

OF FIGURE, SIGN, &c.

THE TWELFTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

OR that whosoever had said the sacrament is a figure, a pledge, a token, or a remembrance of Christ's body, had therefore been judged for an heretic.

[OF THE TERMS FIGURE, SIGN, TOKEN, &c. BY THE FATHERS APPLIED TO THE SACRAMENT.—ARTICLE XII. H. A. 1564.]

M. HARDING. THE FIRST DIVISION.

In this article we do agree with M. Jewel in some respect. For we confess it cannot be avouched by scripture, ancient council, doctor, or example of the primitive church, that whosoever had said the sacrament is a figure, a pledge, a token, or a remembrance of Christ's body, had therefore been judged for an heretic. (185) No man of any learning ever wrote so unlearnedly. Much less, to impute heresy to any man for saying thus hath been any of the highest mysteries or greatest keys of our religion; with which untruth M. Jewel goeth about to deface the truth. Wherefore this article seemeth to have been put in either of malice toward the church, or of ignorance, or only to fill up the heap for lack of better stuff. Perusing the works of the ancient and learned fathers, we find that oftentimes they call the sacrament² a figure, a sign, a token, a mystery, a sampler. The words of them used to this purpose in their learned tongues are these: figura, signum, symbolum, mysterium, exemplar, ἄντικλον, imago, &c. By which they mean not to diminish the truth of Christ's body in the sacrament, but to signify the secret manner of this³ being in the same.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

It appeareth that these men's doctrine is much mutable, and subject to change. For, notwithstanding they be now grown into some better liking of these terms, figure, sign, signification, token, &c.; yet not long sithence they seemed to be otherwise resolved, and thought themselves able to allege Theophylactus, Damascenus, Euthymius, and other great matter, to disprove the same. D. Tonal, the more to make the matter odious, saith thus: "If the sacrament be a figure of Christ's body, then was a figure crucified for us, and not Christ⁴." And whatsoever they were that used this word *figura* in this matter of the sacrament, D. Stephen Gardiner scornfully calleth them *figuratores*⁵, "figurers." And M. John White, late schoolmaster, and after bishop of Winton, writeth thus in great scorn against that most reverend learned father, D. Peter Martyr, touching the same:

Audio mille locis 'corpus;' non audio, Petre,
Signa, troposque, tuo nec symbola nata cerebro⁶:

"I hear 'body, body,' in a thousand places; but of signs, figures, tokens, that came only out of thy head, I hear nothing." Which words notwithstanding, in all the ancient learned fathers, by M. Harding's own confession, if he had had ears to hear, he might have heard. Therefore it was neither malice, nor ignorance, nor increase of heap, nor want of other stuff, but the fondness and folly of M. Harding's side, that added this article to the rest.

[¹ 1565 omits *for.*] [² Sacraments, 1565.]

[³ His, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[⁴ Tonal. De Verit. Corp. et Sang. Dom. in Euch. Lut. 1554. Lib. 1. foll. 12, 15, 29. 2.]

[⁵ Confut. Cavill. in Ven. Euch. Sac. Verit. Par. 1552. Ad Object. 13. fol. 18. 2.]

[⁶ Whit. Diacosio-Mart. Lond. 1553. Gregor. Secund. fol. 42. 2.]

The hundred and eighty-fifth untruth. For M. Harding's own fellows have both taught so and written so; and therefore unlearnedly.

Cuth. Tonal. de Euch. Lib. 1.

Marcus Constantius.

Sacra-
mentum.

But, forasmuch as many, either of simplicity or of the great reverence they bear towards that holy mystery, have persuaded themselves that Christ's words touching the institution thereof must of necessity be taken plainly and as they sound, that is to say, without figure; and forasmuch also as St Augustine saith, "It is a dangerous matter, and a servitude of the soul, to take the sign instead of the thing that is signified⁷;" therefore, to avoid confusion, lest the simple be deceived, taking one thing for another, I think it necessary in few words and plainly to touch what the ancient learned fathers have written in this behalf.

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

And to pass by that Christ himself saith, "Do this in my remembrance;" and that St Paul saith, "Ye shall declare the Lord's death until he come;" and likewise to pass by a great many other circumstances, whereby the truth hereof may soon appear; the nature and meaning of a sacrament of the old fathers is thus defined: *Sacramentum... est sacrum signum*⁸: "A sacrament is a holy token." Which definition is common, and agreeth indifferently to all sacraments. Therefore St Augustine saith: [*Signa*] *cum ad res divinas pertinent, sacramenta appellantur*⁹: "Signs, when they be applied unto godly things, are called sacraments." And the cause why sacraments are ordained is this, that by mean of such visible and outward things we may be led to the consideration of heavenly things. Therefore Dionysius saith: *Non est possibile animo nostro ad immaterialem illam ascendere celestium hierarchiarum... contemplationem, nisi ea, quæ secundum ipsum est, materiali manuductione utatur*¹⁰: "It is not possible for our mind to lift up itself to the spiritual contemplation of heavenly things, unless it have the corporal leading of such natural things, as be about it." Likewise again: *Nos imaginibus sensibilibus, quantum fieri potest, ad cælestes contemplationes adducimur*¹¹: "By sensible images we are led as much as may be to heavenly contemplations." And, touching this holy mystery of Christ's body and blood, the cause of the institution thereof was, as Chrysostom saith, to keep us still in remembrance of Christ's great benefit, and of our salvation¹². Which thing St Hierome openeth in this sort: *Ultimam nobis memoriam reliquit. Ut si quis peregre proficiscens aliquod pignus apud eum, quem diligit, relinquat; ut, quoties illud viderit, possit ejus beneficia et amicitiam memorare*¹³: *quod ille, si perfecte dilexit, non potest videre sine ingenti dolore, et sine fletu*¹⁴: "He left unto us his last remembrance. As if a man, going a far journey, leave a token with his friend, to the end that he, seeing the same, may remember his benefits and his friendship; which token that friend, if he love unfeignedly, cannot see without great motion of his mind, and without tears." So saith St Basil: *Quid utilitatis habent hæc verba? Nempe, ut edentes, et bibentes, perpetuo memores simus ejus, qui pro nobis mortuus est, ac resurrexit*¹⁵: "What profit have these words? Verily, that we, eating and drinking, may evermore be mindful of him that died for us and rose again." So St Ambrose: *Quia... morte Domini liberati sumus, hujus rei memores, in edendo et potando, carnem et sanguinem, quæ pro nobis oblata sunt, significamus*¹⁶: "Because we are made free by the death of our Lord, being mindful thereof, in eating and drinking, we signify the flesh and blood that Christ offered for us." Origen, expounding these words of Christ, "Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, &c." saith thus: *Agnoscite, figuras esse, quæ in divinis voluminibus*

1 Cor. xi.

De Consecr.
Dist. ii.
Sacramentum.
August. de
Civ. Dei.
Lib. x. cap. v.
August. ad
Marcell.
Epist. v.

Dionys.
Cælest.
Hierarch.
cap. i.

Dionys.
Eccles.
Hierarch.
cap. i.
*αἰσθηταῖς
εἰκόσι.*
Ad Pop. Ant.
Hom. 61.
Hæc facite in
memoriam
beneficii mei,
salutis vestræ.
Hieron. in
1 Cor. cap. xi.

Basil. de
Baptism.

Ambros. in
1 Cor. cap. xi.

Orig. in
Levit. Hom.
7.

[⁷ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Doctr. Christ. Lib. iii. cap. v. 9. Tom. III. Pars i. col. 47. See before, page 448.]
[⁸ Id. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, Dist. ii. can. 32. col. 1925. Op. De Civ. Dei. Lib. x. cap. v. Tom. VII. col. 241.]
[⁹ Id. ad Marcell. Epist. cxxxviii. 7. Tom. II. col. 419.]
[¹⁰ Dionys. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Cælest. Hierarch. cap. i. Tom. I. p. 3.]
[¹¹ Id. de Eccles. Hierarch. cap. i. Tom. I. p. 292.]
[¹² Ait enim, Quotiescumque hoc feceritis... facietis commemorationem salutis vestræ, beneficii mei.—Chrysost. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. Ad Pop. Ant. Hom.

lxi. Tom. V. col. 402. See before, page 448, note 4.]
[¹³ Memorari, 1565.]
[¹⁴ultimam nobis.....memoriam dereliquit. Quemadmodum si quis peregre proficiscens aliquod pignus ei quem diligit, derelinquat: ut quotiescumque illud viderit, possit ejus beneficia et amicitias memorari, quod ille, si perfecte dilexit, sine ingenti desiderio non potest videre vel fletu.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. i. ad Cor. cap. xi. Tom. V. col. 998.]
[¹⁵ Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. De Baptism. Lib. i. cap. iii. 2. Tom. II. Append. p. 650. The Benedictine editor does not consider this work genuine.]
[¹⁶ Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. ad Cor. i. cap. xi. v. 26. Tom. II. Append. col. 149. See before, page 570, note 3.]

scriptæ sunt; et ideo tanquam spirituales, et non tanquam carnales examine, et intelligite ea, quæ dicuntur. Nam, si quasi carnales ista suscipiatis¹, lædunt vos, non alunt²: "Know ye, that these be figures written in the holy scriptures; and therefore examine and understand ye the things that be spoken, as men spiritual, and not as carnal. For if ye take these things as carnal men, they hurt you and feed you not." Tertullian expoundeth Christ's words in this wise: *Hoc est corpus meum, hoc est, figura corporis mei³*: "This is my body; that is to say, this is a figure of my body." St Ambrose, speaking of the sacrament of Christ's body, useth oftentimes these terms, a figure, a similitude, a sign, a token of Christ's body⁴. St Augustine, beside infinite other places, saith: [*Christus*] *adhibuit [Judam] ad convivium, in quo corporis . . . sui figuram discipulis [suis] commendavit⁵*: "Christ took Judas unto his table, whereat he gave unto his disciples the figure of his body." And writing against the heretic Adimantus, he saith: *Non . . . dubitavit Dominus dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, cum daret signum corporis sui⁶*: "Our Lord doubted not to say, 'This is my body,' when he gave a token of his body." So Chrysostom: *Si mortuus Christus non est, cujus symbolum ac signum hoc sacramentum est⁷*? "If Christ died not, whose sign and whose token is this sacrament?" So St Hierome: *In typo sanguinis sui non obtulit aquam, sed vinum⁸*: "In token of his blood he offered not water, but wine."

I leave other like authorities well near infinite. These few may suffice for a taste. This was the old fathers' manner of writing; neither was there any man then that ever controlled them therefore, or called them figurers.

M. HARDING. THE SECOND DIVISION.

For the better understanding of such places, where these terms are used in the matter of the sacrament, the doctrine of St Augustine, In Sententiis Prosperi, may serve very well; which is thus: Hoc est quod dicimus, quod omnibus modis approbare contendimus, sacrificium . . . ecclesiæ duobus confici, duobus constare, visibili elementorum specie, et invisibili Domini nostri Jesu Christi carne et sanguine; sacramento, [(id est, externo sacro signo)] et re sacramenti, id est, corpore Christi, &c.⁹: "This is that we say," saith he, "which by all means we go about to prove, that the sacrifice of the church is made of two things, and consisteth of two things; of the visible shape of the elements (which are bread and wine), and the invisible flesh and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; of the sacrament (that is, the outward sign), and the thing of the sacrament, to wit, of the body of Christ," &c. By this we understand that this word "sacrament" is of the fathers two ways taken. First, for the whole substance of the sacrament, as it consisteth of the outward forms, and also withal of the very body of Christ verily present; as St Augustine saith the sacrifice of the church to consist (186) of these two. Secondly, it is taken so as it is distinct from that hidden and divine thing of the sacrament, that is to say, for the outward forms only, which are the holy signs¹⁰ of Christ's very body present under them contained. Whereof we must gather that, whensoever the fathers do call this most excellent sacrament a figure or a sign, (187) they would be understood to mean none otherwise than of those outward forms, and not of Christ's body itself, which is there present, not typically or figura-

De Con. Dist. 2. can. Hoc est quod dicimus.

[How the fathers are to be understood, calling the sacrament a figure, sign, token, &c. H. A. 1564.]

[¹ Suscipitis, 1565.]

[² Agnoscite quia figuræ sunt, quæ in divinis voluminibus scripta sunt, et ideo tanquam spirituales et non tanquam carnales examine, et intelligite quæ dicuntur. Si enim quasi carnales ista suscipitis, lædunt vos, et non alunt.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Levit. Hom. vii. 5. Tom. II. p. 225.]

[³ Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Marcion. Lib. iv. 40. p. 571. See before, page 447.]

[⁴ Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Sacram. Lib. iv. cap. v. 21. Tom. II. col. 371.]

[⁵ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. iii. Enarr. 1. Tom. IV. col. 7.]

[⁶ Id. Lib. contr. Adimant. cap. xii. 3. Tom. VIII. col. 124; where *Dominus dubitavit*, and *signum daret*.]

[⁷ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. lxxxii. Tom. VII. p. 783.]

[⁸ Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Adv. Jovin. Lib. ii. Tom. IV. Pars ii. col. 198.]

[⁹ August. in Lib. Sentent. Prosp. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 48. cols. 1936, 7; where *hoc modis omnibus*.]

[¹⁰ Sign, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

Tertull. contr. Marcion. Lib. iv.

Ambros. de Sacram. Lib. iv. cap. v. August. in Psal. iii.

August. contr. Adimant. cap. xii. Chrysost. In Matt. Hom. 83.

Hieron. adv. Jovin. Lib. ii.

The hundred and eighty-sixth untruth. For St Augustine never said so.

The hundred and eighty-seventh untruth. For none of the learned fathers ever called the outward form a sacrament. Christ's body itself is a figure.

tively, but really and substantially. Unless perhaps respect be¹¹ had, not to the body itself present, but to the manner of presence, as sometimes it happeneth.

So is St Basil to be understood, in Liturgia, calling the sacrament antitypon¹², that is, a sampler or a figure, and that after consecration; as the copies that be now abroad be found to have. So is Eustathius to be taken, that great learned father of the Greek church, who so constantly defended the catholic faith against the Arians, cited of Epiphanius, in VII. Synodo¹³. Albeit concerning St Basil, Damas-
Lib. is. cap. xiv. cene¹⁴, and Euthymius¹⁵, likewise Epiphanius in the second Nicene
In cap. Matt. xxvi. council, Act. 6¹³, and Marcus Ephesius¹⁶, who was present at the
council of Florence, would have that place so to be taken before consecration.
(188) As St Ambrose also, calling it a figure of our Lord's body and blood,
Lib. iv. De Sacramentis, cap. v.

The hundred and eighty-eighth untruth. For St Ambrose saith: "Post consecrationem corpus [Christi] significatur."

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding, as he is content to yield to these names, figure, sign, token, &c., so he addeth thereto an exposition of his own, such as I believe he can hardly find the like in any ancient father. Therefore it must be such a figure, not as the old doctors and learned fathers have at any time used, but such as M. Harding can best imagine; and therefore now not the old doctors', but M. Harding's new figure. Indeed Tertullian saith: *Heretici...nudas...voces conjecturis quo volunt rapiunt*¹⁸: "Heretics, by their conjectural guesses, draw bare words whither they list." With such conditions the wicked heretic Nestorius was contented to grant Christ to be God; but by his lewd exposition he made him no God; for thus he said: *Non invideo Christo divinitatem suam: hoc et ego fieri possum, si volo*: "It grieveth me not to confess Christ to be God: I myself¹⁹ can be God too, if I list." The Pelagian heretics, notwithstanding they were the enemies of God's grace, yet, being forced by disputation and conference, were content to yield, and to confess the grace of God²⁰. But by their fantastical exposition in the end they made it no grace at all. In like manner M. Harding, notwithstanding he be driven by force to confess the name of figure, yet, as he glosseth it with his colours, indeed he maketh it no figure. Sometimes he saith it is a figure of Christ's body secretly being there; sometimes, it is a figure of the life to come; sometimes, common bread is a figure; sometimes, the accident and outward form of bread is a figure; sometimes, Christ's body invisible is a figure of Christ's body visible—all hitherto M. Harding. Sometimes also, it is a figure of the church; so saith Hosius: *Sacramenta nostra...sunt quodammodo per figuram ipsum corpus Christi, cujus sacramenta sunt, id est, ecclesia*²¹: "Our sacraments are in a manner, by a figure, the very body of Christ, whereof they be sacraments; that is to say, our sacraments be the church." Thus many ways these men have sought to make up a new kind of figure, such as neither grammarian, nor rhetorician, nor divine ever understood before. *Significat*, "it signifieth," is as much to say, saith M. Harding, as *continet*, "it containeth:" "it is a figure," that is to say, "it is the thing itself:" "it is a figure," that is, in conclusion, "it is no figure." Yet all these figures in the end be not sufficient to expound one figure. Truth is ever certain and simple: contrariwise, falsehood²² is doubtful and double.

Tertull. contr. Marcion. Lib. iv.

Cyril. Lib. v. cap. xiv.

August. ad Innoc. Lib. xev.

In Confess. Petricov. cap. xxxix.

How much better were it for these men to speak so as the old learned fathers

[¹¹ He, 1565.]

[¹² See before, page 579, note 13.]

[¹³ Ref. falso Nom. Def. Tom. III. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. VI. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VII. col. 449.]

[¹⁴ Damascen. Op. Par. 1712. De Fid. Orthod. Lib. IV. cap. XIII. Tom. I. p. 273.]

[¹⁵ Euthym. Zigab. Comm. in Quat. Evang. Lips. 1792. In Matt. cap. XXVI. Tom. I. Pars II. p. 1015.]

[¹⁶ See above, page 574, note 10.]

[¹⁷ Ambros. Op. Lib. de Myst. cap. ix. 54. Tom.

II. col. 339.]

[¹⁸ Tertull. Op. Adv. Marcion. Lib. IV. 19. p. 531.]

[¹⁹ Meself, 1565.]

[²⁰ August. Op. Ad Innoc. Aur. et cet. Epist. clxxvii. 2. Tom. II. cols. 622, 3.]

[²¹ Hos. Op. Col. 1584. Confess. Fid. cap. xxxix. De Sac. Euch. Tom. I. p. 99. These words are part of a quotation made by Hosius from Guitmund. De Verit. Euchar. Lib. II. See in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. XI. p. 363.]

[²² Falsehead, 1565.]

Variety
of
figures.

August. de
Doctr. Christ.
Lib. ii. cap. i.
August. de
Doctr. Christ.
Lib. iii. cap. v.
Hieron. in
Apol. contr.
Ruffin.

Chrysost. in
Dict. Apost.
Patres nostri
omnes, &c.
ult. tom.

De Consecr.
Dist. 2.
Hoc est.

Hieron. ad
Paulin.

Concil. Nic.
II. Act. iii.
Angelom. in
I Reg. cap.
xxii.

August. in
Johan.
Tractat. 46.

August. citat.
a Beda. I Cor.
x.

Chrysost. in
I Cor. Hom.
7.

were content to speak? St Augustine saith: *De signis disserens hoc dico, ne quis in eis attendat, quod sunt, sed potius quod signa sunt, hoc est, quod significant*¹: "Reasoning of signs, I say thus: Let no man consider in them that they be, but rather that they be signs, that is to say, that they do signify." Again he saith: *Cavendum est, ne figuratam orationem ad literam accipias . . . Ad hoc . . . pertinet, quod apostolus ait, Litera occidit*²: "We must beware that we take not a figurative speech according to the letter. For thereto it appertaineth³ that the apostle saith, 'The letter killeth.'" St Hierome saith: *Quando dico tropicam [locutionem], doceo, verum non esse, quod dicitur, sed allegorice nubilo figuratum*⁴: "When I name a figurative speech, I mean, that the thing that is spoken is not true, but fashioned under the cloud of an allegory." Likewise Chrysostom: *Non alienum oportet esse typum a veritate; alioqui non esset typus: neque omnino adæquari veritati; alioqui et veritas ipsa foret*⁵: "The figure may not be far off from the truth; otherwise it would be the truth itself," and so no figure.

These things considered, it may soon appear how faithfully and how well to his purpose M. Harding allegeth this place of St Augustine: *Hoc est, quod dicimus, &c.*⁶: "This is it that we say, which we go about by all means to prove, that the sacrifice of the church is made of two things, and standeth of two things; of the visible kind (or nature) of the elements, and of the invisible flesh and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; of the sacrament, the outward holy sign, and the thing of the sacrament, which is the body of Christ." Hereof M. Harding gathereth that the body of Christ lieth hidden under the accidents. St Augustine's words be true; but M. Harding with his guesses is much deceived. For of this word *specie* he concludeth that the substance of bread is gone, and nothing remaining but only accidents; and of this word *invisibili* he gathereth that Christ's body is there really inclosed. And so he maketh a commentary far beside his text.

But what would he have said, if he had seen these words of St Hierome: *Venit Philippus; ostendit ei Jesum, qui clausus latebat in litera*⁷: "Philip came, and shewed him Jesus, that lay hidden in the letter?" Or these words in the second council of Nice: *Christus ipse habitat in ossibus mortuorum*⁸: "Christ himself dwelleth in dead men's bones?" Or these of Angelomus: *Deus Pater Filium suum unigenitum . . . in litera legis, Judæis nescientibus, absconditum habuit*⁹: "God the Father had his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ hidden in the letter of the law, the Jews not knowing it?" Would he of these words conclude that Christ is really hidden either in dead men's bones, or in the prophet Esay, or in the letter of the law? Certainly St Augustine speaketh not one word, neither here nor elsewhere, neither of accidents without subject, nor of any real presence. And, albeit his words here be not very dark, yet in other places both often and plainly he expoundeth himself. For thus he saith: *Mysteria omnia interioribus oculis videnda sunt, id est, spiritualiter*¹⁰: "All mysteries must be considered with the inner eyes, that is to say, spiritually." And again: *In sacramentis aliud videtur, aliud intelligitur*¹¹: "In sacraments we see one thing, and we understand another thing." So Chrysostom, speaking of the water of baptism: *Ego non aspectu judico ea, quæ videntur*¹²: "The things that be seen in baptism I consider not with my bodily

[¹ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Doctr. Christ. Lib. II. cap. i. 1. Tom. III. Pars I. col. 19; where *id est*.]

[² Id. *ibid.* Lib. III. cap. v. 9. col. 47; where *figuratam locutionem, et ait apostolus*.]

[³ Pertaineth, 1565.]

[⁴ Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Apol. adv. Ruffin. Lib. I. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 381.]

[⁵ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In dict. Paul. Nolo, &c. Hom. Tom. III. p. 235.]

[⁶ See before, page 592, note 9.]

[⁷ Hieron. Op. Ad Paulin. Epist. I. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 571.]

[⁸ ... τὰ τῶν μαρτύρων ὁστὰ νόσουσ φηγαδέουσι...καὶ ταῦτα διὰ Χριστοῦ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐνοική-

σantos.—Exempl. Synod. Theodor. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. III. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VII. col. 184.]

[⁹ Angelom. Strom. in Lib. Reg. I. cap. xx. in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. IX. Pars I. p. 724; where *habuerat*.]

[¹⁰ These words are not in the place referred to. But see August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. Tom. III. Pars II. cols. 493, &c., for the repeated expression of a similar idea.]

[¹¹ Id. Serm. cclxxii. Tom. V. col. 1104; where *in eis*.]

[¹² Chrysost. Op. In Epist. I. ad Cor. Hom. vii. Tom. X. p. 51.]

eye." So likewise Origen: *Bene . . . circumcisionem signum appellavit, . . . quia et [in] ipsa aliud videbatur, . . . aliud intelligebatur*¹³: "He called circumcision rightly a sign; for that in it one thing was seen, and another thing was understood." Thus in sacraments we see one thing with our eye, and another thing with our mind. With our bodily eye we see the bread: with our faith we see the body of Christ. Thus the sacrament consisteth of two parts: of the which the one is before our eyes, the other in heaven; and so the one visible, and the other invisible. So saith St Augustine: *Non [oportet] esse contentum superficie literæ, sed ad intelligentiam pervenire*¹⁴: "We may not stand content with the outward sight of the letter, but must go further unto the meaning." St Augustine meaneth not by these words that the understanding of the scriptures lieth really hidden under the letter. He himself better expoundeth his own meaning in this wise: *In veteri testamento occultabatur novum, quia occulte significabatur*¹⁵: "The new testament was hidden in the old, because it was secretly (or invisibly) signified in the old."

Species.

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

August. contr. Advers. Leg. et Proph. Lib. ii. cap. v.

August. de Bapt. contr. Donatist. Lib. i. cap. xv.

Now let us examine the ground of M. Harding's guesses. St Augustine nameth *visibilem speciem* the visible kind of the elements; *ergo*, saith M. Harding, he meaneth only the accidents or outward forms of bread and wine, and not the substance. The weakness of this conclusion proceedeth of the misunderstanding of the terms. For St Augustine in this place useth not this word *species* for the outward shew, but for the very substance of the thing itself. So St Ambrose saith twice together in one place: *Sermo Dei species mutat elementorum*¹⁶: "The word of God changeth the kinds of the elements." And again: *Ante benedictionem . . . alia species nominatur*¹⁷: "Before the consecration it is called another kind." In these and other like places M. Harding cannot well say that *species* signifieth an accident or outward shew.

Ambros. De iis qui init. cap. ix.

Neither doth this word "visible" import any such external form as is here imagined; but only excludeth the body of Christ, which is in heaven, invisible to our bodily eyes, and visible only to the eyes of our faith. And so the water in baptism is called *forma visibilis*, "a visible kind, or element," according to the general definition of all sacraments. So St Augustine saith: *Aliud Judæi habebant, aliud nos; sed specie visibili, quod tamen . . . idem significaret*¹⁸: "The Jews had one thing (for their sacrament), and we another; indeed of another visible form or kind, which notwithstanding signified the same thing that our sacrament doth signify." Likewise he saith: *Quod videtur speciem habet corporalem: quod intelligitur fructum habet spirituales*¹⁹: "The thing that we see hath a corporal shew; but the thing that we understand hath fruit spiritual." And in this sense Chrysostom saith of the sacrament of baptism: *Christus in sensibilibus intelligibilia nobis tradidit*²⁰: "Christ in sensible things hath given us things spiritual."

August. in Johan. Tractat. 26.

August. elat. a Beda. 1 Cor. x.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 83.

By these we see both M. Harding's gross error, and also for what cause the old godly fathers call Christ's body invisible; that is, for that, being in heaven, we see it with our faith, with our mind, and with the eyes of our understanding. Neither may M. Harding of this word "invisible" reason thus, as he seemeth to do: Christ's body is invisible; *ergo*, it lieth hidden under accidents. For St Ambrose, in like phrase of words, speaketh thus of baptism: *Sacri fontis unda nos abluit: sanguis Domini nos redemit. Alterum igitur invisibile, alterum visibile testimonium sacramento consequimur spirituali*²¹: "The water of the holy font hath washed us: Christ's blood hath redeemed us. Therefore by a spiritual sacrament we obtain two testimonies; the one invisible, the other visible." Here St Ambrose saith, Christ's blood in baptism is invisible. Yet we may not con-

Ambros. de Spirit. Sanct. Lib. iii.

¹³ Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. iv. cap. iv. Tom. IV. p. 525.]

¹⁴ August. Op. Contr. Advers. Leg. et Proph. Lib. ii. cap. v. 19. Tom. VIII. col. 591; where *ad interiora intelligentia.*

¹⁵ Id. De Bapt. contr. Donatist. Lib. i. cap. xv. 24. Tom. IX. col. 92; where *in eo ipso occultabatur.*

¹⁶ . . . non valebit Christi sermo, ut species mutet elementorum? &c.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. cap. ix. 54. Tom. II. col. 339.]

¹⁷ Id. *ibid.* 54.]

¹⁸ Aliud illi, aliud nos, &c.—August. Op. in Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 12. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 499.]

¹⁹ Id. Serm. cclxxii. Tom. V. col. 1104; where *spiritalem.*

²⁰ Chrysost. Op. In Matt. Hom. lxxii. Tom. VII. p. 787.]

²¹ Ambros. Op. De Spir. Sanct. Lib. III. cap. x. 68. Tom. II. col. 678; where *spiritali.*

clude thereof that Christ's blood is hidden under the accidents or shews of water. So Origen saith: *Baptismus Johannis videbatur; Christi baptismus est invisibilis*¹: "John's baptism was seen; but Christ's baptism is invisible."

And, notwithstanding all these things be plain to any man that hath eyes to see, yet, that the weakness and folly of these shifts may thoroughly appear, let M. Harding shew us wherein and in what respect his naked shew of forms and accidents can be the sacrament of Christ's body. For thus he saith, and doubleth, and repeateth the same, and maketh it the stay and ground of this whole treaty.

The sign or signification of this sacrament, as St Cyprian saith, standeth in refreshing and feeding². So saith Rabanus Maurus: *Quia panis corporis cor [con]firmat, ideo ille congruenter corpus Christi nuncupatur; et quia vinum sanguinem operatur in carne, ideo [illud] ad sanguinem Christi refertur*³: "Because bread confirmeth the heart of the body, therefore it is conveniently called the body of Christ. And, because wine worketh blood in the flesh, therefore it hath relation to the blood of Christ." Likewise, because water washeth away the soil and filth of the body, therefore, as Gregory Nyssene saith, "Christ appointed it to the sacrament of baptism, to signify the inward washing of our souls⁴."

Now, although M. Harding can say many things, yet this thing, I think, he will not say, that our bodies be fed with his shews and accidents. Or if he so say, as indeed they are driven so to say⁵, then will the very natural philosopher reprove his folly. For the philosopher saith, as indeed true it is: *Ex iisdem nutrimur, et sumus*: "We consist of the same things wherewith we are nourished." Therefore, if M. Harding will say, the substance of our body is fed with accidents, then must he likewise say, the substance of our body doth stand of accidents.

Hereof we may very well reason thus: The accidents or shews of bread and wine feed not our bodies, as Christ's body feedeth our souls;

Ergo, the accidents and shews of bread and wine are not the sacraments of Christ's body. Contrariwise, St Cyprian⁶, Irenæus⁷, Rabanus⁸ and other ancient fathers say: The substance of the bread feedeth our body, &c.;

Ergo, the substance of the bread is the sacrament of Christ's body.

And again, M. Harding, standing upon this simple ground, cannot possibly avoid many great inconveniences. For, if the shews and accidents be the sacrament, then forasmuch as in one bread there be many accidents, as the whiteness, the roundness, the breadth, the taste, &c., and every such accident is a sacrament, he can by no gloss or conveyance shift himself; but instead of one sacrament he must needs grant a number of sacraments, and, avoiding one figure, he must be driven to confess a great many figures.

Touching St Basil, M. Harding seemeth to confess that his books are disordered, and that now set after consecration that sometimes was before; and yet he sheweth us not who hath wrought this treachery. I trow they have corrupted and falsified their own books.

But Basil calleth the sacrament *ἀντίρροπον*, that is, a sampler, a sign, or a token of Christ's body before the consecration; and so Damascenus, Euthymius, and one Epiphanius, and Marcus Ephesius, late writers, have expounded it⁹. Here mark well, good reader, the niceness and curiosity of this people without cause. Sooner than they will confess, as the ancient catholic fathers do, that the sacrament is a figure of Christ's body, they are content to say: It is a sacrament

[¹ Joannis baptisma videbatur, Christi baptismus invisibilis erat.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Luc. Hom. xxiv. Tom. III. p. 961.]

[² Panis dicitur propter nutrimentum vitæ.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Cæn. Dom. (Arnold.) p. 40.]

[³ Raban. Maur. Op. Col. Agrip. 1626-7. De Instit. Cleric. Lib. i. cap. xxxi. Tom. VI. p. 12; where *corpus Christi congruenter*, and *vinum autem quia sanguinem.*]

[⁴ Gregor. Nyss. Op. Par. 1638. In Baptism. Christ. Tom. III. p. 369. See before, page 566.]

[⁵ Accidentia panis et vini ... nutriendi virtutem

per miraculum retinent, &c.—Confut. Cavill. in Ven. Euch. Sacr. Verit. Lut. 1552. Ad Object. 66. fol. 51.]

[⁶ Cypr. Op. De Cæn. Dom. (Arnold.) p. 40.]

[⁷ ...ἐκ τούτων [τὸ ποτήριον καὶ ὁ ἄρτος] δὲ αὔξει καὶ συνίσταται ἡ τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν ὑπόστασις.—Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. v. cap. ii. 3. p. 294.]

[⁸ Rab. Maur. Op. De Instit. Cleric. Lib. i. cap. xxxi. Tom. VI. p. 11. See before, pages 571, 2.]

[⁹ See before, page 593.]

Orig. in Luc.
Hom. 24.

Cypr. de Cæn.
Dom.
Raban. Maur.
Lib. i. cap.
xxxi.

Greg. Nyss.
de Sanct.
Baptism.

Marc. Anton.
Constant. ad
Object. 66.

Cypr. de Cæn.
Dom.
Iren. Lib. iv.
cap. xxxiv.
Raban. Lib.
i. cap. xxxi.

before it be a sacrament; and so a figure before it be a figure. For how can the sacrament be a sacrament, or what can the bare bread signify before consecration? Or who appointed or commanded it so to signify?

But to leave these M. Harding's new fantastical doctors, with their mystical expositions; St Ambrose in his time thought it no heresy to write thus: *Ante consecrationem... alia species nominatur: post consecrationem corpus [Christi] significatur*¹⁰: "Before consecration it is called another kind: after consecration the body of Christ is signified." And again: *In edendo et potando, corpus et sanguinem [Christi], quæ pro nobis oblata sunt, significamus*¹¹: he saith not, Before consecration, but even in receiving the holy communion, which he calleth "eating and drinking, we signify the body and blood of Christ that were offered for us."

Ambros. de
his qui init.
cap. ix.

Ambros.
1 Cor. xi.

Thus the old fathers called the sacrament a sign or a¹² figure of Christ's body after it was consecrate. But before consecration neither did they ever call it so, notwithstanding these new doctors' judgments to the contrary, nor was there any cause why they should so call it. Yet were they not therefore counted sacramentaries, nor maintainers of false doctrine.

M. HARDING. THE THIRD DIVISION.

*And if it appear strange to any man that St Basil should call the¹³ holy mysteries antitypa after consecration, let him understand that this learned father thought good by that word to note the great secret of that mystery, and to shew a distinct condition of present things from things to come. And this consideration the church seemeth to have had, which in public prayer, after holy mysteries received, maketh this humble petition: Ut quæ nunc in¹⁴ specie gerimus, certa rerum veritate capiamus*¹⁵: "That in the life to come we may take that in certain truth of things, which now we bear in shape or shew." Neither do these words import any prejudice against the truth of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament; but they signify and utter the most principal truth of the same, when as, all outward form, shape, shew, figure, sampler, and cover taken away, we shall have the fruition of God himself in sight, face to face; not as it were through a glass, but so as he is in truth of his majesty. So this word antitypon, thus taken in St Basil, furthereth nothing at all the sacramentaries' false doctrine against the truth of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament.

Christ's body
is a figure of
the life to
come; proved only
by the
portuise.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding, for fear of taking, altereth and shifteth himself into sundry forms; in like sort as the old poets imagine that one Proteus, a subtle fellow, in like case was wont to do. Among other his strange devices he saith, Christ's body is a figure of the life that is to come; and that he proveth only by his portuise, without any other further authority. But if a man would traverse this new exposition, how standeth M. Harding so well assured of the same? What scripture, what doctor, what council, what warrant hath he so to say? Verily, that Christ's natural body, being now immortal and glorious, should be a sign or a token of things to come, it were very strange and wonderful; but that bare forms and accidents should so signify, yet were that a wonder much more wonderful.

The prayer that is uttered in the church is good and godly, and the meaning thereof very comfortable; that is, that, all veils and shadows being taken away, we may at last come to the throne of glory, and see God face to face. For in this life we are full of imperfections; and, as St Paul saith, "we know (ex parte) unperfittly; we prophesy unperfittly. But, when that thing that is perfitt shall come, then shall imperfection be abolished. Now we see as thorough a seeing-glass, in a riddle; but then we shall see face to face." Therefore St

1 Cor. xiii.

[¹⁰ Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Lib. de Myst. cap. ix. 64. Tom. II. col. 339. See before, page 595.]

[¹¹ Id. Comm. in Epist. ad Cor. I. cap. xi. v. 26. Tom. II. Append. col. 149. See before, page 591.]

[¹² 1565 omits a.]

[¹³ Those, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[¹⁴ H. A. 1564 omits in.]

[¹⁵ Missal. ad Us. Eccles. Sar. 1527. Sabb. Quat. Temp. Postcom. fol. 133, 2.]

August.
Epist. 120.

Ambros. in
Psal. xxxviii.

Basil. in
Psalm. xlv.

Augustine saith: *Vita est Christus, qui habitat in cordibus nostris; interim per fidem, post etiam per speciem*¹: "Christ is our life that dwelleth in our hearts; in the mean while by faith, and afterward by sight." So St Ambrose: *Umbra in lege; imago... in evangelio; veritas in caelestibus*²: "The shadow was in the law: the image is in the gospel: the truth shall be in the heavens." So St Basil: *Nunc justus bibit aquam viventem; et posthac abundantius bibet, quando adscribetur in civitatem Dei: sed nunc in speculo, et in aenigmate, per modicam comprehensionem rerum caelestium; tunc autem flumen universum recipiet*³: "Even now the just man drinketh the water of life; and hereafter he shall drink the same more abundantly, when he shall be received into the city of God. Now he drinketh as in a seeing-glass or a riddle, by a small understanding of heavenly things; but then he shall receive the whole stream." This is it that the church prayeth for, that, all imperfection set apart, our corruptible bodies may be made like unto the glorious body of Christ.

Hereof M. Harding seemeth to reason in this wise: We shall see God face to face; ergo, Christ's body is really present in the sacrament. Or thus: We shall see God face to face; ergo, the sacrament signifieth not Christ's body, but the life that is to come. By such arguments M. Harding confoundeth all "the sacramentaries' false doctrine."

M. HARDING. THE FOURTH DIVISION.

And, because our adversaries do much abuse the simplicity of the unlearned, bearing them in hand that, after the judgment and doctrine of the ancient fathers, the sacrament is (189) but a figure, a sign, a token, or a badge, and containeth not the very body itself of Christ, for proof of the same alleging certain their sayings uttered with the same terms; I think good, by recital⁴ of some of⁵ the chief of⁶ such places, to shew that they be untruly reported, and that, touching the verity of the presence in the sacrament, they taught in their days the same faith that is taught now in the catholic church.

The hundred and eighty-ninth untruth, joined with a slander. The former part was never our doctrine: the second as yet was never proved.

Takeh bread, blesseth it, breaketh it.

The hundred and ninetieth untruth, joined with unadvised corruption of the author.

*Holy Ephrem, in a book he wrote to those that will search the nature of the Son of God by man's reason, saith thus: Inspice diligenter, quomodo sumens in manibus panem, benedicit, ac frangit in figura immaculati corporis sui, calicemque in figura pretiosi sanguinis sui benedicit, et tribuit discipulis suis*⁶: "Behold," saith he, "diligently, how, taking bread in his hands, he blesseth it, and breaketh it in the figure of his unspotted body, and blesseth the cup in the figure of his precious blood, and giveth it to his disciples." (190) By these words he sheweth the partition, division, or breaking of the sacrament, to be done no otherwise, but in the outward forms, which be the figure of Christ's body present, and under them contained: which body, now being glorious, is no more broken nor parted, but is indivisible, and subject no more to any passion; and, after the sacrament is broken, it remaineth whole and perfitt under each portion.

Cap. iv.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

If we abuse the simplicity of the people, uttering plainly and simply the very words of the ancient fathers; then did the fathers themselves likewise abuse the simple people, for that they of all others first uttered and published the same words, and specially for that they never qualified the same with any of these M. Harding's new constructions.

But if we abuse the people, speaking in such wise as the old catholic fathers spake so long before us, what then may we think of M. Harding, that cometh only with his own words, that wresteth and falsifieth the words of the holy fathers, and by his strange expositions maketh them not the

[¹ Vita enim Christus est, qui habitat in cordibus eorum, interim, &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. ad Honorat. seu Epist. cxl. cap. xxv. 62. Tom. II. col. 445.]

[² Ambros. Op. Par. 1636-90. In Psalm. xxxviii. Enarr. 25. Tom. I. col. 852.]

[³ Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Hom. in Psalm. xxxv. 4. Tom. I. pp. 172, 3.]

[⁴ By the recital, H. A. 1564.]

[⁵ 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564, omit of.]

[⁶ Ephr. Syr. Op. Rom. 1732-46. Adv. Scrutat. Fil. Dei Nat. Tom. III. p. 423.]

fathers' words? Gelasius saith: "In the sacrament there remaineth the substance of bread and wine⁷;" that is to say, saith M. Harding, there remaineth⁸ the accidents of bread and wine. Irenæus⁹ and Justinus Martyr¹⁰ say: "The bread of the sacrament increaseth the substance of our flesh:" their meaning is, saith M. Harding, that the accidents of the bread increase the substance of our flesh. St Ambrose saith: *Post consecrationem corpus [Christi] significatur*¹¹: "After consecration the body of Christ is signified." M. Harding saith, No, not so; but after consecration the life to come is signified.* Now judge thou indifferently, good reader, whether of us abuse¹² the simplicity of the people.

Gelas. contr. Eutyech.

Iren. Lib. v. Just. Mart. Apol. 2.

Ambros. De iis qui init. cap. 9.

Now let us see how he handleth this good old father Ephrem. Indeed here he maketh the darkness light, and the light darkness. For Ephrem's words be so plain as nothing can be plainer.

Christ took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, in figure, or, as Christ himself uttereth it, in remembrance of his blessed and unspotted body. But M. Harding's exposition upon the same is so perverse and so wilful, as if it were free for him to gloss and fancy what him listeth. Ephrem saith, "Christ took and brake bread:" M. Harding saith, Christ brake forms and accidents, and brake no bread. Ephrem saith, "The bread is a figure of Christ's body:" M. Harding saith, The bread is no figure of Christ's body. To be short, Ephrem saith, "Christ brake bread in figure or remembrance of his body;" Ergo, saith M. Harding, Christ's body is there present under the form of bread. Such regard hath he to the simplicity of the people. Certainly Ephrem saith not, neither that the forms or shews be broken, nor that the same forms be figures of Christ's body, nor that Christ's body is presently in them contained. And therefore M. Harding in his guileful construction of the same hath included great untruth.

M. HARDING. THE FIFTH DIVISION.

Again, by the same words he signifieth that outward breaking to be a certain holy figure and representation of the crucifying of Christ, and of his blood-shedding. Which thing is with a more clearness of words set forth by St Augustine, In Sententiis Prosperi: Dum frangitur hostia, dum sanguis de calice in ora fidelium funditur, quid aliud quam dominici corporis in cruce immolatio, ejusque sanguinis de latere effusio designatur¹³? "Whiles the host is broken, whiles the blood is poured into the mouths of the faithful¹⁴, what other thing is thereby shewed and set forth than the sacrificing of Christ's body on the cross, and the shedding of his blood out of his side?" And by so doing the commandment of Christ is fulfilled: "Do this in my remembrance."

The breaking of accidents is a figure.

De Con. Dist. 2. can. Dum frangitur.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here hath M. Harding found out a new kind of figure¹⁵, far differing from all the rest. The breaking of the accidents, saith he, is a token of the breaking of Christ's body; and this he thinketh himself well able to prove by certain words of St Augustine. Wherein, notwithstanding he find but small help in the text (for St Augustine maketh no manner mention, neither of any real or fleshly presence, nor of breaking of forms or accidents); yet is he somewhat relieved by the gloss. For the words thereof are these: *Secundum hoc dices, ipsa accidentia frangi, et dare sonitum*¹⁶: "According to this thou shalt say, that the very acci-

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Cum frangitur in Gloss.

[⁷ Gelas. Episc. Rom. adv. Eutyech. et Nestor. in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. V. Pars III. p. 671. See before, page 11, note 11.]

[⁸ Remain, 1565.]

[⁹ Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. v. cap. II. 3. p. 294. See before, page 596, note 7.]

[¹⁰ Οὐ γὰρ εἰς κοινὸν ἄρτον... λαμβάνομεν ἀλλὰ ... τροφὴν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σὰρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, κ. τ. λ. — Just. Mart. Op. Par. 1744. Apol. I. 66. p. 83.]

[¹¹ Ambros. Op. Lib. de Myst. cap. ix. 54. Tom. II. col. 339.]

[¹² Abuseth, 1565, 1609.]

[¹³ August. in Lib. Sent. Prosp. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. II. can. 37. col. 1930.]

[¹⁴ Faithfuls, H. A. 1564.]

[¹⁵ Figures, 1565, 1609.]

[¹⁶ Gloss. in eod. ibid.]

dents and shews are broken, and give a crack." Thus we see there is no inconvenience so great, but these men can well defend it.

But St Augustine saith: *Sanguis in ora fidelium funditur; ergo*, saith M. Harding, Christ's blood is there present. I marvel much where M. Harding learned this strange logic. For St Hierome saith in like sort: *Quando audimus sermonem Domini, . . . caro Christi et sanguis ejus in auribus nostris funditur*¹: "When we hear the word of God, the flesh of Christ and his blood is poured into our ears." Will M. Harding conclude hereof by his new logic, that, when we hear God's word, Christ's flesh and blood are really present? Here once again I must do thee, good reader, to understand that a sacrament, according to the doctrine of St Augustine, beareth the name of that thing whereof it is a sacrament. And for example he saith: *Sacramentum sanguinis Christi [secundum quendam modum] sanguis Christi est*²: "The sacrament of Christ's blood, after a certain manner (of speech), is the blood of Christ." Again he saith in the same epistle: *Consepulti . . . sumus Christo per baptismum: . . . non ait, Sepulturam significamus; sed prorsus ait, Consepulti sumus. Sacramentum ergo tantæ rei non nisi ejusdem rei vocabulo nuncupavit*³: "We are buried together with Christ by baptism: he saith not, We do signify our burial; but he saith plainly, 'We are buried together.' Therefore St Paul would not call the sacrament of so great a thing but only by the name of the thing itself." Likewise he saith: *Solet . . . res, quæ significat, ejus rei nomine, quam significat, nuncupari . . . Non . . . dixit, Petra significat Christum, sed tanquam hoc esset, quod utique per substantiam non . . . erat, sed per significationem*⁴: "The thing that signifieth is commonly called by the name of that thing that it signifieth. St Paul saith not, The rock signified Christ, but, 'The rock was Christ,' as if the rock had been Christ indeed. Yet it was not so in substance and indeed, but by way of signification." Thus therefore saith St Augustine: "Whiles the sacrament is broken, and the sacrament of Christ's blood (which is called blood) is poured into the mouths of the faithful, what thing else is thereby shewed, but the offering up of Christ's body upon the cross, and the shedding of his blood from his side?" Therefore St Augustine saith: *Ita facit nos moveri, tanquam videamus presentem Dominum in cruce*⁵: "So it causeth us to be moved, even as though we should see our Lord present on the cross." This is St Augustine's undoubted meaning. These things considered, the weight of M. Harding's argument will soon appear. For thus he reasoneth: The renting of Christ's body and the shedding of his blood is expressed in the mysteries; ergo, Christ's body is there really present under shews and accidents.

M. HARDING. THE SIXTH DIVISION.

That it may further appear that these words, figure, sign, image, token, and such other like⁶, sometimes used in ancient writers, do not exclude the truth of things exhibited in the sacrament, but rather shew⁷ the secret manner of the exhibiting, amongst all other the place of Tertullian in his fourth book contra Marcion⁸ is not to be omitted, specially being one of the chief, and of most appearance, that the sacramentaries bring for proof of their doctrine. Tertullian's words be these: Acceptum panem, et distributum discipulis suis, corpus suum illum fecit, Hoc est⁹ corpus meum dicendo, id est, figura corporis mei¹⁰: "The bread that he took and gave to his disciples, he made it his body in saying, This is my body, that is, the figure of my body."

The double taking of the word "sacrament," afore mentioned, remembered, and consideration had how the sacraments of the new testament comprehend two things, (191) the outward (1) visible forms that be (2) figures, signs, and tokens, and also

[¹ Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Brev. in Psalt. Psalm. cxlvii. Tom. II. Append. col. 504; where *sermonem Dei.*]

[² August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Bonifac. Epist. xcvi. §. Tom. II. col. 267.]

[³ Id. *ibid.* col. 268; where *significavimus.*]

[⁴ Id. Quæst. in Hept. Lib. III. Quæst. lvii. 3. Tom. III. Pars 1. col. 516.]

[⁵ Id. in Psalm. xxi. Enarr. ii. 1. Tom. IV. col. 93. See before, page 467, note 23.]

[⁶ The like, H. A. 1564.]

[⁷ Signify, H. A. 1564.]

[⁸ Marcionem, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[⁹ Esse, H. A. 1564.]

[¹⁰ See the next page.]

Hieron. in
Psalm. cxlvii.

August.
Epist. 23.

Rom. vi.
Col. ii.

August. in
Levit.
Quæst. 57.

August. in
Psalm. xx.

The hundred
and ninety-
first untruth.
Four un-
truths toge-
ther packed
up in one.

and that chiefly, a divine thing under them (3) according to Christ's promise (4) covertly contained—specially this being weighed, that this most holy sacrament consisteth of these two things, to wit, of the visible form of the outward elements and the invisible flesh and blood of Christ, that is to say, of the sacrament and of the thing of the sacrament—Tertullian may seem to speak of these two parts of the sacrament jointly in this one sentence. For first he speaketh most plainly of the very body of Christ in the sacrament, and of the marvellous turning of the bread into the same. "The bread," saith he, "that he took and gave to his disciples, he made it his body." Which is the divine thing of the sacrament. Then forthwith he saith that our Lord did it "by saying, This is my body, that is, the figure of my body." By which words he sheweth the other part, the sacrament only, that is to say, that holy outward sign of the form of bread, under which form Christ's body, into the which the bread by God's power is turned, is contained; which outward form is verily the figure of Christ's body present, which our Lord, under the same contained, delivered to his disciples, and now is likewise at that holy table to the faithful people delivered, where the order of the catholic church is not broken.

This is vanitas vanitatum.

Holy outward accidents.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

If this place of Tertullian be the chief, and of greatest appearance for the sacramentaries, as M. Harding saith, I marvel it is so cursorily¹¹ answered. The words be both very few, and also very plain. But with this copious commentary of M. Harding's glossing, it will be very hard for the reader to find out any part of Tertullian's meaning. I will first open the occasion of the writing, and then lay forth the words. That done, I doubt not but the sense will stand clear and easy of itself.

Marcion the heretic, against whom Tertullian wrote, held and maintained this error, that Christ received of the blessed virgin, not the very nature and substance, but only the outward forms and shews, of man's body. Out of whose springs M. Harding and the rest of that side, as it may appear, have drawn their doctrine of accidents standing without subject. This fond heresy Tertullian reproveth by this reason:

A figure of a body pre-supposeth a very natural body; for of a shew or a fantasy there can be no figure.

But Christ gave unto his disciples a figure of his body;

Therefore it must needs follow that Christ had a very natural body.

As every part of this argument is true, so the proportion and form of the same importeth a necessary sequel in reason. The words stand thus: *Acceptum panem, et distributum discipulis, corpus suum illum fecit, dicendo, Hoc est corpus meum, id est, figura corporis mei. Figura autem non esset, nisi veritatis esset corpus. Ceterum vacua res, quæ est phantasma, figuram capere non potest*¹²: "Christ, taking the bread, and distributing it to his disciples, made it his body, saying, 'This is my body;' that is to say, this is a figure of my body. But a figure it could not be, unless there were a body of a truth and indeed. For a void thing, as is a fantasy, can receive no figure." These words are plain of themselves¹³; and, if truth only might suffice, would require no long exposition.

Tertull. contr. Marcion. Lib. iv.

Now, good reader, mark well M. Harding's considerations touching the same; and thou shalt see the darkness of Egypt brought in, to clear the shining sun. First he saith: The accidents and shews may well be the sacrament. Yet again he saith: Christ's body itself may be the sacrament. Thirdly he saith: Tertullian joineth these two senses jointly both together. And so by his cunning he hath found out two sacraments in one sacrament. All this is M. Harding's gloss. For there is not one word thereof in the text, neither of accidents nor of Christ's body as being a sacrament of itself, nor of this combining of two sacraments both in one. M. Harding saith: Tertullian speaketh of a marvellous turning. But Tertullian speaketh no such word, neither of miracle nor of turning. M. Harding saith: Tertullian speaketh of holy outward forms. But Tertullian

[¹¹ Cursorily, probably means cursorily.]

[¹² Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Marcion. Lib. iv.]

40, p. 571. See before, page 258, note 5.]

[¹³ Themselves, 1565.]

not once nameth any kind of forms. By M. Harding's report Tertullian saith: Under these holy forms Christ's body is really present. But Tertullian himself speaketh nothing of any presence. All these petit glosses M. Harding hath devised of his own, as if it were lawful for a catholic man to examine the old learned fathers upon the rack, and to make them speak what him listeth.

Tertullian only saith thus: "Christ took bread and made it his body." And, because these words seemed doubtful, and might be diversly taken, he openeth his own meaning in this wise: "This is my body; that is to say, a figure of my body." And touching this word *fecit*, in what sense it is used in the holy fathers, I have spoken at large before, in the tenth article and the second division¹. Yet, a little more to open M. Harding's folly in this behalf, whereas in these two several propositions, *Hoc est corpus*, and *hoc est figura*, this pronoun *hoc*, as Tertullian useth it, hath relation only to one thing, as if he would say, This bread is my body, and this bread is a figure; M. Harding, to make up this new construction, contrary both to Tertullian's mind, and also to the natural course of the words, imagineth the same pronoun *hoc* in the first place to signify one thing, and in the second place to signify another thing: as if Tertullian in the former clause had written thus, *Hic panis*, "This bread is my body;" and in the second thus, *Hæc accidentia*, "These accidents are a figure of my body." And so, whereas these two propositions should sound both one thing, the one being only a declaration of the other, by M. Harding's exposition they are made to sound two divers things, the one nothing like unto the other. Thus M. Harding useth the ancient fathers in like sort as they say Procrustes, the cruel giant, was wont in old times to use his prisoners: if they be longer than his measure, he choppeth them shorter; if they be too short, he racketh them longer.

And where he saith the sacraments of the new testament contain covertly under them the thing itself that they signify, and that according to Christ's promise; verily this saying covertly containeth a great untruth. For as he is not able to allege any ancient learned father, that ever once mentioneth this privy and secret being under such covert; so is he not able to shew that Christ ever made him any such promise touching the same. And, notwithstanding baptism be a sacrament of the new testament, yet, contrary to M. Harding's new decree, it containeth not covertly and really the thing that it signifieth. True it is, the new sacraments of Christ's institution are plainer and clearer than the old; as the gospel is plainer and clearer than the law. But the things signified are no more contained in the one than in the other. Therefore St Augustine saith: *Idem... in mysterio illorum cibus, et noster*²: "The spiritual meat that they had in the old law, and the spiritual meat that we have in the gospel, in a mystery is all one." And again: *Spiritualem escam comederunt eandem, quam nos*³: "They did eat the same spiritual meat that we eat." And the whole difference between the sacraments of the old testament and the sacraments of the new he openeth thus: *In illis... sacrificiis, quid nobis esset donandum, figurate significabatur: in hoc autem sacrificio, quid nobis jam donatum sit, evidenter ostenditur. In illis sacrificiis prænuntiabatur Filius Dei pro impiis occidendus: in hoc autem pro impiis annuntiatur occisus*⁴: "In the sacrifices of the old law it was signified under a figure what thing should be given unto us; but in this sacrifice it is plainly shewed what thing is already given unto us. In the sacrifice⁵ of the old law it was shewed by a figure that the Son of God should be slain for the wicked; but in this sacrifice it is declared that he hath been already slain for the wicked." Such differences the old fathers find between these sacrifices; but of M. Harding's "containing," or "covert," they know nothing.

The reason that M. Harding can gather hereof standeth thus: Tertullian saith, The sacrament is a figure of Christ's body; *ergo*, Christ's body is there-in covertly contained under the accidents.

[¹ See before, pages 566, 7.]

[² August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psal. lxxvii. Enarr. 2. Tom. IV. col. 816; where *cibus et potus illorum qui noster*.]

[³ Spiritalem utique eandem ... spiritali vero,

quam nos.—Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 12. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 498.]

[⁴ Id. [Fulgent.] Lib. de Fid. ad Petr. cap. xix. 62. Tom. VI. Append. col. 30.]

[⁵ Sacrifices, 1565.]

August. in Psal. lxxvii.

August. in Johan. Tractat. 26.

August. ad Pet. Diacon. cap. xix.

M. HARDING. THE SEVENTH DIVISION.

That Tertullian in this place is so to be understood, we are taught by the great learned bishop St Augustine, and by Hilarius, who was bishop of Rome next after Leo the first. St Augustine's words be these: Corpus Christi et

De Consecr. Dist. 2. can. Utrum sub figura.

veritas et figura est: veritas, dum corpus Christi et sanguis [in] virtute Spiritus sancti...ex panis et vini substantia efficitur; figura vero

A bastard authority in St Augustine's name.

est...quod exterius sentitur⁶: "The body of Christ is both the truth and the figure: the truth, whiles the body of Christ and his blood by the power of the Holy Ghost is made of the* substance of bread and wine; and it is the figure, that is with outward sense perceived."

* Christ's body of the substance of bread.

Where St Augustine here saith the body and blood of Christ to be made of the substance of bread and wine, beware, thou unlearned man, thou think them not thereof to be made as though they were newly created of the matter of bread and wine, neither that they be made of bread and wine as of a matter; but that, where bread and wine were before, after consecration there is the very body and blood of Christ born of the virgin Mary, and that in substance, in sort and manner to our weak reason incomprehensible.

M. Harding shunneth his own doctor.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

These words are bastard and misbegotten, as nothing resembling neither the sense nor the words of St Augustine, but rather contrary to them both. They are alleged only by certain late writers, as namely by Gratian, by Peter Lombard, and by Algerius, as other things also be without any great choice or judgment. Only St Augustine, upon whom they are fathered, and therefore should best know them, knoweth them not. Howbeit, by whatsoever name we may call this new doctor, M. Harding findeth him so far and so rank of his side, that he is fain to check him of too much riot, and to call him back. "Beware, thou unlearned man," saith he: if thou take not very good heed, this new doctor, whom I call St Augustine, will deceive thee. This Augustine saith, Christ's body is made of the substance of bread; but say thou, Christ's body is not made of the substance of bread. This Augustine saith twice together in one place, Christ's body is created; but he was not well advised what he said; therefore say thou, Christ's body is not created: believe not this Augustine's words: he saith one thing, and thinketh another. Thus this doctor is set to school. But it may well be doubted, whether we ought to give more credit to this young St Augustine, that cannot tell his own tale, or to M. Harding's commentary, that goeth so far beside the text.

If these words be false, why doth M. Harding here allege them? why are they not rectified, either by Gratian, or by the gloss, or at least by some note in the margin? And why are they published for a rule of our faith? If they be true, why should we shun them? Or why should we beware and take heed of them, specially being uttered without figure, or metaphor, or heat of speech?

M. HARDING. THE EIGHTH DIVISION.

The words of Hilarius the pope utter the same doctrine: Corpus Christi quod sumitur de altari figura⁸ est, dum panis et vinum videtur extra; veritas autem, dum corpus...Christi...interius creditur⁹: "The body of Christ, which is received from the altar, is the figure, whiles bread and wine are seen outwardly; and it is the truth, whiles the body and blood of Christ are believed inwardly."

Dist. 2. can. Corpus Christi.

[⁶ August. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. 2. can. 72. col. 1951. Gratian refers to Paschasius, Rabanus, and Algerus for this canon. See also Pet. Lomb. Lib. Sentent. Col. Agrip. 1576. Lib. iv. Dist. x. D. fol. 352. 2.]

[⁷ Not them, H. A. 1564.]
 [⁸ Figurata, 1609, 1611.]
 [⁹ Hilar. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 79. col. 1956; where we have *extra videtur*.]

Intus.
Foris.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

These words of Hilary are partly answered before. His meaning is this: The bread that we see with our senses is the figure; but the very substance of the sacrament, that thereby is signified, is the body of Christ in heaven. The bread is received with our bodily mouth; the body of Christ only with our faith. And thus these two words, *extra* and *interius*, which Hilary useth, have relation to our mouth and to our faith, and so to the sacrament that is present before us, and to the body of Christ that is at the right hand of God. And in this sense St Augustine saith: *Aqua...exhibet forinsecus sacramentum gratiæ; et Spiritus operatur intrinsecus beneficium gratiæ*¹: "The water outwardly sheweth the sacrament of grace; and inwardly the Spirit worketh the benefit of grace." And, to come near to the words of Hilary, St Augustine again saith: *Habent foris sacramentum corporis Christi; sed rem ipsam non tenent intus, cujus est illud sacramentum*²: "Outwardly they have the sacrament of Christ's body; but inwardly they have not the thing itself, whereof that thing is a sacrament."

Further, we may say that Christ's body is in the sacrament itself, understanding it to be there as in a mystery. But to this manner of being there is required neither circumstance of place, nor any corporal or real presence. So Chrysostom saith: *Oleum visibile in signo est: oleum invisibile in sacramento est. Oleum spirituale intus est: oleum visibile exterius est*³: "The visible oil is in a token: the oil invisible is in a sacrament. The spiritual oil is within: the visible oil is without." So Paulinus writeth to Cytherius: *In suarum literarum corpore Paulus magister adfuit*⁴: "Paul the teacher was present in the body of his letters." So St Augustine: *Novum testamentum absconditum erat in lege*⁵: "The new testament was hidden in the law." So the ancient father Origen: *In vestimento poderis erat universus mundus*⁶: "The whole world was in the priest's long gown." So Chrysostom: *In scripturis insertum est regnum Dei*⁷: "The kingdom of God is inclosed in the scriptures." So Paulinus, writing unto St Augustine: *In hoc pane Trinitatis soliditas continetur*⁸: "In this cake the perfection of the holy Trinity is contained." I use purposely the more examples in this behalf, for that I see many of simplicity are deceived, thinking that one thing cannot possibly be in another, unless it be contained in the same presently, really, and indeed. Yet it is written in that fond council of Nice the second: *Qui imaginem imperatoris videt, in ea imperatorem ipsum contemplatur*⁹: "He, that seeth the emperor's image, in the same seeth the emperor himself." Likewise saith Prudentius: *Legis in effigie scriptus per ænigmata Christus*¹⁰: "Christ written by figure¹¹ in the shew of the law." Therefore M. Harding's error herein standeth in over gross understanding of these words *extra* and *interius*. For by the former he can conceive nothing else but accidents, by the latter¹² nothing but Christ's body under the same secretly hidden; which was never any part of this holy father's meaning.

[¹ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Bonifac. Epist. xviii. 2. Tom. II. col. 264; where *exhibens* and *operans*.]

[² ... in Christi corpore, cujus habent foris sacramentum, sed rem, &c.—Id. ad Bonifac. Epist. clxxxv. seu De Correct. Donatist. Lib. cap. xi. 50. Tom. II. col. 663.]

[³ Possibly the following may be the passage intended: ... μη ἀπλῶς ἐλαιον νόμιζε, ἀλλὰ τὴν χρίσιν νόει. καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐλαιον σύμβολον τοῦ πνεύματος ἦν, καὶ τὸ προηγουμένον καὶ ἀναγκαῖον τὸ πνεῦμα ἦν.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Expos. in Psalm. xliv. Tom. V. p. 176.]

[⁴ Paulin. Op. Antr. 1622. Ad Cyther. xliii. p. 489.]

[⁵ An forte significat novum testamentum nomine Jesu, et absconditum esse in lege, &c.—August. Op. Quæst. in Hept. Lib. II. Quæst. ciii. Tom. III. Pars I.

col. 454.]

[⁶ Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. De Princip. Lib. II. cap. iii. 6. Tom. I. p. 82. Origen quotes this from the book called the Wisdom of Solomon. See Wisd. xviii. 24.]

[⁷ ... in illis [scripturis] insertum est regnum cœlorum.—Chrysost. Op. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xliv. ex cap. xxiii. Tom. VI. p. clxxxvi.]

[⁸ Paulin. et Theras. Epist. ad Alyp. in August. Op. Epist. xxiv. 6. Tom. II. col. 36; where in *quo etiam Trinitatis*.]

[⁹ Refut. falso Nom. Def. Tom. IV. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. VI. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VII. col. 456.]

[¹⁰ Aur. Prud. Op. Han. 1613. Apoth. Adv. Jud. v. 399. p. 174; where *scriptum*, and *Christum*.]

[¹¹ Figures, 1565, 1600.]

[¹² Later, 1565.]

Extra.
Interius.

August.
Epist. 23.

August.
Epist. 50.

Chrysost. in
Psalm. xliv.

Paulin. ad
Cyther.

August. in
Quæst. super
Exod. Lib. II.

Orig. Peri
Arch. Lib. II.
Chrysost. in
Op. Imperf.
cap. xxliii.
Inter Ep.
August.
Epist. 35.

Concil. Nic.
II. Act. 6.

M. HARDING. THE NINTH DIVISION.

Thus the fathers call not only the sacrament, but also the body and blood of Christ itself in the sacrament, sometimes the truth, sometimes a figure; the truth, that is to wit, the very and true body and blood of Christ; a figure, in respect of the manner of being of the same there present, which is really and substantially, but invisibly, under the visible form of the outward elements. And so Tertullian meaneth by this¹³, "That is, the figure of my body;" as though Christ had shewed by the word hoc that which was visible, which verily is the figure of the body, right so as that which is the invisible inward thing is the truth of the body. Which interpretation of Tertullian indeed is not according to the right sense of Christ's words, though his meaning swerve not from the truth. For, where as our Lord said, "This is my body," he meant not so as though he had said, The outward form of the sacrament, which here I deliver to you, is a figure of my body under the same contained; forasmuch as by these words, hoc est, he shewed not the visible form of bread, but the substance of his very body, into which by his divine power he turned the bread. And therefore (192) none of all the fathers ever so expounded those words of Christ, but contrariwise, namely Theophylact and In Matt. cap. xvi. Damascene. "He said not," saith Theophylact, "this is a figure, but Lib. iv. cap. xiv. this is my body¹⁴." "The bread nor wine¹⁵" (meaning their outward forms), saith Damascene*, "is not a figure of the body and blood of Christ: not so in no wise. But it is the body itself of our Lord deificated; sith our Lord himself saith, 'This is my body,' not the figure of my body, but my body; and not the figure of my blood, but my blood, &c.¹⁶"

A miserable shift. By this exposition how can Christ's body itself be a figure?

Tertullian understandeth not Christ's words.

The hundred and ninety-second untruth, notorious.

For M. Harding knoweth that all the old fathers expounded it so.

* Outward forms and accidents are Christ's body itself.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here is imagined another strange kind of figures. For Christ's body itself is now become a figure. But Hilarius saith: *Figura est, quod extra videtur*¹⁷: "The figure is that is seen outwardly." And St Augustine saith: *Signum est quod speciem ingerit oculis*¹⁸: "A sign is a thing that offereth a sight unto the eyes." Wherefore, by M. Harding's judgment, Christ's very body appeareth outwardly, and is seen in the sacrament with our corporal eyes. If so, how then is it there secretly, as he said before, and under covert? If not, how then can it be called a figure? In confessing the one, he must needs deny the other. If Christ's body be a figure, it is not in covert: if it be in covert, it is not a figure.

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Corpus. August. de Doctr. Christ. Lib. ii. cap. i.

M. Harding contrary to himself.

He will say, the accidents and shews are figures of Christ's body there hidden. And again, the same body so invisibly hidden is a figure of that body that died visibly upon the cross. Thus, where as others may not once name any figure in these cases, it is lawful for M. Harding to heap figure upon figure; and that not such figures as have been used by any the ancient fathers, but such as he himself for a shift can best devise.

Tertullian, saith M. Harding, supposeth that Christ, when he had the bread in his hand, and said hoc, "this," shewed only the visible accidents and forms of bread, as if Christ had said: This whiteness, this roundness, this breadth, this lightness, &c., is my body: by which skilful construction it must needs follow, that Christ had a body made of accidents.

"Howbeit," saith M. Harding, "this interpretation of Tertullian indeed is not according to the right sense of Christ's words." Hereby it appeareth what affiance M. Harding hath in the judgment of this learned father. After so many fair words, he beginneth utterly to mislike him, and concludeth in the end, that he wrote he knew not what, and took upon him to expound Christ's words, and

¹³ His, 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

¹⁴ Οὐ γὰρ εἶπε τοῦτό ἐστιν ἀντίτυπον, ἀλλὰ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμα μου.—Theophyl. Op. Venet. 1764-68. In Matt. Comm. cap. xxvi. Tom. I. p. 146.]

¹⁵ Nor the wine, H. A. 1564.]

¹⁶ Οὐκ ἐστὶ τύπος ὁ ἄρτος καὶ ὁ οἶνος τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ· μὴ γένοιτο· ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου τεθεωμένον, αὐτοῦ τοῦ

Κυρίου εἰπόντος, τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ, οὐ τύπος τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλὰ τὸ σῶμα· καὶ οὐ τύπος τοῦ αἵματος, ἀλλὰ τὸ αἷμα· κ. τ. λ.—Damascen. Op. Par. 1712. De Fid. Orthod. Lib. iv. cap. xiii. Tom. I. p. 271.]

[¹⁷ See before, page 603, note 9.]

[¹⁸ Signum est enim res præter speciem, quam ingerit sensibus.—August. Op. De Doctr. Christ. Lib. ii. cap. i. 1. Tom. III. Pars i. col. 19.]

yet understood not what Christ meant; and that not in any deep allegory, or other spiritual or secret meaning, but even in the very literal sense and outward sound of Christ's words. And thus Tertullian is charged, not only with ignorance, but also with presumption.

But if, as M. Harding saith, Tertullian understood not Christ's meaning, what if some man would likewise say, M. Harding understandeth not Tertullian's meaning? And what if the simple reader understand not M. Harding's meaning? It were too much to say further, M. Harding understandeth not his own meaning. Verily Tertullian not once nameth any one of all these M. Harding's strange fantasies, neither form, nor accident, nor visible, nor invisible, nor outward element, nor secret presence, nor really, nor substantially, nor I know not what. He wrote and meant plainly in these cases, as others the learned fathers wrote and meant.

And touching the words of Christ, "This is my body;" he saith not, These shews or accidents of bread, as M. Harding full unadvisedly expoundeth him, but, "This bread is my body." Wherein he hath the consent both of the scriptures, and also of the ancient doctors of the church. St Paul saith: (Not the outward form or accident, but) "the bread that we break, is the participation of Christ's body." Irenæus saith: *Panis in quo gratiæ actæ sunt, est corpus Domini*¹: "The bread, wherein thanks are given, is the body of the Lord." Origen saith: *Dominus panem discipulis dabat, dicens, Hoc est corpus meum*²: "Our Lord gave bread unto his disciples, saying, 'This is my body.'" So St Cyprian: *Vinum fuit, quod sanguinem suum dixit*³: "It was wine that he called his blood." So Chrysostom: *Christus, cum hoc mysterium tradidit, vinum tradidit*⁴: "Christ, when he gave this mystery, he gave wine." Likewise Cyrillus: *Christus fragmenta panis dedit discipulis*⁵: "Christ gave fragments or pieces of bread to his disciples." Thus Tertullian understood and expounded the words of Christ. Wherefore it is great folly to charge him with this new imagination of accidents, and so unadvisedly and without cause to reprove him for speaking that he never spake. By these we may the better judge of M. Harding's own exposition. For thus he saith: "When Christ said *hoc*, 'this,' he shewed not forth the visible accident or form of bread, but his very natural body." It appeareth that M. Harding either little considereth, or not much regardeth his own words. For all the rest of his side hold for most certain, that their transubstantiation is not wrought before the uttering of the last syllable. Which thing notwithstanding, M. Harding, contrary to all his fellows (I will not say, contrary to himself), saith that the bread is turned into Christ's body only at the utterance of the first syllable. And so, by this new divinity, Christ's body is made present, and the sacrament is a sacrament, before consecration; and all is ended before it be begun: which in M. Harding's schools, not long sithence, was counted an error above all errors; which to shift, they were fain to devise *individuum vagum*.

Again, if this pronoun *hoc* have relation to Christ's body, then must we of force, by M. Harding's fantasy, thus expound the words of Christ: "This is my body;" that is to say, "my body is my body:" which exposition of M. Harding's, D. Holcote saith, is vain, and peevish, and to no purpose⁶.

And, whereas M. Harding saith none of all the old fathers ever expounded these words of Christ by a figure, I marvel he can so boldly utter and publish so great untruth without blushing. For he knoweth right well that scarcely any one of all the old fathers ever expounded it otherwise.

Damascene and Theophylact are very young doctors in comparison of them

[¹ Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. iv. cap. xviii. p. 251; where *panem, sint, and corpus esse.*]

[² ...*διὰ τοῦτο πρῶτον δίδωσι τὸν ἄρτον εὐλογῆσας καὶ κλάσας τοῖς μαθηταῖς, κ.τ. λ.*—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Matt. xvi. 7. Tom. III. p. 720. See also Op. Basil. 1545. In Matt. Tract. xii. Tom. II. p. 98.]

[³ ... *vinum fuisse, quod, &c.*—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cæcil. Epist. lxxiii. p. 152.]

[⁴ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38, In Matt. Hom.

lxxxii. Tom. VII. p. 784.]

[⁵ Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. In Joan. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. ii. Tom. IV. p. 360. See before, page 149, note 14.]

[⁶ Unde non intendit [sacerdos] demonstrare aliquid quod est ibi realiter, quando profert illud pronomen hoc: sed intendit demonstrare illud quod erit in fine prolationis, &c.—Rob. Holkot. sup. Quat. Lib. Sentent. Lugd. 1497. Lib. iv. Quæst. iii. fol. n. iii. See also *ibid.* fol. m. vii.]

1 Cor. x.

Iren. Lib. iv. cap. xxxiv.

Orig. in Matt. Tractat. 12. Cypr. Lib. ii. Epist. 3.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 83.

Cyrl. in Joan. Lib. iv. cap. xiv.

In iv. Sentent. Quæst. 3.

that we may justly call old, as standing far without the compass of the first six hundred years, and otherwise fraught⁷ with great errors and sundry follies. Therefore I think it not amiss, for shortness of time, to pass them by. Yet by the way, let us a little view M. Harding's logic. Thus he teacheth us to reason: Tertullian by this pronoun *hoc* understood the outward accident or form of bread; *ergo*, Christ's body itself is a figure.

M. HARDING. THE TENTH DIVISION.

And the cause why Tertullian so expounded these words of Christ was, that thereby he might take advantage against Marcion the heretic; as many times the fathers in heat of disputation do handle some places, not after the exact signification of the words, but rather follow such way as serveth them best to confute their adversary. Which manner not reporting any untruth St Basil doth excuse in the setting forth of a disputation, not in prescribing of a doctrine. As he defendeth Gregorius Neocæsariensis against the Sabellians, for that in a contention he had with Ælianus, an ethnick, to declare the mysteries of the Trinity, he used the word *ὑπόστασις* instead of *οὐσία*⁸. And the learned men that be well seen in the fathers know they must use a discretion and a sundry judge⁹ between the things they write *agonistikῶς*, that is to say, by way of contention or disputation, and the things they utter *dogmatikῶς* that is, by way of setting forth a doctrine or matter of faith. Neither in that contention did Tertullian so much regard the exact use of words, as how he might win his purpose, and drive his adversary, denying that Christ took the true body of man, and that he suffered death indeed to confess the truth, which he thought to bring to pass, by deducing of¹⁰ an argument from the figure of his body, which consisteth in that which is visible in the sacrament, to prove the verity of his body. And therefore in framing his reason by way of illation he saith: *Figura autem non esset, nisi veritatis esset corpus*: "There were not a figure, unless there were a body of truth, or a very body indeed."

Tertullian regarded¹⁰ not the exact use of his words. O folly! What needeth¹¹ him to prove this by a figure, if he had thought that Christ's body itself was really present?

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here M. Harding courteously deviseth a favourable excuse for Tertullian, not thinking it best, being so ancient a father and so near to the apostles' time, utterly to condemn him of folly. He uttered all this, saith he, in heat of contention, rashly and unadvisedly, and understood not what he said, neither had any great regard to the exact use of his words. Howbeit, Tertullian not only spake these words upon the sudden, but also leisurely and with study wrote them; and yet, afterward quietly perusing and considering the same, was never able to espy this fault.

But that such cases of heat may sometimes happen, we have over good trial in M. Harding; whom, as it now appeareth, contention hath caused so many ways and so far to overreach the truth, and to have so small regard to that he writeth. St Ambrose saith: *Apostolus... impudoratos appellat eos, qui contentionibus nituntur: necesse est enim, ut contentio extorqueat aliquid, imo multa, quæ dicantur contra conscientiam; ut intus in animo perdat, foris victor abscedat: non enim patitur se vinci, licet sciat vera [esse], quæ audit*¹²: "The apostle calleth them impudent that hold by contention. For it cannot be chosen, but that contention must force a man to say something, or rather many things, against his conscience; that he lose in his mind within, to the intent outwardly he may seem to have the victory. For he will not suffer himself to be conquered; no, although he know the things that he heareth be never so true." Afterward, being thus carried away with contention, and more regarding their own reputation than the truth of God, as Lactantius saith, they seek reasons and shifts to

Ambros. in 2 ad Tim. ii.

Lactant. Videri volunt, non tantum cum venia, sed etiam cum ratione peccare.

[⁷ Freight, 1565.]

[⁸ Καθῆκαν δὲ τινα πείραν δι' ἐπιστολῆς ... ὡς ἔρα Γρηγορίου εἰπόντος ἐν ἐκθέσει πίστεως, Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν ἐκινολα μὲν εἶναι δύο, ὑποστάσει δὲ ἓν. τοῦτο δὲ ὅτι οὐ δογματικῶς εἰρηται, ἀλλ' ἀγωγῆτικῶς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Αἰλιανὸν διαλέξει, οὐκ ἠδυνήσαν συνιδεῖν, κ. τ. λ.—Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30.]

Ad Prim. Neoc. Epist. cex. 5. Tom. III. p. 316.]

[⁹ Judgment, H. A. 1564.]

[¹⁰ Regardeth, 1565.]

[¹¹ Needed, 1565.] [¹² H. A. 1564 omits of.]

[¹³ Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. ad Tim. ii. cap. ii. 15. Tom. II. Append. col. 308; where *appellans, dicuntur, and nemo enim.*]

colour their error¹. So Seneca writeth of the poet Ovid: *Non ignoravit vitia sua, sed amavit*²: "He was not ignorant of his own faults, but rather had a fancy to them."

Touching Gregorius Neocæsariensis, St Basil's excuse is good. So St Augustine, writing against the Pelagians, seemeth sometime to lean too far to the contrary, and to become a Manichee; as also, writing against the Manichees, he seemeth sometimes to be a Pelagian. The like St Basil writeth of one Dionysius, that, contending over earnestly against the heretic Sabellius, seemed to fall into the contrary heresy³.

Thus the holy fathers in the sway of disputation use oftentimes to enlarge their talk above the common course of truth; but specially when they entreat of the nature and effect of the holy sacraments; to the end to withdraw the eyes of the people from the sensible and corruptible creatures, that they see before them, to the contemplation of things spiritual, that be in heaven. In this sort St Chrysostom saith: *Figimus dentes in carne Christi*⁴: "We fasten our teeth in the flesh of Christ." And again: *Videmus Dominum nostrum in cunis jacentem, et fasciis involutum*⁵: "We see our Lord lying in a⁶ cradle, and swathed in bands." And again: *Turba circumstans rubet sanguine Christi*⁷: "The company standing about is made red with the blood of Christ." Likewise again he saith: *Hic sermo... sanguine infectus omnes aspersit*⁸: "These words, being stained with blood, have sprinkled all men." So likewise St Bernard: *Totum Christum desidero videre, et tangere, et non [id] solum, sed accedere ad sacrosanctum ejus lateris vulnus, ostium arcae, quod factum est in latere, ut... totus intrem usque ad... cor Jesu*⁹: "I desire to see whole Christ, and to touch him; and not only so, but also to come to the holy wound of his side, which is the door that was made in the side of the ark; that I may wholly enter even unto the heart of Jesus." Thus the holy fathers have evermore used upon occasion to force and advance¹⁰ their words above the tenor of common speech.

Now mark, good christian reader, how handsomely M. Harding applieth these things unto his purpose. Certainly Tertullian in these words, even by M. Harding's own judgment, enlargeth nothing, nor useth any such contentious or fiery speech, over and above the truth; but rather contrariwise he abateth and minisheth as much as he possibly may of the truth. For the thing that M. Harding saith is Christ's very natural body, Tertullian saith "it is a figure of Christ's body¹¹." The thing that indeed and undoubtedly is the substance of bread, that Tertullian, by M. Harding's exposition, calleth a shew or accident of bread: to be short, that thing wherein resteth all thing, Tertullian in conclusion maketh nothing. Yet M. Harding favourably excuseth him, for that he wrote *ἀγωνιστικῶς*, as did Gregorius Neocæsariensis; and therefore through heat of contention¹² seemeth somewhat to overreach the truth. Thus he, that calleth Christ's body a figure, substance, accident, and abaseth his talk, and speaketh less than he should do, by M. Harding's divinity, amplifieth, enlargeth, overreacheth, and speaketh more than he should do. It is a very narrow hole that these men will not seek to shift out at.

Origen, expounding these words, "Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man," &c., saith thus: "It is a figure¹³." St Cyprian saith: *Significata et significantia iisdem nominibus censentur*¹⁴: "The things that signify, and the things

[¹ ... natura hominum proclivis in vitia, videri vult non modo cum venia, sed etiam cum ratione peccare.—Lactant. Op. Lut. Par. 1748. Div. Instit. Lib. iv. cap. xxiv. Tom. I. p. 337.]

[² M. Ann. Sen. Controv. x.]

[³ Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Ad Max. Epist. ix. 2. Tom. III. p. 90.]

[⁴ ... ὁ Χριστός ... οὐκ ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν μόνον παρέσχε ... ἀλλὰ καὶ ... ἐμπῆσαι τοὺς ὀδόντας τῇ σαρκί.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Joan. Hom. xlv. Tom. VIII. p. 272.]

[⁵ Id. De Beat. Philogon. Hom. Tom. I. p. 497.]

[⁶ His, 1565, 1609.]

[⁷ Id. De Sacerdot. Lib. III. cap. iv. Tom. I. p. 382. See before, page 488, note 2.]

[⁸ Id. in Epist. ad Hebr. cap. ix. Hom. xvi. Tom. XII. p. 160.]

[⁹ Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. Lib. de Contempl. Deo, cap. i. 3. Vol. II. Tom. v. col. 235; where *totum eum*, and *lateris ejus*. This book is ascribed to Guillelmus, abbot of St Theoderic.]

[¹⁰ Avance, 1565.]

[¹¹ Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Marcion. Lib. iv. 40. p. 571.]

[¹² Contentation, 1611.]

[¹³ Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Levit. Hom. vii. 5. Tom. II. p. 225. See before, pages 591, 2.]

[¹⁴ ... significantia et significata eisdem vocabulis censerentur.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Unct. Chrism. (Arnold.) p. 48.]

Basil. Epist. 41.

Chrysost. in Joan. Hom. 45. Chrysost. de Beat. Philogon. Chrysost. de Sacerdot. Lib. III. Chrysost. ad Hebr. Hom. 16. Bernard. de Amore Del. cap. i.

Hoc est, figura corporis mel.

Orig. in Levit. Hom. 7.

Cypr. de Unct. Chrism.

that be signified, are counted both by one name." St Hierome saith: "Christ represented the verity of his body¹⁵." St Augustine saith: "Christ delivered to his disciples the figure of his body¹⁶." Gelasius calleth the sacrament *similitudinem et imaginem*¹⁷, "a similitude and an image of Christ's body." St Basil calleth it *ἀντίτυπον*¹⁸, "a sampler." Dionysius calleth it *signum*¹⁹, "a token." St Ambrose useth all these words together, *imago, figura, typus, similitudo, significatur*²⁰, "an image," "a figure," "a token," "a likeness," "it is signified." Time will not suffer me to reckon up the rest. For to this purpose and with such words they write all, and none otherwise. And must we needs believe, upon M. Harding's report, that all these fathers spake in such heat and in such fury of contention, and had no manner regard to the exact use of their words? Truly, as it is said before, Tertullian wrote gravely and soberly, and without any token of impatient heat; and that not lightly or slenderly, touching the matter with one hot word or two, as it is here supposed, but clearly proving the same by a substantial and full conclusion. For, to prove against Marcion the heretic that Christ had the very substance and nature of a man's body, he useth this reason: A figure pre-supposeth the verity of a thing whereof it is a figure; but Christ at his last supper gave to his disciples the figure of his body; therefore Christ had indeed (not a fantasy or a shew, but) a natural and a very body. The force hereof standeth upon this ground, that a fantasy or shew can bear no figure. And in this sort some think St Paul said: *Idolum nihil est*: "An idol is nothing." Thus St Augustine saith: "Unless sacraments had a certain likeness of things whereof they be sacraments, then no doubt they were no sacraments²¹." Thus Leo, Gelasius, and other old fathers reason against the heretic Eutyches. Likewise Chrysostom reproveth the old heretics Valentinus, Manichæus, and Marcion. Thus he writeth: *Quoniam isti, eorumque sequaces, negaturi erant hanc dispensationem (Christi in carne), ideo nos in memoriam passionis semper reducit per hoc mysterium; ut nemo, modo ne sit insanus, seduci possit*²²: "Because these heretics, and others their disciples, would deny this dispensation (of Christ in the flesh), therefore by this mystery he putteth us evermore in remembrance of his passion, that no man, unless he be mad, can be deceived." And immediately before he useth these words, which I have elsewhere alleged: *Si mortuus Christus non est, cujus symbolum ac signum hoc sacrificium est*²³? "If Christ died not (as these heretics say), then whose sign and whose token is this sacrifice?" In like manner Tertullian reasoneth against Marcion, not ignorantly or blindly, as M. Harding saith, but directly and orderly, and according to the words of Christ.

Hieron. in Matt. cap. xxvi. August. in Psal. iii. Gelas. contr. Eutych. Basil. in Lit. Dionys. Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii. Ambros. de Sacram. Et de his qui initiantur.

1 Cor. viii.

August. Epist. 23.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 83.

But, if Tertullian had then been persuaded of this privy and secret presence that here is imagined, and nevertheless would have left the same, and grounded his whole proof upon a figure; then had he not only been ignorant and presumptuous, as here M. Harding maketh him, but also a traitor to his own cause. For, if he had granted this new fantasy, that the accidents in the sacrament stand alone without any subject, then had he concluded fully with Marcion the heretic, and most directly against himself. For thus would Marcion conclude upon the same: The bread in the sacrament is fantastical; that is to say, it seemeth bread, and is none: even so the body of Christ was fantastical; for it seemed a body, and was none.

[¹⁵ ... ut ... ipse quoque veritatem sui corporis et sanguinis representaret.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. iv. in Matt. cap. xxvi. Tom. IV. Pars i. col. 128.]

[¹⁶ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. iii. Enarr. 1. Tom. IV. col. 7. See before, page 447.]

[¹⁷ Gelas. Episc. Rom. adv. Eutych. et Nestor. in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. V. Pars III. p. 671; where *imago et similitudo*.]

[¹⁸ Basil. Lit. in Lit. Sanct. Patr. Par. 1560. p. 68. See before, page 519, note 13.]

[¹⁹ ... ἐπιτεθέντων τῷ θεῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ τῶν σεβασμίων συμβόλων, δι' ὃν ὁ Χριστὸς σημαίνεται καὶ

μετέχεται.—Dionys. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii. 3. Tom. I. 295. See also ibid. p. 299.]

[²⁰ Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Sacram. Lib. iv. cap. iv. 20. v. 21; Lib. vi. cap. i. 3. Tom. II. cols. 370, 1, 80. Lib. de Myst. cap. ix. 54. col. 339. See before, page 570, notes 2, 4, 5. See also In Psalm. xxxviii. Enarr. 25. Tom. I. cols. 852, 3.]

[²¹ August. Op. Ad Bonifac. Epist. xxviii. 9. Tom. II. col. 267. See before, page 503.]

[²² Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. lxxii. Tom. VII. p. 783.]

[²³ See before, page 465.]

Thus M. Harding and Marcion the heretic build both together upon one foundation.

M. HARDING. THE ELEVENTH DIVISION.

And, whereas Tertullian useth this word "figure" in this place, it is not to be understood such¹ as the figures of the old testament be, as though it signified the shewing of a thing to come, or of a thing absent, which is wont to be set against the truth, as contrary to the same; but it is such a kind of figure as doth cover the truth present, and so as it were

[The words figure, sign, token, &c. exclude not the truth. H. A. 1564.]

joined with the truth, (193) as it is wont to be taken in the new testament, where it sheweth rather the manner of a thing to be exhibited, than that it taketh away the truth of presence of the thing which is exhibited. For else, concerning the truth of Christ's body in the sacrament, if any man doubt what opinion he was of, he sheweth himself plainly so to judge of it as ever hath been taught in the catholic church. Whereof he giveth evidence in many other places; but specially in his second book to his wife, exhorting her not to marry again to an infidel, if she overlived him, lest, if she did, she should not have opportunity to observe the christian religion as she would. Speaking of the blessed sacrament, which was then commonly kept of devout men and women in their houses, and there in times of persecution received before other meats, when devotion stirred them, he saith thus: "Shall not thy husband know what thou eatest secretly before other meat? And if he know it, he will believe it to be bread, (194) not him who it is called²." The Latin is recited before. I omit many other places which shew him to acknowledge Christ's body in the sacrament, because I would not be tedious; which verily by no wresting can be drawn to the signification of a mere figure.

The hundred and ninety-third untruth. For it is never so taken in the new testament.

The hundred and ninety-fourth untruth, standing in manifest and wilful corruption.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

One cloud more M. Harding throweth in to dim and shadow the daylight. He casteth doubts, lest some man would make this holy mystery a figure of the old testament. But it is known even unto children, that it is a sacrament in³ the gospel, like as also is the sacrament of baptism.

But the difference between the sacraments of the old testament and of the new standeth not in containing or covering, as it is here surmised, but in the order and manner and evidence of shewing. Which difference St Augustine openeth in this sort: [*Sacramenta legis*] fuerunt promissiones rerum complendarum: nostra sunt indicia [rerum] completarum⁴: "The sacraments of the old law were promises of things to be performed: our sacraments are tokens of things that already be performed." Again: *Lex...et prophetæ...sacramenta habebant prænuntiantia rem futuram: sacramenta nostri temporis venisse testantur, quod illa venturum...prædicabant*⁵: "The law and the prophets had sacraments, shewing before a thing that was to come; but the sacraments of our time do witness that the thing is already come that by those sacraments was signified." And again: *Sacramenta Judæorum in signis diversa fuerunt a nostris; in rebus autem significatis paria*⁶: "The sacraments of the Jews in outward tokens were divers from ours; but in the things signified they were equal and one with ours." Likewise again he saith: *In illis...carnalibus victimis figuratio fuit carnis Christi, quam pro nostris peccatis...fuerat oblaturus:...in isto autem sacrificio est gratiarum actio et commemoratio carnis Christi, quam pro nobis obtulit*⁷: "In those fleshly sacrifices there was a signification of the flesh of Christ, which he had to offer for our sins; but in this sacrifice there is a thanksgiving and a remembrance of the flesh of Christ which he hath already offered for us."

August. contr. Faust. Lib. ix. cap. xiv.

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

August. in Johan. Tractat. 26.

August. de Fid. ad Petr. cap. xix.

[¹ To be such, H. A. 1564.]

[² Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Ad Uxor. Lib. ii. 5. p. 190. See before, page 148.]

[³ A sacrament of Christ's institution in, 1565.]

[⁴ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Faust. Lib. XIX. cap. xiv. Tom. VIII. col. 320; where fuerint and hæc sint.]

[⁵ Id. Contr. Lit. Petil. Lib. ii. cap. xxxvii. 87. Tom. IX.; where nostri vero temporis sacramenta.]

[⁶ Sacramenta illa fuerunt: in signis diversa sunt: in re quæ significatur paria sunt.—Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 12. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 498.]

[⁷ Id. [Fulgent.] Lib. de Fid. ad Petr. cap. xix. 62. Tom. VI. Append. col. 30; where significatio fuit, peccatis nostris, and gratiarum actio atque commemoratio est.]

The new fantasy of being present secretly, or under covert, is answered before.

And whereas, for further proof of Tertullian's mind herein, M. Harding hath here alleged certain words of his unto his wife; understand thou, good reader, that wilfully he hath of purpose corrupted the same, the rather to mislead thy simplicity. True it is that the unfaithful that knoweth not Christ, if he happen to see the bread of the holy mysteries, will judge no further of it, but that he seeth. But what it meaneth or signifieth, or unto what end it is appointed, he knoweth not. But the bread of the sacrament, by Christ's institution, is spiritual and heavenly bread, even as the water of baptism is spiritual and heavenly water: which thing, as Tertullian saith, the infidel cannot see. But M. Harding, having small regard to his reader's judgment, hath wittingly falsified his translation, changing this article "it" into "him," only of his own particular wilfulness, contrary to all others, old or new; yea, contrary to his own fellows: of whom one translateth the same in this wise: "And if he know it, he believeth it to be bread, and not that which it is said to be." No man may be bold to work such open corruption, but M. Harding. For, whereas Tertullian's words be plain, *Si scierit maritus tuus, panem esse credet, non illum (panem) qui dicitur*, "If thy husband know it (being an infidel), he will believe it to be (bare) bread, but not that (bread) that it is called;" M. Harding thought it better to translate it thus: "He will believe it to be bread, but not him who it is called;" as if it were the person of a man. This dealing and the whole understanding of Tertullian's mind is opened more at large in the first article and in the seventeenth division⁸. Certainly false translation maketh no sufficient proof.

Now mark thou, good christian reader, into how many and how narrow straits M. Harding hath cast himself to avoid the force of these few plain words of Tertullian, *Hoc est figura corporis mei*: "This is a figure of my body." First, the outward, and, as he calleth it, the holy form of bread is the figure of Christ's body, invisibly hidden under the accidents. Secondly, the same body, so hidden, and invisible, is a figure of Christ's body visible. Thirdly, Tertullian, as it is here presumed, understood not the very grammatical and literal sense of Christ's words. Fourthly, the same Tertullian was carried away with heat and contention, and either knew not, or cared not, what he said. Fifthly, by this new exposition he is made to join with Marcion the heretic, against whom he writeth, and so to conclude directly against himself. I pass over the fantasying of forms, accidents, outward elements, miraculous changes, secret presences, and other like forced terms, whereof Tertullian knoweth none. To be short, M. Harding with his strange construction, and Marcion the old heretic, hold both by one principle.

It were far better for a man that meant truth to leave these unsavoury and unsensible glosses, and simply and plainly to expound the words of Christ, as this ancient learned father expoundeth them: *Hoc est corpus meum, hoc est figura corporis mei*: "This is my body, that is to say, this is a figure of my body." So shall Tertullian agree both in sense and words with all the old catholic writers and doctors of the church. So shall he agree with the common gloss noted in the decrees: *Vocatur corpus Christi, id est, significat [corpus Christi]*⁹: "It is called the body of Christ, that is to say, it signifieth the body of Christ." So shall he agree with Maximus the Greek scholiast upon Dionysius: *Signa sunt hæc, non autem veritas*¹⁰: "These be tokens, but not the truth itself." To conclude, so shall Tertullian agree with himself; for thus he writeth: *Christus non reprobavit panem, quo ipsum corpus suum representavit*¹¹: "Christ refused not bread, wherewith he represented his own body."

Holy accidents.

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Hoc est. In Gloss.

Max. in Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii. σύμβολα ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἀληθεία. Tertull. contr. Marc. Lib. 1.

⁸ See before, page 150.]

⁹ Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. Gloss. in can. 48. col. 1987; where *Christi corpus*.]

¹⁰ Max. Schol. in Dionys. Areop. Op. Antv.

1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii. 3. 1. Tom. I. p. 306; where *kai* for *ἀλλά*.]

¹¹ ... ille ... nec ... reprobavit ... panem, quo ipsum corpus suum representat.—Tertull. Op. Adv. Marcion. Lib. 1. 14. pp. 439, 40.]

M. HARDING. THE TWELFTH DIVISION.

*The like answer may be made to the objection brought out of St Augustine, Contra Adimantum Manichæum, cap. xiii. : Non...dubitavit Dominus dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, cum [tamen] daret signum corporis sui*¹ : "Our Lord sticked not to say, 'This is my body,' when notwithstanding he gave the sign of his body." For this is to be considered that St Augustine, in fighting against the Manichees, oftentimes useth not his own sense and meaning, but those things which by some mean, howsoever it were, might seem to give him advantage against them, so as he might put them to the worst, as he witnesseth himself in his book De Bono Perseverantiæ, cap. xi. et xii.²

A miserable shift. St Augustine hath no regard what he say.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

St Augustine, saith M. Harding, in the chafe and rage of disputation sometimes forgot himself, and uttered his words unadvisedly; and not only that, but also afterward published the same his unadvised speech in open writing unto the world, as a man seeking only to conquer his adversary; but whether by right or by wrong, by truth or by falsehood³, he had no care. But, O gentle and easy heretics, that upon such proofs would so lightly yield unto St Augustine! Easy also be these catholics, that in so childish guesses will give credit to M. Harding. Certainly, St Augustine for his mildness and sobriety, both in disputation, and also otherwise, hath the praise above all others. Neither doth there appear in that whole book against Adimantus any token to the contrary. Some part of their variance grew upon occasion of these words: *Sanguis est anima*: "The blood is the soul." For declaration whereof St Augustine, without any manner heat of contention that may appear, saith thus: *Ita sanguis est anima, quemadmodum petra erat Christus*⁴: "So is the blood the soul, even as the rock was Christ." And in the same chapter he joineth these three sentences all together, "The blood is the soul," "the rock was Christ," and "this is my body;" as being all both of like meaning, and also of like manner of utterance. St Augustine never knew any of these M. Harding's lately invented holy forms, or covert, or secrecies. But in most plain wise he saith: *Dabat signum corporis sui*⁵: "Christ gave a token of his body;" agreeing therein both with himself, and also with all other ancient catholic fathers. But if M. Harding, not shewing us any suspicion or token of inordinate heat in that reverend master of the church of God, may tell us only of himself, that he was thus unadvisedly carried away with vehemency of disputation and tempest of talk; then may he also easily dispatch all other the ancient learned fathers, and say, whatsoever they wrote that liketh not him, they wrote in a rage and in their furies. But, if St Augustine were alive, he would rather say that M. Harding were somewhat blown away with the winds and waves of contention, and had much forgotten himself, and talketh in his heats he knoweth not or careth not what. St Ambrose, upon occasion expounding these words, saith thus: *Cum sanguinem hoc loco animam diceret, utique significavit, aliud esse animam, aliud sanguinem*⁶: "When Moses in this place called the blood the soul, doubtless he meant thereby that the blood is one thing, and the soul another" (notwithstanding he seem by words to make them one). Even so likewise may we say, when Christ uttered these words, "This bread is my body," he meant that the bread is one thing and his body another, notwithstanding the words seem to sound otherwise.

August. contr. Adimant. cap. xii.

Ambros. de Noe et Arca. cap. xxv.

M. HARDING. THE THIRTEENTH DIVISION.

Gregory Nazianzene, Oratione iv. in Sanctum Pascha, shewing difference between the passover of the law, which the Jews did eat, and that which we in the new testa-

[¹ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. contr. Adimant. cap. xii. 3. Tom. VIII. col. 124; where *Dominus dubitavit, and signum daret.*]

[² Id. De Don. Persev. capp. xi. xii. Tom. X. cols. 834, &c.] [³ Falsehead, 1565.]

[⁴ Sic est enim sanguis anima, quomodo petra

erat Christus.—Id. Lib. contr. Adimant. cap. xii. 5. Tom. VIII. col. 126.]

[⁵ Id. ibid. 3. col. 124. See above, note 1.]

[⁶ Cum enim hoc loco animam sanguinem dixerit utique, &c.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Lib. de Noe et Arca. cap. xxv. 92. Tom. I. col. 266.]

ment do eat in the mystery of the sacrament, and that which Christ shall eat with us in the life to come in the kingdom of his Father, uttereth such words as whereby he calleth that we receive here a figure of that shall be received there: Ceterum jam paschæ fiamus participes, figuraliter tamen adhuc, etsi pascha hoc veteri sit manifestus. Siquidem pascha legale, audenter dico, figuræ figura erat obscurior: at paulo post illo perfectius et purius fruemur, cum Verbum ipsum biberit nobiscum in regno Patris novum, detegens et docens, quæ nunc mediocriter ostendit. Novum enim semper existit id, quod nuper est cognitum⁷: "But now," saith he, "let us be made partakers of this passover, and yet but figuratively as yet, albeit this passover be more manifest than that of the old law. For the passover of the law (I speak boldly) was a dark figure of a figure; but, ere it be long, we shall enjoy it more perfectly, and more pure⁸, when as the Word (that is, the Son of God) shall drink the same new with us in the kingdom of his Father, opening and teaching the things that now he sheweth not in most clear wise. For that ever is new, which of late is known." Where as this learned father calleth our passover that we eat a figure, whereof the law-passover was a figure, terming it the figure of a figure; he asketh leave, as it were, so to say, and confesseth himself to speak boldly, alluding, as it seemeth, to St Paul, or at least having fast printed in his mind his doctrine to

Heb. x. the Hebrews; where he calleth the things of the life to come res ipsas, "the very things themselves;" the things of the new testament ipsam imaginem rerum, "the very image of things;" and the old testament imaginis umbram, "the shadow of the image." Which doctrine Nazianzene applieth to the sacrament of the altar. And his meaning is this, that, although we be gotten out of those darknesses⁹ of the law, yet we are not come to the full light which we look for in the world to come, where we shall see and behold the very things themselves clearly, and we shall know as we are known. To be short, by his report the sacraments of the old testament be but figures and shadows of things to come, the sacraments of the new testament not shadows of things to come, (195) but figures of things present, which are contained and delivered under them in mystery, but yet substantially; at the end of all, figures¹⁰ in heaven shall cease and be abolished, and there shall we see all those things that here be¹¹ hidden clearly face to face. And, where Christ saith that he will drink his passover new with us in the kingdom of his Father, Nazianzene so expoundeth that word "new," as it may be referred to the manner of the exhibiting, not to the thing exhibited. Not that in the world to come we shall have another body of our Lord, which now we have not, but that we shall have the self-same body that now we have in the sacrament of the altar in a mystery, but yet verily and substantially, after another sort and manner, and in that respect new. For so had, without mystery or covering, in clear sight and most joyful fruition, it is new in comparison of this present knowledge.

The hundred and ninety-fifth untruth. For this was never this father's meaning.

O folly! Nazianzene speaketh not of the sacrament, but of perfection and imperfection of knowledge.

Thus the word "figure" reporteth not always the absence of the truth of a thing, as we see, but the manner of the thing either promised or exhibited; that, forasmuch as it is not fully and clearly¹² seen, it may be called a figure. So of Origen it is called imago rerum, "an image of the things," as in this place: Si quis vero transire potuerit ab hac umbra, veniat ad imaginem rerum, et videat adventum Christi in carne factum, videat eum pontificem offerentem quidem et nunc Patri hostias, et postmodum oblaturum; et intelligat hæc omnia imagines esse spiritualium rerum, et corporalibus officiis cœlestia designari. Imago ergo dicitur hoc, quod recipitur ad præsens, et intueri potest humana natura¹³: "And if any man," saith he, "can pass and depart from this shadow, let him come to the image of things, and see the coming of Christ made in flesh; let him see him a bishop that both now offereth sacrifice unto his Father, and also hereafter shall offer. And let him understand that all these things be images of spiritual things, and that by bodily services heavenly things be resembled and set forth. So this, which is at this present received, and may of man's nature be seen, is called an image." In this saying of Origen, this word "image" doth not in

This place is not well applied; for these words pertain nothing to the sacrament.

[⁷ Gregor. Nazianz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. In Sanct. Pasch. Orat. xlv. 23. Tom. I. p. 863.]
 [⁸ Purely, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]
 [⁹ Darkness, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]
 [¹⁰ At the end all figures, H. A. 1564.]

[¹¹ He, 1565.]
 [¹² Clearly and fully, H. A. 1564.]
 [¹³ Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Explan. sup. Psalm. xxxviii. Hom. ii. 2. Tom. II. pp. 696, 7.]

The law
and the
gospel.

signification diminish the truth of things, so as they be not the very things indeed; for the things that Christ did in flesh were true things; but, when they are termed the image of things, thereby is signified, so far as the condition and nature of man can behold and see them.

This is most plainly uttered by Œcumenius, a Greek writer, upon these words of St Paul to the Hebrews, Non ipsam imaginem rerum, "Not the Heb. s. image itself of things:" Id est, veritatem rerum, "That is, the truth of things," saith he, and addeth further: Res appellat futuram vitam, imaginem autem rerum evangelicam politiam, umbram vero vetus¹ testamentum. Imago enim manifestiora ostendit exemplaria: adumbratio autem imaginis obscurius hæc manifestat; nam hæc veteris testamenti exprimit imbecillitatem². The sense of which words may thus be uttered in English: St Paul "calleth the life to come, the things; and the ordinance or disposition of the things in the gospel, he calleth the image of things; and the old testament he nameth the shadow of the image of things. For an image sheweth samplers more manifest; but the adumbration or shadowing of the image sheweth these things but darkly; for this doth express the weakness of the old testament." By this place of Œcumenius we see that, although it be proper to an image to exhibit the truth of things, and therefore by interpretation he saith, Imaginem, id est, veritatem, "The image, that is, the truth;" yet the proper and right taking of the word signifieth the way or manner of a thing to be exhibited, not the thing itself; that what the image hath less than the thing itself, it is to be understood in the manner of exhibiting, not in the thing itself exhibited.

Hitherto we have brought examples to declare, that the words figure and image signify the truth of things exhibited indeed, though in secret and privy manner.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

These three fathers, Nazianzene, Origen, and Œcumenius, cost M. Harding no great study. He found them word by word alleged before in doctor Stephen Gardiner³. Neither do they any wise further his purpose, touching either his outward forms and accidents, or else his privy and secret presence. But he knoweth that the very names of old doctors, although they say nothing, may suffice to lead the ignorant.

The meaning of these three fathers was only to shew the difference that is between the three states; the Jews under the law, the Christians under⁴ the gospel, and the saints in the life to come. All which three states are one offspring of Abraham, one people, one church, one inheritance; all calling upon and glorifying the name of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ. Therefore St Augustine saith: "The people of Israel under the law were very Christians; and the Christians in the gospel are very Israelites." Albeit he addeth: *Non oportet illud nomen in consuetudine sermonis retinere*⁵: "In common use of speech we may not continue that name." Again he saith: [*Judæi*] *nondum nomine, sed re ipsa erant... Christiani*⁶: "The Jews, although not in name, yet indeed were very Christians." Likewise Eusebius saith: "All the Jews, from Abraham upward until Adam, were indeed christian men; albeit they were not named so⁷." So likewise Epiphanius saith: "The faith of Christ was ever from the beginning of the world⁸."

The substance of these three states is one: the difference standeth only in quality, or proportion of more or less. The Jews saw Christ in the law; the Christians see Christ in the gospel; the blessed saints see Christ in heaven.

[¹ Imaginis rerum vetus. H. A. 1564.]

[² Œcumen. Op. Lut. Par. 1630-1. In Epist. ad Hebr. Comm. cap. x. Tom. II. p. 391.]

[³ Confut. Cavill. in Ven. Euch. Sac. Verit. Par. 1552. Ad Object. 185. fol. 126.]

[⁴ In, 1565, 1609.]

[⁵ Verumtamen cum quisque isto modo fuerit verus germanusque Christianus, utrum etiam Judæus aut Israelita dicendus sit, merito quaeritur. Quod quidem si non carne, sed spiritu hoc esse intelligitur,

non debet ipsum nomen sibi in consuetudine sermonis imponere, &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Asell. Epist. cxvii. 9. Tom. II. col. 733.]

[⁶ Id. contr. Du. Epist. Pelag. Lib. III. cap. IV. 11. Tom. X. col. 454; where fuerunt.]

[⁷ Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. I. cap. IV. p. 11; where Χριστιανούς ἐκ καὶ μὴ.]

[⁸ Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hæc. Lib. I. 6. Tom. I. pp. 5, 6.]

Nothing of
the sacra-
ment.

August. ad
Asell. Epist.
20.

August.
contr. 2 Epist.
Pelag. Lib.
III. cap. IV.
[τῶ] ἐργῶ
Χριστιαν-
οὶ, εἰ μὴ
καὶ ὀνό-
ματι.
Epiph. Lib. I.
cap. I.
ἡ πῦρ πῖ-
στις... ἀπ'
ἀρχῆς
ὄνσα.

The Jews saw Christ darkly, as in a shadow; the Christians see Christ as in an image lively portrayed; the holy saints see Christ in heaven, expressly and perfectly, without image or shadow, face to face. Christ that is seen is all one: the difference is only in the seers; of whom some see in a dark shadow, some in a perfect image, and some in the clear light: and yet none of them without the sight of Christ. And, as the Jews were in a shadow, in comparison of that brightness of light that we see now; even so are we likewise in a shadow, in comparison of that light that we hope for, and is to come. And thus Origen, Nazianzene, Cæcumenius, and the rest of the ancient fathers meant, and none otherwise. Therefore M. Harding may consider better how much these authorities make for him, to prove his secret fleshly presence in the sacrament.

Chrysostom compareth the state of the Jews unto a candle; and the state of the Christians to the brightness of the sun⁹. Again, he likeneth the Jews to the first draught or plat of an image, set out only in bare lines; and the Christians unto the same image lively filled up with all due proportion, and resemblance, and furniture of colours¹⁰. Irenæus compareth the Jews to the sowing of the seed; and the Christians to the harvest and reaping of the corn¹¹. To conclude, St Paul compareth the Jews to a child; and the Christians to a full perfect man.

Chrysost. in
varis locis in
Matt.

Chrysost. in
Diet. Apost.
Patres nostri
omnes, &c.
Iren. Lib. iv.
cap. xliii.

Gal. iv.
1 Cor. xiii.

By all these examples it appeareth that the substance is one, and the difference standeth only in more and less. The Jews had the same light, although not in like quantity; the same image, although not with like furniture; the same corn, although not grown to like ripeness: they were the same person, although not in like perfection of age. Thus much to open the difference between the law and the gospel; which was one part of these fathers' meaning.

The like difference we may find between the state of the gospel and the state of the life that is to come. For although the things be one, yet the fruition of the same is not one; and, in respect of that abundance of glory that we look for, all that we have and enjoy already is but a figure. And therefore St Augustine saith: *Cum Christus tradiderit regnum Deo et Patri, . . . in illa perspicua contemplatione incommutabilis veritatis nullis mysteriis corporalibus indigebimus*¹²: "When Christ shall have delivered the kingdom to God and the Father, in that plain contemplation of the unchangeable truth we shall need no bodily mysteries."

August.
conit. Faust.
Lib. xii.
cap. xx.

Likewise he writeth of the sacrament of baptism: *Ungimur . . . modo in sacramento, et sacramento ipso præfiguratur quiddam, quod futuri sumus; et illud scio quid futurum ineffabile desiderare debemus, et in sacramento gemere, ut in ea gaudeamus, quæ sacramento præmonstratur*¹³: "We are now anointed in a sacrament; and in the sacrament itself there is a thing fore-signified, that we shall be; and the same unspeakable thing that is to come, we ought to desire and to mourn for it in the sacrament, that we may rejoice in that thing that is signified in the sacrament."

August. in
Psal. xxvi.

So St Basil: *Etiam nunc justus bibit aquam illam viventem: verum eam post hæc largius bibet, ubi cooptatus fuerit in civitatem Dei. Nunc quidem bibit in speculo, et in ænigmate, per brevem comprehensionem observationum divinarum: tunc autem flumen universum recipiet*¹⁴: "Even now the just man drinketh that

Basil. in
Psal. xlv.
διὰ τὴν
κατὰ βρα-
χὺν κατὰ-
ληψιν τῶν
θείων θεω-
ρημάτων.

[⁹ The comparison has not been found in the families indicated. But it occurs elsewhere: "Ὅσπερ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι [οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι] ἔτι τῷ λύχνῳ παρακαθήμενοι τοσαύτην ἐπιποιούντο τὴν φυλακὴν, οὕτως ἡμεῖς, ἐπειδὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου τῆς δικαιοσύνης καταυγασθῆναι κατηξιώθημεν, καὶ τὴν σκιὰν καταλιπόντες πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐχειραγωγῆθημεν, τὴν ὁμοίαν φυλακὴν ἐπίδειξάμεθα, κ. τ. λ.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 4718-38. In cap. xxxvi. Gen. Hom. lx. Tom. IV. pp. 581, 2.]

[¹⁰ Ὅσπερ οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰκόνης ἐκείνης οὐκ ἀπαιτεῖται τὸ πᾶν πρὸ τῆς τῶν χρωμάτων ἀληθείας, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἀμυδρὰν τινα λάβης γνώσιν τῶν γινόμενων, ἰκανῶς τὴν σκιαγραφίαν ἀπληρῆσθαι νομίζου. οὕτως μοι καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς καινῆς λογίζου, κ. τ. λ.—Id. in Diet. Paul. Nolo vos,

&c. Hom. Tom. III. p. 234.]

[¹¹ Cum enim unus esset Abraham, in semetipso præfigurabat duo testamenta, in quibus alii quidem seminaverunt, alii vero messi sunt . . . Disseminaverunt enim sermonem de Christo patriarchæ et prophætæ; demessa est autem ecclesiam, hoc est, fructum percepit.—Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. iv. cap. xxv. (al. xlii.) p. 261.]

[¹² August. Op. Contr. Faust. Lib. xii. cap. xx. Tom. VIII. col. 237; where *cum tradetur regnum, and egeamus.*]

[¹³ Id. in Psalm. xxvi. Enarr. ii. 2. Tom. IV. col. 119.]

[¹⁴ Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Hom. in Psal. xlv. 4. Tom. I. pp. 172, 3.]

living water. But after this, when he shall be received into the city of God, he shall drink it more abundantly. Now he drinketh as in a seeing-glass, or in a riddle, by a small understanding of heavenly things; but then he shall swallow down the whole stream."

In this sense Nazianzene saith: "The ecclesiastical policy of the Jews, compared with the gospel of Christ, is a figure of a figure¹." In this sense Origen saith: "The coming of Christ in the flesh, and the offering of himself upon the cross (the force of which oblation continueth still), and all that our nature can conceive of the same, is but an image in comparison of those spiritual things that we look for²." And here understand thou, good reader, that Origen in this place speaketh of Christ's coming and appearing in the flesh; and not one word of the sacrament. For thus he saith: *Veniat ad imaginem rerum, et videat adventum Christi in carne factum*²: "Let him come to the image of things, and see Christ's coming in the flesh." This image Œcumenius very well expoundeth *veritatem rerum*³, that is, "the truth and performance of things that were promised under a shadow to the Jews." In like sort Chrysostom expoundeth the same words: *Lex habuit umbram futurorum bonorum, non ipsam imaginem rerum, hoc est, non ipsam veritatem*⁴: "The law had a shadow of good things to come, but not the image of the things, that is to say, not the truth itself." He calleth the gospel the truth itself, not in respect of Christ's secret being in the sacrament, unto which fantasy M. Harding driveth all this long talk, but only in respect of Christ's incarnation, as it is plain by that immediately followeth: *Donec enim quis velut in pictura circumducat colores, umbra quedam est; cum vero flores ipsos colorum induxerit et imposuerit, tunc imago efficitur*⁵: "A picture, until the painter lay on his colours, is but a shadow; but, the fresh colours being laid on, it is an image." So St Paul calleth "the law the shadow," and "Christ the body." And in this consideration Athanasius saith: *Evangelium est Dei Verbi Domini Jesu Christi presentia, ad humani generis salutem incarnati*⁶: "The gospel is the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is the Word of God, incarnate unto the salvation of mankind." And therefore St Augustine saith: *Nostra sacramenta dant salutem: Judæorum sacramenta promittebant Salvatorem:... non quod jam acceperimus vitam æternam, sed quod jam venerit Christus, qui per prophetas pronuntiabatur*⁷: "Our sacraments do give salvation: the sacraments of the Jews promised a Saviour. I speak not this for that we have already attained everlasting life, but for that Christ is already come, that was pronounced by the prophets."

Out of these fathers' words M. Harding reasoneth in this wise: The brightness of the gospel is but a figure in comparison of that brightness that is to come; ergo, Christ's body is secretly hidden under the outward forms and accidents of the sacrament.

Howbeit, it may soon appear unto the discreet and indifferent reader, that in all these words there is no manner mention, neither of secrecy, nor of presence, nor of absence, nor of forms, nor of elements, nor of accidents, nor, in express words, of any sacrament. Nazianzene, notwithstanding he may seem to touch the sacrament of Christ's body, yet indeed he speaketh only of the spiritual food of the knowledge of God, and not of the sacrament; as it is plain both by the place itself, and also by the words that immediately follow after. The words that went before are these: *Christus bibet nobiscum novum vinum in regno Patris*⁸: "Christ will drink with us new wine in the kingdom of his Father." The words that follow are these: *Quis est hic potus, et quæ est hæc oblectatio? Nostra quidem, discere; illius vero, docere. Doctrina enim etiam docenti alimentum instar*

[¹ Gregor. Nazianz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. In Sanct. Pasch. Orat. xlv. 23. Tom. I. p. 863. See before, page 613.]

[² Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Explan. sup. Psalm. xxxviii. Hom. ii. 2. Tom. II. pp. 696, 7. See before, page 613.]

[³ Œcumen. Op. Lut. Par. 1630-1. In Epist. ad Hebr. Comm. cap. x. Tom. II. p. 391. See before, page 614.]

[⁴ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad

Hebr. cap. x. Hom. xvii. Tom. XII. p. 167.]

[⁵ Id. ibid.]

[⁶ Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. De Com. Essent. Patr. Fil. et Spir. Sanct. 50. Tom. II. p. 26.]

[⁷ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. lxxiii. Enarr. 2. Tom. IV. col. 769; where *sacramenta novi testamenti dant salutem, sacramenta veteris testamenti promiserunt, quia jam, and pronuntiabatur.*]

[⁸ Gregor. Nazianz. Op. In Sanct. Pasch. Orat. xlv. 23. Tom. I. p. 863.]

Gregor.
Nazianz. in
Sanct. Pasch.
Orat. 4.
Orig. in
Psalm. xxxviii.
Hom. 2.

Œcumen. ad
Hebr. cap. x.

Chrysost. ad
Hebr. cap. x.

Chrysost. ad
Hebr. cap. x.

Col. ii.

Athanas. de
Com. Essen.
P. Fil. et Spir.
Sanct.

August. in
Psalm. lxxiii.

τροφή γὰρ
ἐστὶν ἡ
δίδαξις καὶ
τοῦ τρέ-
φοντος.

est⁹: "What is this drink, and what is this pleasure? Of our part, it is to learn; of Christ's part, it is to teach. For doctrine, even unto him that teacheth, is a kind of meat."

It is very much for M. Harding thus to conclude his imaginations of the sacrament by these fathers, that speak not one word of the sacrament. Touching that is here alleged of secret and privy being, the catholic fathers do confess that Christ is in the sacraments of the new testament, as he was in the sacraments of the old. So St Augustine saith: *Quicumque in manna Christum intellexerunt, eundem, quem nos, cibum spirituales manducaverunt*¹⁰: "As many as in manna understood Christ, fed of the same spiritual bread that we feed of." Again he saith: *Videte ergo, fide manente, signa variata. Ibi petra Christus; nobis Christus, quod in altari Dei ponitur*¹¹: "Behold, the faith standing one, the signs or sacraments are changed. There the rock was Christ: unto us that thing is Christ that is laid upon the altar." As Christ is now here, so was Christ then there. And as Christ is now in the bread, so was Christ then in the rock, and none otherwise. But what can be so plain as that Nazianzene himself writeth, whom M. Harding hath chosen specially for his author? These be his words: *Pellent me ab altari-bus. At ego novi aliud altare, cujus ea omnia, quæ nunc videntur, exemplaria tantum sunt, non manu aut ascia elaboratum: . . . mentis opus est, et contemplationis ascensus. Ibi astabo, et acceptabilia offeram, sacrificium, oblationem, et holocausta, quæ tanto præstantiora sunt quam ea quæ nunc aguntur, quanto veritas potior est quam umbra*¹²: "They will drive me from the altars or communion-tables. But I know another altar, whereof all the things that are now seen are but samplers, not wrought by hand or instrument. It is the work of the mind, and the elevation of the heart. There will I stand, and offer up acceptable sacrifices; which so far exceed the sacrifices that are made here, as the truth exceedeth a shadow."

August. de
Util. Pœn.

August. in
Johan.
Tractat. 45.

Nazianz. in
Orat. Cum
post ea, quæ
contra Max-
imum, &c.

M. HARDING. THE FOURTEENTH DIVISION.

*Certain fathers use the words signum et sacramentum, that is, "sign and sacrament," in the same signification. St Augustine, In Libro Sententiarum Prosperi, saith thus: Caro ejus [est], quam forma panis operam in sacramento accipimus; et sanguis ejus, quem sub vini specie et sapore potamus; caro videlicet carnis, et sanguis est sacramentum sanguinis: carne et sanguine, utroque invisibili, spirituali, intelligibili, signatur visibile*¹³ *Domini nostri Jesu Christi corpus [et] palpabile, plenum gratia omnium virtutum et divina majestatis*¹⁴: "It is his flesh that we receive, covered with the form of bread in the sacrament, and his blood that under the shape and savour of wine we drink. Soothly flesh is a sacrament of flesh, and blood is a sacrament of blood: by the flesh and the blood both invisible, spiritual, intelligible, our Lord Jesus Christ his visible and palpable body, full of the grace of all virtues and divine majesty, is signified, or as it were with a sign noted."

In these words of St Augustine we see the flesh of Christ called a sacrament of his flesh, and the blood a sacrament of his blood, inasmuch as they be covered with the form of bread and wine, yet verily and in substance present. And likewise he letteth not to call this verity or truth of the things themselves, thus covertly exhibited, a sign of Christ's visible and palpable body; so that the naming of a sign doth not import a separation from the truth, but sheweth a distinct manner of the truth exhibited: and therefore, according to the truth of the manner of exhibiting, it is not the flesh of Christ, but the sacrament of the flesh of Christ, for that the flesh doth not exhibit itself in his own shape, but in a sacrament.

[⁹ Id. Ibid.]

[¹⁰ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Serm. ccclii. 3. De Util. Agend. Pœn. ii. Tom. V. col. 1365.]

[¹¹ Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. x. Tractat. xlv. 9. Tom. III. Pars 11. col. 598.]

[¹² Gregor. Nazianz. Op. Orat. xxvi. 16. Tom. I. p. 488.]

[¹³ Visibili, 1611.]

[¹⁴ August. in Lib. Sent. Prosp. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, Dist. ii. can. 48. col. 1937; where we find *sacramentum est, and intelligibili spirituali significatur.*]

Covered.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

In this saying of St Augustine M. Harding seemeth specially to note these few¹ words, *forma*, *operta*, and *invisibilis*; which being answered, I hope the force of his collection will soon appear. First, if M. Harding will say that this word *forma* must needs be taken for the outward shew and appearance of bread, then must he needs fall into a great inconvenience, and become either a patron or a scholar of the old heretic Marcion, who upon the very same word erected his heresy; and of these words of St Paul, *Formam serri suscepit*, reasoned then as M. Harding doth now; *ergo*, Christ had nothing else but the outward form and appearance or shape of a man's body. But it is known to the learned, that, as well among the philosophers, as also among the old catholic learned fathers, these words *forma* and *species* are taken, not only for the outward appearance, but also for nature and substance itself. So St Hierome imagineth Christ to say: *Declinavi ad eos, deserens regna cœlorum, ut cum eis vescerer, assumpta forma hominis*²: "I went down unto them, leaving the kingdoms of heaven, that I might eat with them, having received the form of man." I leave St Augustine, St Ambrose, and other like authorities. This matter is proved more at large in the tenth article and sixth division³. By these few it may appear that this word *forma* importeth not only a shew, but also the very substance of the bread.

In the second word, *operta*, which signifieth "covered," M. Harding wittingly dissembleth his own learning, and would seem not to know the manner and nature of all sacraments; which is to offer one thing outwardly unto our senses, and another inwardly to our mind. Hereof there is sufficiently spoken before, in the second and eighth division of this article⁴. Chrysostom saith: *In sensibilibus intelligibilia nobis tradidit*⁵: "In sensible and outward things Christ hath given us things spiritual." And for example he addeth: *Sic et in baptismo*⁶: "So it fareth in the sacrament of baptism." Thus St Augustine saith: "The godly of the Jews understood Christ in their manna⁷." In like sort Origen speaketh of the letter of the scriptures: *Corpora prophetarum colunt, posita in libris et literis, quasi in quibusdam sepulchris*⁸: "They honour the bodies of the prophets, laid in their books and letters, as if it were in certain graves." So St Augustine: *Sensus in litera manet, et per literam videtur*⁹: "The sense lieth in the letter, and by the letter it is seen." So Nicolaus Cabasilas: *Spiritus celatur in litera*: "The Spirit of God is hidden in the letter." I think M. Harding in these speeches will not necessarily require any corporal or real presence. Thus St Gregory saith: [*Christus*] *in seipso immortaliter et incorruptibiliter vivens, ... iterum in hoc mysterio moritur*¹⁰: "Christ, living in himself immortally and without corruption, dieth again in this mystery." Whereupon the gloss saith: *Moritur, id est, mors ejus representatur*¹¹: "Christ dieth, that is to say, his death is represented." Now, as Christ dieth in the sacrament, so is his body present in the sacrament. But Christ dieth not there really and indeed; therefore Christ's body is not there really and indeed.

I thought it needful to use the more examples in this behalf, for that this place of St Augustine seemeth to carry the greatest force of all others. But as St Augustine saith here, Christ's body is hidden under the form or kind of bread; even so he saith: *Gratia [Dei] in veteri testamento velata latebat*¹²: "The grace of God lay hidden in the old testament." Even so St Gregory saith: *Ut palea fru-*

Hieron. in
Osee, Lib. iii.
cap. xi.

Chrysost. in
Matt. Hom.
83.
ἐν αἰσθη-
ταῖς τὰ
νοητά...
παρέδωκε.
August. de
Util. Pœn.
In manna
Christum in-
tellexerunt.
Orig. in Matt.
Tractat. 26.
August. de
Spir. et
Anim. cap. ii.
Nicol. Cabas.
De Consecr.
Lit. 2.
Quid sit san-
guis.

August. de
Spir. et
Lit. cap. xv.
Gregor. in
Prolog. in
Cantic.

[¹ These three, 1565.]

[² Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. III. in Osee Proph. cap. xi. Tom. III. col. 1313.]

[³ See before, pages 578, 9.]

[⁴ See before, pages 594, 5, 604.]

[⁵ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. lxxxii. Tom. VII. p. 787; where αἰσθητοῖς, and πα-
ρέδωσι.]

[⁶ Id. ibid.]

[⁷ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Serm. ccclii. 3. De Util. Agend. Pœn. ii. Tom. V. col. 1365.]

[⁸ Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Matt. Comm.

Ser. 27. Tom. III. p. 847; where *in literis posita et in libris.*]

[⁹ August. Op. De Spir. et Anim. cap. ii. Tom. VI. Append. col. 35. The Benedictine editors ascribe this treatise to Alcherus.]

[¹⁰ Gregor. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 73. col. 1953; where *semetipso.*]

[¹¹ Gloss. in eod. ibid.; where *ejus mors.*]

[¹² August. Op. Lib. de Spir. et Lit. cap. xv. 27. Tom. X. col. 100; where *testamento veteri, and latitabat.*]

*mentum, sic litera tegit Spiritum*¹³: "As the chaff hideth the corn, so the letter hideth the Spirit." Even so again St Augustine saith: *In veteri testamento occultabatur novum*: "The new testament was hidden in the old." But he expoundeth himself: *Occultabatur, id est, occulte significabatur*¹⁴: "It was hidden, that is to say, it was secretly signified." And thus, by St Augustine's own words and exposition, we may likewise say: *Caro Christi operta, id est, occulte significata*: "Christ's flesh is privily hidden, that is to say," as St Augustine expoundeth it, "it is privily signified."

Thus the sacrament of Christ's flesh, which, according to the doctrine of St Augustine, beareth the name of that thing that it signifieth, is called Christ's flesh, invisible, spiritual, and only to be conceived by understanding. For the whole work hereof pertaineth, not unto the mouth or teeth, as St Augustine saith, but only to faith and spirit¹⁵. And therefore the same St Augustine, expounding these words of Christ, "Whoso eateth of this bread shall not die," saith thus: *Quod pertinet ad virtutem sacramenti, non quod pertinet ad visibile sacramentum. Qui manducat intus, non foris; qui manducat in corde, non qui premit dente*¹⁶: "That pertaineth to the effect and virtue of the sacrament, not that pertaineth to the visible sacrament. He that eateth inwardly, not outwardly; that eateth with his heart, not that presseth with his teeth." Likewise he saith of Moses, Aaron, and Phinees, and others the faithful of that time: *Visibilem cibum (manna) spiritualiter intellexerunt, spiritualiter esurierunt, spiritualiter gustaverunt*¹⁷: "They understood manna, that visible meat, spiritually; they hungered it spiritually; they tasted it spiritually." By these words, *intus*, "inwardly;" *in corde*, "in the heart;" *spiritualiter*, "spiritually;" St Augustine expoundeth the meaning of this word *invisibiliter*, "invisibly." Therefore Chrysostom saith: *Mysterium appellatur, quia aliud videmus, aliud credimus. Nam hujusmodi est mysteriorum nostrorum natura*¹⁸: "It is called a mystery, because we see one thing, and believe another. For such is the nature of (baptism and our Lord's supper, which are) our sacraments or mysteries." So saith St Ambrose, as is alleged before: "The water of the holy font hath washed us: the blood of Christ hath redeemed us:" *alterum igitur invisibile, alterum visibile testimonium, &c.*¹⁹: "The one witness is invisible, the other is visible." So the old father Origen saith: "St John's baptism was visible; but Christ's baptism is invisible"²⁰.

As it is in the mystery of baptism, so is it also in the mystery of Christ's body. As Christ's blood is invisible, wherewith we are washed; so is Christ's flesh invisible, wherewith we are fed. And as this invisible washing in Christ's blood representeth unto our minds the blood of Christ, that was visibly shed for us; so the flesh of Christ, that is eaten invisibly, representeth unto us that very flesh of Christ that was visibly and sensibly nailed and torn upon the cross. And thus St Augustine's meaning may well stand upright without any new secrecy or real or fleshly presence.

M. HARDING. THE FIFTEENTH DIVISION.

And therefore in another place he writeth thus: Sicut ergo cœlestis panis, qui caro Christi est, suo modo vocatur corpus Christi, cum revera sit sacramentum corporis Christi, illius videlicet, quod visibile, [quod] palpabile, mortale in cruce positum est; vocaturque ipsa immolatio carnis, quæ sacerdotis manibus fit, Christi passio, mors, crucifixio, non rei²¹ veritate, sed significante mysterio: sic sacramentum fidei, quod baptismus intelligitur, fides

Invisibly.
1565.

August. de
Bapt. contr.
Donatist. Lib.
i. cap. xv.

August. de
Consecr.
Dist. 2.
Ut quid.
August. in
Johan.
Tractat. 26.

Chrysost.
1 Cor. Hom. 7.

Ambros. de
Spir. Sanct.
Lib. iii.

Orig. in Luc.
Hom. 24.

de Consecr.
Dist. 2. Hoc
est quod dicitur
panis.

[¹³ ... sic enim litera cooperit spiritum, sicut palea tegit frumentum.—Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Sup. Cant. Cantior. Expos. Procem. 4. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 399.]

[¹⁴ August. Op. De Bapt. Contr. Donatist. Lib. I. cap. xv. 24. Tom. IX. col. 92. See before, page 595.]

[¹⁵ Id. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. II. can. 47. col. 1036.]

[¹⁶ Id. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat.

xxvi. 12. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 499.]

[¹⁷ Id. ibid. 12. col. 498.]

[¹⁸ Chrysost. Op. In Epist. I. ad Cor. Hom. VII. Tom. X. p. 51.]

[¹⁹ Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Spir. Sanct. Lib. III. cap. x. 68. Tom. II. col. 678. See before, page 595.]

[²⁰ Orig. Op. In Luc. Hom. xxiv. Tom. III. p. 961. See before, page 596.]

[²¹ Res, 1611.]

Heavenly
bread.

est¹: "As the heavenly bread," saith St Augustine, "which is the flesh of Christ, in his manner is called the body of Christ, when as in very deed it is the sacrament of Christ's body, even of that which is visible, which is palpable, and being mortal was put on the cross; and the sacrificing itself of his flesh, which is done by the priest's hands, is called the passion, the death, the crucifying of Christ, not in truth of the thing, but in mystery signifying; so the sacrament of faith, which is understood to be baptism, is faith." By heavenly bread he understood not wheaten bread, but that heavenly meat which he saith to be the flesh of Christ, and thus² far he affirmeth the truth of his flesh itself, which he saith to be called, suo modo, "in his manner," the body of Christ; as who should say, whose truth notwithstanding if ye behold on the behalf of the manner of exhibiting, in very deed it is a sacrament of Christ's body, which is in visible shape, so as he speaketh of Christ's body that hath suffered.

The hundred and ninety-sixth untruth. For this heavenly bread must needs be taken for the sacrament, as it shall appear.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here M. Harding allegeth good matter against himself. For by these words St Augustine saith, the bread is so Christ's body, as the breaking of the same bread is Christ's death. But the breaking of the bread is not really and indeed the death of Christ: wherefore it followeth that the bread is not really or indeed the body of Christ. And, whereas M. Harding seemeth to stay altogether upon these two words, *caelestis panis*, thinking that thereby is meant only the supernatural bread of Christ's very body, it may like him nevertheless to understand that not only Christ's very body, but also the sacrament itself, may well be called *caelestis panis*, "heavenly bread;" for that it is a sacrament of that heavenly bread. So Gregorius Nyssenus calleth the water of baptism τὸ θεῖον λουτρὸν³, "the divine or heavenly bath." So St Ambrose calleth the words of baptism *verba caelestia*⁴, "heavenly words." So Dionysius calleth the oil consecrate *divinissimum oleum*, τὸ θεουργικώτατον μύρον⁵. So Cyrillus calleth manna "spiritual bread." Thus he saith: *Quomodo est manna panis angelorum spiritualis? ... Quia, quod umbra veritatis erat, veritatis nomine in spiritu appellavit*⁶: "How is manna called the spiritual bread of angels? That thing that was a shadow of the truth, in spirit or spiritually he uttered by the name of the truth itself." And, albeit only Christ's very body itself be indeed that heavenly bread, yet in these words of St Augustine it cannot in any wise so be taken; as to the learned and discreet reader it may soon appear. For first, St Augustine saith, that heavenly bread, whereof he speaketh, is a sacrament. But the very body of Christ cannot in any respect be called a sacrament, as it is easy to understand. For a sacrament, by St Augustine's definition, is *signum visibile*⁷, "a sign or a token that may be seen." But the body of Christ, that M. Harding imagineth to be present, cannot be seen; for St Augustine saith it is spiritual and invisible. Hereof it necessarily followeth that the very body of Christ cannot in any wise be called a sacrament; and therefore is not that kind of heavenly bread that is here mentioned by St Augustine.

Moreover, St Augustine saith: "The same heavenly bread is the body of Christ;" howbeit, he addeth, not verily and indeed, but *suo modo*, "in a manner, or kind of speech." But Christ's very body is indeed and verily in all respects the body of Christ, without any such qualifying or limitation: and it were great fondness, or rather mere madness, to say the very body of Christ is after a certain manner or in a sort the body of Christ.

These things first considered, for further understanding of St Augustine's mind

[¹ August. in Lib. Sentent. Prosp. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 48. col. 1937; where *qui vere Christus caro est, et cruce est suspensum.*]

[² This, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[³ Διὸ μὴ καταφρονήσης τοῦ θείου λουτροῦ.—Gregor. Nyss. Op. Par. 1638. De Baptism. Christ. Tom. III. p. 369.]

[⁴ ... utitur verbis caelestibus.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Sacram. Lib. II. cap. v. 14. Tom. II. col. 358.]

[⁵ ... τῶ θεουργικώτατω μύρω, κ. τ. λ.—Dionys. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. ii. 2. Tom. I. p. 254.]

[⁶ Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Comm. in Joan. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. ii. Tom. IV. p. 351.]

[⁷ Sacramentum... visibile verbum.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. xv. Tractat. lxxx. 3. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 703. Conf. Pet. Lomb. Libr. Sentent. Col. Agrip. 1576. Lib. IV. Dist. i. B. foll. 390, 1. See also before, page 515.]

Gregor. Nyss. de Sanct. Baptism. Ambros. de Sacram. Lib. ii. cap. v. Dionys. Hierarch. cap. ii. Cyril. in Johan. Lib. iv. cap. x.

herein, I remit the reader unto the gloss upon the same, the words whereof are these: *Cœlestis [panis], id est, cœleste sacramentum, quod vere repræsentat carnem Christi, dicitur corpus Christi, sed improprie. Unde dicitur, Suo modo; sed non rei veritate, sed significante mysterio; ut sit sensus, Vocatur corpus Christi, id est, significat [corpus Christi]*⁸: "The heavenly bread, that is to say, the heavenly sacrament, which verily representeth the flesh of Christ, is called Christ's body, but unaptly and unfitly. Therefore it is said, 'in a peculiar manner belonging unto itself;' not in truth of matter, but by a signifying mystery; that the sense may be this, It is called the body of Christ, that is to say, it signifieth the body of Christ."

But here mark thou, gentle reader, into what straits these men be driven. To maintain the inconveniences and absurdities of their doctrine, they are fain to say, that the very body of Christ is not *rei veritate*, "verily and indeed," but *improprie*, "unaptly and unfitly," called the body of Christ.

M. HARDING. THE SIXTEENTH DIVISION.

Again, *St Augustine saith in another place: Non hoc corpus quod videtis in Præd. xxviii. comesturi estis*⁹: "Not this body which ye see shall ye eat." * And *St Hierome saith: Divinam et spiritualem carnem manducandam dare, aliam quidem ab ea quæ crucifixa est*¹⁰: "That divine and spiritual flesh is given to be eaten, other beside that which was crucified." Wherefore in respect of the exhibiting the flesh is divided, that in itself is but one; and the flesh exhibited in mystery is in very deed a sacrament of Christ's body visible and palpable, which suffered on the cross. And thus it followeth of convenience, whereas the flesh is not the same, according to the qualities of the exhibiting, which was crucified, and which now is sacrificed by the hands of a priest; again, whereas the passion, death, and resurrection are said to be done, not in truth of the thing, but in mystery signifying; it followeth, I say, that the flesh is not the same in qualities, so as it was on the cross, though it be the same in substance.

Many more authorities might be alleged for the opening of this matter; but these for this present are enough, if they be not too many, as I fear me they will so appear to the unlearned reader, and to such as be not given to earnest study and diligent search of the truth. By these places it is made clear and evident that these names, figure, image, sign, token, sacrament, and such other the like, of force of their signification do not always exclude the truth of the¹¹ things, but do only shew and note the manner of presence. Wherefore, to conclude this matter, that is somewhat obscure to senses little exercised, the figure of the body, or sign¹² of the body, the image of the¹³ body, doth note the covertness and secretness in the manner of the exhibiting, and doth not diminish any whit the truth of the presence. So we do accord with M. Jewel in this article touching the form of words; but withal we have thought it necessary to declare the true meaning of the same, which is contrary to the doctrine of the sacramentaries.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding, as in his words he pretendeth great store of authorities, so in his choice he bewrayeth great want. For, to pass by the place of Hierome¹⁴, which is answered before in the fifth article and seventh division¹⁵, the words of St Augustine seem utterly to overthrow all these his gross and fleshly fantasies. For better understanding whereof it is to be noted that, when Christ had opened that heavenly doctrine of the eating of his body and drinking of his blood, the Capernaïtes, hearing his words, imagined, even as M. Harding now doth, that he

De Consecr.
Dist. 2. Hoc
est. In Gloss.

* This place
is answered
before in the
fifth article,
and in the
seventh divi-
sion.

⁸ Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. Gloss. in can. 48. col. 1937; where we read *Christi carnem, significati, and Christi corpus.*

⁹ See below, page 622, note 1.]
¹⁰ Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. i. in Epist. ad Ephes. cap. i. Tom. IV. Pars i. col. 328.

See before, page 460.]

¹¹ 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564, omit *the.*

¹² The sign, H. A. 1564.]

¹³ 1611, omits *the.*

¹⁴ St Hierome, 1565.]

¹⁵ See before, pages 462, &c.]

meant a very fleshly eating with their bodily mouths, and therefore began to be offended, and said his speech was over hard, and departed from him. Upon occasion hereof St Augustine writeth thus: *Ipsi erant duri, non sermo... Christus instruxit eos, [qui remanserant], et ait illis: Spiritus est, qui vivificat: caro autem nihil prodest. Verba, quæ locutus sum vobis, spiritus sunt, et vita. Spiritualiter intelligite, quod locutus sum. Non hoc corpus, quod videtis, manducaturi estis, nec bibituri illum sanguinem, quem fusuri sunt qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod, vobis commendari; spiritualiter intellectum vivificabit vos*¹: "They were hard: Christ's word was not hard. Christ instructed them that remained, and said unto them, 'It is the Spirit that giveth life: the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I have spoken are spirit and life.' Understand ye spiritually that I have spoken. Ye shall not eat this body that ye see; neither shall ye drink that blood that they shall shed that shall crucify me. I have recommended unto you a certain sacrament: being spiritually understood, it will give you life." These words be plain of themselves², and need no long construction.

The difference that M. Harding hath devised, between Christ's body in substance and the self-same body in respect of qualities, is a vain gloss of his own, without substance. For St Augustine saith not, as M. Harding would fain have him to say, Ye shall not eat this body (with your bodily mouth) *quale videtis*, under such conditions and qualities of mortality and corruption as you now see it; but *quod videtis*, that is, you shall not eat the same body in nature and substance that now ye see.

Neither was the body of Christ at that time, when he ministered the holy communion, and spake these words to his disciples, endued with any such qualities. For it was neither spiritual, nor invisible, nor immortal; but contrariwise, earthly, visible, and subject to death.

To be short, St Augustine speaketh not one word, neither of this carnal presence, nor of secret being under covert; nor saith, as M. Harding saith, that the very body of Christ is a figure of Christ's body; nor imagineth in Christ two sundry sorts of natural bodies; nor knoweth any one of all these M. Harding's strange collections. Thus only he saith: *Non hoc corpus, quod videtis, manducaturi estis*: touching your bodily mouth, "ye shall not eat this body of mine that ye see." Of which words M. Harding, contrary to St Augustine's express and plain meaning, as his common wont is, concludeth the contrary; *ergo*, with your bodily mouth ye shall eat this self-same body in substance that ye see.

Now, forasmuch as M. Harding will say, we devise figures of ourselves without cause, and that Christ's words are plain, and ought simply to be taken as they sound, without any manner figure; I think it therefore necessary in few words to shew, both what hath led us and all the ancient writers and old doctors of the church thus to expound the words of Christ, and also how many and how strange and monstrous figures M. Harding with his brethren are driven to use in the exposition of the same. And, to pass over all the old learned fathers,¹ which in their writings commonly call the sacrament a representation, a remembrance, a memory, an image, a likeness, a sampler, a token, a sign, and a figure, &c.; Christ himself, before all others, seemeth to lead us hereunto, both for that² at the very institution of the holy mysteries he said thus, "Do ye this in remembrance of me;" and also for that in the sixth chapter of St John, speaking of the eating of his flesh, he forewarned his disciples of his ascension into heaven, and³ shewed them that his very natural flesh, fleshly received, can profit nothing.⁴

Moreover, it is not agreeable, neither to the nature of man⁵, really and indeed to eat a man's body, nor to a man's body really and indeed, without figure, to be eaten; for that, St Augustine saith, were *flagitium et facinus*⁴, "an horrible wickedness." And again he saith: *Horribilius est humanam carnem manducare,*

August. de Doctr. Christ. Lib. iii. cap. xvi.
August. contr. Advers. Leg. et Proph. Lib. ii. cap. ix.

[¹ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. xcvi. Enarr. 9. Tom. IV. Pars II. cols. 1065, 6; where we have *ille autem instruxit, spiritus est, and et bibituri.*]

[² Themselves, 1565.]

[³ A man, 1565.]

[⁴ *Facinus vel flagitium videtur jubere: figura est ergo.*—Id. De Doctr. Christ. Lib. III. cap. xvi. 24. Tom. III. Pars I. col. 51.]

quam perimere; et sanguinem humanum⁵ bibere, quam fundere⁶: "It is a more horrible thing to eat man's flesh, than it is to kill it; and to drink man's blood, than it is to shed it." For this cause he concludeth: *Figura ergo est:* "Therefore it is a figure." And in like manner Cyrillus saith: *Sacramentum nostrum non asseverat hominis manducationem⁷:* "Our sacrament avoucheth not the eating of a man."

August. de
Doctr. Christ.
Lib. iii. cap.
xvi.
Cyril. contr.
Object.
Theodor.

6. Again, in these words of Christ we find *duo disparata*, that is, two sundry terms of sundry significations and natures, *panis* and *corpus*; which, as the learned know, cannot possibly be verified the one of the other without a figure. Besides all this, in every of these clauses, which so nearly touch Christ's institution, there
7. is a figure: "To drink the cup of the Lord," instead of the wine in the cup, it is
8. a figure. "To drink judgment:" judgment is a spiritual thing, and cannot be
9. drunken with the mouth; therefore it is a figure. "My body that is given, that is broken," instead of, That shall be given, and that shall be broken, is a figure.
10. "I am bread:" Christ really and indeed was no material bread; it is a figure.
11. "The bread is the communication of the Lord's body," instead of these words,
12. It representeth the communication of the Lord's body; it is a figure. "The cup is the new testament:" the cup indeed and verily is not the new testament; therefore it is a figure. In every of these clauses M. Harding must needs see and confess a figure; and so it appeareth that, in the very institution of Christ's holy mysteries, there are used a great many and sundry figures; all notwithstanding both consonant to reason, and also agreeable to God's holy word.

But now, mark well, I beseech thee, good christian reader, how many and what kinds of figures M. Harding and the rest of his company have been forced to imagine in these cases.

1. First, they say this pronoun *hoc*, "this," signifieth not "this bread," as all the old writers understand it, but *individuum vagum*, which is neither bread nor any certain determinate⁸ thing else, but only one certain thing at large in generality.
2. This verb *est* they expound thus: *Est, hoc est, transubstantiatur*; such a figure as never was used of any old author, either holy or profane, or heretic or
3. catholic, or Greek or Latin. In these words, "Take ye, eat ye: this is my body," they have found a figure called *hysteron proteron*, which is, when the whole speech is out of order, and that set behind that should go before. For thus they are driven to shift it and turn it: "This is my body: take ye, eat ye."
- In these four words, lying in order all together, "he took," "he blessed," "he brake," "he gave," they imagine three sundry figures, and expound the same in this wise: "He took" the bread: "he blessed," he transubstantiated or turned the bread: "he brake" the accidents or shews: "he gave" his body. *Hoc facite*,
4. "Do ye this in remembrance of me," they expound thus: Sacrifice this. Which
5. also they flourish out with other figures in this wise: "Sacrifice me in remembrance of me." In this one word *panis*, "bread," they have found a swarm of figures.
6. Sometimes, they say, it is called bread, because it was bread before; sometimes,
7. because the infidel taketh it to be bread; sometimes, because there remain still
8. the accidents and forms of bread; sometimes, because the same accidents feed
9. the body miraculously, as it⁹ were bread; sometimes, because it is that super-
10. natural bread that came from heaven.

- Likewise in this one word *frangimus*, or *frangitur*, they have a number of
11. figures. For sometimes they expound it thus: "The bread that we break," that
 12. is, the accidents that we break; sometimes, "the bread that we break," that is
 13. to say, the bread that we take to be broken; sometimes this word *frangere* is not
 14. "to break," but only to make a feast. In their masses they say, *Frangitur, id*
 15. *est, frangebatur*, "It is broken, that is to say, it was broken;" sometimes they
 16. say, *Frangitur, id est, videtur frangi*, "It is broken, that is to say, it seemeth

[⁵ Humanam, 1609, 1611.]

[⁶ Id. Contr. Advers. Leg. et Proph. Lib. ii. cap. lx. 33. Tom. VIII. col. 599; where *videatur* for *est*, and *humanum sanguinem potare*.]

[⁷ Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Apolog. adv.

Orient. Anath. xi. Def. Cyril. Tom. VI. p. 193. See before, page 454.]

[⁸ Determined, 1565.]

[⁹ As if it, 1565.]

to be broken." The meaning whereof is this, *Frangitur, id est, non frangitur*, "It is broken, that is to say, it is not broken."

In these words, *Non bibam amplius de hoc fructu vitis*, "I will drink no more of this fruit of the vine;" the fruit of the vine, which is a substance, they expound the accidents. And, to leave that miraculous figure of all figures, *concomitantia*, whereby one is made two, and two are made one; consider, good reader, the strangeness of the figures, and the wonderful shifts that M. Harding hath imagined in this little treaty, to defeat and avoid the manifest words of the holy fathers. Sometimes the forms and accidents are the sacrament; sometimes Christ's body itself is the sacrament; sometimes both together are the sacrament; sometimes the bread is a figure of Christ's body before consecration; and so, by mean of M. Harding's figures, there is a sacrament before it be a sacrament, and a figure before it be a figure. Sometimes the holy accidents and outward holy shews are a figure of Christ's body invisible, under them secretly contained; sometimes the same body invisible is a figure of the body of Christ visible. And so there is figure upon figure, and a kind of demonstration, which they call *notum per ignotum*, or rather *verum per falsum*. Sometimes the sacrament is a figure of the life to come; and sometimes, as Hosius fancieth, it is a figure of the church; sometimes Tertullian understood not, no, not so much as the grammatical sense of Christ's words; sometimes Christ's very body is not aptly and fitly called the body of Christ, but only *improprie*, and after a manner.

Thus M. Harding roameth and wandereth up and down, as a man that had lost his way. Such shadows and colours he can cast; into so many forms and shapes and figures he can turn himself. So many and so monstrous figures may he forge in the institution of the holy sacrament, only to avoid one simple, plain, usual, and known figure. And yet he abuseth not the simplicity of the people! There he forceth his figures, where as is no need of figures; and without such vain figures this vain doctrine cannot hold. That one figure that we use is plain and clear, used by all the ancient learned fathers, and agreeable to the tenor of God's word. But M. Harding's figures, as they be many, so be they unnecessary and fantastical, never used or once mentioned by any ancient doctor of the church, and serve only to breed darkness, and to dim the light.

How much better were it for him to leave these shifts and childish fables, and plainly and simply to say, as Tertullian saith: *Hoc est corpus meum, . . . hoc est, figura corporis mei*²: "This is my body; that is to say, this is a figure of my body." Or, as Maximus the Greek scholiast saith: *Σύμβολα ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἀλήθεια*³: "These be tokens, but not the truth." Or, as St Augustine saith: *Figura est, . . . præcipiens passioni Domini communicandum [esse,] et suaviter atque utiliter reconendum in memoria, quod pro nobis caro ejus crucifixa et vulnerata sit*⁴: "It is a figure, commanding us to communicate with the passion of Christ, and comfortably and profitably to lay up in our remembrance, that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us."

[¹ Ecce quomodo cibum et potum altaris dixit esse quodammodo societatem corporis, quod est ecclesia: non quod ipse cibus et potus sit ipsa societas, sed ipsius societatis sacramentum, &c.—Hos. Op. Col. 1584. Confess. Cath. Fid. cap. xxxix. Tom. I. p. 99. See also before, page 593.]

[² Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Marcion. Lib.

iv. 40. p. 571; where *id* for *hoc*.]

[³ Max. Schol. in Dionys. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii. 3. Tom. I. p. 306. See before, page 611, note 10.]

[⁴ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Doctr. Christ. Lib. iii. cap. xvi. 24. Tom. III. Pars i. col. 52; where *passioni dominicæ*.]

Tertull.
contr.
Marcion.
Lib. iv.
Max. Schol.
in Eccles.
Hierarch.
cap. ii.
August. de
Doctr. Christ.
Lib. iii. cap.
xvi.