo omnes unus panis sumus.—

Hieron. Op. Comm. Lib. II. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. iv. Tom. IV. Pars i. col. 265.]

[⁶ . . . apostoli qui erant cœli.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Gen. Hom. i. Tom. II. p. 57.]

[⁷ Missal. ad Us. ac Consuet. Sar. Par. 1527. Bened. Cer. Paschal. fol. 92.]

[⁸ August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxv. 12. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 489; where *dentes*.]

[⁹ Id. ibid. Tractat. xxvi. 1. col. 494.]

[¹⁰ This, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

suam sententiam de sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini, hoc modo: Cum pane et vino vere et substantialiter adest, exhibetur, &c.¹¹ sumitur corpus Christi, et sanguis. Et sacramentali unione panis est corpus Christi; et porrecto pane, vere adest, et vere exhibetur corpus Christi¹²: “*We have heard M. Bucer declaring*¹³ *his mind touching the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord, in this sort: With the bread and wine the body of Christ and his blood is present, exhibited and received verily and substantially. And by sacramental union the bread is the body of Christ; and, the bread being given, the body of Christ is verily present and verily delivered.*”

Though this opinion of Bucer, by which he recanted¹⁴ his former Zwinglian heresy, be in sundry points false and heretical, yet in this he agreeth with the catholic church against M. Jewel's negative assertion, that the body and blood of Christ is present in the sacrament verily, that is, truly and really, or indeed and substantially; (137) wherein he speaketh as the ancient fathers spake long before, a thousand years past.

The hundred and thirty-seven untruth. For the ancient fathers in this matter of the sacrament spake not so.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Hitherto M. Harding hath alleged neither ancient doctor nor old council to serve his purpose. The first that he can find is Doctor Bucer, that died in Cambridge the fourth year of king Edward the sixth, in the year of our Lord 1551. Of his judgment herein I will say nothing. What reasons led him to yield to the other side for quietness' sake, I remit it wholly unto God. But thus much I may well and justly say: If M. Harding could have found any other doctor, he would not thus have made his entry with M. Bucer.

Touching that brotherly and sober conference that was between D. Luther and D. Bucer, Philip Melancthon, and other godly-learned men of Germany in the university of Wittenberg, I see no great cause why M. Harding should thus sport himself with it, and call it a council. He might rather and more justly have scoffed at the vain council of the eight special chosen cardinals holden in Rome under pope Paulus the third, Anno Domini 1538¹⁵, two years after that conference at Wittenberg. For if he will compare voices, they of Wittenberg were more in number; if knowledge, they were better learned; if purposes, they sought peace in truth, and the glory of God; if issue, God hath blessed their doings, and given force and increase unto his word, as it appeareth this day. His holy name be praised therefore for ever! But these eight picked cardinals, after great study and long debating of the matter, espied out only such faults as every child might have soon found without study; and yet never redressed any of the same.

Council. Select. Card. Rome, Anno 1538.

If master Harding had been in the apostles' times, perhaps he would have made some sport at their councils. For where or in what house assembled they together? What bishop or Pharisee was among them? Certainly St Augustine had conference and disputation with Pascentius the Arian at Hippo in the private house of one Anitius¹⁶, and yet was never scoffed at for his doing. Thus there be ever some that laugh and scorn at the repairing of Hierusalem. Origen saith: *Inimici veritatis ... videntes sine philosophia consurgere muros evangelii, ... cum irrisione ... dicunt, Hoc facile posse destrui calliditate sermonum, [et] per astutas fallacias*¹⁷: “The enemies of the truth, seeing the walls of the gospel rise without worldly policy, say scornfully among themselves, All this by our crafty speech and falsehood will soon be overthrown.” But he that sitteth in heaven will laugh them to scorn.

August. Epist. 178. in Dom. Anit.

Orig. In Cant. Cantic. Hom. 4.

[¹¹ Et, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[¹² Audiamus D. Bucorum explicantem suam ... sententiam de sacramento corporis et sanguinis Jesu Christi, hoc modo...cum pane et vino vere et substantialiter adesse, exhiberi et sumi corpus Christi et sanguinem...sacramentali unione panem esse corpus Christi, hoc est...porrecto pane simul adesse, et vere exhiberi corpus Christi.—Seckendorf. Comm. Hist. de Lutheranism. Lips. 1694. Lib. III. sect. xv. 47. Addit. p. 132.]

[¹³ Declare, H. A. 1564.]

[¹⁴ Received, 1609, 1611.]

[¹⁵ Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. pp. 819, &c.]

[¹⁶ August. Op. Alterc. cum Pascent. seu Epist. xx. Tom. II. Append. cols. 41, &c.]

[¹⁷ Orig. Op. In Cant. Canticor. Lib. IV. Tom. III. p. 93; where *absque arte grammatica et peritia philosophica, and perfacile hoc posse destrui.*]

M. HARDING. THE TENTH DIVISION.

*Let Chrysostom for proof of this be instead of many that might be alleged. His words be these: Nos secum in unam, ut ita dicam, massam reducit, neque id fide solum, sed re ipsa corpus¹ suum efficit²: "By this sacrament," saith he, "Christ reduceth us, as it were, into one lump with himself, and that not by faith only, but he maketh us his own body in very deed," re ipsa, which is no other to say than "really." * The other adverbs, corporally, carnally, naturally, be found in the fathers not seldom, specially where they dispute against the Arians. And therefore it had been³ more convenient for M. Jewel to have modestly interpreted them, than utterly to have denied them. The old fathers of the Greek and Latin church deny that faithful people have an habitude or disposition, union or conjunction with Christ only by faith and charity, or that we are spiritually joined and united to him only by hope, love, religion, obedience, and will. Yea, further they affirm, that by the virtue and efficacy of this sacrament duly and worthily received Christ is really and indeed communicated by true communication, and participation of the nature and substance of his body and blood, and that he is and dwelleth in us truly, because of our receiving the same in this sacrament. The benefit whereof is such as we be in Christ and Christ in us, according to that he saith: Qui manducat meam carnem, manet in me, et ego in illo: "Who eateth my flesh, he dwelleth in me, and I in him." The which dwelling, union, and joining together of him with us, and of us with him, that it might the better be expressed and recommended unto us, they thought good in their writings to use the aforesaid adverbs.*

In xxvi. cap. Matt. Homil. 83.

Christ maketh himself one with us, not with the sacrament.

* Untruth, as afore.

For⁴ they proved the same by the sacrament of baptism, by faith, by the birth of Christ, &c.

[John vi. 1563, and H.A. 1564.]

*Hilarius, writing against the Arians, alleging the words of Christ, 17th John, Ut omnes unum sint, sicut tu, Pater, in me, et ego in te, ut et ipsi in nobis unum sint; "That all⁵ may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, they also may be one in us," going about by those words to shew that the Son and the Father were not one in nature and substance, but only in concord and unity of will; among other many and long sentences for proof of unity in substance, both between Christ and the Father, and also between Christ and us, hath these words: Si enim vere Verbum caro factum est, et nos vere Verbum carnem cibo dominico sumimus, quomodo non naturaliter manere in nobis existimandus est, qui et naturam carnis nostræ jam inseparabilem sibi homo natus assumpsit, et naturam carnis suæ ad naturam æternitatis sub sacramento nobis communicandæ carnis admiscuit?⁶ "If the Word be made flesh verily, and we receive the Word being flesh in our Lord's meat verily; how is it⁷ to be thought not to dwell in us naturally, who both hath taken the nature of our flesh now inseparable to himself, in that he is born man, and also hath mingled the nature of his own flesh to the nature of his everlastingness under the sacrament of his flesh to be received of us in the communion?" There afterward this word naturaliter, in this sense, that by the sacrament worthily received Christ is in us and we in Christ naturally, that is, in truth of nature, is sundry times put and rehearsed. Whoso listeth to read further his eighth book De Trinitate, he shall find him agnise, * manentem in nobis carnaliter Filium⁸, that "the Son of God (through the sacrament) dwelleth in us carnally," that is, in truth of flesh; and that by the same sacrament we with him and he with us are united and knit together corporaliter et inseparabiliter, "corporally and inseparably;" for they be his very words.*

[De Trinitate, Lib. viii. 1565, and H.A. 1564.]

St Hilary saith Christ dwelleth naturally in us, but not in the sacrament.

* Not in the sacrament, but in us.

Gregory Nyssene, speaking to this purpose, saith: Panis qui de cælo descendit, . . . non incorporea quædam res est. Quo enim pacto res incorporea corpori cibus fiet? Res vero quæ incorporea non est, corpus omnino est. Hujus corporis panem non aratio, non satio, non agricolarum opus efficit⁹: sed terra intacta permansit; et tamen pane plena fuit, quo famescentes, mysterium

In Lib. de Vita Mosi.

[¹ Nos corpus, H. A. 1564.]

[² Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. lxxxii. Tom. VII. p. 788. The qualification, however, *ut ita dicam*, has nothing corresponding to it in the Greek text, nor is it found Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. In cap. Matt. xxvi. Hom. lxxxiii. Tom. II. col. 670.]

[³ Be, H. A. 1564.] [⁴ 1565 omits *for*.]

[⁵ That they all, H. A. 1564.]

[⁶ Hilary. Op. Par. 1693. De Trin. Lib. VIII. 13. cols. 954, 5; where *vere nos verbum*.]

[⁷ He, H. A. 1564.] [⁸ Id. *ibid*. 17. col. 957.]

[⁹ Efficit, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

virginis perdocti, facile saturantur¹⁰: (138) *which words report so plainly the truth of Christ's body in the sacrament, as all manner of figure and signification must be excluded. And thus they may be Englished: "The bread that came down from heaven is not a bodiless thing. For by what mean shall a bodiless thing be made meat to a body? And the thing which is not bodiless is a body, without doubt. It is not earing¹¹, nor¹² sowing, not the work of tillers, that hath brought forth the bread of this body; but the earth which remained untouched, and yet was full of the bread, whereof they that wax hungry, being thoroughly taught the mystery of the virgin, soon have their fill."* Of these words may easily be inferred a conclusion, that in the sacrament is Christ, and that in the same we receive him corporally, that is, in verity and substance of his body; forasmuch as that is there, and that is of us received, which was brought forth and born of the virgin Mary.

The hundred and thirty-eight untruth. For Gregory Nyssenus in this place speaketh not one word of the sacrament.

In Johan.
Lib. x. cap. xiii.

Cyrillus, that ancient father and worthy bishop of Alexandria, for confirmation of the catholic faith in this point, saith thus: Non . . . negamus recta nos fide caritateque sincera Christo spiritualiter conjungi: sed nullam nobis conjunctionis rationem secundum carnem cum illo esse, id profecto pernegamus, idque a divinis scripturis omnino alienum dicimus¹³: "We deny not but that we are joined spiritually with Christ, by right faith and pure charity; but that we have no manner of joining with him according to the flesh (which is one as to say carnaliter, 'carnally') that we utterly deny¹⁴, and say, that it is not agreeable with the scriptures." Again, lest any man should think this joining of us and Christ together to be (139) by other means than by the participation of his body in the sacrament, in the same place afterward he saith further: An fortassis putat ignotam nobis mysticæ benedictionis virtutem esse? Quæ cum in nobis fiat, nonne corporaliter quoque facit communicatione corporis Christi Christum in nobis habitare¹⁵? "What, troweth this Arian heretic perhaps that we know not the virtue of the mystical blessing, (whereby is meant this sacrament)? which when it is become to be in us, doth it not cause Christ to dwell in us corporally by receiving of Christ's body in the communion?" And after this he saith as plainly that Christ is in us, non habitudine solum, quæ per caritatem intelligitur . . . verumetiam et participatione naturali¹⁶; "not by charity only, but also by natural participation."

The hundred and thirty-ninth untruth. For Christ dwelleth in us, and we are incorporate into him by baptism, &c. as shall appear. In us.

The same Cyril saith in another place, that through the holy communion of Christ's body we are joined to him in natural union: Quis enim eos, qui unius sancti corporis unione in uno Christo uniti sunt, ab hac naturali unione alienos putabit¹⁷? "Who will think," saith he, "that they, which be united together by the union of that one holy body in one Christ, be not of this natural union?" He calleth this also a corporal union in the same book, and at length after large discussion how we be united unto¹⁸ Christ, not only by charity and obedience of religion, but also in substance, concludeth thus: Sed de unione corporali satis: "But we have treated enough of the corporal union." Yet afterward in divers sentences he useth these adverbs (140) for declaring of the verity of Christ's body in the sacrament, naturaliter, substantialiter, secundum carnem, or carnaliter, corporaliter, as most manifestly in the twenty-seventh chapter of the same book: Corporaliter . . . Filius per benedictionem mysticam nobis ut homo unitur, spiritualiter autem ut Deus¹⁹: "The Son of God is united unto us corporally as man, and spiritually as God."

Again, whereas he saith there: Filium . . . Dei natura Patri unitum corporaliter substantialiterque . . . accipientes, clarificamur, glorificamurque²⁰, &c.: "We, re-

The hundred and fortieth untruth. For here is not one word of presence in the sacrament.

[¹⁰ Gregor. Nyss. Op. Par. 1638. De Vit. Mos. Tom. I. p. 214.] [¹¹ Earing: ploughing.]

[¹² Not, 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

[¹³ Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Comm. in Joan. Evang. Lib. x. cap. ii. Tom. IV. p. 862.]

[¹⁴ Deny utterly, H. A. 1564.]

[¹⁵ Λεγέτω γάρ τις ἡμῖν τὴν αἰτίαν, καὶ διδασκέτω παρελθὼν τῆς μυστικῆς εὐλογίας τὴν δύναμιν. γίνεται γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν διατί; ἀρ' οὐχὶ καὶ σωματικῶς ἡμῖν ἐνοικίζουσα τὸν Χριστὸν τῇ μεθέξει καὶ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς ἁγίας αὐτοῦ σαρκός;—Id. *ibid.*]

[¹⁶ Ἐν γὰρ δὴ τούτῳ μάλιστα καταδεῖν ἄξιον, ὡς οὐ κατὰ σχέσιν τινὰ μόνην, τὴν ἐν διαθέσει νοουμέ-

νην, ἐν ἡμῖν ἔσεσθαι φησὶν ὁ Χριστὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ μεθέξειν [ψυικὴν] ἤτοι φυσικὴν.—Id. *ibid.* p. 863.]

[¹⁷ Id. *ibid.* Lib. xi. cap. xi. pp. 998, 9.]

[¹⁸ To, H. A. 1564.]

[¹⁹ Id. *ibid.* cap. xii. p. 1001.]

[²⁰ Id. *ibid.* p. 1002. See also Lib. xii. pp. 1104,

5. It may be observed that these quotations seem to have been made from the Latin version. See therefore Op. Insig. Cyril. Alex. in Evang. Joan. a G. Trapezont. traduct. Par. 1508. Lib. x. cap. xiii. fol. 151; Lib. xi. cap. xxvi. fol. 181. cap. xxvii. fol. 182; Lib. xii. cap. lviii. fol. 216; where in the second quotation *communicatione carnis Christi.*]

Christ dwelleth in us.

The hundred and forty-first untruth, joined with pernicious and dangerous doctrine.

The hundred and forty-second untruth.

For Christ is likewise joined corporally to us by the sacrament of baptism.

The hundred and forty-third untruth. For they neither understand so, nor write so.

ceiving the Son of God, united to the Father by nature corporally and substantially, are clarified and glorified, or made glorious, being made partakers of the supreme nature." The like saying he hath Lib. xii. cap. 58. Now this being and remaining of Christ in us, and of us in Christ naturally and carnally, and this uniting of us and Christ together corporally, presupposeth a participation of his very body, (141) which body we cannot truly participate but in this blessed sacrament. And therefore Christ is in the sacrament naturally, carnally, corporally, that is to say, according to the truth of his nature, of his flesh, and of his body. (142) For were not he so in the sacrament, we could not be joined unto him, nor he and we could not be joined and united together corporally.

Divers other ancient fathers have used the like manner of speech; but none so much as Hilarius and Cyrillus; (143) whereby they understand that Christ is present in the¹ sacrament, as we have said, according to the truth of his substance, of his nature, of his flesh, of his body and blood.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Now at the last M. Harding draweth near the matter, and bringeth forth the old fathers with these very terms, "really," "substantially," "corporally," "carnally," &c. and allegeth these few, as he saith, instead of many, having indeed no more to bring. And although these fathers speak not any one word that is either denied by us or any wise serveth to this purpose, yet he cunningly leadeth away the eyes of the ignorant with the shew of old names, and, like a juggler, changeth the natural countenance of things, and maketh them appear what him listeth.

For whereas he hath taken in hand to prove that Christ's body is really and fleshly in the sacrament, he, finding his weakness and want therein, altereth the whole case, and proveth that Christ's body is really, fleshly, and naturally within us. But this matter was not in question, and therefore needeth² no proof at all. Herein standeth the whole guile; and thus the simple is deceived. To this end M. Harding so useth the words and witness of these holy fathers, as Cacus the outlaw sometime used Hercules' kine³: because he cannot handsomely drive them forward, he taketh them by the tails, and pulleth them backward.

But because M. Harding will hereof reason thus, If Christ's body by mean of the sacrament be really and carnally in us, it is likely the same body is also really and carnally in the sacrament: for answer hereunto, it shall be necessary first to understand how many ways Christ's body dwelleth in our bodies, and thereby afterward to view M. Harding's reason. Four special means there be whereby Christ dwelleth in us and we in him: his nativity, whereby he embraced us; our faith, whereby we embrace him; the sacrament of baptism; and the sacrament of his body. By every of these means Christ's body dwelleth in our bodies; and that not by way of imagination, or by figure or fantasy; but really, naturally, substantially, fleshly, and indeed.

And touching Christ's nativity, St Bernard saith: [*Corpus Christi*] *de meo est, et meum est: parvulus enim natus est nobis, et filius datus est nobis*⁴: "The body of Christ is of my body, and is now become mine; for a Babe is born unto us, and a Son is given unto us." So saith St Basil: *Participes facti sumus Verbi et Sapientie per incarnationem et sensibilem vitam. Carnem enim et sanguinem appellavit omnem illam mysticam conversationem*⁵: "We are partakers of the Word and of the Wisdom (which is Christ) by his incarnation, and by his sensible life. For flesh and blood he called all his mystical conversation." *So saith Gregorius Nyssenus: *Corpus Christi... est omnis humana natura, cui admixtus est*⁶: "His body is all mankind, whereunto he is mingled." And thus Christ, being in the womb of the blessed virgin, became flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bones. And in that sense St John saith: *Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis*: "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt in us." And therefore Christ calleth him-

Bernard. de Epiph. Serm. 1.

Basil. in Apol. ad Cæsar.

σάρκα γὰρ καὶ αἷμα πάσαν... τὴν μυστικὴν ἐπιδημίαν ἀνόμασε. * In dictum apostoli, Tunc etiam ipse diuus subjiçietur ei. Epiph. v.

[¹ This, H. A. 1564.]

[² Needed, 1565, 1609.]

[³ Keene, 1565.]

[⁴ Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Epiph. Serm. i. 4. Vol. I. Tom. 111. col. 797.]

[⁵ Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Ad Cæsar. Apol. Epist. viii. Tom. III. p. 84.]

[⁶ Gregor. Nyss. Op. Par. 1638. In illud, Quando sibi, &c. Orat. Tom. II. p. 17.]

self the vine, and us the branches: St Paul calleth Christ the head, and us the body; which be names of most near and natural conjunction.

Touching faith, St Paul saith: *Christus habitat in cordibus nostris per fidem*: "Christ by faith dwelleth in our hearts." And St Peter saith: "Hereby we are made partakers of the divine nature." So saith Ignatius: "By his passion and resurrection (that is, by our faith in the same) we are made the members of his body⁷."

And notwithstanding by these means Christ be in us, and we in him, yet forasmuch as both our life and faith is imperfect⁸, as we daily desire God to amend our life, and to augment our faith, even so we daily pray that this conjunction between Christ and us may be increased, that Christ may come nearer⁹ and nearer⁹ into us, and that we may grow into a perfect¹⁰ man in him. And to this end God hath specially appointed us his holy sacraments. And therefore St Paul saith concerning the sacrament of baptism: "They that are baptized are planted into Christ;" "they have put Christ upon them;" "by one Spirit they are baptized into one body." St Augustine saith: *Ad hoc baptismus valet, ut baptizati Christo incorporantur*¹¹: "This is the use of baptism, that they that be baptized may be incorporate into Christ." Which word *incorporari* he useth also in sundry other places, speaking of baptism. In this respect Dionysius saith: *Baptizati transimus in Deum*¹²: "Being baptized, we are turned into God." And Pachymeres saith: "We are graft into Christ, and made one nature with him by holy baptism¹³."

Thus much may suffice to descry M. Harding's slender argument. For, notwithstanding by the sacrament of baptism Christ be naturally in us, yet may not he therefore conclude that Christ is naturally in the sacrament of baptism. Bonaventura saith well: *Non est aliquo modo dicendum, quod gratia continetur in . . . sacramentis essentialiter, tanquam aqua in vase. . . hoc enim dicere est erroneum. Sed dicuntur continere gratiam, quia eam significant*¹⁴: "We may not in any wise say, that the grace of God is contained in the sacraments, as water in a vessel. For so to say, it were an error. But they are said to contain God's grace, because they signify God's grace."

But Chrysostom saith: "Christ mingleth his body with our bodies, and driveth us, as it were, into one lump of dough with himself." This place would have stood¹⁵ M. Harding in better stead, if Chrysostom had said, Christ mingleth his body with the sacrament, and driveth himself and it into one lump. For this is it that should be proved. Neither will M. Harding say, that either Christ mingleth himself with us, or we are made one lump of dough with him, simply and according to the letter, and without figure. Whereof he seeth it must needs follow, that much less is Christ's body in the sacrament, according to that he would have the letter to sound, plainly, simply, or, as he saith, really and fleshly, and without figure. It is a vehement and a hot kind of speech, such as Chrysostom was most delighted with, far passing the common sense and course of truth; and therefore he himself thought it necessary to correct and to qualify the rigour of the same by these words, *Ut ita dicam*; which is, "As it were," or "If I may be bold so to say." In such phrase of talk Anacletus saith: *In oleo virtus Spiritus sancti invisibilis permista est*¹⁶: "The invisible power of the Holy Ghost is mingled with the oil." And Alexander saith: *In sacramentorum . . . obla-*

Christ
dwelleth
in us.

John i.
John xv.
Eph. iv.
Col. ii.
Eph. iii.
2 Pet. i.
Ignat. ad
Trall.

Eph. iv.
Rom. vi.
Gal. iii.
1 Cor. xii.
De Consecr.
Dist. 4.
Ad hoc.

De Eccles.
Hierarch.
cap. i.
Pachym. in
Dionys.
cap. iv.
σύνφυτοι
γεγονότες
αὐτῷ διὰ
τοῦ θείου
βαπτίσμα-
τος.
Bonavent. in
iv. Sent.
Dist. 1.
Quæst. 3.

Anaclet.
Epist. 2.

Inter Decret.
Alex. i.

[⁷ ... δι' οὗ, ἐν τῷ πάθει αὐτοῦ, προσκαλεῖται ὑμᾶς, ὄντας μέλη αὐτοῦ.—Ignat. ad Trall. Epist. cap. xi. in Patr. Apostol. Oxon. 1838. Tom. II. p. 338. See also Interp. Epist. in Coteler. Patr. Apostol. Amst. 1724. Tom. II. p. 67.]

[⁸ Unperfitē, 1565.]

[⁹ Neare, 1565.]

[¹⁰ Perfitē, 1565.]

[¹¹ August. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. iv. can. 143. col. 2030. See Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Pecc. Mer. et Rem. Lib. i. cap. xxvi. 39. Tom. X. col. 22.]

[¹² The exact words have not been found; but the idea frequently occurs: thus ... ἡ δὲ [σῶτηρία]

οὐχ ἑτέρως γενέσθαι δύναται, μὴ θεουμένων τῶν σωζομένων.—Dionys. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. i. Tom. I. p. 233. See also cap. ii. 3. pp. 257, 9.]

[¹³ Pachym. Paraphr. cap. iv. in eod. Tom. I. p. 354; where *σύνφυτους γεγονότες*.]

[¹⁴ Bonavent. Op. Mogunt. 1609. In Lib. iv. Sentent. Dist. i. Quæst. 3. Tom. V. p. 7; where we have *contineatur, intelligere for enim dicere, and ipsam for eam*.]

[¹⁵ Stand, 1565.]

[¹⁶ ... omnis sanctificatio constat in Spiritu sancto, cujus virtus invisibilis sancto chrismati est permixta.—Anaclet. Epist. ii. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 59.]

Christ mingled with us.

Gregor. Nyss. de S. Steph.

*tionibus . . . passio Domini miscenda est*¹: "The passion of Christ must be mingled with the oblations of the sacraments." So saith Gregorius Nyssenus of St Stephen: *Gratia sancti Spiritus permixtus et contemperatus, per illum sublatus et evectus est ad contemplationem Dei*²: "St Stephen, being mingled and tempered with the grace of the Holy Ghost, was by him advanced³, and taken up to the sight of God." These and other such-like sayings of holy fathers may not be hardly pressed according to the sound of the letter; but rather must be gently expounded and qualified, according to the sense and meaning of the writer.

[1] Cor. x.

Chrysostom's purpose was, by this word *massa*, which in this place signifieth a lump of dough, to make resemblance unto these words of St Paul, "We are one loaf, and one body;" and by such majesty of speech the more to quicken and lift up our spirits, and to cause us thereby the better to consider that wonderful conjunction and knitting that is between Christ and us, whereby either is in other, he in us, and we in him; and that even in one person; in such sort as he is neither in the angels, nor in the archangels, nor in any other power in heaven.

Heb. ii.

And therefore St Paul saith: "The angels he took not, but he took the seed of Abraham." But this wonderful conjunction, and (as Chrysostom calleth it) this "mixture," is wrought, not only in the holy mysteries, but also in the sacrament of baptism.

Leo, Serm. 14. De Passione.

And in that sense Leo saith: *Susceptus a Christo, Christumque suscipiens, non est idem post lavacrum, qui ante baptismum fuit; sed corpus regenerati fit caro crucifixi*⁴: "A man received of Christ, and receiving Christ (in baptism), is not the same after baptism that he was before; but the body of him that is regenerate is made the flesh of him that was crucified." Likewise St Augustine

August. in Joh. Tract. 21.

saith: *Ergo gratulemur et agamus gratias, non solum nos Christianos factos esse, sed [etiam] Christum. Intelligitis, fratres, gratiam Dei super nos; capitis; admiramini; gaudete; Christus facti sumus. Si enim ille caput est, et nos membra, totus ille homo, et nos*⁵: "Let us rejoice and give thanks that we are not only made christian men, but also made Christ. Brethren, ye understand the grace of God that is upon us; ye understand it; ye wonder at it; rejoice ye; we are made Christ. For if he be the head, and we the members, both he and we are one whole man."

Now, gentle reader, as Leo saith, our bodies by baptism are made Christ's flesh; as St Augustine saith, we are made Christ himself; and as Gregory Nyssene saith, St Stephen was tempered and mingled with the grace of the Holy Ghost; even so, and in the same sense Chrysostom saith, we are made one lump of dough with Christ; and Christ hath tempered and mingled himself with us. These things considered, the force of M. Harding's reason must needs fail. Certainly Primasius saith: "As the breaking of this bread is the partaking of the body of our Lord, even so the bread of idols is the partaking of devils." And addeth further: *Si de eodem pane manducamus, quo idololatræ, unum cum illis corpus efficitur*⁶: "If we eat of one bread with idolaters, we are made one body with them."

Prim. in 1 Cor. xi.

These other three authorities, of Hilary, Gregory Nyssene, and Cyril, may well be discharged with one answer, saving that Gregory Nyssene, an old writer newly set abroad with sundry corruptions, is brought in only to make a shew, not speaking any one word, neither of Christ's natural dwelling in us, nor of the sacrament. His purpose was only to speak of Christ's birth, and of that body which he received of the blessed virgin, which was not a shadow, or a fantasy, but real, fleshly, and indeed. And in like manner of speech St Hierome saith: *Triticum, . . . de quo panis cœlestis efficitur, illud est, de quo loquitur Dominus, Caro mea vere est cibus*⁷: "The wheat whereof the heavenly bread is made is that of which our Lord saith, 'My flesh is meat indeed'." And to this purpose Amphilochius saith,

Gregor. Nyss.

Hieron. in Esai. cap. lxii.

[¹ Alexandr. I. Epist. i. in eod. Tom. I. p. 73.]

[² Gregor. Nyss. Op. Par. 1638. In S. Stephan. Encom. Tom. III. p. 364.]

[³ Avanced, 1565.]

[⁴ Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Serm. xiv. De Pass. Dom. col. 176; where we have *non idem sit, and fiat caro.*]

[⁵ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. v. Tractat. xxi. 8. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 459; where *si enim caput ille, nos membra*;

totus homo, ille et nos.]

[⁶ Et panis quem frangimus, nonne participatio corporis Domini est? Sic et idolorum panis dæmonum participatio est. . . Sic et si de &c. unde idololatræ, &c.—Primas. Comm. in Epist. ad Cor. i. cap. x. in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-23. Tom. VI. Pars II. p. 60.]

[⁷ Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. xvii. in Esai. Proph. cap. lxii. Tom. III. col. 461.]

as he is alleged by Cyrillus: *Nisi Christus natus fuisset carnaliter, tu natus non fuisses spiritualiter*⁸: "Unless Christ had been born carnally, thou hadst not been born spiritually." Touching Gregorius Nyssenus, as he saith, "Christ is made our bread;" so he saith likewise in the same place: *Quicquid assumenti conveniens sit, . . . in id mutatur. Fit perfectioribus solidus cibus, inferioribus olus, infantibus lac*⁹: "Whatsoever thing is convenient for the receiver, into the same thing Christ turneth himself. He becometh strong meat unto the perfect¹⁰, herbs unto the weaker¹¹, and milk unto children." And as Christ is herbs or milk, even so, and none otherwise, he is bread or flesh. Neither will this ancient father agree unto M. Harding's error, that we cannot receive Christ's body but only in the sacrament; for even in the same place he holdeth the contrary. His words be these: *Qui abundanter ex apostolicis fontibus biberit, is jam totum recepit Christum*¹²: "Whoso hath abundantly drunken of the apostles' springs, hath already received whole Christ." The argument that M. Harding gathereth hereof must needs stand thus: Christ was born of the virgin; *ergo*, his body is really and fleshly in the sacrament. This conclusion is but childish; yet, if he conclude not thus, he concludeth nothing.

The greatest weight of this matter lieth upon two old fathers, Cyril and Hilary. For Hilary saith: "We receive Christ *vere sub mysterio*¹³, verily under a mystery;" and either of them useth these terms, carnally, corporally, naturally; and that not once or twice, but in sundry places. The authorities be great: the words be plain. But, God be thanked! these places be common, and not unknown. And for answer of the same, once again remember, good christian reader, that, notwithstanding M. Harding have found in these two fathers that Christ's body is corporally and naturally in us, yet hath he not hitherto found that thing that he sought for, neither in these fathers, nor in any other; that is, that Christ's body is naturally or corporally in the sacrament. Wherefore I much marvel that either he would avouch this matter so strongly, finding himself so weak; or else thus vainly dally, and shew one thing for another, and deceive his reader.

That we verily and undoubtedly receive Christ's body in the sacrament, it is neither denied, nor in question. St Augustine saith: *Panis est cordis: . . . intus esuri: intus siti*¹⁴: "It is the bread of the heart: hunger thou within: thirst thou within." And the thing that is inwardly received in faith, and in spirit, is received verily and indeed. St Bernard meant no falsehood¹⁵ when he said: *Lavemur in sanguine ejus*¹⁶: "Let us be washed in the blood of Christ." Notwithstanding, he meant not that our bodies really and indeed should be washed with the blood of Christ. And whereas St Augustine saith, *Quid paras dentem et ventrem? Crede, et manducasti*¹⁷, "What preparest thou thy tooth and thy belly? Believe, and thou hast eaten;" we may not think that he meant any fantastical or false eating; notwithstanding he utterly refuseth, in this behalf, both the teeth and the belly, and all other office of the body. And therefore Cyrillus saith: *Sacramentum nostrum hominis manducationem non asserit, mentes credentium ad crassas cogitationes irreligiose introducens*¹⁸: "Our sacrament teacheth us not to eat a man (with the material mouth of our body), in ungodly sort leading the minds of the faithful unto gross cogitations." It is a holy mystery, and a heavenly action, forcing our minds up into heaven, and there teaching us to eat the body of Christ, and to drink his blood; not outwardly by the service of our bodies, but inwardly by our faith, and that verily and indeed. The truth hereof standeth not in any real or

[⁸ Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Apolog. adv. Orient. Anath. i. Tom. VI. p. 163.]

[⁹ Gregor. Nyss. Op. De Vit. Mos. Tom. I. p. 215. The Greek text of the latter part of the quotation is, *ὡς διδάσκει ὁ τὴν τοιαύτην τοῖς αὐτοῦ παρατιθεῖς ἡμῖν τράπεζαν, Παῦλος... ὁ τοῖς τελειότεροις στερέροταρον τὸ καὶ κρεώδη βρωσιν τὸν λόγον ποιῶν, καὶ λάχανον τοῖς ἀσθανεστέροις, καὶ γάλα τοῖς ἠπιαζουσι.*]

[¹⁰ Perfité, 1565.]

[¹¹ Weak, 1565.]

[¹² Ὁ γὰρ ... ταῖς ἀποστολικαῖς ἐντροφήσας πηγαῖς... οὗτος ἤδη καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ δεκτικὸς γίνεται.

ἢ γὰρ πέτρα... ὁ Χριστός ἐστιν.—Id. *ibid.* p. 214.]

[¹³ Vere sub mysterio carnem corporis sui sumimus.—Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. De Trin. Lib. VIII. 13. col. 955.]

[¹⁴ August. Op. In Psalm. ciii. Enarr. Serm. iii. 14. Tom. IV. col. 1160.] [¹⁵ Falsehead, 1565.]

[¹⁶ Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. Sup. Misus est, Hom. iii. 14. Vol. I. Tom. III. col. 748.]

[¹⁷ August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxv. 12. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 489.]

[¹⁸ Cyril. Alex. Op. Apolog. adv. Orient. Anath. xi. Def. Cyril. Tom. VI. p. 193.]

Corporally, naturally.

Dion. Eccles. Hier. cap. ii. σωματικώ-τερον αὐτοῦ διαγγέλλει.

August. de Verbis Apost. Serm. 16.

Hilar. Lib. viii. De Trin. Non tantum adoptione, aut consensu, sed etiam natura.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 83.

August. de Verbis Dom. sec. Joh. Serm. 60.

August. in Psal. lxxvii.

Cyrl. in Apol. ad Anath. iii.

Eph. iii. συσσωματοί.

Hilar. de Trin. Lib. viii. Cyrl. in Joh. Lib. x. cap. xiii.

corporeal presence, but, as Hilarius saith, in a mystery, which is, in a sacrament: whereby outwardly and unto our senses we express that thing in our bodies that must be wrought inwardly in our minds. For this cause Dionysius saith: [*Regeneratio*] *naturali illa purgatione, quæ fit per aquam, corporali quodam modo denuntiat animæ purgationem*¹: "Our regeneration which we have in baptism, by that natural purgation that is wrought by water in a certain bodily sort, teacheth us the purgation of the mind." Thus are we truly washed with Christ's blood in the holy mystery of baptism: thus are we truly and indeed fed with Christ's body in the holy mystery of his supper. And albeit Christ be in neither of these mysteries in bodily and fleshly presence, yet doth not that thing any wise hinder either the substance of the holy mystery, or the truth of our receiving. And for that cause St Augustine saith: *Non fallit nos apostolus, qui dicit, Christum habitare in cordibus nostris per fidem. In te est, quia ipsa fides in te est*²: "The apostle deceiveth us not in saying that Christ dwelleth in our hearts by faith. He is in thee (not really or bodily, but) because his faith is within thee." M. Harding will reply: This cannot suffice: for Cyril and Hilary say that "Christ, not only by faith, but also corporally, carnally, and naturally is within us." These words in their own rigour, without some gentle construction, seem very hard. Even so Hilarius, in the same book of the Trinity, saith that "we are one with God the Father, and the Son, not only by adoption or consent of mind, but also by nature³." Which saying, according to the sound of the letter, cannot be true. Therefore the fathers have been fain to expound and to mollify such violent and excessive kinds of speech. Chrysostom, where he saith, "We are made one lump with Christ⁴," addeth, as it is said before, his correction withal, *ut ita dicam*, "as it were," or "if I may use such manner of speech." In like manner saith St Augustine: *Qui ... in Christum credit, credendo in Christum venit, [et] in eum Christus, et quodammodo unitur in eum, et membrum in corpore ejus efficitur*⁵: "He that believeth in Christ, by believing cometh into Christ, and Christ into him, and, after a certain manner, is united unto him, and made a member in his body." "In a manner," he saith, but not according to the force of the letter. Again, he expoundeth this word *corporaliter* in this wise: *Non umbraliter, sed vere, et solide*⁶: "Not as in a shadow, but truly and perfectly⁷." So Cyrillus expoundeth his own meaning: *Naturalis unio non aliud est, quam vera: ... natura sumus filii iræ, id est, vere*⁸: "Natural union is nothing else but a true union. We are by nature the children of anger, that is, we are indeed and truly the children of anger." In which sense St Paul saith: *Gentes factæ sunt coheredes, et concorporales, et participes promissionis in Christo Jesu*: "The heathens are become coinheritors, concorporal, and partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus." Thus much of these words corporally, naturally, &c.: whereby is meant a full perfect⁹ spiritual conjunction, excluding all manner of imagination or fantasy; not a gross and fleshly being of Christ's body in our bodies, according to the appearance of the letter. Otherwise there must needs follow this great inconvenience, that our bodies must be in like manner corporally, naturally, and fleshly in Christ's body. For Hilarius saith: *Nos quoque in eo sumus naturaliter*¹⁰: "We also are naturally in him." And Cyrillus, as he saith, "Christ is corporally in us;" so he saith, "We are corporally in Christ¹¹."

[¹ Dion. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. ii. 3. Tom. I. p. 255; where ἀντὶ διαγγέλλουσα.]

[² Ecce ubi est, in te est, quia et fides ipsa in te ipso est. An fallit nos apostolus, qui dicit habitare Christum per fidem in cordibus nostris?—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Verb. Apost. Serm. clviii. 8. Tom. V. col. 764.]

[³ Perhaps the following may be the passage intended: ... hæretici mentientes unitatis nostræ ad Deum utebantur exemplo, tamquam nobis ad Filium, et per Filium ad Patrem, obsequio tantum ac voluntate religionis unitis, nulla per sacramentum carnis et sanguinis naturalis communionis proprietas indulgeretur.—Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. De Trin. Lib. viii. 17. col. 957.]

[⁴ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. lxxvii. Tom. VII. p. 788. See before, page 470, note 2.]

[⁵ August. Op. De Verb. Evang. Johan. Serm. cxliv. 2. Tom. V. col. 694.]

[⁶ ... non umbraliter... sed corporaliter, id est, solide atque veraciter.—Id. in Psalm. lxxvii. Enarr. 23. Tom. IV. col. 677.] [⁷ Perfitely, 1565.]

[⁸ Cyrl. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Apolog. adv. Orient. Anath. iii. Def. Cyrl. Tom. VI. p. 167.]

[⁹ Perfit, 1565.]

[¹⁰ ... nos quoque in eo naturaliter innessemus, &c.—Hilar. Op. De Trin. Lib. viii. 15. col. 956.]

[¹¹ ... διὰ τῆς μεταλήψεως τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν ἡμῖν, ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτῶ ἐν αὐτῷ συνοόμεθα. οὐ γὰρ ἡ

Further, that we be thus in Christ, and Christ in us, requireth not any corporal or local being, as in things natural. We are in Christ sitting in heaven, and Christ sitting in heaven is here in us, not by a natural, but by a spiritual mean of being. St Augustine saith: *Postquam ex mortuis resurrexit, et ascendit ad Patrem, est in nobis per Spiritum*¹²: "After that Christ is risen from the dead, and ascended unto his Father, he is in us by his Spirit." Which saying agreeth well with these words of St Basil: *Paulus ait, Si quis Spiritum Christi non habet, hic non est ejus. Deinde addit, Si tamen Christus sit in vobis; ac si diceret, Si Spiritus Christi sit in vobis*¹³: "St Paul saith, 'If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is not of him.' He addeth further these words, 'If Christ be in you;' which is as much as if he had said, 'If the Spirit of Christ be within you.'" So likewise St Augustine imagineth Christ to say unto Mary Maudlen: *Ascendam ad Patrem meum; tum tange me*¹⁴: "I will ascend up unto my Father; then touch thou me;" meaning thereby, that distance of place cannot hinder spiritual touching. Again St Augustine imagineth Christ thus to say unto the people: *Qui venit ad me, incorporatur mihi*: "He that cometh unto me is incorporate into me." He addeth of his own: *Veniamus ad eum; intremus ad eum; incorporemur ei*¹⁵: "Let us go unto him; let us enter unto him; let us be incorporate into him." Thus, notwithstanding Christ were in heaven, and distant in place, yet was he present in St Paul; for so St Paul saith¹⁶: "Will ye have a trial of Christ, that speaketh within me?" This conjunction is spiritual, and therefore needeth not neither circumstance of place nor corporal presence. Likewise St Cyprian saith: *Nostra et Christi conjunctio nec miscet personas, nec unit substantias; sed affectus consociat, et confœderat voluntates*¹⁷: "The conjunction that is between Christ and us neither doth mingle persons, nor unite substances; but it doth knit our affects together, and join our wills." Yet notwithstanding, the same conjunction, because it is spiritual, true, full, and perfect¹⁸, therefore is expressed of these holy fathers by this term corporal, which removeth all manner light and accidental joining; and natural, whereby all manner imagination or fantasy, and conjunction only of will and consent, is excluded: not that Christ's body is corporally or naturally in our body, as is before said, no more than our bodies are corporally or naturally in Christ's body; but that we have life in us, and are become immortal, because by faith and spirit we are partakers of the natural body of Christ.

M. Harding saith: We are thus joined unto Christ, and have him corporally within us, only by receiving the sacrament, and by none other means. This is utterly untrue, as it is already proved by the authorities of St Augustine, St Basil, Gregory Nazianzene, Leo, Ignatius, Bernard, and other holy fathers; neither doth either Cyrillus or Hilary so avouch it. Certainly, neither have they all Christ dwelling in them that receive the sacrament, nor are they all void of Christ that never received the sacrament. Besides the untruth hereof, this doctrine were also many ways very uncomfortable. For what may the godly father think of his child, that, being baptized, departeth this life, without receiving the sacrament of Christ's body? By M. Harding's construction, he must needs think his child is damned, for that it had no natural participation of Christ's flesh, without which there is no salvation; which participation, as M. Harding assureth us, is had by none other means, but only by receiving of the sacrament. Yet St Chrysostom saith: "In the sacrament of baptism we are made flesh of Christ's flesh, and bone of his bones"¹⁹.

Corporally, naturally.

August. de Trin. Lib. vi.

Basil. de Sanct. Baptism.
ei δὲ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν, ἀντὶ τοῦ λέγειν, ... ἐὶ δὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐν ὑμῖν.
August. Serm. de Temp. 153.

August. in Joh. Tract. 25.

2 Cor. xiii.

Cypr. de Cœna Domini.

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

ἑτέρως ζωοποιηθῆναι δύνασθαι ... εἰ μὴ συνεπλάκη σωματικῶς τῷ σώματι τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ζωῆς.—Cyril. Alex. Op. Comm. in Joan. Evang. Lib. x. cap. ii. Tom. IV. p. 863.]

[¹² This passage is not found in the book indicated. But for a somewhat similar notion see August. Op. De Trin. Lib. xv. 31. Tom. VIII. col. 989.]

[¹³ Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Hom. de Spirit. Sanct. Tom. II. p. 584. The Benedictine editor doubts whether this homily be genuine.]

[¹⁴ Adscendam ad Patrem, et tunc tange.—August. Op. In dieb. Pasch. Serm. cccxlv. 2. Tom. V.

col. 1020.]

[¹⁵ Id. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxv. 16, 8. Tom. III. Pars II. cols. 492, 3; where *qui ad me venit*.]

[¹⁶ Himself saith, 1565.]

[¹⁷ Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Cœn. Dom. (Arnold.) p. 40; where *nostra vero et ipsius conjunctio*.]

[¹⁸ Perfite, 1565.]

[¹⁹ Πῶς οὖν ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ ἐσμην, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων αὐτοῦ; ... ἡμεῖς γεννώμεθα ἐν τῷ λουτρῷ.—Chrysost. Op. In Epist. ad Ephes. cap. v. Hom. xx. Tom. XI. p. 147.]

Natu-
rally, cor-
porally.

For better trial hereof, understand thou, gentle reader, that both Cyrillus and Hilarius in those places dispute against the Arians, whose error was this, that God the Father and the Son are one, not by nature, but only by will and consent. Against them Hilarius reasoned thus :

Christ is as really joined unto the Father as unto us :

But Christ is joined unto us by nature ;

Therefore Christ is joined to God the Father by nature.

The minor, that is, that "Christ is joined unto us by nature," he proveth thus : "We are joined unto Christ by faith," that is, "by the nature of one faith, and that is to say, naturally." Likewise he saith : "We are joined unto Christ by the regeneration of one nature." And again : "We are joined to Christ by the nature of one baptism." Hereof he concludeth : "Therefore are we naturally joined unto him¹." Thus it appeareth by St Hilary, we may have Christ naturally within us by three other sundry means ; and therefore not only, as M. Harding holdeth, by receiving of the sacrament. And like as Christ is naturally, corporally, and carnally in us by faith, by regeneration, and by baptism ; even so, and none otherwise, he is in us by the sacrament of his body. In which holy mystery Christ is joined unto us corporally, as being man, because we are fed indeed and verily with his flesh ; and spiritually is joined to us, as God.

Hilar. de
Trin. Lib. viii.
Per naturam
unius fidei, id
est, natura-
liter.
Ejusdem re-
generatione
naturæ.
Per naturam
ejusdem bap-
tismi.

Thus much unto Cyrillus and Hilarius, in whom M. Harding is not yet able to find that Christ's body is either corporally received into our bodies, or corporally present in the sacrament ; which was the only thing that M. Harding hath here taken in hand, and should have proved ; and now, not having proved that, notwithstanding all this great ado, hath proved nothing.

But he saith : "It had been more convenient rather modestly to have interpreted these words, than thus utterly to have denied them." Verily, perhaps it were so for him, that can make somewhat of nothing, and devise a commentary without a text, and imagine constructions, as M. Harding doth, of words that were never spoken.

Hereof M. Harding guesseth thus :

These fathers say that Christ is naturally and corporally in us ; *ergo*, it is likely their meaning was, that Christ is naturally and corporally present in the sacrament. This reason is very simple ; for, notwithstanding Christ were naturally within our bodies, yet the like being in the sacrament would not follow. But this argument would conclude the contrary, and hold better in this wise :

Christ's body is not naturally or corporally present within us ;

Therefore much less it is corporally present in the sacrament.

M. HARDING. THE ELEVENTH DIVISION.

And the catholic fathers, that sithence the time of Berengarius have written in defence of the truth in this point, using these terms sometimes for excluding of metaphors, allegories, figures, and significations only, whereby the sacramentaries would defraud faithful people of the truth of Christ's precious body in this sacrament, do not thereby mean that the manner, mean, or way of Christ's presence, dwelling, union, and conjunction with us, and of us with him, is therefore natural, substantial, corporal, or carnal ; but they and all other catholic men confess the contrary, that it is far higher and worthier, supernatural, supersubstantial, invisible, unspeakable, special, and proper to this sacrament, true, real, and in deed notwithstanding ; and not only tropical, symbolical, metaphorical, allegorical ; not spiritual only, and yet spiritual ; not figurative or significative only. And likewise concerning the manner of the presence and being of that body and blood in the sacrament, they and we acknowledge and confess that it is not local, circumscriptive, diffinitive, or subjective, or natural ; but such as is known to God only.

All these
were very
young
fathers.

[¹ ... quomodo non naturalem in his intelligis unitatem, qui per naturam unius fidei unum sunt ? ... cessat in his assensus unitas, qui unum sunt in ejusdem regeneratione naturæ ? ... quid ... hic animorum concordia faciet, cum per id unum sint, quod uno Christo per naturam unius baptismi induantur ?

... Eos nunc, qui inter Patrem et Filium voluntatis ingerunt unitatem, interrogo utrumne per naturæ veritatem hodie Christus in nobis sit, an per concordiam voluntatis ?—Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. De Trin. Lib. viii. 7, 8, 13. cols. 951, 2, 4.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

These doctors lived within these two or three hundred years, and are such as M. Harding thought not worth the naming. Their doctrine in these cases is very unsavoury and without comfort. Generally, they hold that Christ's body remaineth no longer in our bodies, but only until the forms of the bread and wine begin to alter. Some others say that, as soon as our teeth touch the bread, straightways Christ's body is taken up into heaven. The words be these: *Certum est, quod quam cito species dentibus teruntur, tam cito in cœlum rapitur corpus Christi*². This doctrine notwithstanding, they say that Christ is naturally and corporally within us. Here a man may³ say unto M. Harding, as he did before to the Arian heretic: What, troweth M. Harding, or his new doctors, that Christ cometh to us from heaven, and by and by forsaketh us? Or, that we eat Christ, and yet receive him not? Or, that we receive Christ, and yet have him not? Or, that Christ is corporally within us, and yet entereth not? Is this Christ's natural being in us? Is this the virtue of the mystical benediction? Is this the meaning of these holy fathers? Or troweth M. Harding, that, holding and maintaining such absurdities, his reader, be he never so simple, will believe him?

Last of all, to declare the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament, he saith, it is not local, not circumscriptive, not diffinitive, not subjective. By these terms his reader may rather wonder at his strange divinity and eloquence, than well conjecture what he meaneth. And, as it appeareth, he himself is not yet able to conceive his own meaning. For thus he saith: "This presence is known to God only." Then it followeth: M. Harding knoweth it not. And so this article at last is concluded with an *ignoramus*. Howbeit, the old learned fathers never left us in such doubts. Emissenus saith, as it is before alleged: *Præsens est in gratia*⁴: "Christ is present by his grace." St Augustine saith: *Est in nobis per Spiritum*⁵: "Christ is in us by his Spirit." Likewise again he saith: "*Non hoc corpus, quod videtis, manducaturi estis; . . . sacramentum aliquod vobis trado*"⁶: "Ye shall not eat this body that ye see. It is a certain sacrament that I deliver you." Thus the holy fathers say Christ is present, not corporally, carnally, naturally; but, as in a sacrament, by his Spirit, and by his grace.

De Consecr.
Dist. 2.
Tribus
gradibus.
In Glossa.

The absurdities of M. Harding's doctrine.

De Consecr.
Dist. 2.
Quia corpus.
August. de Trin.
August. in Psal. xcviij.

[² Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. Gloss. in can. 23. col. 1922; where *species quam cito*.]

[³ May a man, 1565.]

[⁴ Euseb. Emiss. in eod. ibid. can. 35. col. 1927;

where *esset*.]

[⁵ See before, page 477, note 12.]

[⁶ Id. in Psalm. xcviij. Enarr. 9. Tom. IV. col. 1066; where *commendavi* for *trado*.]