OF ELEVATION.

THE SEVENTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBY.

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

[OF THE ELEVATION OR LIFTING UP OF THE SACRAMENT.—
ARTICLE VII. H.A. 1564.]

M. HARDING.

Of what weight this ceremony is to be accounted, catholic christian men, whom you call your adversaries, M. Jewel, know no less than you. Verily, whereas it pleaseth you thus to jest, and, like a Lucian, to scoff at the sacraments of the church, and the reverent use of the same, calling all these articles in general the highest mysteries and greatest keys of our religion, without which our doctrine cannot be maintained and stand upright; understand you that this, as sundry other articles which you deny and require proof of, is not such, ne never was so esteemed. * The priest's lifting up or shewing of the sacrament is not one of the highest mysteries or greatest keys of our religion; and the doctrine of the catholic church may right well be maintained and stand without it. But it appeareth you regard not so much what you say, as how you say somewhat for colour of defacing the church: which whereas you go about to do, you deface yourself more than you seem to be aware of, and do that thing whereby among good christian men, specially the learned, you may be ashamed to show your face. For as you have ever rashly, yea, I may say, wickedly affirmed the negative of sundry other articles, and stoutly cracked of your assurance thereof, so you have likewise of this. For, perusing the ancient fathers' writings, we find record of this ceremony used even (154) from the apostles' time forward. St Dionysus, that was St Paul's scholar, sheweth that the priest at his time, after the consecration, was wont to (155) hold up the dreadful mysteries, so as the people might behold them. His words be these, according to the Greek: Pontiffex divina munera laude prosecutus, sacrosancta et augustissima mysteria confect, et collaudata in conspectum agit per symbola sacræ proposita¹: "The bishop, after that he hath done his service of praising the divine gifts, consecrateth the holy and most worthy mysteries, and bringeth them so praised into the sight of the people, by the tokens set forth for that holy purpose." On which place the ancient Greek writer of the scholices upon that work saith thus: τῶν κοσμών καὶ τῶν ὄψων τῆς μᾶς εὐλογίας τοῦ θεοῦ ᾗ νυκτὸν φθορά, δυό ψυχή ἵνα γίνη, Τὰ δὲ νυκτὸς φύλαξ: Loquitor de unius benedictionis, nimium panis divini, elevatione, quem pontifex (156) in sublime attollit, dicens, Sancta sanctiæ: "This father speaketh in this place of the lifting up of the one blessing (that is to say, of the one form or kind of the sacrament), even of that divine bread which the bishop lifteth up on high, saying, Holy things for the holy." * In St Basil's and Chrysostom's¹⁰ mass we find these words: Sacerdos elevans sacram panem, dicit, Sancta sanctiæ¹¹: "The priest, holding up that sacred bread, saith, Holy things for the holy." In St Chrysostom's mass we read that, as the people is kneeling down after the example of the priest and of the deacon, the deacon, seeing

² Max. Schol. in eod. p. 366; where φθορά ὑπὸ ὀψων ἵνα γίνη.
³ Chrysostom, 1611.
⁵ Here is no mention of lifting over the head. M. Harding mistaketh one thing for another.
the priest stretching forth his hands, and taking up that holy bread, πρὸς τὸ ποιήμα τὴν ἁγίαν ψυχήν, ἐκεῖος, πρὸς χορές, ad sacram elevationem peragendam palam edicit, Attendamus ἡ, "to do the holy elevation, speaketh out aloud, Let us be attend; and (then) the priest saith (as he holdeth up the sacrament), Holy things for the holy."

Amphilochius, of whom mention is made before in the life of St Basil, speaking of his wondrous celebrating the mass, among other things saith thus: Et post fimem orationum exaltavit panem, sine inteissurnione oras, et dicens, Respice, Domine Jesu Christe, &c. "And, after that he had done the prayers of consecration, he lifted up the bread, without ceasing praying, and saying, Look upon us, Lord Jesus Christ, &c." The same St Basil meant likewise of the elevation and holding up of the sacrament after the custom of the occasional church, in his book de Spiritu Sancto, where he saith thus: Invocationis cap. xxvi. verba, dum ostenditur panis eucharistiae et calix benedictionis, quis sanctorum nobis scripto reliquit? "Which of the saints hath left unto us in writing the words of invocation, while the bread of eucharistia (157) (that is to wit, the blessed sacrament, in form of bread), and the consecrated chalice, is showed in sight?"

He speaketh there of many things that be of great authority and weight in the church, which we have by tradition only, and cannot be avouched by holy scripture. Of showing the holy mysteries to them that be present in the sacrifice the old doctors make mention not seldom.

St Chrysostom declareth the manner of it, saying, that such as were accounted unweorth and heinous sinners were put forth of the church, while the sacrifice was offered, while Christ and that Lamb of our Lord was sacrificed. Which being put out of the church, then were the vails (of the altar) taken away, to the intent the holy mysteries might be showed in sight, doubtless to stir the people to more devotion, reverence, (158) and to the adoration of Christ's body in them present. And thus for the elevation or holding up of the sacrament we have said enough.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding seemeth in part to disclaim this article, as a matter of small weight, and none of the principal keys of his religion; wherein I see not but I may safely and easily grant unto him, adding notwithstanding thus much withal, that the less it is the less hurt is in it. Yet notwithstanding, of late days it was otherwise esteemed, and most severely exacted, as the thing wherein stood their adoration, which was the whole price and beauty of their mass. The priest was wicked that would not use it: the people was wicked that would not allow it: their greatest doctors have travailed painfully to know the cause and significance of this mystery, and yet cannot find it. All this notwithstanding, it is now confessed to be a small matter, of no great weight, and such as the church may well spare without hindrance. But, as M. Harding here saith his doctrine may sufficiently be maintained, and stand upright without this ceremony of elevation; even so may we truly and justly say, that the heavenly and infallible doctrine of the gospel of Christ may likewise stand upright, and be maintained, not only without this new ceremony, but also without their private mass, without their half communion, without their strange unknown prayers, without their supremacy of Rome, without their transsubstantiation, and other like fantasies by them devised.

Yet are not they all of that side hitherto fully resolved touching their own elevation, neither when, nor where, nor wherefore it first came in use, nor what it meaneth. Some of them say the lifting up of the sacramental bread signifieth Christ's incarnation: some of them say it signifieth Christ hanging upon the cross; some of them that it signifieth the taking down of his body from the cross; signifieth the lifting up the people of the thing, at the outset of it. quae inveni nobis, de quibus potissimum, &c. Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Ephes. cap. i. Hom. iii. Tom. XI. p. 20.

[1] Sacerdos sustellens medicum portionem, quae est in sancta patina, dictat, Sancta sanctae.—Chrysost.
Lit. in cod. ibid. cap. vii. p. 19. See also below, page 512, note 2.


cross; some his resurrection; some his ascension into heaven; some that it signifies a sacrificial special, above all sacrifices; some others say that the priest lifteth up the chalice, to signify that Christ, crying out with a loud voice, gave up the spirit. M. Harding saith: "It is lifted up doubtless to the intent the people may adore." Thus many and more mysteries they have imagined in one thing, and yet the same, as it is confessed, no key of their religion. Disagreement evermore argueth ignorance. St Augustine saith: Si vis aut omniu nunquam inventiri possint causae, guas in istis rebus instituendis homines sequi sunt, ubi faculatias tribuitur, sine uta dubitatione resecando existimo: "If the causes which men followed in devising such things can hardly or never be found, I think it best, when opportunity and occasion is given, they be abolished and put away without scruple or staggering."

They have essayed earnestly to prove this ceremony by the warrant of God's word, as if God himself had commanded it. Gerardus Loricchius saith: Hunc ritum David videtur providisse in spiritu: "David seemeth to have foreseen this order in the spirit." And to this purpose he allegeth the authority of Rabbi Johai, whom I marvel M. Harding had forgotten. Durandus, for the same, allegeth the words of Christ: Ego si exalatus fuero a terra, omnia traham ad meipsum: "If I be once lifted up from the earth, I shall draw all things to myself." And to speed the matter the better forward, Linwood saith: "The pope hath given liberal dole of pardons," and the more to astonne the simple people, Alexander of Hales saith: "They have of themselves invented and devised many strange miracles." They have earnestly and sadly disputed whether the cup should be holden up open or covered. They say: "It is a matter of special need, and able to confound heresies." They have wrested and corrupted the scriptures, and falsified the rabbins for the same. M. Harding also would seem to allege a multitude of old doctors, and long continuance, even from the apostles' time. To be short, they have holden them for hereticks, and burned them, that durst to speak against it. Yet now in the end M. Harding saith: "It is but a small matter, and the rest of their religion may well stand without it." I wonder he proceedeth not herein with as good courage as in the rest.

Neither did I scoff hereat as a Lucian, as it pleaseth M. Harding in his choler to report, but reverently and soberly speak the truth, even as in the presence of God. It pitied me to see God's people so deceived, and that even by such as had taken upon them to be the fathers and guiders of the people. But, O merciful God! what religion may this be that no man may touch or truly report of it, without surmise or suspicion of scoffing? And whereas M. Harding, as a man somewhat overmuch subject to his passions, saith further, "I may be ashamed to possumus: Et erit fundamentum in terra, in summis montium superexcolletur, &c. Accedit hic quod Rabbi Johai, qui Christum dixit antecessit, hunc versus magis de eucharistia sacramento insitutione, et de elevacionis hostie mysterio intelligi: legit enim, Et erit placentia frumenti in terra in capite montium. —Ger. Loricch. De Miss. Pub. Prorogand. Lib. iii. cap. iii. p. 278."

[* Elevation hostis videtur respicere ad hoc Christi, Cum exalatus fuero, omnia traham ad me ipsum. Significat Christum in cruce exaltatum... Subinferavit salutaria hostia ut populus catholicus venetetur et adoret. Elevation enim...in missa Christi significat passionem, &c.—Ger. Loricch. De Miss. Pub. Prorogand. 1538. Lib. iii. cap. iii. pp. 277, 8, 80.]


[* See above, note 6.]

[* Meself. 1565.]

[* ...ut populares...flectant genua, indulgentias concessas a pluribus episcopis habituri.—Peoch. in Lyndw. Provinc. Oxon. 1679. Lib. iii. Tit. xxiii. pp. 291, 2. See also Annot. in loc. ibid.]

[* These words have not been met with in Hales. The following, however, is a passage nearly similar: Notandum est autem, quod in corpore Christi unde omnium miracula consideratur, de quibus expressa reddi ratio non potest.—Durand. Rat. Div. Off. Lib. iv. cap. xlii. 16. fol. 164.]

[* Id. ibid. cap. xlii. 30. fol. 166. 2.]
show my face among learned men;" if he mean the learned of his own side, verily, it can be no great glory for me to behold those faces that have been so often turned. O M. Harding! we have no cause to be ashamed of the gospel of Christ: "it is the mighty power of God unto salvation." I pray God, that both you and I may leave these worldly respects and faces of men, and so use the gifts that God hath lent us, and so freely discharge our consciences in this life, that Christ be not ashamed of us before his Father, but we may come to see God face to face.

Touching the matter itself, M. Harding thinketh it best to claim his elevation even from the apostles' time. So the Romans in old times, because they knew not from whence their ancilia came unto them, they thought it not amiss, for the more credit of the matter, to say they were sent to them from heaven. So Romulus and Theseus, because they were base-born, and no man knew their fathers, therefore were reckoned to be the children of the gods. Dionysius, Chrysostomus, and Basil, as they are worthy of much credit for their antiquity, so in this case they say nothing of that of our part is denied. The question is, whether the priest did then hold up the sacrament over his head, or no. This thing M. Harding dissembleth and passeth by, and turneth his whole proof to another, that neither is doubted of nor denied. First, whereas Dionysius saith, In conspectum agit; "He bringeth the mysteries into sight," this maketh very small proof of M. Harding's side, except happily he will say, no man can bring a thing to sight, unless he hold it over his head. But that thou mayest thoroughly and fully see both the very ground and sense of these words of Dionysius, and also M. Harding's perverse and strange construction touching the same, it may please thee, gentle reader, to understand that in those days the manner was, that the sacrament, being all in one whole loaf or unwafed, should remain still upon the holy table, covered under a fair cloth, until the time of the distribution thereof unto the people. Touching which ceremony Pachymers the Greek paraphrast writeth thus: Ἀποκαλυπτικοὶ τῶν παραγόντων δύρων μετὰ τὰς εἰκόνας μεν, κατακυλέμενοι ἦσαν καιροῖς μεταληψεσιν: "The holy gifts being opened after the prayers or consecration, and yet remaining still covered until the time of the distribution, &c." So likewise saith Maximus in his scholion upon the same place; and addeth further: Not only the holy bread was set forth covered, but also the holy cup, which thing, he saith, now is not done.

This order or ceremony to the church then well considered, Dionysius is plain enough of himself without other commentary. For thus stand his words: Profecto ea, quae laudavit, in conspectum, . . . per symbola reverenter proposita: et dona sacrificiorum communiones, ad sacram illorum communionem et ipsae accedit, et orturat alios: "The priest bringeth forth the things that he hath praised into sight, by the tokens reverently set before him; and, showing forth the gifts of the mysteries, both he himself draweth near to the holy communion of the same, and also exhorteth others." This shewing and bringing into sight was nothing else but the uncovering and laying abrad of the mysteries.

If M. Harding will say this exposition is wrested or violent, let him then hear Dionysius expound himself: thus he writeth afterward in the speculation or exposition of the same: In conspectum profert, &c.: "He bringeth forth the things that he hath praised into sight," &c. It followeth: Nam opertum et indivisum panem operiens, et in multas partes dividens, et unitatem poculi omnibus impartiens, symbolice implet unitatem: "For uncovering the bread that was covered, and stood whole and undivided, and cutting it into many parts, and parting the unity of the cup unto all the people, by way of a sacrament he fulfillith the mystery." If all this will not content M. Harding, yet Dionysius saith again in plainer sort: τὸ μὲν ἐγκαλυπτομένα δῶρον τὸ ἐμφανίζει ὑγιήν: Misereris quae tecta

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[3] Max. Schol. in eod. p. 300; also p. 312; where μᾶλλον τὸτε ἐγκαλυπτομένα τὰ δίδωμι, τῶν καρπῶν τῆς ψυχῆς μεταληφθέως.]
[6] Id. ibid. 3. p. 299.]
[7] Id. ibid. pp. 299, 300; where πρὸς τὸ ἐμφανίζει ὑγιήν.
[8] Pachy.]
[9] Max.]
fuerant, in opertum profert: “He bringeth forth into open sight the gifts or sacraments that before were covered.” This undoubtedly was the meaning of these words; unless perhaps M. Harding will say, Dionysius understood not his own meaning. Verily Pachymeres the paraphrast expoundeth it thus: *Proferit in conspectum, ostendens hanc esse Christi symbola* [8]: “He bringeth these things into sight, shewing that they be tokens and signs of Christ.” Hitherto there is no manner mention of holding the sacrament over the head.

But M. Harding replieth: Maximus saith, Dionysius meant the holding up of the one part of the sacrament. This may easily be granted. But the same Maximus, whatsoever he were, or whencesoever he lived, saith not, the same one part was held over the priest’s head; and therefore M. Harding is but weakly relieved by his authority. And again, the same Maximus, as a man not very certain what to say, deviseth two other expositions of Dionysius’ words, besides this [9]. But let this exposition of Maximus stand for good. The priest held up from the table, and showed forth the sacrament, to declare that the holy communion was ready, that the people might prepare themselves and draw near. And therefore he spake aloud: “Holy things for the holy.” Which words Chrysostom expoundeth thus: *Quando sacerdos dicit, Sancta sanctis, hoc dicit: Si quis non est sanctus, non accedat* [10]: “When the priest saith, Holy things unto the holy, thus he saith: If any man be not holy, let him not come near.” So likewise Nicolaus Cabasillas, a Greek writer of late days: [*Sacerdos clamar*, *Sancta sanctis, propemodum dicens, Ecce panis vitae:... accurrere... participes futuri: sed non omnes; verum si quis est sanctus* [11]: “The priest speaketh aloud, Holy things for the holy: as though he should say, Behold the bread of life: come near and take part; howbeit not all, but if any man be holy.” And lest he should seem to discourage any man in respect of his unworthiness, he saith further: *Sanctos autem vocat, non virtute perfectos, sed quicunque ad illam tendunt perfectionem:* “He calleth them holy, not that be full perfect in virtue, but that be inclined to perfection.”

This end therefore the minister showed forth the people, that the people might prepare themselves to the distribution; and therefore it is written thus in Chrysostom’s liturgy: *Sanctos ostendit calicem populo, dicens, Cum timore Dei, [et fide] et dilectione accedite* [13]: “The priest sheweth the cup unto the people, saying unto them, Draw near with the fear of God, and with faith and love;” and the people answered: “Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.” This same was St Basil’s meaning in his book *de Spiritu Sancto* [14]. The words of invocation that are spoken of were of such authority in the church, and of such weight, *cap. xxvii.* that neither M. Harding, nor, I believe, any other of that side, is able now to shew us what they were. In the liturgy that beareth St Basil’s name, it is only noted thus: “When the priest saith, *Sancta sanctis*, the people answereth, *Unus sanctus:* [15] *Unus Pater: Unus Filius.* The very same was Chrysostom’s meaning upon the epistle to the Ephesians [16]. The curtains of the holy communion-table were drawn, that the mysteries prepared for the people might be seen upon the table, not that the priest should lift them up over his head. The vain fable of M. Harding’s Amphilochoi, so often repeated, is not worth the answering.

All this notwithstanding, M. Harding doubteth not to make us believe that all these fathers spake plainly of the elevation of the sacrament over the priest’s head; and that, as he saith, according to the custom of the occidental church. And to that end he hath prettily falsified the words of Maximus. For whereas Maximus in the Greek writeth thus, ὁ [ὁριστῷ] ὡσιὸς ὁ ἱερεύς [17]; M. Harding hath

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translated it in this wise: Quem panem pontifex in sublime altitutit: “Which bread the bishop lifteth on high.” And so it were easy to deceive the simple, unless the fathers had otherwise declared their own meaning. Pachymeres expoundeth that word thus: ἐποδείκνυτο, ἂν ἔρχον ἄνγει: “He sheweth or lifteth up.” He saith not, The priest lifted the sacrament above his head, or on high, as M. Harding hath turned it; but, He shewed the sacrament a little up from the table, that it might be seen of the people. And so saith Chrysostom touching the same: Sacerdos modicum tollens portionem, quae est in sancta patena, diect, Sancta sanctiss. “The priest, a little lifting up the portion that is in the holy dish, saith, Holy things for the holy.” And so likewise Claudius du Sainctes readeth it. And in St Basil’s liturgy it is thus noted in the margin: Hic sacerdos hostiam fractam in patena jacentem una cum patena sublevat, et ostendit populo: “Here the priest lifteth up the host or sacrament lying broken in the dish, and together with the dish sheweth it unto the people.” Yet must all these be brought forth to prove this new manner of elevation now used in the church of Rome. So bold is M. Harding of the simplicity of the people.

But one strange thing, among others, I note by the way in M. Harding’s answer; that, being demanded of this late-devised ceremony in the church of Rome, he foundeth his whole answer upon the east church of Graecia, and sheweth not one example, nor moveth one word of the church of Rome; and yet notwithstanding he knoweth right well, that this kind of elevation, from the beginning until this day, was never used in the church of Graecia.

It seemeth likely that as well this usage, as also sundry others, of apparel, of oil, &c., grew first from the imitation of the ceremonies of the Jews; among whom the priest, in the time of their sacrifices, held up the oblation before his breast.

So in the primitive church, whatsoever was offered by any man to the relief of the poor, it was taken by the priest, and held up, and presented in the church, as a pleasant sacrifice before God. So Chrysostom saith, the priest in the time of the holy ministration lifted up the gospel. His words be these: Sacerdos in altum tollit evangelium. And Nicolas Cabasillas likewise saith: His peractis, sacerdos stans super altare, in altum tollit evangelium, et ostendit: “These things being done, the priest, standing over the altar, lifteth the gospel on high, and sheweth it.”

But, that the holding up of the sacrament should import adoration to the same, as M. Harding surmiseth, neither is it thought true by all others of that side, nor hath it any good savour or shew of truth. Indeed great ponders and charters have been liberally given of late years for the better maintenance thereof. And Durandus saith, therefore elevation is made, ut populus intelligat, Christum venisse super altare, “that the people may understand that Christ is come down upon the altar.” But the old learned fathers, both Greeks and Latins, when they held up a little, or shewed the sacrament, evermore they called the people to draw near, to receive, to be partakers of the holy mysteries, and to lift up their hearts; but in the time of the same ceremony they never spake one word of adoration. Pachymeres saith: Sacerdos ostendit, hoc esse Christi symbole: “The priest sheweth that these be tokens or signs of Christ.” He saith not, the sacraments be Christ himself, but tokens and signs of Christ. Maximus saith, ἢ σήμβολα ταῦτα, καὶ οὐ δηθεὶα: Symbole ista sunt, non autem veritas: “These be tokens (of the truth), but not the truth itself.” And perhaps upon...
this occasion Béguinæ and Béguardi held, that no man ought to rise up or to give reverence at the elevation of the sacrament.

To conclude, Gerhardus Lorichius, in his book that he writeth in the defence of the private mass, hath these words: *Ex hoc rite [elevationis] inferimus, missam neutiquam rite celebrari, nisi in usum publicum ecclesiae, hoc est, propter populum, vel sacramentum eucharisticum sumentem, vel sacrificium laudis votis et encomiis celebrantem; siquidem propter eum usum hostia elevatur. Missæ igitur private, quæ absente populo catholico iunt, abominatio verius quam oblatio dicenda [sunt]*. 

"By this very usage of elevation we conclude that no mass is rightly said, but for the public use of the church, that is to say, for the people, either receiving the sacrament, or else advancing the sacrifice of praise with heart and devotion: for to this end (and not to be adored) the sacrament is holden up. Therefore private masses, which are said without catholic people being present, may rather be called an abomination than an oblation." Thus much Gerhardus Lorichius, a doctor of M. Harding's own side.

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Clement. Lib. v. Tit. iii. cap. 3. col. 277. 