

# OF ADORATION OF IMAGES.

## THE FOURTEENTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

OR that images were set<sup>1</sup> up in the churches to the intent the people might worship them.

[OF IMAGES.—ARTICLE XIV. H. A. 1564.]

M. HARDING. THE FIRST DIVISION.

*That images were set up in churches within six hundred years after Christ, it is certain, but not specially either then or sithence to the intent the people might worship them. The intent and purpose hath been far other, but right godly, as shall be declared. Wherefore the imputing of this intent to the catholic church is both false and also slanderous. And because, for the use of images, these new masters charge the church with reproach of a new device, breach of God's commandment, and idolatry; I will here shew, first, the antiquity of images, and by whom they have been allowed; secondly, to what intent and purpose they serve; thirdly, how they may be worshipped without offence.*

Not specially  
to be wor-  
shipped;  
ergo, to be  
worshipped,  
although not  
specially.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

This article of images may be easily passed over, both for that the weight thereof is not great, and also for that M. Harding, as his wont is, hath purposely dissembled the matter that was in question, and devised other fantasies that were not touched. Wherein, notwithstanding he use large discourses and make great shew, yet in the end, as it shall appear, he concludeth nothing. I grant images were erected in some churches within six hundred years after Christ, albeit neither so rathe as it is pretended, nor without much repining of godly men and great contention.

But M. Harding, of his modesty, once again calleth us new masters; so as he would call Moses if he were now alive, or much rather God himself. For this doctrine is God's doctrine, and not ours. And therefore St Augustine saith: *Hujusmodi simulacrum Deo nefas est in christiano templo collocare*<sup>2</sup>: "In a christian church to erect such an image unto God (resembling God to an old man), it is an abomination." And Epiphanius, the bishop of Cyprus, entering into a church, and finding there a veil hanged up and the image of Christ painted in it, tare it asunder, and pulled it down, because it was done, as he writeth himself, *contra auctoritatem scripturarum*, "contrary to the commandment of God's word." Again he saith: *Hujusmodi vela . . . contra religionem nostram veniunt*: "Such veils (so painted) are contrary to our christian religion." And again: *Hæc scrupulositas indigna est ecclesia Christi, et populis qui [tibi] crediti sunt*<sup>3</sup>: "This superstition is unmeet for the church of Christ, and unmeet for the people that is committed unto thee." St Augustine saith: "It is abomination." Epiphanius saith: "It is contrary to the scriptures, and contrary to christian religion; unmeet for the church of Christ, and unmeet for the people of God." Howbeit, M. Harding perhaps will suffer these two to pass in the number of his new masters.

August. de  
Fid. et Symb.  
cap. vii.

Epist. Epiph.  
ad Johan.  
Episc. Hieros.

[<sup>1</sup> Were then set, H. A. 1564.]  
[<sup>2</sup> August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Fid. et Symb. cap. vii. 14. Tom. VI. col. 157; where *tale enim simulacrum, and christiano in.*]

[<sup>3</sup> Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Epist. ad Joan. Episc. Hieros. Hieron. Interp. Tom. II. p. 317; where *ejusmodi, and ut scrupulositatem tollat quæ indigna.*]

And albeit by these fathers' judgment it is plain, that by setting up of images God's commandment is broken, yet it may the better appear by comparing God's words and M. Harding's words both together. God saith: "Thou shalt make to thyself<sup>4</sup> no graven image:" M. Harding saith: Thou shalt make to thyself<sup>4</sup> graven images. God saith: "Thou shalt not fall down to them, nor worship them:" M. Harding saith: Thou shalt fall down to them, and worship them. Now judge thou, good reader, whether this be a breach of God's commandment or no.

Verily M. Harding in the first entry hereof saith thus: "Images are not specially set up to the intent the people may worship them." The sense whereof must needs be this: Images are set up to the end to be worshipped, although not specially to that end. But an image is a creature, and no God; and to honour a creature in that sort is idolatry. Therefore, by M. Harding's own confession, images are set up to be used to idolatry, although not specially to that end. Howbeit, by this simple distinction of general and special, idolatry is easy to be excused.

M. HARDING. THE SECOND DIVISION.

*Concerning the antiquity and original of images, they were not first invented by man, but (201) commanded by God, brought into use by tradition of the apostles, allowed by authority of the holy fathers and all councils, and by custom of all ages since<sup>5</sup> Christ's being in the earth. When God would the tabernacle with all furniture thereto belonging to be made, to serve for his honour and glory, he commanded Moses among other things to make two cherubins of beaten gold, so as they might cover both sides of the propitiatory, spreading abroad their wings, and beholding themselves one another, their faces turned toward the propitiatory, that the ark was to be covered withal. Of those cherubins St Paul speaketh in his epistle to the Hebrews. Which images Beseleel, that excellent workman, made at the commandment of Moses, according to the instruction<sup>6</sup> by God given. Again, Moses by the commandment of God made the brasen serpent, and set it up on high for the people that were hurt of serpents in wilderness to behold, and so to be healed. In the temple also that Salomon builded were images of cherubins, as scripture sheweth. Of cherubins mention is made in sundry places of the scriptures<sup>7</sup>, specially in Ezechiel the prophet, cap. xli. Josephus writeth of the same in his third and eighth book Antiquitatum Judaicarum<sup>8</sup>. The image of cherubins representeth angels; and the word is a word of angelical dignity, as it appeareth by the third chapter of Genesis, where we read that God placed cherubins before paradise, after that Adam was cast forth for his disobedience.*

The two hundred and first untruth, containing three great untruths together in one.

Antiquity of images.

Exod. xxv.

Cap. ix.

Exod. xxxvii.

Numb. xxi.

1 Kings vi.

2 Chron. iii.

66.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding doubteth not to derive the first invention of his images from God himself, even as rightly and with as good faith as he deriveth his mass from Christ and his apostles; or his holy water from the prophet Elizeus; or the cardinal's hat from St Hierome. Unless perhaps he will reason thus: God saith, "Thou shalt not make unto thyself<sup>4</sup> any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing;" and, "Accursed be the man that maketh an image;" and, "Confounded be all they that worship images;" ergo, God commanded images to be made. If he can avouch his images by such warrants, then doubtless God himself was the first inventor of images.

Exod. xx. Deut. xxvii. Psal. xcvi.

But learned and wise men think that the invention hereof came first from the heathens and infidels that knew not God. Thus it is written in the book of Wisdom: *Vanitas hominum invenit artes istas, ad tentationem animæ, et decipulam insipientium*: "The vanity of men first found out this art, to the tentation of the soul and to the deceiving of the unwise." St Cyprian saith: *Ad defunctorum vultus per imaginem detinendos expressa [sunt] simulacra. . . . Inde posteris facta*

Wisd. xiv. Cypr. de Idol. Vanit.

[<sup>4</sup> Theeself, 1565.]  
 [<sup>5</sup> Sith, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]  
 [<sup>6</sup> Instructions, H. A. 1564.]  
 [<sup>7</sup> The scripture, H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>8</sup> Joseph. Op. Amst. 1726. Antiq. Jud. Lib. iiii. cap. vi. 5; Lib. viiii. cap. iii. 3. Tom. I. pp. 135, 6, 424.]

The heathens fathers of images.

Ambros. in Psal. cxviii. Concil. Nic. II. Act. 6.

Euseb. Lib. vii. cap. xviii. Ἐθνικῆ συνθηαία.

August. contr. Adimant. cap. xiii.

Lactant. Lib. II. cap. II.

Dan. iii.

Bar. vi.

Lamprid. Jul. Capit.

Epiph. August. ad Quodvultd. Iren. Lib. I. cap. xxiv.

Athanas. ἡ τῶν εἰδωλῶν εὐρεσις οὐκ ἀπ' ἀγαθού, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κακίας γέγονε.

Dion. Lib. xxxvii.

Orig. contr. Cels. Lib. IV.

Tertull. de Idol.

*sunt sacra, quæ primitus fuerant assumpta solatia*<sup>1</sup>: "Images were first drawn, thereby to keep the countenance of the dead in remembrance. Upon occasion thereof things grew at length unto holiness, that at the first were taken only for solace." Therefore St Ambrose saith: *Gentes lignum adorant, tanquam imaginem Dei*<sup>2</sup>: "The heathens worship wood as the image of God." And Gregorius the bishop of Neocæsarea: *Gentilitas inventrix et caput est imaginum*<sup>3</sup>: "Heatheness was the first deviser and head of images." Likewise Eusebius saith, speaking of the images of Christ, of Peter, and of Paul: *Hoc mihi videtur ex gentili consuetudine observatum; quod ita illi soleant honorare, quos honore dignos duxerint*<sup>4</sup>: "This seemeth to be the observation of the heathenish custom; for with such images they used to honour them whom they thought worthy of honour." Therefore St Augustine, writing against Adimantus, saith thus: *Simulant se favere simulacris; quod propterea faciunt, ut miserrimæ et vesanæ suæ sectæ etiam paganorum concilient benevolentiam*<sup>5</sup>: "They would seem to favour images; which thing they do to the intent to make the heathens to think the better of their most miserable and lewd sect." For of the heathens Lactantius writeth thus: *Verentur, ne... religio vana sit, si nihil... videant, quod adorent*<sup>6</sup>: "They are afraid (as they also are of M. Harding's side) their religion shall be but vain, if they see nothing that they may worship." Therefore Daniel saith that Nabucodonozor the heathen king appointed a solemn dedication-day for his golden image, with all kinds and sorts of minstrelsy. And the prophet Baruch thus openeth and uttereth the religion of Babylon: *Sacerdotes barba capiteque raso et aperto sedent, et coram diis suis rugiunt*: "The priests, being shaven both head and beard, and sitting bare, roar out before their gods." Thus Heliogabalus, Adrianus, and Alexander Severus, being infidels and heathen princes, had in their chapels and closets the images of Abraham, of Moses, of Christ, and of others<sup>7</sup>. Thus the heretics called *Gnostici* and *Carpocratiani*, for that they savoured of the heathens, had and worshipped the images of Christ, of Paul, of Pythagoras, and of Homer<sup>8</sup>. By these few authorities and examples it appeareth that the first erection of images came not from God, but from the heathens that knew not God. And therefore Athanasius saith: "The invention of images came not of good, but of ill<sup>9</sup>." As for the Jews, that had the law and the prophets amongst them, and therefore should best know God's meaning in this behalf, they had no manner image, neither painted nor graven, in their temples, as Dion saith<sup>10</sup>; and, as Origen saith, they could not abide any painter or graver to dwell amongst them<sup>11</sup>. But M. Harding replieth: God commanded Moses to make the cherubins and the brasen serpent. These examples make little against my assertion. For God commanded not either the cherubins or the serpent to be set up to the intent the people should worship them; which is the whole and only state of this question. The same objection the old idolaters laid sometime against Tertullian. For thus he writeth: *Ait quidam: ... Cur ergo Moses in eremo simulacrum serpentis ex ære fecit*<sup>12</sup>? "Some one or other, that maintaineth idolatry, will say," as M.

[<sup>1</sup> Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Idol. Vanit. p. 11; where *primitus* for *primis*.]

[<sup>2</sup> ... ad errorem gentilium, qui ligna venerantur. — Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. In Psalm. cxviii. Expos. Serm. viii. 23. Tom. I. col. 1064.]

[<sup>3</sup> Gregor. Neoc. in Ref. fals. Nom. Def. Tom. iv. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. vi. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VII. col. 457.]

[<sup>4</sup> ... ὡς εἰδὸς τῶν παλαιῶν ἀπαραφυλάκτως οἶα σωτήρας ἐθνικῆ συνθηαία παρ' ἑαυτοῖς τοῦτον τιμᾶν εἰωθότων τὸν τρόπον. — Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. vii. cap. xviii. p. 216.]

[<sup>5</sup> August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. contr. Adimant. cap. xiii. 1. Tom. VIII. col. 126; where *vult ergo videri favere se*.]

[<sup>6</sup> Lactant. Op. Lut. Par. 1748. Div. Instit. Lib. II. De Orig. Error. cap. II. Tom. I. p. 117; where *religio inanis sit et vana*.]

[<sup>7</sup> Æl. Lamprid. in Hist. August. Script. Lat. Min. Hanov. 1611. Alex. Sev. p. 346. See also *ibid.*

pp. 328, 350. Heliogabalus wished to unite all religions into one; and Adrian would have had temples erected to Christ.]

[<sup>8</sup> Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. I. Hær. xxvii. Tom. I. p. 108.]

August. Op. Ad Quodvultd. Lib. de Hær. 7. Tom. VIII. col. 7.]

Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. I. cap. xxv. 6. pp. 104, 5.]

[<sup>9</sup> Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Orat. contr. Gent. 7. Tom. I. Pars I. p. 7.]

[<sup>10</sup> ... οὐδ' ἀγαλμα οὐδὲν ἐν αὐτοῖς ποτὲ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἔσχον. — Dion. Cass. Hist. Rom. Hanov. 1606. Lib. xxxvii. p. 37.]

[<sup>11</sup> ... οὐδεὶς τῶν εἰκόνας ποιοῦντων ἐπολιτεύετο. οὔτε γὰρ ζωγράφος οὔτ' ἀγαλματοποιὸς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ αὐτῶν ἦν, ἐκβάλλοντος πάντας τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἀπ' αὐτῆς τοῦ νόμου. — Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Contr. Cels. Lib. IV. 31. Tom. I. p. 524.]

[<sup>12</sup> Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Idol. 5. p. 106.]

Harding now saith: "And why then did Moses make the image of the brasen serpent in the wilderness?" Hereby we see that M. Harding is not the first that devised this objection. The old idolaters found out and used the same above fourteen hundred years ago; and M. Harding hath learned it at their hands. But hereto Tertullian maketh this answer: *Bene, quod idem Deus et lege vetuit similitudinem fieri, [et] extraordinario præcepto serpentis similitudinem \*interdixit:* "Well and good; one and the same God, both by his general law forbade any image to be made; and also by his extraordinary and special commandment willed an image of a serpent to be made." He addeth further: *Si eundem Deum observas, habes legem ejus: Ne feceris similitudinem. Et si præceptum factæ postea similitudinis respicis, et tu imitare Mosen; ne facias adversus legem simulacrum aliquod, nisi et tibi Deus jusserit*<sup>13</sup>: "If thou be obedient unto the same God, thou hast his law: Make thou no image. But if thou have regard to the image of the serpent, that was made afterward by Moses, then do thou as Moses did: make not any image against the law, unless God command thee, as he did Moses." For God is free, and subject to no law. He commandeth us, and not himself. He giveth this general law: "Thou shalt not kill;" yet he said unto Abraham: *Gen. xxii.* "Take thy son Isaac, and kill him." Likewise he saith: "Thou shalt not steal;" and yet the people of Israel, by his commandment, stole away the Egyptians' *Exod. xi.* goods without breach of the law. The same answer may also serve for the images of the cherubins. Howbeit, the cherubins stood not in the temple in the sight and presence of the people, but within the veil in the tabernacle, into which place it was not lawful for any one of the people to cast his eyes: and therefore there was in it no danger of idolatry. But, like as when the brasen *2 Kings xviii.* serpent was abused by idolatry, the godly king Ezechias took it down and brake it in pieces, notwithstanding God had commanded Moses to set it up; even so, notwithstanding it were sufferable to have images in the church of God, without breach of God's law, yet, when they be abused and made idols, as they are throughout the whole church of Rome, it is the duty of godly magistrates to pull them down, like as also it is ordered by the council of Mens<sup>14</sup>.

The  
brasen  
serpent.  
The che-  
rubins.

\* He seemeth  
to use inter-  
dixit for  
edixit.

Gen. xxii.

Exod. xi.

2 Kings xviii.

Concil. Mo-  
gunt. cap.  
42.

#### M. HARDING. THE THIRD DIVISION.

*It were not much beside our purpose here to rehearse the place of Ezechiel the prophet, where God commanded one that was clothed in linen, and had an inkhorn by his side, to go through the midst of Hierusalem, and to print the sign of Tau, that is, the sign of the cross (for that letter had the similitude of the cross among the old Hebrew letters, as St Hierome witnesseth), in the foreheads of the men that mourned, and made moan over all the abominations of that city*<sup>15</sup>. Touching the sign, image, or figure of the cross in the time of the new testament, God seemeth, by his providence and by special warnings in sundry revelations and secret declarations of his will, to have commended the same to men, that they should have it in good regard and remembrance. When Constantine the emperor had prepared himself to war against Maxentius the tyrant, casting in his mind the great dangers that might thereof ensue, and calling to God for help, as he looked up, [he] beheld (as it were in a vision) the sign of the cross appearing unto him in heaven as bright as fire; and as he was astonied with that strange sight, he heard a voice speaking thus unto him: "Constantine, in this overcome"<sup>16</sup>.

*After that Julian the emperor had forsaken the profession of christian religion, and had done sacrifice at the temples of painims, moving his subjects to do the like; as he marched forward with his army on a day, the drops of rain that fell*

<sup>13</sup> Id. *ibid.* p. 107; where *qui lege, indixit*, and *et præceptum.*

<sup>14</sup> Synod. Prov. Mogunt. cap. 42. in Crabb. *Concil. Col. Agrip.* 1551: Tom. III. p. 938.]

<sup>15</sup> ...antiquis Hebræorum litteris, quibus usque hodie utuntur Samaritani, extrema Thav littera cru-

cis habet similitudinem.—Hieron. *Op. Par.* 1693-1706. *Comm. Lib. III.* in *Ezech. Proph. cap. ix.* Tom. III. col. 754.]

<sup>16</sup> *Hist. Eccles. Par. Lib. ix. cap. ix. fol. 101.* See also Euseb. *De Vit. Constant.* in *Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. i. cap. xxviii. pp. 346, 7.]*

down out of the air in a shower formed and made tokens and signs of the cross, both in his and also in the soldiers' garments<sup>1</sup>.

Rufinus, having declared the strange and horrible plagues of God, whereby the Jews were frayed, and letted from their vain attempt of building up again the temple at Hierusalem, leave thereto of the emperor Julian in despite of the Christians obtained, in the end saith that, lest those earthquakes and terrible fires, which he speaketh of, raised by God, whereby as well the workhouses and preparations toward the building, as also great multitudes of the Jews, were thrown down, cast abroad, and destroyed, should be thought to happen by chance; the night following these plagues, the sign of the cross appeared in every one of their garments so evidently, as none, to cloke their infidelity, was able by any kind of thing to scour it out and put it away<sup>2</sup>. When the temples of the painims were destroyed by Christians<sup>3</sup> in Alexandria, about the year of our Lord 390, in the chief temple of all, which was of the idol Serapis, the holy and mystical letters, called *ιερογλυφικά*, by God's providence were found graven in stones, representing the figure of the cross, the signification whereof after their interpretation was, "Life to come." Which thing espied by the Christians, and by the painims present at the spoil, served marvellously to the<sup>4</sup> furtherance of the christian faith, no less than the inscription of the altar at Athens, *Ignoto Deo*, "Unto the unknown God," served to the same purpose through St Paul's preaching. Which altogether was before wrought by God's holy providence, as Socrates, one of the writers of the ecclesiastical stories, reporteth<sup>5</sup>.

Sozomen. Tripart. Hist. Lib. v. cap. l. Eccles. Hist. Lib. s. in fine.

Hist. Tripart. Lib. ix. cap. xxix.

γράμματα  
ιερογλυφικά.

Acta xvii.

Thus it appeareth plainly, how God's providence hath commended unto true believers the sign of the cross. For which cause, and for remembrance of our redemption, it hath been in old time and always sithence much frequented and honoured. For beside that we read hereof in Tertullian, who was near the apostles' time, in *Apologetico*<sup>6</sup>, we find in the writers of the ecclesiastical stories, that the christian people of Alexandria, after they had pulled down and taken away the arms and monuments of Serapis the idol, every man caused the sign of our Lord's cross in place of them to be painted and set up in their posts, entries, windows, walls, and pillars; that, wheresoever the eye was turned, it should light on the holy sign of the cross<sup>7</sup>. Constantine the emperor loved and honoured this sign so much, that he caused the same to be painted in all his flags and banners of war, to be strucken<sup>8</sup> in his coins and monies, to be pourtraited in his arms, scutcheons, and targets<sup>9</sup>. Of this Aurelius Prudentius maketh mention:

Cap. xvi.

Eccles. Hist. Lib. xi. cap. xxix. auctore Rufino.

Hist. Tripart. Lib. i. cap. ix.

Christus purpureum gemmanti textus in auro  
Signabat labarum: clypeorum insignia Christus  
Scripserat, ardebat summis crux addita cristis<sup>10</sup>.

Lib. i. contra Symmachum.

The sense whereof is thus<sup>11</sup> much in English: "The chief banner, which was of purple, had the image of Christ in it wrought in gold and stones; the targets were painted all over with Christ; the cross shined fire-bright in the crests of their helmets." That the banner commonly borne before the emperor in war, in Latin called *labarum*<sup>12</sup>, was of this sort, it appeareth by an epistle that St Ambrose wrote to Theodosius the emperor<sup>14</sup>. Neither was the figure of the cross then only in flags and banners painted, woven, embroidered,

Vide Hist. Tri. 13 part. Lib. i. cap. v. Lib. v. Epist. 29.

[<sup>1</sup> Hist. Tripart. Par. Lib. v. cap. l. fol. K. viii. 2. See also Sozom. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. v. cap. i. p. 480.]

[<sup>2</sup> Hist. Eccles. Par. Lib. x. capp. xxxviii. xxxix. fol. 119.]

[<sup>3</sup> The Christians, H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>4</sup> 1563, and H. A. 1564, omit *the*.]

[<sup>5</sup> Hist. Tripart. Lib. ix. cap. xxix. foll. S. viii. T. See also Socrat. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. v. cap. xvii. pp. 226, 7.]

[<sup>6</sup> ...qui crucis nos religiosos putat, &c.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Apol. 16. p. 17.]

[<sup>7</sup> Hist. Eccles. Lib. xi. cap. xxix. fol. 130.]

[<sup>8</sup> Stroken, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>9</sup> Hist. Tripart. Lib. i. cap. ix. foll. A. viii. B. See also Sozom. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. i. cap. viii. p. 336.]

[<sup>10</sup> Aur. Prud. Op. Hanov. 1613. Contr. Symm. Lib. i. vv. 488-90. p. 275.]

[<sup>11</sup> This, H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>12</sup> Hist. Tripart. Lib. i. cap. v. fol. A. vi. 2. See also Sozom. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. i. cap. iv. pp. 330, 1.]

[<sup>13</sup> This reference does not appear H. A. 1564; but is given in all the subsequent editions.]

[<sup>14</sup> ... labarum, hoc est, Christi sacratum nomine.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Ad Theodos. Epist. xl. 9. Tom. II. col. 949.]

or otherwise wrought, in gold or precious stones; but also made in whole gold, and set upon a long staff or pole, and borne before men, (202) (as the manner is now in processions), as it seemeth plainly by these verses of Prudentius :

Agnoscas, regina, lubens mea signa necesse est;  
In quibus effigies crucis aut gemmata refulget,  
Aut longis solido ex auro præfertur iu hastis<sup>15</sup>.

"It behoveth<sup>16</sup> you, madam, that gladly you acknowledge mine ensigns, in which the figure of the cross is either glittering in stones, or of whole gold is borne on long staves before us." Thus<sup>17</sup> much have I gathered out of the ancient fathers' writings concerning the sign of our Lord's cross, the sight whereof the professors of this new gospel cannot abide, to the intent the diversity of our time and of old time may appear, to the manners of which, for a perfect<sup>18</sup> reformation, these preachers would seem to bring the world again.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The sign of the cross, I grant, among the Christians was had in great regard; and that the more, both for the public reproach and shame that by the common judgment of all the world was conceived against it, and also for that most worthy price of our redemption that was offered upon it. It is written: "Accursed be all they that are hanged upon the tree." And Chrysostom saith, the infidels used commonly to upbraid the Christians with these words: *Tu adoras crucifixum*<sup>19</sup>? "Wilt thou worship a man that was hanged upon a cross?" They thought great villany in that kind of death; for it was most odious and shameful of all others; and also they thought it great folly to think well of it. Therefore St Paul saith: *Verbum crucis pereuntibus stultitia est*: "The word of the cross unto them that perish is but a folly." Again: *Prædicamus Christum crucifixum, Judæis quidem scandalum, gentibus autem stultitiam*: "We preach Christ crucified, a great offence unto the Jews, and unto the heathens a great folly." Likewise St Augustine calleth the cross *ipsam ignominiam, . . . quam pagani derident*<sup>20</sup>: "that very shame that the heathens laugh to scorn." Likewise also Chrysostom: *Mors Christi apud Judæos maledicta, apud gentiles abominanda*<sup>21</sup>: "The death of Christ among the Jews is holden accursed, among the heathens it is holden abominable."

Therefore the faithful that believed in Christ, in all their talks, and in their whole life and conversation, used so much the more to extol and magnify the same, in reproach of the enemies of the cross of Christ, both Jews and gentiles. For that cause St Paul saith: "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ; for it is the power of God unto salvation;" and, "God forbid that I should rejoice in any thing, but only in the cross of Jesus Christ;" and, "I reckon myself<sup>22</sup> to know nothing, but only Jesus Christ, and the same Christ crucified upon the cross." Thus St Paul triumphed of that thing that in the world was so deeply despised: as if he would have said, This is that infirmity that hath conquered the world; this is that villany and reproach that hath led captivity away captive, that hath spoiled the principalities and powers of darkness. Thus, as Theodoret recordeth, the Christians every where in their common resorts, and in the open market-places, published and proclaimed the victory and triumph of the cross<sup>23</sup>; which, as Chrysostom saith, "they were not ashamed to set, as a posy, to any thing that they did, and to any thing that they possessed<sup>24</sup>." Likewise God, that the world might the more deeply think of the death of Christ, wrought oftentimes strange miracles by the same, as he did by Paul's napkins, by Elizeus' bones, and by

The  
Cross.

The two hundred and second untruth. For Prudentius speaketh not of procession in the church, but of marching in the fields.

Gal. iii.  
Deut. xxi.

Chrysost. in  
Epist. ad  
Rom. Hom. 2.

1 Cor. i.  
Ibid.

August. in  
Psalm. cxli.

Chrysost. de  
Laud. Paul.  
Hom. 4.

Rom. i.

Gal. vi.

1 Cor. ii.

Eph. iv.  
Col. ii.  
Theodor. Lib  
iii. cap. xxvii.

Chrysost. in  
Hom. Quod  
Christus est  
Deus.

Acts xix.  
2 Kings xliii.

[<sup>15</sup> Aur. Prud. Op. Contr. Symm. Lib. i. vv. 465-7. p. 274; where *libens* and *astis*.]

[<sup>16</sup> Hoveth, 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>17</sup> This, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>18</sup> Perfitte, H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>19</sup> Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Rom. Hom. ii. Tom. IX. p. 444.]

[<sup>20</sup> August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. cxli. Enarr. 9. Tom. IV. col. 1583.]

[<sup>21</sup> Chrysost. Op. De Laud. Paul. Hom. iv. Tom.

II. p. 494.]

[<sup>22</sup> Meself, 1565.]

[<sup>23</sup> Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. iii. cap. xxviii. pp. 147, 8.]

[<sup>24</sup> Οὕτως οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἔστι φευκτός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποθεινός καὶ ἐπέραστος καὶ περισπούδατος ἄπασι, καὶ πανταχοῦ διαλάμπων καὶ διεσπαρμένος ἐν τοίχοις οἰκῶν, κ. τ. λ.—Chrysost. Op. Contr. Jud. et Gent. Quod Christus sit Deus, Tom. I. p. 571. Conf. ibid. p. 669, &c.]

The  
Cross.

Acta v.  
Cassiod. Lib.  
i. cap. ix.  
Ezek. ix.

Euseb. Lib.  
ix. cap. ix.  
Sozom. Lib.  
v. cap. l.  
Rufin. Lib. ii.  
Socrat. Lib.  
v. cap. xvii.  
Sozom. Lib.  
vii. cap. xv.

Rufin. Lib. ii.  
cap. xxix.  
Cassiod. Lib.  
i. cap. ix.

Tertull. in  
Apolog.

Sozom. Lib.  
ix. cap. iv.

Æl. Spart.

Gregor. ad  
German.  
Patr. in  
Concil. Nic.  
ii. Act. 6.

Euseb. in  
Vit. Con-  
stant. Orat. 1.  
τούτω...  
ἀμνηστρίω  
οὐα παντός  
ἐχρήτο.  
Niceph. Lib.  
viii. cap.  
xxxii.  
Ambros. in  
Orat. Funeb.  
Theod.

Peter's shadow. Then the first christened emperor Constantinus, seeing that thing became so glorious that before had been so slanderous, to increase the estimation thereof, commanded straitly by a law, that from thenceforth no offender should suffer upon a cross<sup>1</sup>. These things had in remembrance, we grant all that M. Harding hath here alleged: the vision of Ezechiel, and the marking of the men's foreheads with the Hebrew letter *Tau*; the sight of a cross offered unto Constantinus in the air<sup>2</sup>; the staining of crosses in the soldiers' coats in the time of the renegade emperor Julian<sup>3</sup>; the printing or burning of the crosses in the apparel of the Jews at Hierusalem<sup>4</sup>; the finding of the holy hieroglyphical letter bearing the form of the cross in the temple of Serapis in Egypt<sup>5</sup>; and, to conclude, we grant that the people, being newly brought to the knowledge of the gospel, after they had pulled down the scutcheons of the idol Serapis, and other like monuments of idolatry, in the place thereof straightway set up the cross of Christ in token of conquest, in their entries, in their walls, in their windows, in their posts, in their pillars<sup>6</sup>, briefly, in their flags, banners, arms, scutcheons, targets, and coins<sup>7</sup>. All these things, I say, we yield unto M. Harding without exception. Even so christian princes this day use the same cross in their arms and banners, both in peace and in war, of divers forms and sundry colours, as in token they fight under the banner of Christ. *Labarum* among the old Romans was the imperial standard of arms, richly wrought in gold and beset with stone, carried only before the general of the field, and therefore revered of the soldiers above all other<sup>8</sup>. Sozomenus, as a Greek writer, and therefore not able to guess rightly of the Latin tongue, seemeth to call it *laborum*; for thus he writeth: *θάτερον . . . τῶν σκίπτρων, ὃ λάβωρον Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι*<sup>9</sup>: "The one of the standards which the Romans call *laborum*:" unless there be an error in the Greek. Notwithstanding, it may be thought the emperor Severus had some respect unto the same, when he gave this watchword unto his soldiers: *Laboremus*<sup>10</sup>: "Let us labour." Likewise St Gregory writeth: *Christum belli socium habuisti, cujus labarum insigne gestasti, ipsam dico vivificatricem crucem*<sup>11</sup>. This standard the christian emperor Constantinus so blazed with the cross, as others before him had done with *minotaurus* or with *aquila*. And, notwithstanding Eusebius say, "Constantinus used this cross as a preservation of his safety<sup>12</sup>;" yet doubtless his affiance was only in Christ, and not in the material cross. For Nicephorus saith, Constantius<sup>13</sup> caused these words to be graven in the cross: *Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ*: *Jesus Christus vincit*<sup>14</sup>: "Jesus Christ conquereth," and not the cross. Otherwise St Ambrose writeth thus: "Helena the empress, by whose means the cross was found out," *Invenit . . . titulum: regem adoravit, non lignum utique; quia hic gentilis est error, et vanitas impiorum*<sup>15</sup>: "She found out the title; but she worshipped Christ the King, and not the wood; for that is an heathenish error, and the vanity of the wicked."

Last of all, whereas M. Harding saith, the professors of this new gospel cannot abide the sign of our Lord's cross; let him understand, it is not the cross of Christ, nor the sign thereof, that we find fault withal, but the superstitious

[<sup>1</sup> Hist. Tripart. Par. Lib. i. cap. ix. fol. A. viii. 2. See also Sozom. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. i. cap. viii. p. 336.]

[<sup>2</sup> Hist. Eccles. Par. Lib. ix. cap. ix. fol. 101. See before, page 647, note 16.]

[<sup>3</sup> Hist. Tripart. Lib. v. cap. l. fol. K. viii. 2. See before, page 648, note 1.]

[<sup>4</sup> Hist. Eccles. Lib. x. capp. xxxviii, xxxix. fol. 119.]

[<sup>5</sup> Socrat. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. v. cap. xvii. pp. 226, 7. See also Sozom. in eod. Lib. vii. cap. xv. p. 588.]

[<sup>6</sup> Hist. Eccles. Lib. xi. cap. xxix. fol. 130.]

[<sup>7</sup> Hist. Tripart. Lib. i. cap. ix. foll. A. viii. 2. B. See before, page 648, note 9.]

[<sup>8</sup> Diximus originem deorum vestrorum a plasticis de cruce induci. sed et victorias adoratis, cum in tropæis cruces intestina sint tropæorum. religio tota castrensium signa veneratur, &c.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641.

Apol. 16. p. 17. See also before, page 648, note 6.]

[<sup>9</sup> Sozom. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. ix. cap. iv. p. 651.]

[<sup>10</sup> Æl. Spart. in Hist. August. Script. Hanov. 1611. Sever. p. 302.]

[<sup>11</sup> ...ἡγεῖσθαι προστάξας ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας τὸ ἐνδοξον ὄντως καὶ ἐπίσημον λάβαρον, τὸν ζωοποιὸν λέγω σταυρόν.—Gregor. ad German. Epist. in Concil. Nic. ii. Act. iv. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VII. col. 284. See also in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 526.]

[<sup>12</sup> Euseb. De Vit. Constant. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. i. cap. xxxi. p. 347.]

[<sup>13</sup> Constantinus, 1565, 1609.]

[<sup>14</sup> Niceph. Call. Hist. Eccles. Lut. Par. 1630. Lib. viii. cap. xxxii. Tom. I. p. 601.]

[<sup>15</sup> Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Ob. Theodos. Orat. 46. Tom. II. col. 1211.]

abuse of the cross. God be thanked, it hath well appeared unto the world that they, whom M. Harding thus condemneth, have been able not only to abide the sign of Christ's cross, but also to take up their crosses and to follow Christ, and to rejoice and triumph in the same.

Neither is there any such great matter yet shewed, wherefore these men should glory of the antiquity of their cause. For, notwithstanding all this long discourse and great ado, yet is it not hitherto any way proved, either that this cross was an image, or that it was set up in any church, or that it was adored of the people. Certainly the letter that Ezechiel saw in a vision; the cross that Constantinus saw in the air; the marks that were either stained with water, or burnt with fire, in the labourers' garments; the secret mystical letters in the temple of Serapis; the cognizances of the cross painted or graven in flags, banners, targets, and coins, were only bars laid across, and no images. Again, the same crosses were abroad in other places, in the air, in the field, in the labourers' coats, in private houses, and in men's purses; and not set up in any temple, as it is plain by that is already spoken. To be short, it appeareth not by any of these allegations, that any man was then taught to kneel down unto these crosses, or to say, *Ave, crux, spes unica*, "All hail, O cross, our only hope," or to yield them any godly honour. Which thing M. Harding not having proved, notwithstanding his long discourse of words, hath proved nothing.

And, whereas he would force Prudentius to say, the cross was then carried about in procession upon a pole, as the manner is now in the church of Rome, he openly misuseth that godly father, and doth him wrong. For it is plain that Prudentius in that place speaketh not one word, neither of church, nor of priest, nor of clerk, nor of any going in procession. Only he speaketh of the soldiers marching in the field, and following the cross as their standard. So Eusebius writeth of the emperor Constantinus: "He commanded the sign of the cross to be carried before all his armies<sup>16</sup>." And the next verse that followeth in Prudentius is this: *Hoc signo invictus transmissis Alpibus ultor*<sup>17</sup>, &c. Where he describeth the dangerous war that Constantinus had against Maxentius. Seeing therefore none of all these crosses that M. Harding hath here found out either had any image hanging on it, or was erected in any church, or adored of the people, how can all these words stand him in stead to serve his purpose?

Euseb. de Vit. Constant.  
Lib. iii. cap. ii.  
Orat. 1.

των δὲ  
στρατοπέ-  
δων ἀπὸ  
των ἡγεί-  
σθαι τοῦ-  
του ὁμοιά-  
ματα προσ-  
έταττε.  
Prud. contr.  
Symm. Lib. i.

#### M. HARDING. THE FOURTH DIVISION.

*Concerning the images of Christ and of his saints, that they have been greatly esteemed and used in houses, churches, and places of prayer from the apostles' time forward, it is so evident that it cannot be denied. Athanasius writeth that Nicodeme, who came to Jesus by night, made an image of Christ with his own hands, and that when he lay in his death-bed he delivered it to Gamaliel, who was St Paul's school-master. Gamaliel, when he saw he should die, left it to James: James left it to Simon and Zachæus. This image came from hand to hand by succession, and continued a long time in Hierusalem. From Hierusalem it was carried into Syria, and at length it was brought to the city Berytus, not far from Tyre and Sidon: where how despitefully it was used of the Jews, and what wonders ensued thereupon, who list to know, he may<sup>18</sup> read it largely declared in a little book written by Athanasius of that matter<sup>19</sup>.*

The genealogy and peregrination of a fable. It is a fabulous tale, never written by Athanasius.

#### THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The reader of himself, if he be not over simple, may soon espy the simplicity of this fable. A christian man removeth his household, and, having there an image of Christ, equal unto him in length, and breadth, and all proportion, by forgetfulness leaveth it there in a secret place behind him. A Jew after him inhabiteth the same house a long while, and seeth it not; another strange Jew, sitting

<sup>16</sup> Euseb. De Vit. Constant. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. i. cap. xxxi. p. 347.]

<sup>17</sup> Aur. Prud. Op. Han. 1613. Contr. Symm. Lib. v. 468. p. 274.]

<sup>18</sup> May he, H. A. 1564.]

<sup>19</sup> Athanas. Serm. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. iv. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. VII. cols. 217, &c. See also, for a fuller account of this story, the Latin edition of this council, *ibid.* cols. 743, &c., and in Crabb. Concil. Tom. II. pp. 509, &c.]



there at dinner, immediately espieth it standing open against a wall. All this M. Harding's Athanasius. Thus it standeth open, and yet it is hidden; it is hidden, and yet it standeth open. Afterward the priests and rulers of the Jews come together, and abuse it with all villany. They crown it with a thorn, make it drink esel<sup>1</sup> and gall, and stick it to the heart with a spear. Out issueth blood in great quantity; the powers of heaven are shaken; the sun is darkened; the moon loseth her light. And from thence, saith this young Athanasius, we had the blood of Hales, and all other like blood throughout the world. To be short, the first word of the book is *itaque*. M. Harding himself is ashamed to report the tale. Yet must it bear the name of Athanasius; and, being never so childish a fable, yet it must have the fore-ward to prove adoration of images. Only he telleth us a long genealogy of the names of Nicodemus, Gamaliel, James, Simon, and Zachæus, to astonne the reader, and to make him think the better of it. Howbeit, all this notwithstanding, this image was neither churched, nor adored, or worshipped, either of priest or people.

## M. HARDING. THE FIFTH DIVISION.

*Eusebius Cæsariensis, in the seventh book of his ecclesiastical story, cap. xiv. writeth of the ancient image of Christ made in brass, and of the woman that was healed by our Saviour of her bloody flux in the city of Phœnicia, called Cæsarea Philippi, whereof that woman was a citizen: which image he saith he saw, as likewise the images of Peter and Paul, kept by some of old time<sup>2</sup>. And there he confesseth that the images of Peter and Paul and of our Saviour were in his time made and painted in tables, and set forth. After Eusebius' death, Julian the renegade took down this image of Christ, and set up his own in the same place; which with violent fire that fell from heaven was cleft asunder in the breast, the head broken off with a piece of the neck, and sticked in the ground: the rest of it so remained long after, as a token of lightning and God's displeasure might be reserved. That image of Christ, after that the painims had haled, pulled, broken, and mangled it villanously, by the Christians was taken up, set together, and placed in the church, where it is yet reserved<sup>3</sup>, saith Socrates of his time. Of the miraculous herb that grew at the foot of this image, which after that it had grown so high that<sup>4</sup> it touched the image's skirts, taken and ministered, was a medicine and present remedy for all diseases, as Eusebius writeth; because it pertaineth not specially to the matter of images, I rehearse nothing.*

## THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Eusebius himself sheweth that the Phœnicians, being heathens, and hearing and seeing the strange miracles that had been wrought by Christ and by his apostles, made these images in the honour of them, only of their heathenish and vain superstition. His words be these: *Nec mirum est veteres ethnicos, beneficio affectos a Servatore nostro, ista fecisse. Nam et apostolorum Pauli et Petri, et ipsius Christi imagines coloribus ductas et servatas vidimus. Et credibile est priscos illos homines, nondum relicta arita superstitione, ad hunc modum consuevisse colere illos ethnica consuetudine, tanquam servatores*<sup>5</sup>: "It is no marvel that the heathens, receiving such benefits of our Saviour, did these things. For we have seen the images of Paul, of Peter, and of Christ, drawn in colours and preserved. And it may well be thought that men in old times, being not yet removed from the superstition of their fathers, used after this sort to worship them by an heathenish custom as their saviours." By these words of Eusebius it is plain that the use of images came not from Christ, or from the apostles, as M. Harding saith, but from the superstitious custom of the heathens. Neither doth it appear that those images were set up in any church. As for the image of Christ, it is plain it stood in the street abroad, and an herb of strange operation grew underneath it.

[<sup>1</sup> Esel: vinegar.]

[<sup>2</sup> Hist. Eccles. Par. Lib. vii. cap. xiv. foll. 77, 8. See also below, note 5.]

[<sup>3</sup> Hist. Tripart. Par. Lib. vi. cap. xli. foll. M. 8. N. See also Sozom. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst.

1695-1700. Lib. v. cap. xxi. p. 511.]

[<sup>4</sup> As, H. A. 1564, at, H. A. 1565.]

[<sup>5</sup> Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. vii. cap. xviii. p. 216; where ἀπαραφυλάκτως.]

Euseb. Lib. vii. cap. xvii. ὡς εἰκόσ τῶν παλαιῶν ἀπα-ραλλάκ-τως οἷα σωτήρας ἐθνικῆ συν-ηθείᾳ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς τοῦτον τιμᾶν εἰω-θότων τὸν τρόπον  
Euseb. Lib. vii. cap. vii.

Julianus, that renegade that once had professed Christ and afterwards wilfully renounced him, took down that image of Christ, not to withdraw the people from idolatry, but in malice and despite of that new religion, and erected up his own image, to the intent the people should worship it, purposely to deface Christ; even as they do now, that wilfully break God's commandments, to uphold and maintain their own traditions. Of whom St Basil writeth thus: "Whoso forbiddeth us to do that God commandeth, or commandeth us to do that God forbiddeth, is accursed unto all them that love the Lord<sup>6</sup>." Therefore God struck Julian's image from heaven with lightning, and rent it in pieces, in token of his revengeance. Like as also, when another Julian, president of the east, had spoiled the churches of Antioch, and, in like despite of Christ, sat upon the holy communion-cups, God smote him suddenly in the secret parts with such a disease as never afterward could be cured<sup>7</sup>.

Matt. xv.  
Basil. Moral.  
cap. xiv.  
Sozom. Lib.  
v. cap. vii.

M. HARDING. THE SIXTH DIVISION.

*It is evident by Chrysostom's mass, that there was some use of images in the church of Constantinople in his time; for he speaketh of the image of the crucifix<sup>8</sup>. Whosoever is desirous to see testimonies of the fathers for proof of images, let him read the seventh general council holden in Nicea, the city of Bithynia, against image-breakers, and there he shall find no small number.*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

In the communion-book that beareth the name of Chrysostom there is mention made of Nicolas, bishop of Rome, who, as I have shewed before<sup>9</sup>, lived well near five hundred years after Chrysostom, and was in order the second bishop there after dame Joan, the woman pope. Such is the credit and antiquity of M. Harding's witnesses. This second council of Nice was holden well near eight hundred years after Christ. To open the whole folly and fondness thereof, it would require a long treaty. Irene, the empress, a wicked woman, the king's daughter of Tartary, an heathen born, caused that council to be summoned in despite of the council of Constantinople, that had decreed against images. She took her own son Constantinus, and pulled out his eyes, only because he would not consent to the idolatrous having of images<sup>10</sup>. The bishops and doctors in that council manifestly corrupted the scriptures, and falsified the holy fathers without shame. They said: *Imago melior est quam oratio*<sup>11</sup>: "An image is better than a prayer;" and again: "Whosoever will not adore the godly images, accursed be he<sup>12</sup>."

Anno 855.  
Abbas  
Ursperg.  
Carion.  
Nic. Concil.  
ii. Act. 4.  
Nic. Concil.  
ii. Act. 2.

M. HARDING. THE SEVENTH DIVISION.

*I will not let here to recite some, which, so far as I remember, be not found there, one only excepted, which is of St Basil, every one<sup>13</sup> of right good and ancient authority.*

*Simeon Metaphrastes, a Greek writer, describing the life of St Luke the evangelist,*

A vain  
fabular.  
He lived  
about the  
year 1350.

[<sup>6</sup> ... qui prohibet nos facere quod a Domino præceptum est, vel rursum imperat quod Dominus fieri prohibuit; execrabilis debet esse qui ejusmodi est, omnibus qui diligunt Deum.—Basil. Op. Lat. Basil. 1520. De Inst. Monach. Reg. cap. xiv. fol. 165.]

[<sup>7</sup> Sozom. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. v. cap. viii. pp. 491, 2.]

[<sup>8</sup> ... conversus ad Christi imaginem inter duo ostia inflexo capite, &c.—Chrysost. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. Miss. Tom. V. col. 1370. The Greek text varies: ... ἐμπροσθεν τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης ποιούσι προσκυνήματα τρία.—Chrysost. Lit. in Lit. Sanct. Patr. Par. 1560. p. 82.]

[<sup>9</sup> See before, page 114.]

[<sup>10</sup> Cujus [Hirenes] filius Constantinus ob insolentiam morum a suis captus, excæcatus est: vel, ut quidam verius fatentur, ipsius matris suæ consilio hoc factum est, ipsaque regnum sola tenere contendit.—Chronio. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. Anni

Constant. p. 188.

Carion. Chronic. Libell. Par. 1543. fol. 86. But the account given here is still less precise.]

[<sup>11</sup> ... μείζων ἢ εἰκὼν τοῦ λόγου.—Joan. in Concil. Nic. ii. Act. iv. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VII. col. 212. See also in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. pp. 507, 8.]

[<sup>12</sup> ... ἀποδέχομαι τε καὶ ἀσπάζομαι τὰς ἱερὰς καὶ σεπτὰς εἰκόνας, καὶ τοὺς μὴ οὕτω φρονούντας τῷ ἀναθέματι παραπέμπω. This was the sentence of one of the bishops, and the others generally expressed themselves in similar language.—Ibid. Act. ii. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. VII. cols. 129, &c.; Crabb. Concil. Tom. II. pp. 486, &c. See also Act. i. cols. 57, 61. Act. v. col. 389.]

[<sup>13</sup> Every one precedes one only excepted. H. A. 1564. But H. A. 1565, which Jewel appears generally to have followed, has as in the text.]

saith, that he made the images of Christ and of his mother Mary<sup>1</sup>. St Ambrose witnesseth, that in his time the images of the apostles were used in pictures: for where he declareth the marvellous appearing of the holy martyrs, *In Vita Gervasi et Protasii*, unto him in a vision, he saith that a third person appeared with them, that told him where their bodies lay, which seemed like to St Paul the apostle, as he understood his face by view of his picture<sup>2</sup>.

Gregory Nyssene, St Basil's brother, writing the life of Theodorus the martyr, bestoweth much eloquence in the praise of the church where his holy reliques were kept, commending the shape of living things wrought by the carver, the smoothness of marble polished like silver by the mason, the lively resemblance of the martyr himself, and of all his worthy acts, expressed and excellently set forth to the eye in imagery with the image of Christ by the painter<sup>3</sup>. In which images he acknowledgeth the sights<sup>4</sup> of the martyr to be declared no less than if they were described and written in a book.

Paulinus, the bishop of Nola, in his book that he made in verses *In decimo Natali* of the life of Felix the martyr, praiseth the church which the martyr's body was laid in, for the garnishing of it with painted images in both side<sup>5</sup>, of both kinds, both<sup>6</sup> men and women, the one kind on the one side, and the other kind on the other side<sup>7</sup>. Where he speaketh expressly by name of the images of scabbed Job and blind Toby, of fair Judith and great queen Hester; for so he nameth them<sup>8</sup>.

#### THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

St Paul saith, "Luke the physician," and not Luke the painter. He painted the blessed virgin with the colours of his speech, wherein he was counted more eloquent than any of the rest; but otherwise to paint her he had no leisure. Howbeit, Theodorus Anagnostes saith, "Eudoxia sent the same image from Hierusalem to the empress Pulcheria<sup>9</sup>;" upon what credit, it is not known. But this Simeon Metaphrastes, whom M. Harding here painteth out in his colours, and calleth him a Greek writer, was a poor school-master in Constantinople, and wrote saints' lives, which may well be called the legends of lies, and lived two hundred years ago, and not above. Of so right good ancient authority be M. Harding's witnesses.

Touching that is here alleged of St Ambrose, of Gregorius Nyssenus, and of Paulinus, I grant, as there were painters and gravers at that time, so were there also pictures and images at the same time, and that not only in private houses and market-places, but also in the congregations and open churches. Eusebius saith that the use thereof was brought first into the church by the heathens<sup>10</sup>; and St Hierome saith, speaking of the curiosity of the heathens in this behalf: *Argento et auro decoravit illud, ut fulgore utriusque materix decipiat simplices. Qui quidem error ad nos usque transivit, ut religionem in divitiis arbitremur*<sup>11</sup>: "He adorneth his image with silver and gold, that by the shine and glittering of both these metals he may deceive the simple. Which error doubtless is now croppen in among<sup>12</sup> us," that be Christians, "so that now we think

[<sup>1</sup> ... αὐτὸν τὸν τοῦ προσλήμματος τοῦ ἐμοῦ Χριστοῦ τύπον, τὸν τε τῆς αὐτὸν τεκούσης... χαρακτῆρα, πρῶτος οὗτος κηρῶ και χρώμασι βαίψας, ἐν εἰκόνι τιμάσθαι μεχρὶ και νῦν παραδέδωκεν.—Sym. Metaphr. Vit. Sanct. Evang. Johan. et Luc. Oxon. 1597. p. 80. The date of this writer is variously given; some placing him much earlier than the time here assigned. See Cave, Script. Eccles. Hist. Lit. Oxon. 1740—3. Vol. II. p. 88.]

[<sup>2</sup> ... cum quadam mihi tertia apparuere persona, quæ similis erat beato Paulo apostolo, cuius me vultum pictura docuerat, &c.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686—90. Ex Num. Epist. Segreg. ii. 4. Tom. II. Append. col. 484. This piece is spurious.]

[<sup>3</sup> Gregor. Nyss. Op. Par. 1638. Orat. de S. Theodor. Mart. Tom. III. p. 579.]

[<sup>4</sup> Fights, 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>5</sup> Sides, 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>6</sup> H. A. 1564, omits both.]

[<sup>7</sup> Sides, 1611.]

[<sup>8</sup> Unam sanctorum complent sacra gesta virorum, Jobus vulneribus tentatus, lumine Tobit. Ast aliam sexus minor obtinet, inclyta Judith, Qua simul et regina potens depingitur Esther.

—Paulin. Op. Antv. 1622. S. Fel. Natal. Dec. xxv. pp. 617, 8.]

[<sup>9</sup> Καὶ ὅτι ἡ Εὐδοκία τῇ Πουλχερίᾳ τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς θεομήτορος, ἣν ὁ ἀπόστολος Λουκᾶς καθιστόρησεν, ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ἀπέστειλεν.—Theodor. Lect. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695—1700. Lib. i. p. 551.]

[<sup>10</sup> Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. vii. cap. xviii. p. 216. See before, page 652.]

[<sup>11</sup> Hieron. Op. Par. 1693—1706. Comm. Lib. ii. in Jerem. Proph. cap. x. Tom. III. col. 577.]

[<sup>12</sup> Amongst, 1565.]

Col. iv.  
Lucas  
Medicus.

Theodor.  
Lib. i.

Volaterra-  
nus.

Euseb. Lib.  
vii. cap. xvii.

Hieron. in  
Hierem. Lib.  
ii. cap. x.

our religion standeth in riches." St Hierome would not have complained hereof, if it had not been used in some places in his time. Neither could Epiphanius, the godly bishop of Cyprus, have rent in sunder the picture of Christ painted in a cloth, or call it a superstition unfit for the church of God<sup>13</sup>; nor could Serenus, the worthy bishop of Massilia, have broken in pieces images wrought in timber and stone<sup>14</sup>; unless such pictures and images had then been used. We deny not but images were then in use; but we deny they were then worshipped of the people, or set up to the intent they should be worshipped.

The  
Image of  
Christ.

Epiph. ad  
Johan.  
Hieros.  
Gregor. Lib.  
ix. Epist. 9.

M. HARDING. THE EIGHTH DIVISION.

*Athanasius hath one notable place for having the image of our Saviour Christ, which is not common, where he maketh Christ and the church to talk together as it were in a dialogue, In Sermone de Sanctis Patribus et Prophetis. The Greek may thus be translated: Age (inquit) dic mihi, cur oppugnaris? Oppugnor (inquit ecclesia) propter doctrinam evangelii, quam diligenter et accurate teneo, et propter verum et firmum pascha quod agito, et propter religiosam et puram imaginem tuam, quam mihi apostoli reliquerunt, ut haberem depictam arram humanitatis tuæ, in qua mysterium redemptionis operatus es. Hic Christus, Si propter hoc (inquit) te oppugnant, ne graviter feras, neve animum despondeas, cum scias, si quis pascha neget, aut imaginem, me eum negaturum coram Patre meo, et electis angelis; rursus vero, qui compatitur mecum propter pascha, conglorificaturum. An non audisti, quid Moysi præceperim? Facies, inquam, mihi duos cherubinos in tabernaculo testimonii, scilicet, ad præfigurandam meam imaginem, &c.*<sup>15</sup>

*The English of this Latin, or rather of the Greek, is this: "Come on (quoth<sup>16</sup> Christ to the church), tell me wherefore art thou thus invaded and vexed? declare me the matter. Forsooth, Lord (quoth<sup>16</sup> the church), I am invaded and vexed for the exact observing of the gospel, and for the keeping of the feast of the true and firm Easter, and for thy reverend and pure image, which thy holy apostles have left to me by tradition, to have and keep for a representation of thine incarnation. Then (quoth<sup>16</sup> our Lord), if this be the matter for which thou art invaded and set against, be not dismayed, be of good comfort in heart and mind, being assured hereof, that whoso denieth Easter, or my clean image, I ἀρᾶντων shall deny him before my heavenly Father and his chosen angels. And he that suffereth persecution with me for keeping of Easter, the same shall also be glorified with me. Hast not thou heard what I commanded Moses the law-giver to do? Make me (said I) two cherubins in the tabernacle of the testimony, to be a prefiguration or foretokening of my image," &c.*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

I trow, this good old monument of antiquity hath lain long in the dust at Verona, with M. Harding's Amphilocheus. The church piteously bemoaneth herself unto Christ, that she is sore persecuted and vexed for his image. Christ, to comfort her withal, saith: "Whoso denieth mine image shall be denied before my Father." In the end he confirmeth the use of such images by the example of the cherubins.

Here M. Harding, to increase some credit to his new doctor, should have shewed us when the church was thus vexed for having the image of Christ, and who vexed her, and what kind of vexation it was, and how long it continued, and in what country, and when it ceased. The church is built upon a mount: her persecutions cannot be hidden. If she ever were thus vexed for having of images, (I mean before the time of Athanasius,) it must needs appear: if never, then was she a very wanton thus to complain without cause.

[<sup>13</sup> Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Epist. ad Joan. Episc. Hieros. Hieron. Interp. Tom. II. p. 317.]

[<sup>14</sup> Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. ix. Indict. ii. Ad Seren. Massil. Episc. Epist. cv. Tom. II. col. 1006; Lib. xi. Indict. iv. Epist. xlii. col. 1100.]

[<sup>15</sup> Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Hom. in SS. Patr. et Proph. 8. Tom. II. pp. 453, 4. The Benedictine editors acknowledge this homily to be "ineptissimi hominis fœtus."]

[<sup>16</sup> Quod, 1565.]

The  
Image of  
Christ.

If these threats be true, that whoso denieth the graven or painted image of Christ shall be denied before God the Father; then must Epiphanius the bishop of Cyprus, and Serenus the bishop of Massilia, both godly and zealous bishops, and a great number of other godly-learned fathers, that rent, and brake down, and defaced Christ's images, be utterly denied before God. To be short, to say that God commanded Moses to make the golden cherubins purposely to be figures of these images of wood or stone, it is a very fabulous and a childish fantasy, without any ground; howbeit, good enough to maintain and colour a childish doctrine.

Notwithstanding, if there be any weight either in this hidden Athanasius or in his sayings, then may we well conjecture that he useth this word "image" in this place, not for any such material form, painted or graven by man's hand, but for the whole conversation of the Son of God in this mortal life, which is as much as, *Verbum caro factum est*, "The Word became flesh;" and is expressed and set forth as an image before our eyes in the whole doctrine and policy of the church, as the deepest ground and very foundation of the christian faith. And thus St Paul saith: *Christus est imago Patris*: "Christ is the image of the Father." Otherwise God is invisible. St John saith: "No man ever saw God; but the Son, that is in the Father's bosom, he hath revealed the Father's will." In his conversation in the flesh, as in an image, we behold God the Father. So in the book of the Apocalypse *imago bestie*, "the image of the beast," is called, not any material image painted or graven, but the doctrine, the seduction, the errors, the lies, the blasphemies, the idolatry, and the whole conversation of antichrist. So St Basil saith: "Christ called his flesh and blood the whole mystical doctrine of his gospel, which he published in his dispensation in the flesh<sup>1</sup>." So St Augustine seemeth to say: *Ejus passionis imaginem in ecclesia celebrandam dedit*<sup>2</sup>: "He gave the image of his passion to be frequented in the church." And Pachymeres, the Greek paraphrast, expoundeth this word *imago* thus: 'Αγάλματα δὲ φησὶ τὰς εἰκόνας τῶν μυστικῶν<sup>3</sup>: "He calleth pictures the images or inward and deep considerations of our mysteries." For this image of Christ the church of God was often persecuted. This image, as some of the old fathers say, was represented and figured by the cherubins: and undoubtedly, whosoever denieth this image, Christ shall deny him before God his Father. This exposition is agreeable both to the tenor of God's word, and also to the story of the time; and therefore we may safely judge, if this were Athanasius indeed, that this was his very meaning. Otherwise the common and known Athanasius, that is extant and abroad, writeth thus: 'Η τῶν εἰδώλων εὕρεσις οὐκ ἀπ' ἀγαθοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ κακίας γέγονε. Τὸ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχον κακὴν ἐν οὐδενὶ ποτε καλὸν κριθείη, ὅλον ὄν φαῦλον<sup>4</sup>: "The invention of images is of evil<sup>5</sup>, and not of good. And the thing that hath an ill beginning can never be judged good in any thing, as being in all respects and altogether ill." This is this holy father's most clear judgment, not cast up in corners and hidden in the dust, but open to the eyes and sight of all the world.

M. HARDING. THE NINTH DIVISION.

*Of all the fathers none hath a plainer testimony, both for the use and also for the worshipping of images, than St Basil, whose authority for learning, wisdom, and holiness of life, beside antiquity, is so weighty in the judgment of all men, that all our new masters, laid in balance against him, shall be found lighter than any feather. Touching this matter, making a confession of his faith in an*

[<sup>1</sup> Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Ad Cæsar. Epist. viii. 4. Tom. III. p. 84.]

[<sup>2</sup> ... et holocausti ejus imaginem ad memoriam passionis suæ in ecclesia celebrandam dedit.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Div. Quæst. Octog. Trib. Quæst. lxi. 2. Tom. VI. col. 35.]

[<sup>3</sup> Pachym. Paraphr. in Dionys. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii. 3. Tom. I. p. 318.]

[<sup>4</sup> Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Orat. contr. Gent. 7. Tom. I. Pars 1. p. 7.]

[<sup>5</sup> Ill, 1565, 1609.]

*Citatur ab Adriano papa in Epistola Synodica ad Constantinum et Irenæum.* epistle intei'ghing against Julian the renegade, he saith thus: "Even as we have received our christian and pure faith of God, as it were by right of heritage; right so I make my confession thereof to him, and therein I abide. I believe in one God Father Almighty, God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost. One God (in substance) and these three (in Persons) I adore and glorify. I confess also the Son's incarnation. Then afterward St Mary, who, according to the flesh, brought him forth, calling her Deiparam. I reverence also the holy apostles, prophets, and martyrs, which make supplication to God for me; that by their mediation our most benign God be merciful unto me, and grant me freely remission of my sins." Then this followeth: Quam ob causam, et historias imaginum illorum honoro, et palam adoro; hoc enim nobis traditum a sanctis apostolis non est prohibendum, sed in omnibus ecclesiis nostris eorum historias erigimus<sup>7</sup>: "For the which cause I do both honour the stories of their images, and openly adore them. For this, being delivered unto us of the holy apostles by tradition, is not to be forbidden. And therefore we set up in all our churches their stories." Lo, M. Jewel, here you see a sufficient testimony that images were set up in the churches long before the end of your six hundred years, and that they were honoured and worshipped, not only of the simple christian people, but of bishop Basil, who for his excellent learning and wisdom was renowned with the name of "great."

This Basil is not St Basil.

#### THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Indeed, as St Basil for his learning, wisdom, and constancy in God's truth, was worthily called great, so was his authority always accounted very weighty. If M. Harding had in him some part of that poise, he would not so lightly be blown away from Christ and his gospel with so weak blasts of light fantasy. But this Basil is not Basil: nor are these words St Basil's words. Only pope Adrian, in his synodical epistle, among other vain authorities allegeth these words in the name of Basil. But in St Basil's books, which are extant and abroad, they are not found.

And, whereas this Basil is made to protest, that he will honour and adore images, and that openly to the example of others, M. Harding knoweth this doctrine is contrary not only to common sense, but also to his own councils. For in the council of Mens it is thus written<sup>8</sup>: *Imagines non ad id proponuntur, ut adoremus aut colamus eas*<sup>9</sup>: "Images are not set up to the intent we should honour or worship them." Neither doth Gregory call them gods to be honoured, but only books to be read; neither books of profound knowledge, to instruct St Basil or other like learned bishops, but *libros laicorum*, "poor simple books to teach the ignorant."

Council. Mogunt. de Imaginib.

And, forasmuch as M. Harding would have us to make so deep account of the authority of this council; for the better satisfaction of the reader in this behalf, I think it necessary briefly, and by the way, to touch some part of those weighty reasons, whereby the bishops and fathers there after long deliberation were forced to erect and stablish the use and adoration of images, and to condemn the gainsayers as blasphemers and heretics. Their special grounds are these:

Moses saith: "God took clay, and made man after his own image and likeness:" Gen. ii.

Esay saith: "There shall be a sign and a testimony to the Lord in the land of Egypt:" Isai. xix.

<sup>7</sup> Irenem, 1565, 1609, H. A. 1565, Irenen, H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>8</sup> Καθὼς ἐκκληρονομήσαμεν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀμεμπτον πίστιν τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ὁμολογῶ, καὶ ἔπομαι, καὶ πιστεύω εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν παντοκράτορα, Θεὸν τὸν Πατέρα, Θεὸν τὸν Υἱόν, Θεὸν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἓνα Θεὸν ταῦτα τὰ τρία προσκυνῶ καὶ δοξάζω. ὁμολογῶ δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐνσαρκον οἰκονομίαν· εἶτα καὶ τὴν ἀγίαν Μαρίαν τὴν κατὰ σάρκα τεκοῦσαν αὐτὸν, θεοτόκον ὁμολογῶ. δέχομαι δὲ τοὺς ἁγίους ἀποστόλους, προφήτας τε καὶ μαρτυροῦμαι, τοὺς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν λιτανεύοντας, ὅτι διὰ

τῆς μεσιτείας αὐτῶν ἰλεῖσθαι μοι γίνεται ὁ φιλόνηθρος Θεός, καὶ τὴν ἀφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν δωρεῖται· διὸ καὶ τὰς ιστορίας τῶν εἰκόνων αὐτῶν τιμῶ καὶ προσκυνῶ φανερώς. τοῦτο γὰρ παρεδόθη ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, καὶ οὐ κωλυτέον· ἀλλ' ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἡμῶν τὴν αὐτῶν ἀναστηλοῦμεν ἱστορίαν.—Basil. cit. ab Hadr. in Epist. ad Const. et Iren. in Concil. Nic. ii. Act. ii. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VII. col. 109.]

<sup>9</sup> Written thus, 1565, 1609.]

<sup>9</sup> Synod. Prov. Mog. cap. 41. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. p. 938; where *proponi*.]

Psal. xcvi. David saith: "Confession and beauty is before him:" "Lord, I have loved the beauty of thy house:" "O Lord, my face hath sought for thee:" "O Lord, I will seek after thy countenance:" "O Lord, the light of thy countenance is sealed over us<sup>1</sup>."

Adr. Epist. Synod. Act. 2. Of every of these several clauses pope Adrian concludeth thus; *ergo*, we must erect images in the church.

Psal. xlvii. Another reasoneth thus: *Sicut audivimus, ita vidimus*<sup>2</sup>: "As we have heard, so have we seen;" *ergo*, there must be images to look upon. Another saith: *Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis*<sup>3</sup>: "God is marvellous in his saints;" *ergo*, the church must be decked with pictures. Another saith: "No man lighteth a candle, and putteth it under a bushel<sup>4</sup>;" *ergo*, images must be set upon the altar. Of all these, and other like authorities, Isidorus concludeth; *ergo*, "a church is nothing worth, unless it be full freight with images<sup>5</sup>."

To prove the adoration and worshipping of images, they have these authorities. David saith: "Adore ye the footstool of his feet:" "Adore ye in his holy hill<sup>6</sup>:" "O Lord, all the rich of the people shall pray before thy countenance<sup>7</sup>;" *ergo*, say they, images must be worshipped.

Now, to reckon up the vanities and idolatrous fables of that council, it would be tedious: "The devil promiseth by his honesty, that he will no longer tempt and trouble a holy man, if he will leave worshipping of the image of our lady<sup>8</sup>." Another sendeth for an image, to fetch home water to his cistern<sup>9</sup>. Another goeth on pilgrimage, and biddeth our lady in his absence to see to her own candle. She did all things accordingly as she was commanded. Until his return the candle went never out<sup>10</sup>. Thus much only for a taste.

These proofs be great and weighty, and in comparison hereof "all our new masters," as M. Harding saith, "shall be found lighter than a feather."

And forasmuch as these men so often charge our doctrine with novelty, thereby to bring it out of credit, as if it had never been known before these latter<sup>11</sup> days; it shall therefore be good to touch some part of the most ancient fathers' judgment, and the old practice of the church concerning the same. Origen saith:

Orig. contr. Cels. Lib. vii. *Dei, ut invisibilis et incorporei, imaginem nullam effigiamus*<sup>12</sup>: "We make no image of God, as knowing him to be invisible and without body." Again he saith:

Orig. contr. Cels. Lib. iv. *Celsus objicit nobis, quod non habeamus altaria et imagines*<sup>13</sup>: "Celsus the heathen chargeth us, that we have neither altars<sup>14</sup> nor images." Clemens Alexandrinus, that lived at the same time, writeth thus: *Nobis aperte vetitum est artem fallacem exercere. Non facies enim, inquit propheta, cujusvis rei similitudinem*<sup>15</sup>: "We are plainly forbidden to use this deceitful art (of painting or graving). For the prophet saith, 'Thou shalt not make the likeness of any thing'." Arnobius, that followed immediately after Clemens and Origen, writeth thus unto the heathens: *Accusatis nos, quod non habeamus imagines et altaria*<sup>16</sup>: "Ye accuse us, for that we have

Clemens Alex. in Paræn. by Sophronius. See Cave, Script. Eccles. Hist. Lit. Oxon. 1740-3. Vol. I. p. 579, 80, 2.]

[<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Act. v. *ibid.*]

[<sup>3</sup> Ibid. cols. 381, 4.]

[<sup>4</sup> Later, 1565.]

[<sup>5</sup> 'Αλλ' οὐδὲ θείας εἰκόνας ὑπολαμβάνομεν εἶναι τὰ ἀγάλματα, ἕτε μορφὴν ἀοράτου καὶ ἀσωμάτου μὴ διαγράφοντα Θεοῦ.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Contr. Cels. Lib. vii. 66. Tom. I. p. 741.]

[<sup>6</sup> Id. *ibid.* Lib. viii. 17. pp. 754, 5. See before, page 310, note 4.]

[<sup>7</sup> Altar, 1565.]

[<sup>8</sup> Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Cohort. ad Gent. 41. Tom. I. p. 54.]

[<sup>9</sup> Arnob. Op. Par. 1580. Adv. Gent. Lib. vi. p. 194. See before, page 310, note 5.]

[<sup>10</sup> Probably the passage intended in Tertullian is that in which he censures the heathens for their image-worship.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Apol. 12. p. 14.]

[<sup>11</sup> These passages, with others, are quoted by Adrian in his letter for the use of images.—Hadr. Epist. ad Const. et Iren. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. II. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VII. cols. 105, 9.]

[<sup>12</sup> Epiph. in Ref. fals. Nom. Def. Tom. I. *ibid.* Act. vi. in eod. col. 408.]

[<sup>13</sup> Exempl. Synod. Theodor. *ibid.* Act. III. in eod. col. 184.]

[<sup>14</sup> Const. et Iren. Epist. *ibid.* Act. I. in eod. col. 49.]

[<sup>15</sup> Isidor. Pelus. cit. a Gregor. Epist. Pisinunt. *ibid.* in eod. col. 64.]

[<sup>16</sup> Leont. Episc. Neap. Cypr. ex quint. serm. pro Christ. Apol. *ibid.* Act. IV. in eod. col. 240.]

[<sup>17</sup> Hadr. Epist. ad Const. et Iren. *ibid.* Act. II. in eod. col. 109.]

[<sup>18</sup> Sophron. ex Lib. Prat. *ibid.* Act. IV. in eod. cols. 252, 3. Act. v. col. 381. Moschus is said to be the author of this work. But Cave adopts the opinion of Vossius, that he was greatly aided in it

neither images nor altars." Lactantius, sometime scholar to Arnobius, saith: *Non est dubium, quin religio nulla sit, ubi . . . simulachrum est*<sup>18</sup>: "Out of doubt, wheresoever is any image, there is no religion." St Augustine much commendeth this saying of Varro: *Qui prima*<sup>19</sup> *simulachra deorum populis posuerunt, illi civitatibus suis metum dempserunt, errorem vero addiderunt*: "They that first erected the images of the gods unto the people, took away fear and religion, and increased error unto their cities;" and addeth thereto this reason: *Quia dii facile possunt in simulachrorum stoliditate contemni*<sup>20</sup>: "Because the gods in the folly of images may soon be despised." The council holden at Eliberis decreeth thus: *Placuit picturas in ecclesiis esse non debere, ne quod colitur aut adoratur in parietibus depingatur*<sup>21</sup>: "We think it good there be no picture in the churches, lest the thing that is honoured or adored be painted on the walls." The like might be said of the council holden at Constantinople<sup>22</sup>. The godly emperors, Valens and Theodosius, gave out this general proclamation throughout all Christendom: *Cum sit nobis cura diligens in rebus omnibus superni numinis religionem tueri, signum Salvatoris [nostri] Christi nemini . . . concedimus, coloribus, lapide, aliave materia fingere, sculperere, aut pingere. Sed quocunque reperitur loco, tolli jubemus, gravissima pœna eos mulctando, qui contrarium decretis nostris et imperio quicquam*<sup>23</sup> *tentaverit*<sup>24</sup>: "Forasmuch as we have a diligent care in all things to maintain the religion of the most high God, therefore we suffer no man to fashion, to grave, or to paint the image of our Saviour Christ, either in colours or in stone, or in any other kind of metal or matter. But wheresoever any such image shall be found, we command it to be taken down, assuring our subjects that we will most straitly punish all such as shall presume to attempt any thing contrary to our decree and commandment." The same decree was afterward put in execution, and practised by Philippicus, Leo Constantinus the father, Constantinus the son, Nicephorus, Stauratius, Michael, Leo Armenius, and other christian and godly emperors<sup>25</sup>. These authorities, as they be old and ancient, so be they also plain and evident, and well acquainted and known unto the world; and therefore will soon overpoise all these fables of the image of Nicodemus, of Simeon Metaphrastes, of this young St Basil, of new Athanasius, and of other like blind authorities that have been lately sought up out of corners, and brought to light. Verily Amphilocheus, under whose cloke M. Harding hath so often hid himself, may in no wise be refused. His words be plain: *Non est nobis curæ, sanctorum vultus corporales in tabulis coloribus effigiare; quoniam his opus non habemus*<sup>26</sup>: "We have no care to draw out the bodily countenances of saints in colours and tables; for we have no need of them."

Lactant. Lib. ii. cap. ii.

August. de Civ. Dei, Lib. iv. cap. xxxi.

Concil. Elib. can. 36.

Const. Concil.

Petr. Crint. Lib. ix. cap. ix.

Concil. Nic. II. Act. 6.

## M. HARDING. THE TENTH DIVISION.

Now that there hath been enough alleged for the antiquity, original, and approbation of images, it remaineth it be declared for what causes they have been used in the church. We find that the use of images hath been brought into the church for three causes. The first is the benefit of knowledge. For the simple and unlearned people, which be utterly ignorant of letters, in pictures do as it were read and see, no less than others do in books, the mysteries of christian religion, the acts and worthy deeds of Christ and of his saints. "What writing performeth to them that read, the same doth a picture to the simple beholding it,"

<sup>18</sup> Lactant. Op. Lut. Par. 1748. Div. Inst. Lib. II. De Orig. Error. cap. xix. Tom. I. p. 185.]

<sup>19</sup> Primi, 1565, 1609.]

<sup>20</sup> August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. IV. cap. xxxi. 2. Tom. VII. col. 112; where *primi, eos civitatibus suis et metum dempsisse, et errorem addidisse, and prudenter existimans deos facile posse.*]

<sup>21</sup> Concil. Elib. can. 36. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. I. col. 974; where *ecclesia, and et adoratur.*]

<sup>22</sup> The council held at Constantinople by Constantine Copronymus is no doubt meant. See its acts recited by Gregory of Neocæsarea in Ref. fals.

Nom. Def. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. VI. in eod. Tom. VII. cols. 396, &c.]

<sup>23</sup> Tentaverint, 1565.]

<sup>24</sup> Petr. Crint. De Honest. Discip. Lugd. 1585. Lib. IX. cap. IX. pp. 278, 9; where *insculpere, quocunque reperitur tolli, and tentaverint.*]

<sup>25</sup> For reference to the conduct of several emperors who discountenanced images, see Becou's works, Park. Soc. Edit. Vol. II. p. 71. and notes there given. See also Cent. Eccles. Hist. Magd. Basil. 1562--74. Cent. IX. cap. III. cols. 22, &c.]

<sup>26</sup> Amphiloche. cit. in Ref. fals. Nom. Def. Tom. V. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. VI. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. VII. col. 484.]



saith St Gregory. "For in the same the ignorant see what they ought to follow: in the same they read, which can no letters. Therefore imagery serveth specially the rude nations instead of writing<sup>1</sup>," saith he.

*Ad Serenum Episcopum Massilien. Lib. ix. Epist. 9.*

To this St Basil agreeth in his homily upon the forty martyrs. "Both the writers of stories," saith he, "and also painters do shew and set forth noble deeds of arms and victories, the one garnishing the matter with eloquence, the other drawing it lively in tables, and both have stirred many to valiant courage. For what things the utterance of the story expresseth through hearing, the same doth the still picture set forth through imitation<sup>2</sup>." In the like respect in old time the work of excellent poets was called a speaking picture, and the work of painters a still poetry. And thus the use and profit of writing and of pictures is one. *Pictura loquens. Poema tacens.* For things that be read, when as they come to our ears, then we convey them over to the mind; and the things that we behold in pictures with our eyes, the same also do we embrace in our mind. And so by these two, reading and painting, we achieve one like benefit of knowledge.

#### THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The first and chief cause and end of images is, as it is here pretended, that the people by the sight thereof may attain knowledge. And therefore St Gregory calleth them the laymen's books<sup>3</sup>; and the fathers in a late council say: "We may learn more in a short while by an image, than by long study and travail in the scriptures<sup>4</sup>." And for the same cause St Basil compareth an image painted with a story written. But the comparison that M. Harding useth between imagery and poetry seemeth nearest to express the truth. For painters and poets, for liberty of lying, have of long time been coupled both together. One writeth of them in this sort: *Pictoribus atque poetis Quidlibet audendi semper fuit æqua potestas*<sup>5</sup>: "Painters and poets had ever like charter to adventure all things." And Atheneus, blazing abroad the liberty of poets, writeth of them thus: οἷς λέγειν ἅπαντα καὶ ποιεῖν ἔξεστι μόνους: "Unto whom only it is lawful to say and do what they list." And therefore Cicero seemeth to say: *Nihil negotii est hæc poetarum et pictorum portenta convincere*<sup>6</sup>: "It is no great mastery to reprove these monstrous miracles of painters and poets." And therefore, like as Plato commanded all poets for their lying to be banished out of his commonwealth; so likewise Almighty God, for like liberty, banished all painters out of Israel<sup>7</sup>. For these causes M. Harding's comparison of painters and poets may well be allowed.

Howbeit, this seemeth to be no very handsome way to teach the people. Of their priests they have made images, and of their images they have made priests. For their priests for the more part have eyes, and see not; have ears, and hear not; hearts, and understand not; mouths, and speak not—in all respects even like unto their images. Their images have no eyes, and yet are made to see; have no ears, and yet are made to hear; have no mouths, and yet are set up to speak; and so in these respects do the duties that pertain to priests. Thus they bar the people from the hearing of God's holy word, and bid them go and look upon their images, to talk with their images, to hear their images, and to learn of their images.

[<sup>1</sup> Nam quod legentibus scriptura, hoc idiotis præstat pictura cernentibus: quia in ipsa etiam ignorantibus vident quid sequi debeant, in ipsa legunt qui litteras nesciunt. Unde et præcipue gentibus pro lectione pictura est.—Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. xi. Indict. iv. Ad Seren. Massil. Episc. Epist. xiii. Tom. II. col. 1100.]

[<sup>2</sup> Ἐπεὶ καὶ πολέμων ἀνδραγαθήματα καὶ λογογράφου πολλάκις καὶ ζωγράφου διασημαίνουσιν οἱ μὲν, τῷ λόγῳ διακομούντες, οἱ δὲ, τοῖς πίναξιν ἐγχαράττοντες, καὶ πολλοὺς ἐπήγειραν πρὸς ἀνδρίαν ἐκάτεροι. ἂν γὰρ ὁ λόγος τῆς ἱστορίας διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς παρίστανται, ταῦτα γραφικῆ σιωπῶσα διὰ

μιμήσεως δέκνουν.—Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. In Quadr. Mart. Hom. xix. Tom. II. p. 149.]

[<sup>3</sup> See before, note 1.]

[<sup>4</sup> ... uno obtutu sibi plura proponit, quam diuturna librorum evolutione compræhenderet.—Concil. Senon. Decr. 14. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. p. 749.]

[<sup>5</sup> Hor. De Art. Poet. vv. 9, 10.]

[<sup>6</sup> ... quid negotii est, &c.—Cic. Tusc. Disp. Lib. I. 6.]

[<sup>7</sup> Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Contr. Cels. Lib. IV. 31. Tom. I. p. 524. See before, page 646, note 11.]

Greg. Lib. ix. Epist. 9. Concil. Senon.

Horatius.

Athenæus.

Cic. Tusc. Quæst. I.

Plato.

Orig. contr. Cels. Lib. iv.

And, although perhaps the people may happily learn somewhat by these means, yet is not this the ordinary way whereby God hath appointed the people to attain knowledge. St Paul saith: *Fides ex auditu*: "Faith cometh (not by seeing or gazing, but) by hearing." There were many simple, rude, and unlearned laymen among the Jews: yet God never set up any such books for them to read; but contrariwise evermore forbade them, and cried against them, and would not suffer them. If this be so speedy and so ready a way to teach the people, how happeneth it that, where as is greatest store of such school-masters, there the people is evermore most ignorant, most superstitious, and most subject to idolatry? But, to conclude, the prophets Habacuch and Hieremy say: *Conflatile est demonstratio mendacii: Lignum est doctrina vanitatis*: "A molten idol is a lesson of lies; and (M. Harding's) wooden image is a doctrine of vanity." Rom. x. Hab. ii. Jer. x.

M. HARDING. THE ELEVENTH DIVISION.

*The second cause of the use of images is the stirring of our minds to all godliness. For whereas the effect and desire of man is heavy and dull in divine and spiritual things, because the body that is corruptible weigheth down the mind; when it is set forth before our eyes by images what Christ hath done for us, and what the saints have done for Christ; then it is quickened and moved to the like will of doing and suffering, and to all endeavour of holy and virtuous life. As when we hear apt and fit words uttered in a sermon or an oration, so when we behold looks and gestures lively expressed in images, we are moved to pity, to weeping, to joy, and to other affects. Wherein verily it hath always been thought that painters have had no less grace than either orators or poets.*

*Who listeth to see examples hereof, he may peruse the second Nicene council, where he shall find, among other most notable things concerning this point, one of St Euphemia the martyr, another of Abraham sacrificing his son Isaac, worthy of everlasting memory, that of Asterius the holy bishop<sup>8</sup>, this of Gregory Nyssene, very elegantly described<sup>9</sup>. Virgil maketh Æneas to weep, to hope for better fortune, to gather courage of mind, to take good advice and order for redress and help of his great calamities, by occasion of beholding a painter's work at Carthago, wherein the battle of Troy was expressed<sup>10</sup>: which that wise poet would not have done, were it<sup>11</sup> not that pictures have great force to move men's hearts.*

*Ovid likewise, in the epistle of Laodamia to Protesilaus her husband, being forth at wars, maketh her so to write of his image which she had caused to be made of wax for her comfort in his absence<sup>12</sup>, as it may well appear that images have a marvellous power to stir vehement affects, and to represent things absent as though in manner they were present in the minds of the beholders. Among all other examples for this purpose, that seemeth to me most notable which Appianus writeth of C. Julius Cæsar, Lib. II. De Bellis Civilibus. After that Cæsar had been murdered of the senators in the council-house, one of his friends, to shew the cruelty of the fact to the people, laid Cæsar's bed in the open market-place, and took forth of it his image made of wax, which represented three and twenty wounds after a beastly sort stabbed into his face and all the rest of his body, yet gaping, and as it were fresh bleeding. With which shew he stirred the people to more wrath and rage than he could have done with any oration or gesture; which was declared forthwith. For as soon as the people saw it, not able to bear their grief, nor stay their fury any longer, they<sup>13</sup> wrought great and strange cruelties against them that were found to have committed that murder<sup>14</sup>.*

*The third cause why images have been set up in churches, is the keeping of things in memory necessary to our salvation. For, when we cast our eyes on them, our memory, which otherwise is frail and weak, gathereth together and embraceth the benefits and merits of our Saviour Christ, and the virtuous example<sup>15</sup> of saints,*

[<sup>8</sup> Aster. cit. in Ref. fals. Nom. Def. Tom. v. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. vi. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VII. cols. 488, &c.]

[<sup>9</sup> Gregor. Nyss. cit. ab Hadr. in Epist. ad Const. et Iren. Ibid. Act. II. in eod. col. 109.]

[<sup>10</sup> Virg. Æn. Lib. I. vv. 450, &c.]

[<sup>11</sup> H. A. 1564 and H. A. 1565 omit it.]

[<sup>12</sup> Ovid. Epist. xiii. vv. 151-8.]

[<sup>13</sup> H. A. 1564 omits they.]

[<sup>14</sup> App. de Bell. Civ. Amst. 1670. Lib. II. Tom. II. p. 847.]

[<sup>15</sup> Examples, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

which we ought to follow; that, if we be such as they were, we may, by God's grace through Christ, attain the bliss they be in, and with them enjoy life everlasting. And verily they that have images in regard and reverence must be so minded, as they behold not only the things by them represented, but also perform the same in deed with most diligent imitation.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Touching the second commodity of images, which is the moving and stirring of the mind, M. Harding is fain to pray aid of the heathenish poets Virgil and Ovid, not the meetest authorities for a doctor of divinity; and for proof hereof to bring in their idle fables with an old profane story of Appian. Therefore he seemeth now to draw very deep, and not far from the lees. I marvel he had forgotten the young man in Eunuchus, who, for that he saw Jupiter painted in a table, was straightway thoroughly moved and emboldened to his youthful purpose<sup>1</sup>. I grant, images do oftentimes vehemently move the mind diversly to sundry affections; and I reckon him a blind man that will hold the contrary. Sallust saith, Quintus Maximus and Publius Scipio, whensoever they beheld their ancestors' images, were by and by inflamed with nobility of courage to advance<sup>2</sup> themselves to like adventures. But every thing that may delight or move the mind is not therefore meet for the church of God. God's house is a house of prayer, and not of gazing. And, to answer one profane story by another, the old Lacedemonians would not suffer any image or picture to stand in their council-house, lest the senators' minds by mean thereof should be drawn from that they had in hand to other fantasies<sup>3</sup>. Certainly the wise man saith: *Aspectus imaginis dat insipienti concupiscentiam*: "The sight of an image in the unwise stirreth up concupiscence."

The third commodity touching remembrance is like the first; and therefore is already answered.

M. HARDING. THE TWELFTH DIVISION.

And now we are come to declare how images may be<sup>a</sup> worshipped and honoured without any offence. That godly worship, which consisteth in spirit and truth inwardly, and is declared by signs outwardly in recognising the supreme dominion, which properly of the divines is called latria, is deferred only to the blessed Trinity. As for the holy images, to them we do not attribute that worship at all, but an inferior reverence or adoration; for so it is named<sup>b</sup>; which is nothing else but a recognising of some virtue or excellency protested by outward sign, as reverent kissing, bowing down, kneeling, and such the like honour. Which kind of adoration or worship we find in the scriptures oftentimes given to creatures. The whole act whereof is notwithstanding referred not to the images<sup>b</sup> principally, but to the things by them represented, as being the true and proper objects of such worship. For although the honour of an image passeth over to the original or first sampler<sup>5</sup>, which the learned call archetypum, as St Basil teacheth; yet that high worship called latria belongeth only to the blessed Trinity, and not to the reverend images; lest we should seem to be worshippers of creatures, and of matters, as of gold, silver, stones, wood, and of such other the like things. "For we adore not images as God<sup>c</sup>," saith Athanasius, "neither in them do we put hope of our salvation, ne to them do we give godly service or worship; for so did the gentiles; but by such adoration or reverence we declare only a certain affection and love which we bear toward the originals. And therefore, if it happen their figure and shape to be defaced and undone, we let not to burn

In Eunucho.

Plutarchus.

Wisd. xv.

Holy images, by M. Harding's confession, are worshipped without spirit and truth.

<sup>a</sup> A vain distinction. For the Hebrew word soundeth: *Non incurvabis te ipsum*: "Thou shalt not bow down," &c.

<sup>b</sup> The act or<sup>s</sup> adoration is referred to the image, although not principally.

<sup>c</sup> This Athanasius is forged, and not the true Athanasius.

How images may be worshipped without offence.

Lib. ad Amphilocho. cap. xviii.

In Questionib. Ad Antiochum Principem.

[<sup>1</sup> Ter. Eunuch. III. v. vv. 35, &c.]  
Avance, 1565.]

[<sup>2</sup> Plutarch. in Vit. Lycurg.]

[<sup>4</sup> He, H. A. 1564 and H. A. 1565.]

[<sup>5</sup> Διότι ἡ τῆς εἰκότος τιμὴ ἐπὶ τὸ πρωτότυπον διαβαίνει. — Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Lib. de Spir. Sanct. cap. xviii. 45. Tom. III. p. 38.]

[<sup>6</sup> Of, 1565, 1609.]

the stocks as very wood, and, being of other stuff, to convert the same to any use it may best serve<sup>7</sup> for<sup>8</sup>."

St Gregory, praising much one Secundinus, for that he desired the image of our Saviour to be sent unto him, to the intent by having his image before his eyes he might the more be stirred to love him in his heart; after a few words uttered in this sense, he saith further: "We know thou demandest not the image of our Saviour to the intent to worship it as God, but for the remembrance of the Son of God, that thou mightest be enkindled with the love of him whose image thou desirest to behold. And verily we fall not down before it as before God: but we adore and worship him, whom through occasion of the image we remember either born, or done to death for us, or sitting in his throne. And whiles we reduce the Son of God to our memory by the picture, no less than by writing, it bringeth either gladness to our mind by reason of his resurrection, or comfort by reason of his passion<sup>10</sup>." Thus far St Gregory<sup>11</sup>.

And if men pray kneeling before any image or triumphant sign of the holy cross, they worship not the wood or stone figured, but they honour the highest God. And whom they cannot behold with senses, they reverence and worship his image representing him, according to ancient institution, not resting or staying themselves in the image, but transferring the adoration and worship to him that is represented.

Much might be alleged out of the fathers concerning the worshipping of images; but this may suffice. And of all this one sense redoundeth, that, what reverence, honour, or worship soever is applied to images, it is but for remembrance, love, and honour of the primitives or originals. As when we kiss the gospel book, by that token we honour not the parchment, paper, and ink, wherein it is written, but the gospel itself. And as Jacob, when he kissed his son Joseph's coat embued with kid's blood, holding and embracing it in his arms, and making heavy moan over it, the affection of his love and sorrow rested not in the coat, but was directed to Joseph himself, whose infortunate death (as he thought) that bloody coat represented; so christian men, shewing tokens of reverence, love, and honour before the image of Christ, of an apostle, or martyr, with their inward recognition and devotion of their hearts, they stay not their thoughts in the very images, but defer the whole to Christ, to the apostle, and to the martyr, giving to each one in due proportion that which is to be given, putting difference between the almighty Creator and the creatures, finally, rendering all honour and glory to God alone, who is marvellous in his saints. Such worshipping of images is neither to be accounted for wicked, nor to be despised: (203) for the which we have the testimonies of the ancient fathers, both Greeks and Latins: unto which further authority is added by certain\* general councils, that have condemned the breakers and impugnors of the same.

#### THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding hath made a very large entry to so small a house. The whole question standeth only in this one point of adoration, which is here very lightly passed over in few words. All the rest is used only as a flourish to begin the game. Neither doth he anywise directly answer that was demanded, that is, whether images in old times were set up to be worshipped; but only sheweth

[<sup>7</sup> Serve best, H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>8</sup> Οὐχ ὡς θεοῦ προσκυνοῦμεν τὰς εἰκόνας οἱ πιστοὶ μὴ γένοιτο ὡς οἱ Ἕλληνες. ἀλλὰ μόνου τὴν σκέψιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν τῆς πρὸς τὸν χαρακτήρα τῆς εἰκόνας ἐμφανίζομεν. ὅθεν πολλὰς τοῦ χαρακτήρος λειανθέντος, ὡς ζῆλον ἀργῶν λοιπὸν τὴν ποτε εἰκόνα καίομεν.—Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Quæst. ad Antioch. xxxix. Tom. II. p. 277.

This piece is spurious.]

[<sup>9</sup> H. A. 1564 omits this reference: it appears in H. A. 1565.]

[<sup>10</sup> Scio quidem quod imaginem Salvatoris nostri non ideo petis, ut quasi Deum colas, sed ob recorda-

tionem Filii Dei in ejus amore recalescas, cujus te imaginem videre desideras. Et nos quidem non quasi ante divinitatem ante illam prosternimur, sed illum adoramus quem per imaginem aut natum, aut passum, sed et in throno sedentem recordamur. Et dum nobis ipsa pictura quasi scriptura ad memoriam Filium Dei reducit, animum nostrum aut de resurrectione latificat, aut de passione demulcet.—Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. ix. Indict. II. Ad Secundin. Epist. lii. Tom. II. col. 971.]

[<sup>11</sup> H. A. 1564 places Thus far St Gregory at the end of the next paragraph.]

The two hundred and third untruth. For no ancient father, either Greek or Latin, ever taught us to kiss an image, or to kneel, or to bow down unto it.

\* Without the compass of six hundred years.

his own fantasy in what sort they may be worshipped; wherein notwithstanding he seemeth not to agree thoroughly neither with the rest of his company nor with himself. His final resolution is this: The adoration that is made in this sort is not principally directed to the image. The sense of which words is this: The corruptible creature of wood or stone may be worshipped, although not principally or chiefly as God himself, which is thereby represented. And thus he taketh an indifferent way between both; as if he would say: An image may be worshipped; and yet it may not be worshipped. Again: It may not be worshipped; and yet it may be worshipped. And for confirmation hereof he allegeth certain authorities forged under the names of St Basil and Athanasius; notwithstanding he know right well, that neither of these two fathers ever either uttered such words, or had cause to move such matter. Only they are alleged in that childish council of Nice the second, among a great number of other like lies and fables. Good christian reader, if thou be learned, consider and weigh that council; and thou shalt say, I have reported much less than thou hast found. And the same Athanasius, as he is here brought in to prove the adoration of images, so elsewhere in the same council he is forced to say, that Christ dwelleth in reliques and dead men's bones<sup>1</sup>.

As for Gregory, notwithstanding he speak expressly of images, yet he speaketh not one word of the adoration of images<sup>2</sup>. In conclusion, M. Harding, being not able to allege, no not so much as an<sup>3</sup> ancient father for the worshipping of images, these manifest forgeries only excepted, yet he blusheth not to say in a bravery, that he might allege a great number more. By such faces, and vying of empty store, the simple people is oft deceived. But what needeth M. Harding either to hold by these counterfeit and forged deeds, or else by these fond devices of principal and not principal adoration thus to simper and to season the matter between both? Certainly the bishops, in his second council of Nice, think themselves able to prove, both by scripture and also by ancient authority, that images ought undoubtedly to be honoured. For, as it is said before, they allege these scriptures: "Worship the footstool of his feet:" "Adore him in his holy hill:" "All the rich of the people shall worship thy face." Hereof they conclude thus: *Ergo*, images must be worshipped. And therefore Theodosius, the bishop of Mira, in the same council alloweth it well, and specially for that his archdeacon was taught the same by revelation in a dream<sup>4</sup>. Therefore one of them saith: *Venerandas imagines adoro, et id perpetuo docebo*<sup>5</sup>: "I adore the reverend images, and will maintain the same while I live." Another saith: *Historias imaginum honoro, et palam adoro*: "I worship the stories of images, and adore them openly." Another saith: *Imagines perfecte adoro*: "I give perfect adoration unto images." Another saith: *Eos, qui diversum statuunt, aversor, et anathematizo*: "All such as hold the contrary I utterly forsake, and hold them accursed." Briefly, the whole council there determined<sup>6</sup> thus: *Eos qui circa adorationem imaginum laborant, aut dubitant, nostra synodus anathematizat*<sup>7</sup>: "All such as stagger or stand in doubt of the adoration of images are accursed by this council."

They say: We know that images are creatures corruptible; and therefore we neither use them nor take them as gods. And thus they think themselves very wise men, that can know that birds and children be able to know. Even so the heathens were wont to say of their idols. Cicero confesseth, *Jovem lapidem, non esse Deum*, "that Jupiter is a stone, and no God." Lactantius hereof writeth thus: *Non ipsa, inquit, adoramus, sed eos ad quorum imagines facta, et quorum nominibus consecrata sunt*<sup>8</sup>. The infidel will say, even as M. Harding here saith: We worship not our images, but our gods, unto whose likeness

[<sup>1</sup> Exempl. Synod. Theodor. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. III. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VII. col. 184. See before p. 594, note 8.]

[<sup>2</sup> See before, page 663, note 10.]

[<sup>3</sup> One, 1565.]

[<sup>4</sup> Carol. Magni Script. de Imag. 1549. Lib. III. cap. xxvi. foll. A a, &c.]

[<sup>5</sup> Petr. Episc. Nicom. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. II.

in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. VII. col. 132.]

[<sup>6</sup> Determineth, 1565.]

[<sup>7</sup> Ibid. &c. See also before, page 653, note 12.]

[<sup>8</sup> Non ipsa, inquit, timemus, sed eos, ad quorum imaginem facta, et, &c.—Lactant. Op. Lut. Par. 1748. Div. Inst. Lib. II. De Orig. Error. cap. II. Tom. I. p. 116.]

Concil. Nic. II. Act. 3.

Greg. Lib. vii. Epist. 53.

Ex libro Carol. Magni.

Psal. xcix.

Psal. xlviii. Psal. xlv.

Concil. Nic. II. Act. 2.

the images are made, and in whose names they are consecrate. The like hereof we may find in St Augustine<sup>9</sup>, in Athanasius<sup>10</sup>, in Sozomenus<sup>11</sup>, and in others. And this excuse was then, as now, thought sufficient.

Latria,  
Doulia.

But St Augustine saith: "Very children know that these images have eyes, and see not; mouths, and speak not. Wherefore then doth the Holy Ghost so often teach us and admonish us the same thing in the scriptures, as if we knew it not?" He answereth: *Quia species membrorum . . . in . . . eminenti collocata suggestu, cum honorari atque adorari cœperit a multitudine, parit in unoquoque sordidissimum erroris affectum; ut, quoniam in illo figmento non invenit vitalem motum, credat numen occultum; et effigiem viventi corpori similem, seductus forma et commotus auctoritate, quasi sapientium institutorum, obsequentium . . . turbarum, sine vivo aliquo habitatore esse non putet*<sup>12</sup>: "For that the very shape and proportion of a man set aloft, after it once beginneth to be adored and honoured of the multitude, it breedeth in every man that most vile affection of error, that, although he find there no natural moving or token of life, yet he thinketh some god or godly thing is within it; and so, being deceived, partly by the form that he seeth, and partly by the authority and credit of the authors and makers of it, whom they take to be wise, and partly also by the example and devotion of the people, whom they see obedient to the same, he thinketh that the image, being so like to a living body, cannot be without some living thing underneath it." Again he saith: *Cum [in] his sedibus locantur honorabili sublimitate, ut a precantibus atque immolantibus attendantur ipsa similitudine animatorum membrorum atque sensuum, quamvis sensu et anima careant, afficiunt infirmos animos, ut vivere atque spirare videantur*<sup>13</sup>: "After that images be once set up in these places in honourable height, that they that pray or sacrifice may look upon them, although they have neither sense nor soul, yet they so strike and amaze the weak minds of the people, even with the very proportion of living members and senses, that they seem to have life and to draw breath." Again he saith: *Quis . . . adorat vel orat intuens simulacrum, qui non sic afficitur, ut ab eo se exaudiri putet, [ac] ab eo sibi præstari, quod desiderat, speret*<sup>14</sup>? "Who ever adoreth or maketh his prayer beholding an image, but he is so moved in his mind, that he thinketh the image heareth him, and hopeth it will perform his prayer?"

August. in  
Psal. cxiii.  
Athanas.  
contr. Gent.  
Sozom. Lib.  
vii. cap. xv.  
De Sophista  
Olympio.  
August. in  
Psal. cxiii.

August. in  
Epist. 49.

August. in  
Psal. cxiii.  
cxiii.

All these things the heathens knew, and therefore were well shielded with M. Harding's excuse, and yet notwithstanding were idolaters; and, as the prophet Hieremy reporteth, they said to a block, *Pater meus es tu*, "Thou art my father;" and to a stone, *Tu me genuisti*, "Thou art my maker, thou hast begotten me." And therefore were they the children of God's anger; for that they "turned the truth of God into a lie, and honoured the creature above the Creator, which is God blessed for ever."

Jer. ii.

Rom. i.

And, the more to encourage the simple in these errors, they have devised many feigned miracles. The dead images have been forced to sweat, to weep, to laugh, and to shift themselves from place to place. And as among the painims and infidels the image of Jupiter was able to say aloud, "Let all Christians be banished the country<sup>15</sup>;" and as the image of Juno, being demanded whether she would go to Rome or no, was able to give a courteous beck, and gently to say, *Volo*, "I am content<sup>16</sup>;" even so among Christians images have been able to speak whatsoever their keeper or sexton listed. The image of our lady was able to attend her own candle, and other images able

Euseb. Lib.  
viii.  
De Theo-  
tecn.

Coneil. Nic.  
ii. Act. 5.

<sup>9</sup> August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. cxiii. Enarr. Serm. ii. 4. Tom. IV. col. 1262.]

<sup>10</sup> Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Orat. contr. Gent. 19, &c. Tom. I. Pars i. pp. 19, &c.]

<sup>11</sup> Sozom. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. vii. cap. xv. p. 588.]

<sup>12</sup> Quis puer interrogatus non hoc certum esse respondeat, quod simulacra gentium os habent, et non loquentur; oculos habent, et non videbunt? . . . Cur ergo tantopere Spiritus sanctus curat scripturarum plurimis locis hæc insinuare atque inculcare velut inscientibus . . . nisi quia species &c. adorari atque

honorari a multitudine cœperit, &c. effigiem tamen &c. non putat?—August. Op. In Psalm. cxiii. Enarr. Serm. ii. 3. Tom. IV. col. 1261.]

<sup>13</sup> Id. ad Deograt. Epist. cii. Quæst. iii. 18. Tom. II. cols. 279, 80; where *his locantur sedibus, quamvis insensata et exanima, and ac spirare.*]

<sup>14</sup> Id. in Psalm. cxiii. Enarr. Serm. ii. 5. Tom. IV. col. 1262.]

<sup>15</sup> Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. ix. cap. iii. p. 286.]

<sup>16</sup> Tit. Liv. Hist. Lib. v. cap. xxii.]

Latria,  
Doulia.

to heal all diseases<sup>1</sup>. Briefly, Nicolaus Lyra saith: *In ecclesia Dei populus sæpe decipitur a sacerdotibus fictis miraculis lucri causa*<sup>2</sup>: "In the church of God the priests oftentimes deceive the people with feigned miracles for lucre's sake." Thus the world was borne in hand, that images were not only bare images, but had also some secret divine power hidden within them, and therefore were worthy to be honoured.

Here is imagined a great difference in adoration between *latria* and *doulia*. *Latria* is the honour that belongeth only unto God (as M. Harding saith) in recognising of the supreme dominion. But of *doulia*, which is the other part, and may be Englished "a service," and, as they say, is due unto a creature, he thought it best to say nothing. Thus, by M. Harding's distinction, we must honour God and serve images. And therefore this reverence so given may not be called *idololatria*, but *idolodoulia*; that is to say, "not the honouring, but only the serving or obeying of images." In like sort Lyra saith: "One knee we may bow to any noble personage; but upon both we may kneel only unto God<sup>3</sup>." And by such a simple distinction it is thought the whole matter is well salved. But what if the simple people understand no Greek, and cannot so learnedly discern *latria* from *doulia*, but take the one adoration for the other? Verily, as it now fareth in the church of Rome, they use them both<sup>4</sup> universally without difference. Therefore this distinction, thus applied, seemeth much like to that the<sup>5</sup> physician's wife sometime said: "Pepper is cold in working, and hot in operation." For M. Harding's distinction standeth not in difference of matter, but only in words. Cicero saith: *Bonum esse negas: præpositum dicis. An minus hoc pacto avaritiam*?<sup>6</sup> "Thou wilt not have worldly wealth called *bonum*, but only *præpositum*. But dost thou hereby any thing abate avarice?" Even so may we say to M. Harding: Ye will not have your adoration of images called *latria*, but only *doulia*. But, sir, do you by this distinction any thing abate *idolatria*?<sup>7</sup>

Certainly Constantius, the bishop of Constantia, in the second Nicene council, saith: *Ego imaginibus cultum honoris exhibeo eundem, qui debetur vivificæ Trinitati; et, si quis nolit idem facere, eum anathematizo, ut Marcionem et Manichæum*<sup>8</sup>: "I for my part yield unto images the same adoration of honour that is due to the holy Trinity; and, if any man refuse to do the same, I accurse him, as I do the heretics Marcion and Manichee." And in the same council it is determined thus: *Non sunt duæ adorationes, sed una adoratio, imaginis, et primi exemplaris, cujus est imago*<sup>10</sup>: "There are not two sorts of adoration (the one called *latria*, the other *doulia*, as M. Harding divideth them), but one only adoration, both of the image, and also of the sampler whereof the image is."

Likewise Thomas Aquine, after long debating of the matter, thus at last ruleth over the case: "The image and the thing thereby represented must be worshipped both with one kind of adoration." And, for example, he saith: "The

[<sup>1</sup> Sophron. ex Libr. Prat. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. v. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VII. cols. 381, 4. A great many stories of miraculous powers exerted by images may be seen also in the fourth act of this Council.]

[<sup>2</sup> ... aliquando fit in ecclesia maxima deceptio populi in miraculis fictis a sacerdotibus vel eis adherentibus propter lucrum temporale.—Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. Dan. cap. xiv. Pars IV. fol. 330. 2.]

[<sup>3</sup> ... licet coram personis excellentibus licite possit unum genu flecti; tamen coram solo Deo duo genua sunt flectenda.—Id. Hest. cap. iii. Pars II. fol. 309. Lyra cites this as an opinion which he does not altogether approve, and adds, sed hoc dictum videtur nimis durum, &c.]

[<sup>4</sup> Doth, 1611.]

[<sup>5</sup> The, wanting in 1611.]

[<sup>6</sup> Bonum negas esse divitias, præpositum esse dicis. quid adjuvas? avaritiamne minus? Cicer. Op.

Col. Alobr. 1616. De Fin. Lib. iv. 73. Tom. IV. p. 96.]

[<sup>7</sup> Idolatrie, 1565.]

[<sup>8</sup> Exhibebo, 1565.]

[<sup>9</sup> Suscipio et amplector honorabiliter sanctas et venerandas imagines secundum servitium adorationis quod consubstantiali et vivificatrici Trinitati emitto; et qui sic non sentiunt neque glorificant, a sancta catholica et apostolica ecclesia segrego, et anathemati submitto, et parti qui abnegaverunt incarnatam et salvabilem dispensationem Christi veri Dei nostri emitto.—Carol. Magni Script. de Imag. 1549. Lib. III. cap. xvii. fols. X. 3, &c. Conf. Concil. Nic. II. Act. III. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. VII. col. 188.]

[<sup>10</sup> Joan. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. IV. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. VII. col. 264. This is the inference from a passage quoted from St Basil; but it may be questioned whether it was intended precisely in the sense in which Jewel understands it.]

Nicol. Lyra,  
in xiv. cap.  
Dan.

Nicol. Lyra,  
in Hest. liii.  
cap.

Cic. de Fin. iv.

In lib. Carol.  
Magni.

Concil. Nic.  
II. Act. 4.

Thom. in iii.  
Sentent.  
Dist. 2.

cross or image of Christ must be honoured with *latria*” (that is, with godly honour), “because Christ himself is so honoured;” and “the image of our lady must be honoured with *doulia*, because that honour,” as he saith, “is due unto our lady<sup>11</sup>.” This determination of Thomas is reprovèd by Holcot; and his reason is this: “*Latria*, or godly honour, is due only unto God; but the image of God is not God; therefore *latria*, or godly honour, is not due unto an image. Otherwise,” saith he, “the Creator and the creature should both be adored with one honour<sup>12</sup>.” And notwithstanding Henricus de Gandavo, Petrus de Aquila, Johannes de Guiverra, Durandus, and other school-doctors agree with Holcot, and their judgment seem very agreeable unto reason; yet he that wrote *Fortalitium Fidei* saith: “The common opinion and practice of the church holdeth the contrary<sup>13</sup>.” And one Jacobus Payva, a great stickler of that side, doubteth not to write thus: *Non tamen inficiamur, hac nos latriæ adoratione Christi præclarissimam crucem colere et venerari*<sup>14</sup>: “Yet we deny not but we do worship and adore the most noble cross of Christ, even with this godly honour that we call *latria*.” And, whereas M. Harding referreth the whole adoration unto the thing represented by the image, one Jacobus Nanclantus, the bishop of Clugium in Italy, telleth him, that the image, and the thing represented by the image, must both be worshipped with one kind of adoration. His words be these: *Ergo non solum fatendum est, fideles in ecclesia adorare coram imagine, ut nonnulli ad cautelam forte loquuntur, sed et adorare imaginem, sine quo volueris scrupulo; quin et eo illam venerari cultu, quo et prototypum ejus. Propter quod, si illud habet adorari latria, et illa habet adorari latria*<sup>15</sup>: “Therefore we must confess that the faithful people in the church doth not only worship before the image, as some men use to speak for more assurance; but that they worship the<sup>16</sup> image itself, and that without any manner scruple of conscience whatsoever. Yea, and further they worship the image with the same honour wherewith they worship the thing represented: as, if the thing represented by the image be worshipped with godly honour, then must the image itself likewise be worshipped with godly honour.” If M. Harding will say, these errors be old and long sithence controlled by his church of Rome; it may please him to understand, that Nanclantus was printed in Venice anno 1557, and that Payva was printed in Coleine anno 1564, both well allowed without controlment.

The case standing thus, what then availeth M. Harding’s distinction of *latria* and *doulia*? I fear me we may say of him and his fellows as St Augustine sometime said of the heathens: *Nemo mihi dicat, Non est numen: non est Deus... utinam ipsi sic norint, ... quomodo novimus... nos! Sed quid habeant, pro qua re habeant, quid ibi faciant, ara... testatur*<sup>17</sup>: “Let no man say unto me, It is no divine power: it is no God. I would to God they so knew it as we know it. But what they have, and in what sort they have it, and what they do about it, the altar beareth witness.”

Marcellina, the heretic, is much reprovèd by St Augustine, for that, among other images, she offered up incense to the image of Christ<sup>18</sup>. And Origen saith: *Fieri non potest, ut quis et Deum et simulacrum colat*<sup>19</sup>: “It is not possible

Latria,  
Doulia.

Holcot in  
Libr. Sapient.  
Lect. 158.

Auth. Portal.  
Licet hoc rationabiliter  
dictum videatur... tamen... communis opinio tenet oppositum.  
Jacob. Payva,  
Lib. ix.

Jacob. Nanc.  
in Epist. ad  
Rom. cap. i.

August. de  
Verb. Dom.  
secund. Matt.  
Serm. 6.

August. ad  
Quodvultd.

Orig. contr.  
Cels. Lib. iv.

[<sup>11</sup> Crux est imago Christi crucifixi: sed imago crucifixi Christi est adoranda latria. ergo et crux..... ei [virgini] debetur honor per se..... non potest adorari latria, sed dulia.—Thom. Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. In Tert. Sentent. Dist. ix. Quæst. i. Art. 2. Tom. VII. fol. 37.]

[<sup>12</sup> Ad istam quæstionem respondet S. Thomas... Sed contra istam responsonem objicio primo sic: Quia latria est honor soli Deo debitus, sed nulla imago est Deus: ergo contradictionem includit dicere, quia latria sit honor soli Deo debitus, et tamen debetur imagini Christi et Christo. Præterea: Si idem honor debetur imagini Christi et Christo, idem honor etiam debetur lapidi et Christo: et per consequens idem honor debetur Christo et creaturæ, quod non est credendum.—Rob. Holcorth in Libr. Sapient. Prælect. 1586, cap. xiii. Lect. clviii. p. 524.]

[<sup>13</sup> Fortal. Fid. Nurm. 1494. Lib. III. Consid. iv. Arg. 24. fol. 107; where videatur dictum.]

[<sup>14</sup> Jac. Payv. Andrad. Orthod. Explic. Libr. Decem, Col. 1564. Lib. ix. pp. 705, 6.]

[<sup>15</sup> Jac. Naclant. Enarr. in Epist. ad Rom. Venet. 1537. cap. i. fol. 42; where venerantur et illa latria si dulia vel hyperdulia et illa pariter ejusmodi cultu adoranda est.]

[<sup>16</sup> The worship they, 1611.]

[<sup>17</sup> August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Verb. Evang. Matt. viii. Serm. lxii. 10. Tom. V. col. 361; where sic ipsi.]

[<sup>18</sup> Id. Lib. de Hær. ad Quodvultd. 7. Tom. VIII. col. 7.]

[<sup>19</sup> ...οὐ μὴν δυνατὸν ἐστὶ καὶ γιγνώσκειν τὸν Θεὸν, καὶ τοῖς ἀγάλμασι εὐχέσθαι. Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59, Contr. Cels. Lib. iv. 65. Tom. I. p. 740.]



that any man may worship God and an image both together." And Polydorus Virgilius, a man of late years, uttering the great abuse that he saw in the church in his time, writeth thus: *Nunc de simulacrorum cultu . . . agamus : quem non modo nostræ religionis expertes, sed, teste Hieronymo, omnes fere veteres sancti patres damnabant, ob metum idololatriæ*<sup>1</sup>: "Now let us entreat of the worshipping of images; which not only the heathens, that were void of our religion, but also, as St Hierome saith, all the old godly fathers condemned, for fear of idolatry."

And of the abuse and disorder of the church herein in his time, he writeth thus: *Eo insanitæ deventum est, ut hæc pars pietatis parum differat ab impietate*<sup>2</sup>: "The world is come to such outrage and mere madness herein, that this part of holiness differeth now very little from open wickedness." To this pass the church of God was brought by M. Harding's distinction of *latria* and *doulia*.

The best remedy in this behalf, and most agreeable with God's word, is utterly to abolish the cause of the ill. So the godly king Ezechias took down and brake in pieces the brasen serpent, notwithstanding Moses himself, by God's special commandment, had erected it; notwithstanding it were an express figure of Christ hanging upon the cross; notwithstanding it had continued so many years; notwithstanding God by it had wrought so many miracles. So the godly bishop Epiphanius rent in sunder the image of Christ painted in a cloth, and said it was against God's commandment, a thing superstitious, and unmeet for the church and people of God<sup>3</sup>; notwithstanding it were the image of Christ. So the godly emperor Theodosius made his proclamation over all his dominions in this sort: *Signum Servatoris nostri, . . . quocunque loco reperitur, tolli jubemus*<sup>4</sup>: "We straitly command, that the image of our Saviour be taken down, in what place soever it shall be found;" notwithstanding it were the image of our Saviour. So it is decreed in the late council of Mens, that, when images happen to be abused by the people, they be either notably altered or utterly abolished<sup>5</sup>. Neither doth God throughout all his holy scriptures any where condemn image-breakers; but expressly and every where he condemneth image-worshippers and image-makers. God saith: "They are snares to catch the ignorant." He knoweth the inclination of the heart of man. And therefore he saith: "Accursed be he that leadeth the blind out of his way;" and: "Accursed be he that layeth a stumbling-block to overthrow the blind."

[<sup>1</sup> Pol. Verg. De Invent. Rer. Amst. 1671. Lib. vi. cap. xiii. pp. 417, 8; where *hic de illorum cultu*.]

[<sup>2</sup> Id. *ibid.* p. 423; where *hæc pietatis pars*.]

[<sup>3</sup> Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Epist. ad Joan. Episc. Hieros. Hieron. Interp. Tom. II. p. 317.]

[<sup>4</sup> Petr. Crint. De Honest. Discipl. Lugd. 1585. Lib. x. cap. ix. p. 279. See before, page 659.]

[<sup>5</sup> Synod. Prov. Mogunt. cap. 42. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. p. 938.]

Latria,  
Doulia.

Pol. Verg.  
de Invent.  
Rer. Lib. vi.  
cap. xiii.

ibid.

Epiph. ad  
Johan. Episc.  
Hieros.

Petr. Crint.  
Lib. ix. cap.  
ix.

Concil.  
Mogunt. de  
Imag.

Wisd. xiv.

Deut. xxvii,  
Lev. xix.