

OF THE SACRIFICE.

THE SEVENTEENTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

OR that the priest had then authority to offer up Christ unto his Father.

[OF THE PRIEST'S AUTHORITY TO OFFER UP CHRIST TO HIS FATHER.—
ARTICLE XVII. H. A. 1564.]

M. HARDING. THE FIRST DIVISION.

*Christ is offered up to his Father after three manners; figuratively, truly with bloodshedding, and sacramentally or mystically. In figure or signification he was offered in the sacrifices made to God both in the time of the law of nature, and also in the time of the law written. And therefore St John calleth Christ "the Lamb, which was killed from the beginning of the world," meaning in figure. The sacrifices of Abel, Noe, and Abraham, and all those of the people of Israel commanded by the law of Moses, figured and signified Christ. For which respect chiefly the law is reported of St Paul to have "the shadow of the good things to come." St Augustine, writing against Faustus the heretic, saith: [Testamenti veteris sacrificia] omnia . . . multis et variis modis unum sacrificium, cujus nunc memoriam celebramus, significaverunt¹: "All the sacrifices of the old testament signified by many and sundry ways this one sacrifice, whose memory we do now celebrate." And in another place he saith, * that "in those fleshly sacrifices there was a signification of Christ's flesh, which he should offer for sins, and of his blood, which he should shed for the remission of our sins²."*

Threefold oblation of Christ. "Agnus occisus est ab origine mundi." Rev. xiii.

Heb. x.

Lib. vi. cap. v.

De Fide ad Petrum Diaconum, cap. xvi.

Truly and with bloodshedding Christ was offered on the cross in his own person, whereof St Paul saith: "Christ gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity." And again: "Christ hath loved us, and hath delivered himself for us an oblation and sacrifice to God into a sweet savour."

Tit. ii.

Eph. v.

Sacramentally or in mystery Christ is offered up to his Father in the daily sacrifice of the church under the form of bread and wine, truly and indeed, not in respect of the manner of offering, but in respect of his very body and blood, really (that is, indeed) present; as it hath been sufficiently proved here before.

Christ offered not in respect of the manner of offering.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The greater and worthier the work is that our adversaries have imagined, that is, for a mortal and a miserable man to offer up the immortal Son of God unto his Father, and that really and indeed, the more ought the same, either by manifest words or by necessary collection, expressly and plainly to be proved. "For no man taketh honour and office unto himself, but he that is called and appointed thereto by God." But for ought that may appear by any clause or sentence, either of the new testament or of the old, God never appointed any such sacrifice to be made by any mortal creature. And Theophylact saith: *Jesus, ejiciendo boves et columbas, præsignavit, non ultra opus esse animalium sacrificio, sed oratione*³: "Jesus, throwing the oxen and doves out

Heb. v.

Theophyl. in Matt. cap. xxi.

[¹ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Faust. Lib. vi. cap. v. Tom. VIII. col. 205.]

[² Id. Lib. de Fid. ad Petr. cap. xix. Tom. VI.

Append. col. 30. See the next page.]

[³ Theophyl. Op. Venet. 1754-63. In Matt. Comm. cap. xxi. Tom. I. p. 110.]

of the temple, signified, that they should no longer have need of the sacrifice of beasts, but of prayer."

Howbeit, the old learned fathers, as they oftentimes delighted themselves with these words, *sabbatum, parasceve, pascha, pentecoste*, and such other like terms of the old law, notwithstanding the observation and ceremony thereof were then abolished and out of use; even so likewise they delighted themselves oftentimes⁴ with these words, *sacerdos, altare, sacrificium*, "the sacrificer," "the altar," "the sacrifice," notwithstanding the use thereof were then clearly expired, only for that the ears of the people, as well of the Jews as of the gentiles, had been long acquainted with the same. Therefore Pachymeres the paraphrast, writing upon Dionysius, saith thus: *Presbyterum appellat sacerdotem, ut etiam in Cœlesti Hierarchia; idque usus jam obtinuit*⁵: "Him that is the priest or elder he calleth the sacrificer, as he doth also in his Celestial Hierarch; and the same word 'sacrificer' is now obtained by custom." In this sense St Paul saith of himself: *Sacrifico evangelium Dei*: "I sacrifice the gospel of God." And Origen saith: *Sacrificale opus est annuntiare evangelium*⁶: "It is a work of sacrifice to preach the gospel." So the learned bishop Nazianzenus saith unto his people: *Hostiam vos ipsos obtuli*⁷: "I have offered up you for a sacrifice." So saith St Chrysostom: *Ipsum mihi sacerdotium est, prædicare et evangelizare. Hanc offero oblationem*⁸: "My whole priesthood is to teach and to preach the gospel. This is my oblation: this is my sacrifice." Thus the holy fathers, alluding to the orders and ceremonies of Moses' law, called the preaching of the gospel a sacrifice, notwithstanding indeed it were no sacrifice.

Now to come to M. Harding's words. Three ways, saith he, Christ is offered up unto his Father: in a figure, as in the old law; indeed and bloodily, as upon the cross; in a sacrament or mystery, as in the new testament. Of which three ways the bloody oblation of Christ upon the cross is the very true and only propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the world. The other two, as in respect and manner of signifying they are sundry, so in effect and substance they are all one. For, like as in the sacraments of the old law was expressed the death of Christ that was to come, even so in the sacraments of the new law of the gospel is expressed the same death of Christ already past. As we have mysteries, so had they mysteries; as we sacrifice Christ, so did they sacrifice Christ; as the Lamb of God is slain unto us, so was the same Lamb of God slain unto them. St Augustine saith: *Tunc... Christus venturus, modo Christus venit. Venturus, et venit, diversa verba sunt; sed idem Christus*⁹: "Then was 'Christ shall come:' now is 'Christ is come.' 'Shall come' and 'is come' are sundry words; but Christ is all one." Again, in like comparison between the law of Moses and the gospel of Christ, he saith thus: *Videte, fide manente, signa variata. In signis diversis eadem fides*¹⁰: "Behold, the faith remaining, the (sacraments, or) signs are changed. The signs or sacraments being divers, the faith is one."

But here hath M. Harding done great and open wrong unto St Augustine, wilfully suppressing and drowning his words, and uncourteously commanding him to silence in the midst of his tale. Wherein also appeareth some suspicion of no simple dealing. St Augustine's words touching this whole matter are these: *In illis... carnalibus victimis figuratio fuit carnis Christi, quam pro nobis... fuerat oblaturus, et sanguinis, quem erat effusus in remissionem peccatorum... In isto autem sacrificio gratiarum actio est, et commemoratio carnis Christi quam pro nobis obtulit, et sanguinis quem pro nobis idem Deus effudit... In illis... sacrificiis, quid nobis esset donandum, figurate significabatur: in hoc*

[⁴ Oftentimes, 1565.]

[⁵ The following is probably the passage meant: ...τοὺς γὰρ ἱερέας πρεσβυτέρους εἶπωθε καλεῖν, ὡς ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱεραρχίας διεγράμωσσε.—Dion. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. Schol. S. Max. in Epist. Octav. Tom. II. p. 123.]

[⁶ Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. x. cap. xv. Tom. IV. p. 676; where *esse* for *est*.]

[⁷ Perhaps the following may be intended: ἰδοὺ

προσάγω σοι τοὺς ἐμούς ἰκέτας.—Gregor. Nazianz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Orat. xvii. 13. Tom. I. p. 325.]

[⁸ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Rom. Hom. xxix. Tom. IX. p. 731.]

[⁹ August. Op. Serm. ecclii. De Util. Agend. Pen. ii. cap. i. 3. Tom. V. col. 1366.]

[¹⁰ In signis diversis eadem fides... Videte ergo, fide manente, signa variata.—Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. x. Tractat. xlv. 9. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 598.]

Pach. p. 401. καὶ ἡ συνήθεια ἐκράτησεν.

Rom. xv.

Orig. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. x.

Nazianz. in Orat. ad Pleb.

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Rom. Hom. 29.

August. de Util. Penit. cap. i.

August. in Johan. Tract. 26.

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

*autem sacrificio, quid nobis jam donatum sit, evidenter ostenditur. In illis sacrificiis prænuntiabatur Filius Dei pro impiis occidendus: in hoc autem, pro impiis annuntiatur occisus*¹: “In those fleshly sacrifices (of the Jews) there was a figure of the flesh of Christ, which he would afterward offer for us, and of the blood which he would afterward shed for the remission of sin; but in this sacrifice (of the new testament) there is a thanksgiving and a remembrance of the flesh which he hath already offered for us, and of the blood which he, being God, hath already shed for us. In those sacrifices it was represented unto us under a figure what thing should be given unto us; but in this sacrifice it is plainly set forth what thing is already given us. In those sacrifices it was declared that the Son of God should be slain for the wicked; but in this sacrifice it is plainly preached unto us that the same Son of God hath already been slain for the wicked.”

Likewise again he saith: *Hujus sacrificii caro et sanguis ante adventum Christi per victimas similitudinum promittebatur: in passione . . . per ipsam veritatem reddebatur: post ascensum [vero] Christi per sacramentum memoriæ celebratur*²: “The flesh and blood of this sacrifice, before the coming of Christ, was promised by sacrifices of resemblance; the same in his passion (upon the cross) was given in truth and indeed; but after his ascension it is solemnized by a sacrament of remembrance.”

This is the difference that St Augustine noteth between the sacraments of the old law and the sacraments of the new. Therefore the words that M. Harding hath hereunto added, “Christ is offered up unto his Father, and that under the forms of bread and wine, yea, and that truly and indeed,” are his own only words, confidently and boldly presumed of himself, never used neither by St Augustine nor by any other ancient godly father.

But, whereas he addeth further, that Christ is indeed and verily offered by the priest, albeit, as he saith, “not in respect of the manner of offering, but only in respect of the presence of his body;” either he understandeth not what himself meaneth, or else with a vain distinction of cloudy words without sense he laboureth to dazzle his reader’s eyes. For what a fantasy is this, to say Christ is offered verily and indeed, and yet not in respect of the manner of offering! What respect, what manner is this? Wherefore come these blind mysteries abroad without a gloss? Which of all the old doctors or holy fathers ever taught us thus to speak? Certainly, as he saith, “Christ is really offered, and yet not in respect of the manner of offering;” so may he also say, Christ died upon the cross, and yet not in respect of the manner of dying. By such manners and such respects he may make of christian religion what him listeth.

If he think somewhat to shadow the matter with these words of the council of Nice, *Sine sacrificio oblatus*³; let him consider aforehand it will not help him. For the holy fathers in that council neither say that Christ is really offered by the priest, nor seem to understand these strange respects and manners of offering. They agree fully in sense with that is before alleged of St Augustine: “In this sacrifice the death of Christ is solemnized by a sacrament of remembrance⁴,” and with that St Chrysostom saith: *Hoc sacrificium exemplar illius est*⁵: “This sacrifice is an example of that sacrifice.” Thus the death of Christ is renewed before our eyes. Yet Christ indeed neither is crucified, nor dieth, nor sheddeth his blood, nor is substantially present, nor really offered by the priest. In this sort the council saith Christ is offered *ἀθύτως*, “without sacrifice.” So St Augustine saith: *Quod ab omnibus appellatur sacrificium, signum est veri sacrificii*⁶: “The thing that of all men is called a sacrifice is a token or a sign of the true sacrifice.” Likewise again he saith: *Vocatur . . .*

[¹ Id. Lib. de Fid. ad Petr. cap. xix. Tom. VI. Append. col. 30; where *significatio fuit, pro peccatis nostris, and gratiarum actio atque commemoratio est*. See Fulgent. Op. Par. 1623. col. 356.]

[² Id. contr. Faust. Lib. xx. cap. xxi. Tom. VIII. col. 348.]

[³ Gelas. Cyz. Hist. Concil. Nic. cap. xxx. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2.

Tom. II. col. 233; where *θυόμενον*.]

[⁴ See note 2.]

[⁵ *Τούτο ἐκείνης τύπος ἐστὶ, καὶ αὐτὴ ἐκείνης*.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. x. Hom. xvii. Tom. XII. p. 168.]

[⁶ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. x. cap. v. Tom. VII. col. 242.]

August.
contr. Faust.
Lib. xx. cap.
xxi.

Concil. Nic.
ἀθύτως...
θυόμενος.

Contr. Faust.
Lib. xx. cap.
xxi.
Chrysost. in
Epist. ad
Hebr. Hom.
17.

August. de
Civ. Dei,
Lib. x. cap. v.
De Consecr.
Dist. ii.
Hoc est.

*ipsa immolatio, . . . quæ sacerdotis manibus fit, Christi passio, mors, crucifixio, non rei veritate, sed significante mysterio*⁷: "The sacrifice that is wrought by the hands of the priest is called the passion, the death, the crucifying of Christ; not in deed, but by a mystery signifying."

And whereas M. Harding saith further, "Christ is offered **only** in respect of the presence of his body;" neither would the real presence, being granted, import the sacrifice (for Christ was really present in his mother's womb and in the crib, where notwithstanding he was no sacrifice), nor hath M. Harding hitherto any way proved his real presence.

M. HARDING. THE SECOND DIVISION.

The two first manners of the offering of Christ our adversaries acknowledge and confess; the third they deny utterly. And so they rob the church of the greatest treasure it hath or may have, the body and blood of our Saviour Christ once offered upon the cross with painful suffering for our redemption, and now daily offered in the blessed sacrament in remembrance. For which we have so many proofs, as for no one point of our christian religion more. And herein I am more encumbered with store than straited with lack, and doubt more what I may leave than what I may take. Wherefore, thinking it shall appear to the wise more skill to shew discretion in the choice of places, rather than learning in recital of number, though we are over pertly thereto provoked by M. Jewel's taunting and insolent challenge, I intend herein to be short, verily shorter than so large a matter requireth, and to bring for proof a few such authorities (I mean a few in respect of the multitude that might be brought) as ought in every man's judgment to be of great weight and estimation.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Touching the oblation of Christ's body, we believe and confess as much as the Holy Ghost hath opened in the scriptures. Whereas M. Harding saith, Christ's body is offered up by the priest unto God the Father, in remembrance of that body that Christ himself offered upon the cross; he seemeth not to consider the inconstancy and folly of his own tale. For it is well known to all creatures, not only Christians, but also Jews, Turks, and Saracens, that Christ was crucified upon the cross: but that Christ should be sacrificed by a mortal man, invisibly, and, as they say, under the forms of bread and wine, and that really and indeed, it is a thing so far passing the common sense of christian knowledge, that the best-learned and wisest of the ancient learned christian fathers could never know it.

Therefore this is not only the proving of a thing known by a thing unknown, and of a thing most certain by a thing uncertain, but also the confirmation of a manifest truth by an open error.

Neither do we rob the church of God of that most heavenly and most comfortable sacrifice of Christ's body; but rather we open and disclose the errors wherewith certain of late years have wilfully deceived the church of God. We know that Christ's body "was rent for our sins, and that by his wounds we are made whole;" "that Christ in his body carried our sins upon the tree;" and "by the oblation thereof, once made upon the cross, hath sanctified us for ever," and "hath purchased for us everlasting redemption;" and "that there is none other name (or sacrifice) under heaven whereby we can be saved, but only the name (or^s sacrifice) of Jesus Christ." I reckon, whoso teacheth this doctrine leaveth not the church of God without a sacrifice.

Touching the multitude of authorities wherewith M. Harding findeth himself so much encumbered, the greater his store is, the more will wise men require his discretion and skill in the choice. His choice will seem unskillful, if he allege his authorities beside his purpose. His purpose and promise is to prove that the priest hath good warrant to offer up Christ the Son of God unto

[⁷ Id. in Lib. Sentent. Prosp. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert.]

[Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 48. col. 1937.]

[⁸ And, 1565.]

his Father: which purpose if he never vouchsafe once to touch, but range abroad, as his manner is, and rove idly at matters impertinent, then must we needs say, he bewrayeth his want, and bringeth his great store out of credit. So shall the offer that is gently made him seem to stand upon good and convenient terms of truth and modesty. So shall his storeful vaunt of all things, performing nothing, "unto the wise" (to use his own words) seem pert and insolent.

M. HARDING. THE THIRD DIVISION.

The scripture itself ministering evident proof for the oblation of Christ to his Father by the priests of the new testament, in the institution of this holy sacrament, in the figure of Melchisedech, and in the prophecy of Malachi the prophet; the authorities of the fathers needed not to be alleged, were not the same scripture, by the overthwart and false interpretations of our adversaries, wrested and turned to a contrary sense, to the horrible seducing of the unlearned.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Alas! what tool is there so weak that M. Harding will refuse to strike withal? To prove his imagined kind of sacrifice, he hath brought us forth out of his great store the example of Melchisedech and the prophecy of Malachi; as if he would reason thus: God saith unto Christ, "Thou art a priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech;" or, God saith by the prophet Malachi, "A pure oblation shall be offered unto me in every place;" *ergo*, the priest hath authority and power to offer up the Son of God unto his Father. If he had not had good choice and store of authorities, he would never have begun with these.

But he addeth further, as matter of grievance, that "these plain scriptures by the overthwart and false interpretations of his adversaries are wrested and turned to a contrary sense, and that," as he saith, "to the horrible seducing of the unlearned." Doubtless, here is a very horrible accusation. Howbeit, if we happily had mistaken these places, and our error therein were fully proved, yet should not M. Harding in such horrible terms reprove us for doing that thing once that he and his fellows do so often. But by what words, by what false interpretation, into what perverse or heretical sense, have we so horribly wrested these scriptures? M. Harding is wise, is eloquent, is watchful, is circumspect, is fast addicted unto his cause; he dissembleth, and leaveth nothing that any way may serve his purpose. If our errors be so horrible, he should not have spared them: if there be none, he should not thus have touched them. If M. Harding wink at them, who can see them? If M. Harding know them not, who can know them?

Perhaps he will say: Ye expound the prophecy of Malachi sometimes of prayer, and sometimes of the preaching of the gospel. This was never the prophet's meaning. This is an horrible wresting of the scriptures. Thus, no doubt, M. Harding will say; for otherwise he can say nothing. And yet he knoweth, and, being learned, cannot choose but know, that this is the old learned catholic fathers' exposition touching these words of the prophet Malachi, and not ours. He knoweth that the ancient father Tertullian saith thus: "The pure sacrifice that Malachias speaketh of, that should be offered up in every place, *est prædicatio evangelii usque ad finem mundi*¹, 'is the preaching of the gospel unto² the end of the world.'" And in another place: *Simplex oratio de conscientia pura*³: "The sacrifice that Malachi meant is a devout prayer proceeding from a pure conscience." He knoweth that St Hierome expoundeth the same words in this wise: [*Dicit*] *orationes sanctorum Domino offerendas [esse] . . . non in una*

[¹ Tertullian quotes the passage of Malachi, and another from the psalms, and, inquiring why such expressions were used, replies: Indubitate quod in omnem terram exire habebat prædicatio apostolo-

rum.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Jud. 5. p. 211. Jewel most probably referred to this passage.]

[² Until, 1565, 1609.]

[³ Tertull. adv. Marcion. Lib. iv. 1. p. 502.]

Psal. cx.

Mal. i.

Tertul. contr.
Jud.Tertul. contr.
Marcion.
Lib. iv.Hieron. in
i cap. Mal.

*orbis provincia Judæa, . . . sed in omni loco*⁴: "The prophet Malachi meaneth hereby, that the prayers of holy people should be offered unto God, not only in Jewry, that was but one province of the world, but also in all places." He knoweth that Eusebius calleth the same sacrifice of Malachi "the sacrifice and the incense of prayer"⁵. Thus the holy catholic fathers expounded these words of the prophet Malachi; and yet were they not therefore judged either overthwart wresters of the scriptures, or horrible deceivers of the people.

Euseb. de
Demonstr.
Lib. i.
τὸ δὲ εὐχῶν
θυμίαμα.

Now, of the other side, if it may please M. Harding to shew forth but one ancient doctor or father, that either by the example of Melchisedech, or by force of these words of Malachi, will conclude that the priest hath authority and power to offer up verily and indeed the Son of God unto his Father, he may happily win some credit.

M. HARDING. THE FOURTH DIVISION.

For, whereas the holy evangelists report that Christ at his last supper took bread, gave thanks, brake it, and said, "This is my body which is given for you;" again, "This is my blood which is shed for you in remission of sins;" by these words, being words of sacrificing and offering, they shew and set forth an oblation in act and deed, though the term itself of oblation or sacrifice be not expressed. Albeit, to some of excellent knowledge datur here soundeth no less than offertur or immolatur, that is to say, "is offered" or "sacrificed," specially the addition, *pro vobis*, withal considered. For if Christ said I Pet. ii.⁶ truly (as he is truth itself, and "guile was never found in his mouth"), then was his body presently given, and for us given, at the time he spake the words, that is, at his supper. For he said *datur, "is given;" not dabitur, "shall be given;" (221) and likewise was his blood shed in remission of sins at the time of that supper; for the text hath *funditur, "is shed." But the giving of his body for us, and the shedding of his blood in remission of sins, is an oblation of the same. Ergo, Christ offered his body and blood at the supper. And thus datur signifieth here as much as offertur.

Words of
oblation
without
terms of
oblation.

Now this being true, that our Lord offered himself unto his Father at his last supper, having given commandment to his apostles to do the same that he there did, whom then he ordained priests of the new testament, saying, "Do this in my remembrance," as Clement doth plainly shew, Lib. VIII. Aposto. Constitut. cap. ultimo⁷; the same charge pertaining no less to the priests that be now the successors of the apostles in this behalf than to the apostles themselves; it doth right well appear, howsoever M. Jewel assureth himself of the contrary, and whatsoever the devil hath wrought, and by his ministers taught against the sacrifice of the mass, that priests have authority to offer up Christ unto his Father.

The two
hundred and
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untruth,
without any
sense or
savour.
*A great
folly. For the
old catholic
fathers ex-
pound it by
dabitur and
funditur in
the future
tense.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here M. Harding beginneth to scan his tenses, to rip up syllables, and to hunt for letters; and in the end buildeth up the highest castle of his religion upon a guess. I marvel that so learned a man would either use so unlearned arguments; or, having such store of authorities as he pretendeth, would ever make so simple choice.

He saith: "These words, 'is given,' 'is shed,' be words of sacrificing, though the term itself of oblation and sacrifice be not expressed." Here M. Harding, besides that he hath imagined a strange construction of his own, that never any learned man knew before, and so straggleth alone, and swerveth from all the old fathers, includeth also a repugnance and contradiction against himself. For, whereas words and terms sound both one thing, the one being mere English, the other borrowed of the Latin; M. Harding saith, Christ, in the institution of his supper, used the words of sacrificing, and yet expressed not the terms of sacri-

⁴ Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Mal. Proph. cap. i. Tom. III. col. 1813. See before, page 110, note 3.]

⁵ Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. Par. 1628. Lib. i. cap. vi. p. 19.]

⁶ H. A. 1564 omits this reference. It appears in H. A. 1565.]

[⁷ ... δε γεγόμενος ἄνθρωπος δι' ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν πνευματικὴν θυσίαν προσφέρων τῷ Θεῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ Πατρὶ πρὸ τοῦ πάθους ἡμῶν διατάξατο μόνοις τούτο ποιεῖν. — Constit. Apost. Lib. VIII. cap. xvi. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 509.]

figing. Such privilege these men have, with shift of terms to beguile the world. For, if Christ used the words of sacrificing, how can M. Harding say he used not the terms of sacrificing? And if he used not the terms (words and terms being one thing), how can he say he used the words?

Verily if this Latin word *dare* be *sacrificare*, and "giving" be "sacrificing;" then, whereas St Paul saith, "If thine enemy be thirsty, give him drink;" and whereas Judas saith, "What will ye give me, and I will deliver him unto you?" and whereas the foolish virgins say, "Give us part of your oil," &c.; in every of these and such other like places, by this new divinity, M. Harding will be able to find a sacrifice.

Yet, saith he, certain men of excellent knowledge have thus expounded it. It seemeth very strange that these so notable men, of so excellent knowledge, should have no names. Perhaps he meaneth Tapper of Lovaine, or Gropper of Colaine, of whom he hath borrowed the whole substance well near of all this article¹. Howbeit, the demand was of the ancient doctors of the church; not of any of these, or other such petit fathers.

But Christ saith in the present tense, "This is my body *that is given*;" not in the future tense, *that shall be given*. And likewise, "This is my blood *that presently is shed*;" not in the future tense, *that shall be shed*. "Therefore Christ sacrificed his body and shed his blood presently at the supper."

Here M. Harding is driven to control the old common translation of the new testament, not only that beareth the name of St Hierome, and hath been evermore generally received in the church, and is allowed by the council of Trident, but also that is still used and continued in his own mass-book. I grant, in the Greek it is written *datur*, "is given;" not *dabitur*, "shall be given." But here the present tense, according to the common phrase of the scriptures, is used for the future. Chrysostom readeth it thus, *dabitur*², "shall be given;" not *datur*, "is given." Origen likewise readeth not *effunditur*, "is shed;" but *effundetur*³, "shall be shed." And in this sort Chrysostom also expoundeth it: *Effundetur pro multis. Hoc...dicens, ostendit, quod passio ejus est mysterium salutis humane; quod⁴ etiam discipulos consolatur⁵*: "Shall be shed for many." Thus saying, he sheweth that his passion is the mystery of the salvation of mankind; and by the same he comforteth his disciples." Again he saith: *De passione et cruce sua loquebatur⁶*: "Christ (uttering these words of the sacrament) spake of his passion and of his cross."

To be short, if it be true that Christ shed his blood at his last supper, and that verily, really, and indeed, as M. Harding alone strangely avoucheth, and no man else, I trow, beside him; then can he no more say the same was an unbloody sacrifice. And so must he yield up the strongest tower of all his hold. For, if the sacrifice that Christ made at his supper were unbloody, how did Christ there shed his blood? If Christ, as M. Harding saith, did there shed his blood, how can that sacrifice be called unbloody?

But, to leave these fantasies and vain shifts, Christ gave his body to be broken and his blood to be shed, not at his last supper, but only upon his cross, and nowhere else. "There he bare our iniquities, there was he rent for our sins." And in that only respect we receive his body, and embrace it, and have fruit of it. In this respect St Paul saith: "God forbid I should rejoice in any thing, saving only in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ."

Therefore this new article of the faith, of the real sacrificing and shedding of Christ's blood at the table, neither being true in itself nor hitherto by M. Harding any way proved, notwithstanding the great store and choice of his authorities; forasmuch as Christ never gave neither his apostles nor any their

[¹ See Ruard. Tapper. Op. Col. Agrip. 1582. Art. xvi. De Sacrif. Miss. Tom. II. p. 252, 3. See also Gropper. De Præst. Altar. Sacram. Autv. 1559. Quart. Art. Tom. II. pp. 148, 9.]

[² ... τούτο μου ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κλωμενον.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. 1. ad Cor. Hom. xxvii. Tom. X. pp. 245, 6. But the Latin version, which, as already observed, Jewel frequently quoted, has ... quod pro vobis tradetur.]

[³ Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Matt. Comm. Ser. 85. Tom. III. p. 898.]

[⁴ Per quod, 1665.]

[⁵ Chrysost. in Cat. Aur. in Thom. Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. Matt. cap. xxvi. Tom. XV. p. 92; where *mysterium est*, and *per quod etiam discipulos consolabatur*. Op. In Matt. Hom. lxxxii. Tom. VII. p. 783.]

[⁶ Id. ibid.; where *cruce eis locutus erat*.]

Christ's
Blood
shed at
Supper.

Rom. xii.

Matt. xxvi.

Matt. xxv.

Chrysost. in
1 Cor. xi.
Orig. in Matt.
Tract. 35.

Chrysost. in
Catena.

Isai. liii.

Gal. vi.

successors commission to do more in that behalf than he himself had done; to say that any mortal man hath power and authority really and indeed to sacrifice the Son of God, it is a manifest and wicked blasphemy, the great and gross errors wherewith the devil and his disciples in the time of his kingdom of darkness have deceived the world notwithstanding.

As for Clemens, whom M. Harding so often calleth the apostles' fellow, as he is but lately start up and come abroad, and therefore hath not yet gotten sufficient credit, and is here brought in dumb, and saying nothing, so is he not worthy of further answer. Howbeit M. Harding doth great wrong otherwise to report his author's words than he findeth them. Truly his Clemens, whatsoever he were, saith not: The priest hath commission or power to offer up the Son of God. His words are plain to the contrary: *Antitypon regalis corporis Christi offerte*⁷: "Offer ye up (not the body of Christ, but) the sign or sacrament of the royal body of Christ." Likewise again he saith: *Offerimus tibi Regi et Deo, juxta institutionem Christi, hunc panem et hoc poculum*⁸: "We offer up unto thee, our King and God, (not the very body of thy Son really and indeed, but) this bread and this cup, according to Christ's institution." It is a great prerogative for M. Harding both to make doctors of his own, and also to give them his own constructions.

Neither did Christ by these words, "Do ye this in my remembrance," erect any new succession of sacrificers, to offer him up really unto his Father; nor ever did any ancient learned father so expound it. Christ's meaning is clear by the words that follow. For he saith not only, "Do ye this;" but he addeth also, "in my remembrance;" which doing pertaineth not only unto the apostles and their successors, as M. Harding imagineth, but also to the whole people. And therefore St Paul saith not only to the ministers, but also to the whole congregation of Corinth: "As often as ye shall eat this bread and drink this cup, ye shall shew forth and publish the Lord's death until he come." Likewise St Chrysostom applieth the same, not only to the clergy, but also to the whole people of his church of Antioch. Thus he saith: *Hoc facite in memoriam beneficii mei, salutis vestrae*⁹: "Do ye this in remembrance of my benefit and of your salvation."

Of these weak positions M. Harding, without the warrant or authority of any learned father, reasoneth thus: Christ saith, "This is my body that is given for you: do this in my remembrance;"

Ergo, the priest hath power to offer up the Son of God unto his Father.

M. HARDING. THE FIFTH DIVISION.

That Christ offered himself to his Father in his last supper, and that priests by those words, "Do this in my remembrance," have not only authority, but also a special commandment to do the same, and that the figure of Melchisedech and the prophecy of Malachi pertaineth to this sacrifice, and maketh proof of the same; let us see by the testimonies of the fathers what doctrine the apostles have left to the church.

Eusebius Cæsariensis hath these words: *Horrorem afferentia mensæ Christi sacrificia . . . supremo Deo offerre, per eminentissimum omnium ipsius Pontificem edocti sumus*¹⁰: "We are taught," saith he, "to offer unto our supreme God the sacrifices of Christ's table, which cause us to tremble and quake for fear, by his Bishop highest of all." Here he calleth Christ, in respect of his sacrifice, God's Bishop, highest of all bishops: the sacrifices of Christ's table he calleth (222) the body and blood of Christ, because at the table in his last supper he sacrificed and offered the same; and for that it is his very body and very blood, imagination only, fantasy, and figure set apart, he termeth these sacrifices, as commonly the ancient fathers do, horrible, causing trembling and fear. And whereas he saith, we have been taught to offer these sacrifices to God, doubtless he meaneth by these words of Christ: "Do this in my remembrance;" "this is my body which is given for you;" "this is my

*De Demonstrat.
Evangel. Lib.
t. cap. x.*

Clem. Const.
Apost. Lib.
vi. cap. xxx.
Clem. Const.
Apost. Lib.
viii.

1 Cor. xi.

Chrysost. ad
Pop. Ant.
Hom. 61.

The two hundred and twenty-second untruth. For Eusebius calleth it the sacrifice of thanksgiving, and saith: *Memoriam offerre dedit pro sacrificio.*

[⁷ Const. Apost. Lib. vi. cap. xxix. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 411.]

[⁸ Id. Lib. viii. cap. xii. col. 482.]

[⁹ Chrysost. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. Ad Pop. Ant.

Hom. lxi. Tom. V. col. 402. See before, page 591, note 12.]

[¹⁰ Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. Par. 1628. Lib. 1. cap. x. p. 39.]

**Dreadful
sacrifice.**

blood which is shed for you." Clement, in his eighth book often cited, speaking of the sacrifice offered by the apostles, commonly addeth these words: *Secundum ipsius ordinationem, or ipso ordinante*¹; whereby he confesseth it to be Christ's own ordinance.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

To prove that the priest offereth up the Son of God, M. Harding hath here brought in Eusebius, an ancient father, that never once named any such oblation of the Son of God. So much is he oppressed and encumbered with his store.

True it is, the ministration of the holy communion is oftentimes of the old learned fathers called a sacrifice; not for that they thought the priest had authority to sacrifice the Son of God, but for that therein we offer up unto God thanks and praises for that great sacrifice once made upon the cross. So saith St Augustine: *In isto... sacrificio est gratiarum actio, et commemoratio carnis Christi, quam pro nobis obtulit*²: "In this sacrifice is a thanksgiving and a remembrance of the flesh of Christ, which he hath offered for us." Likewise Eusebius saith: "Christ, after all other things done, made a marvellous oblation and a passing sacrifice unto his Father (upon his cross) for the salvation of us all; giving unto us to offer continually unto God a remembrance instead of a sacrifice³." So Nazianzenus calleth the holy communion "a figure of that great mystery of the death of Christ⁴."

This it is that Eusebius calleth "the sacrifice of the Lord's table;" which also he calleth *sacrificium laudis*⁵, "the sacrifice of praise."

But Eusebius saith further: "This sacrifice is dreadful, and causeth the heart to quake⁶." M. Harding may not well gather by any force of these words, that the Son of God is really offered up by the priest unto his Father. For all things whatsoever, that put us in remembrance of the majesty and judgments of God, of the holy fathers are called dreadful. St Cyril saith: *Lectio divinarum et terribilium scripturarum*⁷: "The reading of the divine and terrible scriptures." St Chrysostom calleth the words of baptism *verba arcana et metuenda, et horribiles canones dogmatum de celo transmissorum*⁸, "the secret and dreadful words, and terrible rules of the doctrine that came from heaven." And, speaking of the hand and voice of the deacon, he saith thus: *Manu illa tremenda, et continua roce clamans, alios vocat, alios arcet*⁹: "With that terrible hand, and continual voice crying, some he calleth in, and some he putteth off."

This sacrifice maketh the heart to tremble, for that therein is laid forth the mystery that was hidden from worlds and generations; the horror of sin; the death of the Son of God; that he took our heaviness, and bare our sorrows, and was wounded for our offences, and was rent and tormented for our wickedness; that he was carried like an innocent lamb unto the slaughter, that he cried unto his Father, "O God, O my God, why hast thou thus forsaken me?"

There we call to remembrance all the causes and circumstances of Christ's death; the shame of the cross; the darkening of the air; the shaking of the earth; the renting of the vail; the cleaving of the rocks; the opening of the graves; the descending into hell; and the conquering of the devil. Therefore Chrysostom saith: *Quamvis quis lapis esset, illa nocte audita, quomodo cum dis-*

[¹ See before, page 715, note 8.]

[² August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Fid. ad Petr. cap. xix. (Fulgent.) Tom. VI. Append. col. 30. See before, page 710, note 1.]

[³ Μετά δι' πάντα ολόν τι θαυμάσιον θύμα και σφάγιον ἐξαιρετον τῷ Πατρὶ καλλιερησάμενος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων ἡμῶν ἀνινεγκε σωτηρίας, μνήμη και ἡμῖν παραδοῖς, ἀντὶ θυσίας τῷ Θεῷ διηνεκῶς προσφέρειν.—Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. Par. 1628. Lib. I. cap. x. p. 38.]

[⁴ Gregor. Nazianz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Orat. ii. 95. Tom. I. p. 56.]

[⁵ Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. Lib. I. cap. x. p. 40.]

[⁶ ...τὰ σεμνά...θύματα.—Id. ibid. p. 39.]

[⁷ Affirmabant autem ii qui Cyrillo favebant, Iec-tionem divinarum et terribilium scripturarum absque

Cyrillo non habendam.—Exempl. Epist. Joan. Com. Sacrens. ad Imp. in Concil. Ephes. Act. vi. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. III. col. 723. The editors observe in a note that these *scripturæ* were the imperial letters. Conf. Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. p. 585; where this epistle is placed among the documents at the end of Cyril's Liber Apologeticus, and under the same running title.]

[⁸ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. I. ad Cor. Hom. xl. Tom. X. p. 379.]

[⁹ ...και μέγα ἐπ' ἐκείνη τῇ φρικτῇ ἡσυχία ἀνακραυγᾶζων, τοὺς μὲν καλεῖ, τοὺς δὲ ἀπειργεῖ ὁ ἱερεὺς.—Id. in Epist. ad Hebr. cap. x. Hom. xvii. Tom. XII. pp. 170, 1. Jewel quoted from the version of Mutianus.—Ibid.]

August. ad
Petr. Diac.
cap. xix.

Euseb. de
Demonstr.
Lib. I. cap. x.
Memoriam
pro sacrificio.

Nazianz. in
Apol.
τὴν τῶν
μεγάλων
μυστηρίων
ἀντίτυπον.
[τὴν] θυ-
σίαν ἀνέ-
σεως.

Cyrl. in
Apol.

Chrysost.
I ad Cor. Hom.
40.

Chrysost. in
I ad Cor.
Hom. 17.

*cupulis tristis fuerit, quomodo traditus, quomodo ligatus, quomodo abductus, quomodo judicatus, quomodo denique omnia passus, cera mollior fiet, et terram, et omnem terræ cogitationem abjiciet*¹⁰: “Any man hearing of the order of that night, how Christ was mournful among his disciples, how he was delivered, how he was bound, how he was led away, how he was arraigned, and how meekly he suffered all that was done unto him, were he as hard as a stone, yet would he be as soft as wax, and would throw both the earth and all earthly cogitations away from him.”

Thus saith Nicolaus Cabasilas, one of master Harding’s late Greek doctors: *Hoc facite in meam commemorationem. Sed quænam est hæc commemoratio? &c.*¹¹: “Do ye this in remembrance of me.’ But what is this remembrance? How do we consider our Lord in the holy ministration? What do we conceive him doing? how dealing? what suffering? what think we? what speak we of him? Do we imagine of him (in that time of the holy mysteries) that he healed the blind? that he raised the dead? that he stayed the winds? or that with a few loaves he fed thousands; which are tokens that he was God omnipotent? No, not so. But rather we call to remembrance such things as declared his weakness; his cross, his passion, his death. In respect of those things he said: ‘Do ye this in my remembrance.’ The priest, both by his words, and also by the whole circumstances of his doing, seemeth to say: Thus Christ came to his passion; thus he was wounded in the side; thus he died; thus blood and water issued and streamed from his wound.” These considerations, thus laid before our eyes, are able to cause any godly heart to quake and tremble. As for the real offering up of Christ in sacrifice, that learned father Eusebius saith nothing.

Verily, it is but a simple sophism to say: This sacrifice is dreadful, and causeth us to quake; ergo, the priest offereth up the Son of God unto his Father.

M. HARDING. THE SIXTH DIVISION.

*That Christ sacrificed himself at his supper, Hesychius affirmeth with these words: Quod Dominus jussit (Levit. iv.) ut sacerdos, vitulum pro peccato oblaturus, ponat manum super caput ejus, et jugulet eum coram Domino, Christum significat, quem*¹² *nemo obtulit, sed nec immolare poterat, nisi semetipsum ipse ad patiendum tradidisset. Propter quod non solum dicebat, Potestatem habeo ponendi animam meam, et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam; sed et præveniens semetipsum in cœna apostolorum immolavit, quod sciunt, qui mysteriorum percipiunt virtutem*¹³: “*That our Lord commandeth,*” *saith he, “the priest which should offer a calf for sin to put his hand upon his head, and to stick him before our Lord, it signifieth Christ, whom no man hath offered, neither could any man sacrifice him, except he had delivered himself to suffer. For the which he said not only, ‘I have power to lay down my soul, and I have power to take it again;’ but also, preventing it, he offered up himself in sacrifice in the supper of the apostles: which they know that receive the virtue of the mysteries.”* By these words of Hesychius we learn, *that Christ offered and sacrificed his body and blood twice: first, in that holy supper unbloodily, when he took bread in his hands, and brake it, &c. without division of the sacrifice; for it is but one and the same sacrifice: and afterward on the cross, with shedding of his blood; and that is it he meaneth by the word “preventing.”*

Christ offered himself in a mystery, but not really and indeed.

¹⁰ Id. in Epist. 1. ad Cor. Hom. xvii. Tom. X. pp. 245, 6.]

¹¹ Τοῦτο ποιῆτε εἰς ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. ἀλλὰ τίς ἡ ἀνάμνησις αὐτῆ; καὶ πῶς ἐν τῇ τελετῇ μεμνησόμεθα τοῦ Κυρίου; τί ποιοῦντος καὶ πῶς ἔχοντος; λέγω δὲ τίνα περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀναλογιζόμενοι, τί διηγούμενοι; ἄρα ὅτι νεκροῦς ἀνέστησε, καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνέστωκε βλέπειν, καὶ ἀνέμοις ἐπέτιμησε, καὶ ἐξ ὀλίγων ἄρτων εἰς κόρον ἔθρεψε μυριάδας; ἃ θεὸν αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε, καὶ πάντα δυνάμενον; οὐδαμῶς ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὰ δοκοῦντα σημαίνειν ἀσθένειαν, τὰν

σταυρὸν, τὸ πάθος, τὸν θάνατον, ἐν τούτοις ἡμᾶς τὴν ἀνάμνησιν αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι ἐκέλευε.—Nic. Cabas. Lit. Expos. cap. vii. in Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Par. 1624. Tom. II. Græco-Lat. p. 208. See also cap. viii. pp. 209, 10.]

¹² Quam, 1611.]

¹³ Ponere autem eum manum super caput vituli, et jugulare vitulum præcepit: nemo enim illum obtulit, sed nec &c.—Isych. in Levit. Basil. 1527. Lib. 1. cap. iv. fol. 20.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

We deny not but it may well be said, "Christ at his last supper offered up himself unto his Father;" albeit, not really and indeed, but, according to M. Harding's own distinction, in a figure or in a mystery; in such sort as we say Christ was offered in the sacrifices of the old law, and as St John saith: *Agnus occisus ab origine mundi*: "The Lamb was slain from the beginning of the world." As Christ was slain at the table, so was he sacrificed at the table. But he was not slain at the table verily and indeed, but only in a mystery; therefore he was not sacrificed at the table really and indeed, but only in a mystery.

Rev. xiii.

August.
Epist. 23.

So saith St Augustine: *Nonne semel immolatus est Christus in se[met]ipso? Et tamen in sacramento, non tantum per omnes paschæ solennitates, sed [etiam] omni die populis immolatur. Nec utique mentitur, qui interrogatus eum responderit immolari. Si enim sacramenta quandam similitudinem earum rerum, quarum sacramenta sunt, non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent*¹: "Was not Christ once offered in himself? And yet in (or by way of) a sacrament, not only at the solemn feast of Easter, but every day he is offered unto the people. And he saith no untruth that, being demanded, maketh answer that Christ is sacrificed." His reason is this: "For, if sacraments had not a certain likeness or resemblance of the things whereof they be sacraments, then should they utterly be no sacraments."

Notwithstanding Hesychius, expounding the book of Leviticus, to the intent he may force the whole story of the life and death of Christ to answer every particular ceremony of the law, is sometimes driven to stretch and strain the scriptures to his purpose. So he saith: "Christ is the altar²;" and "Christ incarnate in the virgin's womb is the sodden sacrifice³."

Hesch. in
Levit. Lib. I.
cap. iv.
Lib. i. cap. ii.
Sacrificium...
coctum.

Now, as Christ was the altar, and as he was sacrificed in his mother's womb, even so he sacrificed himself at his supper; not in proper or usual manner of speech, but only in a mystery signifying.

Cyp.
de Unct.
Chrism.

Otherwise St Cyprian plainly openeth the whole difference of these two sacrifices in this sort: *Dedit... Dominus noster in mensa, in qua ultimum cum apostolis participavit convivium, propriis manibus panem et vinum; in cruce vero manibus militum corpus tradidit vulnerandum*⁴: "Our Lord at the table, whereat he received his last supper with his disciples, with his own hands gave (not his very body and very blood, really and indeed, but) bread and wine; but upon the cross he gave his own body with the soldiers' hands to be wounded." This, saith St Cyprian, is the difference between the sacrifice of the table and the sacrifice of the cross: at the one Christ gave bread and wine; upon the other he gave his body.

Heb. ix.
Heb. x.

Therefore, whereas M. Harding saith, only upon his own warrant, that Christ really sacrificed himself at two sundry times, and that he twice really shed his blood, first at the table, and afterward upon the cross; the untruth and folly hereof is easily reproved by these plain words of St Paul: *Semel oblatus est ad multorum exhaurienda peccata*: "He was once offered to take away the sins of many." And again: "With one sacrifice he hath made perfitt them for ever that be sanctified." These places are clear and without question; unless M. Harding will say, that one and two, and once and twice be both one thing.

M. HARDING. THE SEVENTH DIVISION.

And at the same very instant of time (which is here further to be added as a necessary point of christian doctrine) we must understand (223) that Christ offered himself in heaven invisibly (as concerning man) in the sight of his heavenly Father; and that from that time forward that oblation of Christ in heaven was never intermitted, but continueth⁵ always for our atonement with God, and shall without ceasing endure until the end of the world. For, as St Paul saith,

The two
hundred and
twenty-third
untruth,
vain and
fantastical,
and without
ground.

[¹ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Bonifac. Epist. xcvi. 9. Tom. II. col. 267; where *non solum*.]

[² Sicut enim ipse [Christus] sacerdos et sacrificium est, sic et altare est.—Isych. in Levit. Basil. 1527. Lib. i. cap. iv. fol. 21.]

[³ Id. Lib. i. cap. ii. fol. 13. 2. See before, page 521.]

[⁴ Cyp. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Unct. Chrism. (Arnold.) p. 48.]

[⁵ Continued, H.A. 1564. H.A. 1565 has *continueth*.]

“Jesus hath not entered into temples made with hands, the samplers of the true temples, but into heaven itself, to appear now to the countenance of God for us.” Now, as this oblation and sacrifice of Christ endureth in heaven continually, forasmuch as he is risen from the dead, and ascended into heaven with that body which he gave to Thomas to feel, bringing in thither his blood⁶, as Hesy chius saith, and bearing the marks of his wounds, and there appear⁷ before the face of God with that thorn-pricked, nail-bored, spear-pierced, and otherwise wounded, rent, and torn body for us (whereby we understand the virtue of his oblation on the cross ever enduring, not the oblation itself with renewing of pain and sufferance continued); so we do perpetually celebrate this oblation and sacrifice⁸ of Christ's very body and blood in the mass⁹, in remembrance of him, (224) commanded so to do until his coming.

The two hundred and twenty-fourth untruth. For Christ never commanded M. Harding neither to say mass, nor to offer up his body in sacrifice.

Wherein our adversaries so foolishly as wickedly scoff at us, as though we sacrificed Christ again so as he was sacrificed on the cross, that is, in bloody¹⁰ manner. But we do not so offer or sacrifice Christ again; but that oblation of him in the supper, and ours in the mass, is but one oblation, the same sacrifice, for this cause by his divine ordinance left unto us, that, as the oblation once made on the cross continually endureth, and appeareth before the face of God in heaven for our behalf, continued not by new suffering, but by perpetual intercession for us; so the memory of it may ever until his second coming be kept amongst us also in earth, and that thereby we may apply and bring unto us through faith the great benefits which by that one oblation of himself on the cross he hath for us procured, and daily doth procure.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

“At the same very instant of time,” saith M. Harding, “when Christ was sacrificed upon the cross, he offered up himself also in heaven in the sight of his heavenly Father.” Which thing he enlargeth rhetorically with a tragical description of a “thorn-pricked, nail-bored, spear-pierced, and otherwise rent and torn body. And this,” saith he, “is a necessary point of christian doctrine.” And that he avoucheth constantly, albeit without the word or witness of any ancient writer, only upon his own credit. Whereof also groweth some suspicion that his store of old records is not so plenteous as it is supposed.

But where he saith, Christ was thus invisibly sacrificed in heaven, I marvel he saith not likewise that Pilate, Annas, Caiphas, the soldiers, and the tormentors, were likewise in heaven to make this sacrifice. For without this company Christ's blood was not shed: “And without shedding of blood,” St Paul saith, “there is no sacrifice for remission of sin.” This fable is so vain that I believe M. Harding himself is not well able to expound his own meaning. Origen saith there were some in his time that thought, “that, as Christ was crucified in this world for the living, so he should afterward suffer and be crucified in the world to come for the dead¹¹.” But that Christ was thus “thorn-pricked, nail-bored, spear-pierced,” and crucified in heaven, I think no man ever saw or said, but M. Harding. The apostles, the evangelists, the old doctors, and ancient fathers never knew it. St Paul saith: *Semel seipsum obtulit*: “Once he offered up himself:” *semel introivit in sancta*: “once he entered into the holy place.” And therefore, hanging upon the cross and yielding up the ghost, he said: *Consummatum est*: “It is finished.” This sacrifice is perfittly wrought for ever. This only sacrifice of Christ the Son of God the scriptures acknowledge, and none other.

Heb. ix.

Orig. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. v. cap. vi.

Heb. vii.

Heb. ix.

Howbeit, like as the prayers that Christ once made, and the doctrine that he once taught, remain still full and effectual as at the first; even so the sacrifice that Christ once made upon the cross remaineth still in full force, effectual

[⁶ Ibi sanguinem introduxit, quia cicatrices portans passionum a mortuis resurrexit, unde et suum corpus palpandum Thomæ præbuit, atque ita in celos ascendit.—Isych. in Levit. Lib. i. cap. iv. fol. 20.]

[⁷ Appareth, 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

[⁸ Sacrificing, H. A. 1564.]

[⁹ The holy mass, H. A. 1564. The mass, H. A. 1565.]

[¹⁰ Bloody, 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

[¹¹ Unde miror quosdam...velle asserere, quod in futuris iterum seculis vel eadem vel similia pati necesse sit Christum, ut liberari possint etiam hi quos in præsentia vita dispensationis ejus medicina sanare non potuit.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-39. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. v. cap. vi. Tom. IV. p. 668.]

Heb. vii.

and perfit, and endureth for ever. Therefore St Paul saith: "Christ hath an everlasting priesthood, and liveth still, that he may still pray for us." And therefore God the Father saith unto him, and to none other, either man, or angel, or archangel: *Tu es sacerdos in æternum*: "Thou art a priest for ever." And therefore St Chrysostom compareth this sacrifice to a most sovereign salve, that, being once laid to the wound, healeth it clean, and needeth no more laying on¹. Likewise St Cyprian saith: *Nec sacerdotii ejus pœnituit Deum: quoniam sacrificium, quod in cruce obtulit, sic in beneplacito Dei constat acceptabile, et perpetua virtute consistit, ut non minus hodie in conspectu Patris oblatio illa fit² efficax, quam ea die, qua de saucio latere sanguis et aqua exivit; et semper reservatæ in corpore plagæ salutis humanæ exigant pretium³*: "It never repented God of Christ's priesthood; for the sacrifice that he offered upon the cross is so acceptable in the good-will of God, and so standeth in continual strength and virtue, that the same oblation is no less acceptable this day in the sight of God the Father than it was that day when blood and water ran out of his wounded side. The scars reserved still in his body do weigh the price of the salvation of man."

Chrysost. in
Epist. ad
Hebr. Hom.
17.
Cypr. de
Bapt. Christ.

But M. Harding condemneth us all for foolish and wicked people. For foolish, I know not why. Neither is it thought a wise man's part, either greatly to dislike other men's wits, or overmuch to like his own. Howbeit, who-so speaketh as never wise man spake, and yet himself understandeth not what he speaketh, as in this case it is thought M. Harding doth, hath no great cause in this behalf to charge others with folly.

Of the other side, whatsoever mortal man presumeth to offer up Christ in sacrifice, and dareth to desire God the Father so favourably to behold his own only Son as in old times he beheld the oblation of Abel or of Melchisedech⁴, and is not afraid therewith to beguile the simple and to mock the world, as M. Harding doth daily at his mass, he cannot well excuse himself of open wickedness.

Notwithstanding, this matter is easily answered. "For," saith he, "we sacrifice not Christ again: the oblation that Christ made upon the cross, and ours in the mass, is all one. And this sacrifice Christ hath commanded us to continue until his coming." If M. Harding make the self-same sacrifice that Christ made upon the cross, then is he "a priest after the order of Melchisedech;" and so "the king of justice;" "the prince of peace;" and "a priest for ever," "without successor:" for these titles be incident to the priesthood of Melchisedech; which, nevertheless, I think M. Harding of his modesty will not acknowledge. And without the same he cannot offer up to God the same sacrifice that Christ offered upon the cross.

And where he saith, Christ hath commanded him and his fellows to make and continue this sacrifice until his coming; if he had meant simply and plainly, he would have shewed either when or where or by what words Christ gave him this commandment. For so large a commission is worthy the shewing. And it were great boldness to attempt such a matter without commission.

M. HARDING. THE EIGHTH DIVISION.

Now, for further proof of the offering and sacrificing of Christ of those words of our Lord, "Do this in my remembrance," to recite some testimonies of the fathers: first, Dionysius, St Paul's scholar and bishop of Athens, writeth thus: Quocirca reverenter simul, et ex pontificali officio, post sacras divi-
 norum operum⁵ laudes, quod hostiam salutarem, quæ super ipsum
 est, litet, se excusat, ad ipsum primo decenter exclamans, Tu dixisti,
 Hoc facite in meam commemorationem⁶: "Wherefore the bishop," saith he, "reve-

[Eccles. Hier-
arch. cap. iii.
H. A. 1564.]

[¹ Φαρμάκου γὰρ ἀρετῇ τὸ ἀπαξ ἐπιτεθῆναι, καὶ μὴ πολλάκις. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. x. Hom. xvii. Tom. XII. p. 167.]

[² Sit, 1565.]

[³ Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Bapt. Christ.

(Arnold.) p. 32; where *illa sit*.]

[⁴ See below, page 773, note 12.]

[⁵ Operam, 1611.]

[⁶ Dionys. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii. 3. Tom. I. p. 298.]

rently and according to his bishoply office, after the holy praises of God's works, he excuseth himself that he taketh upon him to offer that healthful sacrifice, which is above his degree and worthiness, crying out first unto him in seemly wise, Lord, thou hast commanded thus, saying, 'Do this in my remembrance.'" By these words he confesseth, that he could not be so hardy (225) as to offer up Christ unto his Father, had not Christ himself so commanded when he said, "Do this in my remembrance." This is the doctrine touching this article that St Paul taught his scholars, which M. Jewel denieth.

The two hundred and twenty fifth untruth, joined with great folly. For Dionysius speaketh not one word of offering up the Son of God unto his Father.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here mayest thou, gentle reader, easily see that M. Harding either had not that abundance of store whereof notwithstanding he hath made us so large a promise, or else had no great regard unto his choice. For Dionysius hath no token or inkling of any such sacrificing of the Son of God unto his Father; but clearly and in most plain wise he sheweth the difference that is between the sacrifice of the cross and the sacrifice of the holy communion. These be his words: "The priest extollet those things that Christ wrought in his flesh upon the cross for the salvation of mankind; and, with spiritual eyes beholding the spiritual understanding thereof, draweth near to the figurative sacrifice of the same⁸." Here Dionysius calleth not the ministration of the holy mysteries the sacrificing of Christ unto his Father, as M. Harding would force us to believe, but a figurative sacrifice, that is, a figure or a sign of that great sacrifice. And Pachymeres, the paraphrast, expoundeth the same words in this wise: [Πρὸς τὸν ἄρτον, καὶ... ποτήριον ἔρχεται⁹: "He cometh to the bread and the cup."

Dionys. Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii. πρὸς συμβολικὴν ἱερουργίαν.

Pachym. in iii. cap. Eccles. Hierarch.

Then the priest, saith Dionysius, after certain prayers and holy songs, excuseth himself, as not worthy to make that sacrifice; and pronounceth these words out with a loud voice: *Tu dixisti, &c.*: "Thou hast said, 'Do this in my remembrance.'" Hereof M. Harding concludeth thus: The priest excuseth himself; ergo, he offereth up the Son of God unto his Father. A young sophister would never so unskilfully frame his arguments. Otherwise the respondent might easily say: *Nego consequentiam, et consequens*. For what order or sequel is there in this reason? How may this antecedent and this consequent agree together?

M. Harding knoweth there be other sundry causes wherefore the priest should excuse his unworthiness, and not this only that he imagineth. The priest in the liturgy or communion that beareth the name of St Basil prayeth thus: *Fac nos idoneos, ... ut tibi offeramus sacrificium laudis*¹⁰: "Make us meet to offer unto thee (not Christ thine only Son, but) the sacrifice of praise." In like manner Nazianzene saith: "How can they or dare they offer unto God (he saith not the body of Christ really and indeed, but) the figure of these great mysteries¹¹?" But M. Harding, being utterly void of other reasons, proveth his imagined sacrifice of the Son of God only by the unworthiness of the priest.

Lit. Basil.

Nazianz. Apol. τὴν τῶν μεγάλων μυστηρίων ἀντίτυπον.

This is the just judgment of God, that whose endeavoureth himself to deceive and blind others, shall be deceived and blinded himself. For Dionysius useth the very like words, speaking of the sacrament of baptism: *Sacerdos, cogitans negotii magnitudinem, horret, atque hæsitat*¹²: "The priest, considering the weight of the matter, is in an horror, and in an agony." Likewise St Basil excuseth his own unworthiness of hearing the word of God: *Quæ auris digna est magnitudine earum rerum quæ dicuntur? ... Cogitemus quisnam ille sit*

Eccles. Hierarch. cap. ii. ἀποβλέψας τὸ τοῦ πράγματος μέγεθος, φρίττει, καὶ ἀμηχανεῖ.

[⁷ The Greek text is... ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν ἱερουργίας ἀπολογεῖται.—Ibid.]
 [⁸ "Ἐνθεν ὁ θεὸς Ἱεράρχης... ὑμνεῖ τὰς εἰρημένας ἱεράς θεωουργίας Ἰησοῦ... ἀεὶ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν... ἐτελείωσεν ὑμνήσας δὲ καὶ τὴν σεβασμίαν αὐτῶν, καὶ νοσητὴν θεωρίαν ἐν νοεροῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀποκτεύσας, ἐπὶ τὴν συμβολικὴν αὐτῶν ἱερουργίαν ἔρχεται.—Id. ibid.]
 [⁹ Pachym. Paraphr. in eod. p. 327.]

[¹⁰ Basil. Lit. in Lit. Sanct. Patr. Par. 1560. pp. 48, 9.]
 [¹¹ ... πῶς ἐμελλον θαρρήσαι προσφέρειν αὐτῶ τὴν ἔξωθεν, τὴν τῶν κ. τ. λ.—Gregor. Nazianz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Orat. ii. 95. Tom. I. p. 56.]
 [¹² Dionys. Areop. Op. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. ii. 2. Tom. I. p. 252. It is the sponsor, and not the priest, to whom these words are applied.]

Basil. Hexaem. I. ποῖα ἀκουῆ μέγεθος τῶν λεγομένων ἀξία;

*qui nos affatur*¹: "What ear is worthy to hear the majesty of these things? Let us consider who it is that speaketh to us." St Paul, speaking of the glory and puissance of the gospel, in the end, in respect of his own unworthiness, useth this exclamation: *Et ad hæc quis idoneus?* "And who is meet to publish and to speak these things?" St Cyprian saith: "We are not worthy to look up into heaven and to speak unto God. O," saith he, "what merciful favour of our Lord is this, that we may call God our Father; and, even as Christ is God's Son, so may we be called the children of God!" *Quod nomen nemo nostrum in oratione auderet attingere, nisi ipse nobis sic permisisset orare*²: "Which name (of Father) none of us in our prayers would dare to utter, saving that he hath given us leave so to pray."

By these the slenderness of M. Harding's reason may soon appear: The priest excuseth his own unworthiness; *ergo*, he offereth up the Son of God. It is a *fallax, ex meris particularibus, or a non distributo ad distributum*, and concludeth in *secunda figura affirmative*. An error known unto children.

M. HARDING. THE NINTH DIVISION.

Irenæus received the same from St John the evangelist by Polycarpus, St John's scholar. He declareth it with these words: Eum, qui ex creatura panis est, accipit³, et gratias egit, dicens, Hoc est corpus meum. Et calicem similiter, qui est ex... creatura quæ est secundum nos, suum sanguinem confessus est, et novi testamenti novam docuit oblationem, quam ecclesia, ab apostolis accipiens, in universo mundo offert Deo... De quo in duodecim prophetis Malachias sic præsignificavit, Non est mihi voluntas in vobis, dicit Dominus exercituum⁴; et munus non suscipiam de manu vestra⁵: "He took that which by creation is bread, and gave thanks, saying, 'This is my body.' And likewise the cup full of that creature which is here with us, and confessed it to be his blood, and thus taught the new oblation of the new testament, which the church, receiving of the apostles, doth offer to God through the whole world; whereof Malachi, one of the twelve prophets, did prophesy thus: 'I have no liking in you, saith our Lord almighty, neither will I take a⁶ sacrifice of your hands; because from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same my name is glorified among the nations, and incense is offered to my name in every place, and pure sacrifice, for that my name is great among the nations.'" What can be understood by this new oblation of the new testament, other than the oblation of that which he said to be his body, and confessed to be his blood? And if he had offered bread and wine only, or the figure of his body and blood in bread and wine, it had been no new oblation, for such had been made by Melchisedech long before. Neither can the prophecy of Malachi be understood of the oblation of Christ upon the cross; forasmuch as that was done but at one time only, and in one certain place of the world, in Golgotha, a place without the gates of Hierusalem, near to the walls of that city. Concerning the sacrifice of a contrite and an humble⁷ heart, and all other sacrifices of our devotion that be mere spiritual, they cannot be called the new oblation of the new testament; forasmuch as they were done as well in the old testament as in the new, neither be they altogether pure. Wherefore this place of Irenæus, and also the prophecy of Malachi, wherewith it is confirmed, must needs be referred to the sacrifice and oblation of the body and blood of Christ daily throughout the whole world offered to God (226) in the mass, which is the external sacrifice of the church, and proper to the new testament; which, as Irenæus saith, the church received of the apostles, and the apostles of Christ.

[¹ Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. In Hexaem. Hom. i. Tom. I. pp. 1, 2; where ἀκοή τοῦ μεγέθους.]

[² Quanta autem Domini indulgentia, quanta circa nos dignationis ejus et bonitatis ubertas; qui sic nos voluerit orationem celebrare in conspectu Dei, ut Deum Patrem vocemus, et ut est Christus Dei Filius, sic et nos Dei filii nuncupemur? Quod &c.—Cyp. Op. Oxon. 1683. De Orat. Domin. p. 143.]

[³ Accipit, 1565, 1690, and H. A. 1564.]

[⁴ Exercitum, 1611.]

[⁵ Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hæ. Lib. iv. cap. xvii. 5. p. 249; where *accipit, meum corpus*, and *Dominus omnipotens, et sacrificium non accipiam de manibus vestris.*]

[⁶ 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564, omit a.]

[⁷ Humbled, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here at last M. Harding hath found out the name of a sacrifice that was not denied him. But the sacrifice that he hath so long sought for, and hath so assuredly promised to find, hitherto he hath not found. For Irenæus not once nameth neither the mass nor this real oblation of the Son of God unto his Father. Thus only he saith: "God hath utterly misliked and refused the old carnal sacrifices of the Jews; and hath taught us to offer up the new sacrifice of the new testament, according to the prophecy of Malachi." This sacrifice M. Harding imagineth can be none other but the offering up of Christ in the mass. These conclusions be very sudden. The old learned fathers could never understand so much. One of M. Harding's own new-found doctors, Martialis, saith thus: *Oblatio munda non tantum in ara sanctificata offertur, sed etiam ubique*⁸: "The pure sacrifice which Malachi meaneth is offered not only upon the holy altar (or communion-table), but also every where." M. Harding saith, It is offered only upon the altar: Martialis saith, "It is offered every where, and not only upon the altar." Certainly, if Malachi meant the sacrifice that may be offered in all places, and without an altar, as Martialis saith, then he meant not the sacrifice of the mass. Tertullian saith, that "the prophet Malachi by that pure sacrifice meant the preaching of the gospel, the offering up of a contrite heart, and prayer proceeding from a pure conscience"⁹. St Hierome likewise expoundeth the same of "the sacrifice of prayer"¹⁰, and openeth it by these words of the prophet David: "Let my prayer be directed as incense before thy sight"¹¹. St Augustine calleth the same *sacrificium laudis et gratiarum actionis*¹², "the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving"¹³.

In like sort Irenæus also expoundeth his own meaning: *Ecclesia... offert Deo... cum gratiarum actione ex creatura ejus... Est ergo altare in celo: illuc... preces et oblationes nostræ diriguntur*¹⁴: "The church offereth up to God (not his own and only Son, but) a natural thing of God's creation. Neither is our altar here in earth, but in heaven. Thither our prayers and sacrifices be directed." So likewise Eusebius saith: *Sacrificamus, et incendimus memoriam magni illius sacrificii, secundum ea quæ ab ipso tradita sunt mysteria celebrantes, et gratias Deo... pro salute nostra agentes*¹⁵: "We sacrifice and offer up unto God the remembrance of that great sacrifice, using the holy mysteries accordingly as Christ hath delivered them, and giving God thanks for our salvation."

And that Irenæus meant not any such real sacrifice of the Son of God, nor may not in any wise so be taken, it is evident by the plain words that follow touching the same. For thus he saith, speaking of the very same sacrifice of the new testament that is mentioned by Malachi: *Sacrificia non sanctificant hominem;... sed conscientia ejus, qui offert, existens pura, sanctificat sacrificium*¹⁶: "The sacrifice doth not sanctify the man; but the conscience of the offerer, being pure, sanctifieth the sacrifice." I trow, M. Harding will not say the priest is not sanctified by the Son of God, but the Son of God is sanctified

speaketh of the mass, nor calleth it a sacrifice, neither saith, either that the church received it from the apostles, or the apostles from Christ.

Mal. i.

Mart. ad Burdeg.

Tertull. contr. Jud. Tertull. contr. Marc. Lib. iv. Hieron. in i. cap. Mal. Hieron. in Zach. Lib. ii. cap. viii. August. contr. Adv. Leg. et Proph. cap. xx. Contr. Lit. Penit. Lib. ii. cap. lxxxvi. Iren. Lib. iv. cap. xxxiv.

Euseb. de Demonstr. Lib. i. cap. x.

⁸ Nec solum in ara sanctificata, sed ubique offertur Deo oblatio munda.—Mart. ad Burdeg. Epist. i. cap. iii. in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-24. Tom. I. p. 167.]

⁹ Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Jud. 5. p. 211. Id. adv. Marc. Lib. iv. 1. p. 502. See before, page 110, note 2.]

¹⁰ Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Mal. Proph. cap. i. Tom. III. col. 1813. See before, page 110, note 3.]

¹¹ ...de quo incenso et alibi legimus: Dirigatur oratio mea, sicut incensum in conspectu tuo.—Id. Comm. Lib. II. in Zach. Proph. cap. viii. Tom. III. col. 1747.]

¹² August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Adv. Leg.

et Proph. Lib. i. cap. xx. 39. Tom. VIII. col. 571. Id. Contr. Lit. Petil. Lib. II. cap. lxxxvi. 190. Tom. IX. col. 272. In both these places Augustine quotes Psalm l. 14, as explanatory of the sacrifice intended. His words in the last cited place are... laudari nomen Domini; quod est vivum sacrificium.]

[¹³ Of thanksgiving, 1565, 1609.]

[¹⁴ Iren. Op. Contr. Hær. Lib. iv. cap. xviii. 4, 6. pp. 251, 2; where *offert Fabricatori, caelis, and preces nostræ et oblationes.*]

[¹⁵ Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. Par. 1628. Lib. i. cap. x. p. 40.]

[¹⁶ Iren. Op. Contr. Hær. Lib. iv. cap. xviii. 3. p. 250; where *non sacrificia, and sanctificat sacrificium pura existens.*]

Malachi. by the conscience of the priest; for that were blasphemy. And yet thus must he needs say, if Irenæus meant the real sacrificing of the Son of God.

But M. Harding hath devised a great many replies to the contrary. First he saith: The offering up of prayer, praises, and thanksgiving cannot be called a new sacrifice; for the same was made by Moses, Aaron, the prophets, and other holy men in the old law. This objection serveth well to control Tertullian, St Augustine, and St Hierome, and other learned fathers that thus have taken it; who, by M. Harding's judgment, wrote unadvisedly they knew not what. Hereunto Irenæus himself answereth thus: *Oblationes hic: oblationes illic. Sacrificia in populo [Israel]: sacrificia in ecclesia. Sed species immutata est tantum. Quippe cum jam non a servis, sed a liberis offeruntur*¹: "There were sacrifices in the old testament: there be sacrifices in the new. There were sacrifices in the people of Israel: there be sacrifices in the church. Only the manner or form is changed. For now they be offered, not by bondmen (as before), but by freemen." In like sense writeth Angelomus: *Mandatum novum scribo vobis, non alterum; sed ipsum, quod dixi vetus, idem est novum*²: "I write unto you a new commandment; none other, but that I called the old, the self-same is the new." "And it is called a new sacrifice," saith Chrysostom, "because it proceedeth from a new mind, and is offered not by fire and smoke, but by grace, and by the Spirit of God"³. And in this consideration Irenæus thinketh "David said unto the children of the church of Christ, 'O sing unto the Lord a new song'⁴."

M. Harding saith further: "The words of Malachi may in no wise be taken for the oblation of Christ upon the cross. For that," saith he, "was done at one time only, and in one certain place, in Golgotha, without the gates of Hierusalem, and not in every place." Yet M. Harding may easily understand that the remembrance of that sacrifice, and thanksgiving for the same, may be made at all times and in all places. And therefore Eusebius, as it is noted before, calleth our sacrifice *magni illius sacrificii memoriam*⁵, "the remembrance of that great sacrifice, and the thanksgiving which we yield unto God for our salvation." Dionysius calleth it *συμβολικὴν . . . ἱερουργίαν*⁶: "a figurative sacrifice." And St Augustine saith: *Cum credimus in Christum, ex ipsis reliquiis cogitationis Christus nobis quotidie immolatur*⁷: "When we believe in Christ, even of the very remnants of our cogitation (in what place soever we be) Christ is sacrificed unto us every day." Likewise St Hierome saith: *Cum audimus sermonem Domini, . . . caro Christi et sanguis ejus in auribus nostris funditur*⁸: "When we hear the word of the Lord, the flesh of Christ and his blood is poured out into our ears." And, whereas M. Harding saith further, that the spiritual sacrifices of our devotion cannot altogether be called pure, and therefore cannot be sacrifices⁹ of the new testament; it must needs be confessed, that all our righteousness, in respect of many imperfections, may be compared, as the prophet Esay saith, "unto a filthy clout:" yet in respect of God's mercy, and in Christ, the prophet David saith: "Thou shalt wash me; and I will be whiter than the snow."

Howbeit, herein I will remit M. Harding to the judgment of them whose

[¹ Oblationes enim et illic, oblationes autem et hic: sacrificia &c....offeratur.—Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. iv. cap. xviii. 2. p. 250.]

[² The Stromata of this author on the books of Kings are doubtless what Jewel intends. See Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. IX. Pars 1. pp. 700, &c.; but the editor has not succeeded in discovering the passage quoted.]

[³ Καθαράν δὲ λέγει θυσίαν, ὡς τῆς προτέρας ἀκαθάρτου οὐσης, οὐ διὰ τὴν οικείαν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν προαίρεσιν τῶν προσαγόντων...οὐ γὰρ διὰ καρπὸν καὶ κτίσεως, οὐδὲ δι' αἱμάτων καὶ λυτρῶν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος προσάγεται χάριτος.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Adv. Jud. Orat. v. Tom. I. p. 648.]

[⁴ Irenæus is explaining Matt. xiii. 52. He says that the "things new and old" are the two testaments, and proceeds...novum autem, quæ secundum evan-

gelium est conversatio, ostendit, de qua David ait: Cantate Domino canticum novum.—Iren. Op. Contr. Hær. Lib. iv. cap. ix. p. 237.]

[⁵ Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. Par. 1628. Lib. 1. cap. x. p. 40. See before, page 723.]

[⁶ Dionys. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii. 3. Tom. I. p. 298.]

[⁷ Et semel nobis Christus immolatus est, cum credimus; tunc fuit cogitatio: . . .ex ipsis reliquiis cogitationis, id est, ex ipsa memoria, quotidie nobis sic immolatur, quasi quotidie nos innovet, &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psal. lxxv. Enarr. 15. Tom. IV. col. 801.]

[⁸ Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Breviar. in Psal. Psal. cxlvii. Tom. II. Append. col. 504; where quando for cum, and sermonem Dei.]

[⁹ The sacrifices, 1565, 1609.]

Iren. Lib. iv. cap. xxxiv.

Angelom. Antikeum. Lib. iiii. Chrysost. contr. Jud. Lib. ii.

Iren. Lib. iv. cap. xxi.

Euseb. de Demonstr. Lib. i. cap. x. Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iiii. August. in Psal. lxxv.

Hieron. in Psal. cxlvii.

Isai. lxxv.

Psal. li.

authorities he cannot well deny. Eusebius calleth our prayers *mundum sacrificium*¹⁰, "a pure sacrifice." Tertullian saith: "We make sacrifice unto our God for the safety of our emperors *pura prece*, 'with a pure prayer'¹¹." St Hierome, speaking of the sacrifice of christian prayers, saith thus: "A pure sacrifice is offered unto me in every place; not in the oblations of the old testament, but in the holiness of the purity of the gospel¹²." To be short, St Paul saith: *Volo viros precari in omni loco, levantes manus puras*: "I would that men should pray in all places, lifting up pure hands (unto God)."

The Sa-
crifice is
Christ.

Euseb. de
Demonstr.
Lib. i. cap.
vi. Orationis
.. sacrificium,
quod mundum
dictum est.

Touching the sacrifice of the Lord's table, Eusebius writeth thus: *μνήμην . . . ἡμῖν παρέδωκε ἀντὶ θυσίας τῷ Θεῷ διηλεκτῶς προσφέρειν*¹³: "He gave us a remembrance instead of a sacrifice to offer up continually unto God." And this he calleth *incruentum et rationabile sacrificium*¹⁴: "the unbloody and reasonable sacrifice." "This," saith Irenæus, "is the sacrifice of the new testament. This sacrifice the church received of the apostles; and the same the apostles received of Christ, that made all things new¹⁵."

Tertull. ad
Scap.
Hieron. in
Zach. Lib.
ii. cap. viii.
In Sanctitate
Evangelicæ
Puritatis.
1 Tim. ii.
Euseb. de
Demonstr.
Lib. i.

M. HARDING. THE TENTH DIVISION.

Now let us hear what St Cyprian hath written to this purpose. Because his works be common, to be shorter, I will rehearse his words in English. "If in the sacrifice, *which is Christ, none but Christ is to be followed, soothly it be-
[Lib. ii. Epist. 3. H.A. 1564. 16] hoveth us to obey, and do that which Christ did and commanded to be done. For, if Jesus Christ our Lord and God, very he himself, be the high priest of God the Father, and himself first offered sacrifice to God the Father, and commanded the same to be done in his remembrance; verily that priest doth occupy the office of Christ truly, who doth by imitation the same thing that Christ did. And then he offereth to God the Father in the church a true and a perfect¹⁸ sacrifice, if he begin to offer right so as he seeth Christ himself to have offered¹⁹." Thus²⁰ far St Cyprian. How can this article be avouched in more plain words? (227) He saith that Christ offered himself to his Father in his supper, and likewise commanded us to do the same.

*Even so
Chrysostom
saith, Christ's
baptism is
Christ's
blood¹⁷. Ad
Heb. Hom.
16.

Here we have proved that it is lawful, and hath always from the beginning of the new testament been lawful, for the (228) priests to offer up Christ unto his Father, by the testimonies of three holy martyrs, two Greeks and one Latin, most notable in sundry respects, of antiquity, of the room they bare in Christ's church, of learning, of constancy, of faith stedfastly kept to death, suffered in places of fame and knowledge, at Paris, at Lions, at Carthage.

The two hun-
dred and
twenty-
seventh un-
truth. For
St Cyprian
saith not,
neither that
Christ offered
himself at the
supper, nor
that we are
commanded
to offer
Christ.
The two hun-
dred and
twenty-
eighth un-
truth. For
none of all
these three
fathers ever
spake these
words.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The²¹ place of St Cyprian, as it not once toucheth the real sacrificing of Christ unto his Father, so it utterly condemneth the communion under one kind; the common prayers in a strange unknown tongue; and briefly the whole disorder and abuse of M. Harding's mass.

But St Cyprian saith: *In sacrificio, quod Christus est*: "In the sacrifice, that is Christ." If M. Harding think to find great advantage in these words, it may

[¹⁰ Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. Lib. i. cap. vi. p. 19.]

[¹¹ Itaque et sacrificamus pro salute imperatoris, sed Deo nostro et ipsis...pura prece.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Ad Scap. 2. p. 86.]

[¹² ...incensum offertur nomini Domini in omni loco, et sacrificium mundum; nequaquam in victimis veteris testamenti; sed in sanctitate, &c.—Hieron. Op. Comm. Lib. II. in Zach. Proph. cap. viii. Tom. III. col. 1747.]

[¹³ Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. Lib. i. cap. x. p. 88; where παραδούς. See before, page 716, note 3.]

[¹⁴ Id. ibid. p. 39.]

[¹⁵ See before, page 722, note 5.]

[¹⁶ H. A. 1565 omits this reference.]

[¹⁷ Chrysost. Op. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. ix. Hom. xvi. Tom. XII. p. 159. See before, page 518,

note 4.]

[¹⁸ Perfite, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[¹⁹ Nam si in sacrificio quod Christus obtulerit, non nisi Christus sequendus est: utique id nos obaudire et facere oportet, quod Christus fecit, et quod faciendum esse mandavit. . . Nam si Jesus Christus, Dominus et Deus noster, ipse est summus sacerdos Dei Patris; et sacrificium Patri seipsuum primus obtulit, et hoc fieri in sui commemorationem præcepit: utique ille sacerdos vice Christi vere fungitur, qui id quod Christus fecit imitatur: et sacrificium verum et plenum tunc offert in ecclesia Deo Patri, si sic incipiat offerre secundum quod ipsum Christum videat obtulisse.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cæcil. Epist. lxxiii. pp. 164, 5.]

[²⁰ This, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[²¹ This, 1565, 1609.]

The Sa-
crifice is
Christ.

August. in
Johan. Tract.
29.

August. in
Psalm. xxi.
De Consecr.
Dist. 2.
Semel.

Cypr. Lib. ii.

De Consecr.
Dist. 2.
Quid sit.

De Consecr.
Dist. 2.
Quid sit. In
Gloss.

Chrysost. in
Act. Hom. 21.
Beda expo-
nens illud,
Sicut Moses
exaltavit, &c.
Johan. iii.
Hieron. in
Psalm. xcvii.
Ambros. de
Virgin.
August.
Quæst.
Evang. Lib.
ii.
Hieron. ad
Damas.

please him to remember that St Augustine saith: [*Illis*] *petra...erat Christus*¹: "Unto the Jews the rock was Christ." Verily, the sacrifice after the order of Melchisedech, which is the propitiation for the sins of the world, is only Jesus Christ, the Son of God, upon the cross. And the ministration of the holy mysteries, in a phrase and manner of speech, is also the same sacrifice; because it layeth forth the death and blood of Christ so plainly and so evidently before our eyes. So saith St Augustine: "The very remembrance of Christ's passion stirreth up such motions within us, as if we saw Christ presently hanging upon the cross²." Upon which words the common gloss noteth thus: [*Christus*] *immolatur, id est, Christi immolatio repræsentatur, et fit memoria passionis*³: "Christ is sacrificed, that is to say, the sacrifice of Christ is represented, and there is made a remembrance of his passion." So St Cyprian saith: *Vinum exprimit sanguinem: in aqua populus intelligitur: in vino sanguis ostenditur. [Itaque] passionis ejus mentionem in sacrificiis...facimus. Passio enim Domini est sacrificium, quod offerimus*⁴: "The wine sheweth the blood: in the water we understand the people: the blood is expressed in the wine. And therefore in our sacrifices we make mention of Christ's passion. For the sacrifice that we offer is the passion of Christ." As the ministration of the holy communion is the death and passion of Christ, even so and in like sort and sense may the sacrifice thereof be called Christ. Therefore St Gregory saith: [*Christus*] *in seipso immortaliter...vivens,...iterum in hoc mysterio moritur...Ejus caro in populi salutem patitur*⁵: "Christ, living immortally in himself, dieth again in this mystery. His flesh suffereth (in the mystery) for the salvation of the people." I reckon, M. Harding will not say that Christ dieth indeed, according to the force and sound of these words, or that his flesh verily and indeed is tormented and suffereth in the sacrament. St Gregory better expoundeth himself in this wise: *Hoc sacramentum...passionem unigeniti Filii...imitatur*⁶: "This sacrament expresseth or representeth the passion of the only-begotten Son." And the very barbarous gloss touching the same saith: *Christus moritur et patitur, id est, mors et passio Christi repræsentatur*⁷: "Christ dieth and suffereth, that is to say, Christ's death and passion is represented."

So St Chrysostom saith: *In mysteriis mors Christi perficitur*⁸: "The death of Christ is wrought in the mysteries." So saith Beda: *Exaltatio serpentis ænei passio Redemptoris nostri est in cruce*⁹: "The lifting up of the brasen serpent is the passion of our Redeemer upon the cross." So saith St Hierome: *Quotidie nobis Christus crucifigitur*¹⁰: "Unto us Christ is daily crucified." So St Ambrose: *Christus quotidie immolatur*¹¹: "Christ is daily sacrificed." So St Augustine: *Tunc unicuique [Christus] occiditur, cum credit occisum*¹²: "Then is Christ slain to every man, when he believeth that Christ was slain." To conclude, so St Hierome saith: *Semper Christus credentibus immolatur*¹³: "Unto the faithful Christ is evermore sacrificed." Thus may the sacrifice of the holy communion be called Christ; to wit, even so as the ministration of the same is called the passion or the death of Christ.

And that the weakness of M. Harding's guesses may the better appear,

[¹ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 12. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 499.]

[² Id. in Psalm. xxi. Enarr. ii. 1. Tom. IV. col. 93. See before, page 467, note 23. See also Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 51. col. 1938.]

[³ Gloss. in can. 52. *ibid.*; where *ejus immolatio*.]

[⁴ ...videmus in aqua populum intelligi, in vino vero ostendi sanguinem Christi...passionis, &c., passio est enim Domini, &c.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cæcil. Epist. lxiii. pp. 153, 4, 6.]

[⁵ Gregor. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 73. col. 1953; where *semetipso*. Op. Par. 1705. Dial. Lib. iv. cap. lviii. Tom. II. col. 472.]

[⁶ Id. *ibid.*; where *hoc sacrificium*.]

[⁷ *Moritur*. Id est, ejus mors repræsentatur... *patitur*. Passio repræsentatur.—Gloss. *ibid.*]

[⁸ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Act. Apost. Hom. xxi. Tom. IX. p. 176.]

[⁹ *Exaltatio autem serpentis ænei...passionem nostri Redemptoris signat in cruce*.—Ven. Bed. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. In Evang. Joan. cap. iii. Tom. V. col. 476.]

[¹⁰ Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Breviar. in Psalt. Psalm. xcv. Tom. II. Append. col. 377.]

[¹¹ Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Virgin. Lib. II. cap. ii. 18. Tom. II. col. 166. See below, page 730.]

[¹² August. Op. Quæst. Evang. Lib. II. Quæst. xxxiii. 5. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 260; where *tunc enim cuique*.]

[¹³ Hieron. Op. Ad Damas. Epist. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 156.]

understand thou, good christian reader, that the holy catholic fathers have used to say, that Christ is sacrificed, not only in the holy supper, but also in the sacrament of baptism. St Augustine saith: *Holocaustum dominicæ passionis . . . eo tempore pro se quisque offert, quo ejusdem passionis fide dedicatur*¹⁴: "The sacrifice of our Lord's passion every man then offereth for himself, when he is confirmed in the faith of his passion." And again: *Holocaustum Domini . . . tunc pro unoquoque offertur quodammodo, cum ejus nomine . . . baptizando signatur*¹⁵: "Then is the sacrifice of our Lord in a manner offered for each man, when in baptism he is marked with the name of Christ." And again: *Non relinquitur sacrificium pro peccatis: id est, non potest denuo baptizari*¹⁶: "There is left no sacrifice for sin; that is to say, he can be no more baptized." And in this consideration Chrysostom saith: *Baptisma Christi sanguis Christi est*¹⁷: "Christ's baptism is Christ's blood." And likewise St Ambrose: *In baptismo crucifigimus in nobis Filium Dei*¹⁸: "In baptism we crucify in ourselves the Son of God."

August. in Ex. pos. Inchoata ad Rom.

In eod. lib.

In eod. lib.

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Heb. Hom. 16.

Ambros. de Pœnit. Lib. ii. cap. ii.

M. HARDING. THE ELEVENTH DIVISION.

Our adversaries crack much of the sealing up of their new doctrine with the blood of such and such, who be written in the book of lies, not in the book of life, whom they will needs to be called martyrs. Verily, if those monks and friars, apostates and renegades, wedded to wives, or rather (to use their own term) yoked to sisters, be true martyrs, then must our new gospellers pull these holy fathers and many thousands more out of heaven. (229) For certainly the faith in defence of which either sort died is utterly contrary. The worst that I wish to them is, that God give them eyes to see and ears to hear, and that he shut not up their hearts, so as they see not the light here, until they be thrown away into the outward darkness, where shall be weeping and grinding of teeth.

Matt. xzv.

The two hundred and twenty-ninth untruth. For M. Harding well knoweth that the whole substance of our doctrine fully agreeth with the fathers.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

This talk was utterly out of season, saving that it liked well M. Harding to sport himself with the scriptures of God, and a little to scoff at the words of St Paul. Which thing, becoming him so well, may be the better borne withal, when it shall please him likewise to scoff at others. St Paul calleth wives sometimes "sisters," sometimes "yoke-fellows;" and thinketh matrimony to be "honourable in all persons," and the forbidding of the same to be "the doctrine of devils." Neither doth it any way appear, that ever honest godly matrimony either displeased God, or was thought uncomely for a martyr and witness of God's truth.

1 Cor. ix. Phil. iv. Heb. xiii. 1 Tim. iv.

St Paul was married, as it appeareth by Ignatius¹⁹, Clemens²⁰, Eusebius²¹; and yet nevertheless was a martyr. St Peter, the chief of the apostles, had a wife; and yet nevertheless stood by and gave her comfort and constancy at her martyrdom²². "The twelve apostles," saith St Ambrose, "only St John excepted, were all married²³;" and yet nevertheless the same, St John only excepted, as it is thought, were all martyrs. Spiridion was a married bishop; and yet, as Sozomenus writeth, he was thereby nothing hindered, neither to discharge his duty nor to any other godly purpose²⁴. Tertullian was a priest, as appeareth by St Hierome²⁵, and married, as appeareth by his own book written to his wife²⁶; and yet not-

Ignat. ad Philadelph. Euseb. Lib. iii. cap. xxx. Clement. Stromat. Lib. vii. Euseb. Lib. iii. cap. xxx. Ambros. in 2 ad Cor. cap. xi. Sozom. Lib. i. cap. xi. Ad res divinas nihilo deterior. Hieron. de Eccles. Script.

[¹⁴ August. Op. Epist. ad Rom. Expos. Inch. 19. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 937; where *holocausto*, and *offert quisque pro peccatis suis*.]

[¹⁵ Id. *ibid.*]

[¹⁶ ...non ei relinquitur pro peccatis sacrificium, hoc est, non possit denuo baptizari.—Id. *ibid.* cols. 937, 8.]

[¹⁷ See before, page 518, note 4.]

[¹⁸ ... de baptismo ... in quo crucifigimus Filium Dei in nobis.—Ambros. Op. De Pœnit. Lib. II. cap. ii. 10. Tom. II. col. 418.]

[¹⁹ Ignat. Interp. Epist. ad Philadelph. cap. iv. in Coteler. Patr. Apost. Amst. 1724. Vol. II. p. 77.]

[²⁰ Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Stromat.

Lib. III. Tom. I. p. 535.]

[²¹ Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695—1700. Lib. III. cap. xxx. p. 82.]

[²² Id. *ibid.*]

[²³ ... omnes apostoli, exceptis Johanne et Paulo, uxores habuerunt.—Ambros. Op. Comm. in Epist. ad Cor. II. cap. xi. v. 2. Tom. II. Append. col. 198.]

[²⁴ Sozom. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. I. cap. xi. pp. 338, &c.]

[²⁵ Tertullianus presbyter.—Hieron. Op. Catal. Script. Eccles. 53. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 115.]

[²⁶ Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Ad Uxor. Libr. II. pp. 182, &c.]

withstanding, as some report, was a martyr. St Hilary was a reverend father and bishop of Poitiers, and yet married, as may be gathered by his epistle written to his daughter Abra².

And, to leave infinite others, St Chrysostom saith: *Ita pretiosa res matrimonium, ut possis cum eo ad sanctum episcopatus solium subvehi*³. *Utere moderate nuptiis, et eris primus in regno cœlorum*⁴: "So precious a thing is matrimony, that with the same thou mayest be promoted even to⁵ the bishop's chair." "Use marriage with discretion, and thou shalt be the chief in the kingdom of heaven." St Hierome saith: *Hodie quoque plurimi sacerdotes habent matrimonia*⁶: "Even now a great number of priests live in matrimony." Thus the apostles of Christ and many other learned fathers and godly bishops were married, and, as M. Harding saith in his mirth and pleasance, had their sisters and yoke-fellows. But how and with what sisters or fellows a great number of the wifeless sort of M. Harding's side be yoked, for very regard of honesty it may not be uttered.

Epiphanius writeth thus of certain of his time: *Repudiant nuptias, at non libidinem. In honore enim apud illos est non sanctitas sed hypocrisis*⁷: "They refuse marriage, but not filthy lust. For they esteem not holiness, but hypocrisy." Who seeth not that in the church of Rome priests, bishops, and cardinals, notwithstanding they be utterly forbidden to have wives, yet are easily allowed to have concubines? They themselves have confessed it by these words unto the world: *Etiam in hac urbe Romana meretrices, ut matronæ, incedunt per urbem, seu mula*⁸ *vehuntur; quas assectantur de media die nobiles familiares cardinalium, clericique*⁹: "Even here, in this city of Rome, harlots pass through the streets, or ride upon their mules, like honest gentlewomen; and gentlemen of the cardinals' bands and priests at noon-days wait upon them."

As touching them whom it so much grieveth you, M. Harding, to be called martyrs, you have slain not only such and such, whom it liketh you by your own name (if ye have not forgotten your own name) to call renegades, but also great numbers of others more, married, unmarried, learned, unlearned, old, young, boys, maids, laymen, priests, bishops, archbishops, without mercy. Ye scourged them with rods, ye set burning torches to their hands, ye cut off their tongues, ye hanged them, ye beheaded them, ye burnt them to ashes, ye took the poor innocent babe falling from the mother's womb, and threw it cruelly into the fire. Briefly, ye did with them whatsoever your pleasure was. The worst word that proceeded from them was this: "O Lord, forgive them: they know not what they do." "O Lord Jesu, receive my spirit." In the mean while ye stood by, and delighted your eyes with the sight. Ye digged up the poor carcasses of God's saints, that had been buried long before: ye served them solemnly with process, and ascited them to appear at your consistories, and by public sentence adjudged them to die the second death; and so, to the perpetual shame of your cruel folly, ye wreaked your anger upon the dead. O M. Harding, your conscience knoweth these are no lies. They are written in the eyes and hearts of many thousands. These be the marks of your religion. O what reckoning will you yield, when so much innocent blood shall be required at your hands? And where you say, we must pull the old martyrs out of heaven to place our own, for that our doctrine and theirs (as you bear us in hand) is quite contrary; all this is but a needless ostentation of idle words. If vaunts were proofs, then were this matter fully ended. But we say, that in these cases that I have moved you are not able to allege one sufficient clause or sentence of your side out of any of all

[¹ It is not clear for what Jewel refers to this author. His chronicle may be found Germ. Rer. Quat. Chronogr. Franc. 1566. fols. 14, &c.]

[² Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Ad Abr. Fil. Epist. cols. 1209, &c.]

[³ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Tit. cap. i. Hom. ii. Tom. XI. p. 738.]

[⁴ Id. in Epist. ad Hebr. cap. v. Hom. vii. Tom. XII. p. 80.]

[⁵ Unto, 1565, 1609.]

[⁶ Quasi non hodie quoque plurimi sacerdotes habeant matrimonia.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Adv. Jovin. Lib. 1. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 165.]

[⁷ Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. II. Hær. lxxiii. 1. Tom. I. pp. 520, 1; where *kai ou wabêrai aπ' autôn η λαγυεια.*]

[⁸ Multa, 1611.]

[⁹ In hac etiam urbe meretrices, &c.—Suggest. Delect. Card. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. p. 823.]

Regino. in
Rebus Ger-
manicis.
Hilar. ad
Abr. Fil.
Chrysost. in
Epist. ad Tit.
Hom. 2.
Chrysost. in
Epist. ad
Heb. Hom. 7.

Hieron.
contr. Jovin.

Epiph. contr.
Orig.
ἀθετούσι...
γάμον,
ἀλλ' οὐ
λαγυεῖαν...
πεφίλοτι-
μηται γάρ
παρ' αὐ-
τοῖς οὐχ ἡ
ἀγυεῖα,
ἀλλὰ ὑπο-
κριτικῆ.
In Concil.
Delect. Card.

the old learned fathers. And hitherto your muster appeareth but very simple, notwithstanding the great promise of your store.

Certainly the holy fathers and martyrs of God will say unto you: We know not your private masses: we know not your half-communion: we know not your strange unknown prayers: we know not your adoration of corruptible creatures: we know not this sacrificing of the Son of God: we know not your new religion: we know not you. God open the eyes of your hearts, that ye may see the miserable state ye stand in, and recover the place that ye have lost, and find your names written in the book of life!

M. HARDING. THE TWELFTH DIVISION.

Leaving no small number of places that might be recited out of divers other doctors, I will bring two of two worthy bishops, one of Chrysostom, the other of St Ambrose, confirming this truth. Chrysostom's words be these: Pontifex noster ille est, qui hostiam mundantem nos obtulit; ipsam offerimus et nunc, quæ tunc oblata quidem consumi non potest. Hoc autem quod nos facimus in commemorationem fit ejus quod factum est. Hoc enim facite, inquit, in mei commemorationem¹⁰: "He is our bishop that hath offered up the host which cleanseth us. The same do we offer also now, which, though it were then offered, yet cannot be consumed. But this that we do is done in remembrance of that which is done. For 'do ye this', saith he, 'in my remembrance'." St Ambrose saith thus: Vidimus Principem sacerdotum ad nos venientem: vidimus et audivimus offerentem pro nobis sanguinem suum¹¹: sequamur, ut possumus, sacerdotes, ut offeramus pro populo sacrificium, etsi infirmi merito, tamen honorabiles sacrificio. Quia etsi... Christus non videtur offerre, tamen ipse offertur in terris, quando Christi corpus offertur¹²: "We have seen the Prince of priests come to us: we have seen and heard him offer for us his blood: let us that be priests follow him, as we may, that we may offer sacrifice for the people, being, though weak in merit, yet honourable for the sacrifice. Because, albeit Christ be not seen to offer, yet he is offered in earth, when the body of Christ is offered." Of these our Lord's words, "which is given for you," and "which is shed for you and for many," here St Ambrose exhorteth the priests to offer the body and blood of Christ for the people, and willet them to be more regarded than commonly they be now-a-days, for this sacrifice¹³ sake, though otherwise they be of less desert.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

This allegation argueth no great abundance of store. For Chrysostom in these words both openeth himself, and sheweth in what sense other ancient fathers used this word "sacrifice," and also utterly overthroweth M. Harding's whole purpose touching the same. For as he saith "we offer up the same sacrifice that Christ offered," so in most plain wise and by sundry words he removeth all doubt, and declareth in what sort and meaning we offer it. He saith not as M. Harding saith: "We offer up the Son of God unto his Father, and that verily and indeed;" but contrariwise thus he saith: *Offerimus quidem, sed ad recordationem facientes mortis ejus... Hoc sacrificium exemplar illius est. ... Hoc quod nos facimus in commemorationem fit ejus quod factum est... Id ipsum semper offerimus; magis autem recordationem sacrificii operamur¹⁴*: "We offer indeed, but in remembrance of his death. This sacrifice is an example of that sacrifice. This that we do is done in remembrance of that that was done. We offer up the same that Christ offered; or rather, we work the remembrance of that sacrifice." Thus we offer up Christ, that is to say, an example, a commemoration, a remembrance of the death of Christ. This kind of sacrifice was never denied; but M. Harding's real sacrifice was yet never proved. So saith St Augustine: *Cum hostia frangitur, et sanguis... in ora fidelium funditur, quid*

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Hebr. Hom. 17.

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Cum frangitur.

¹⁰ Chrysost. Op. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. x. Hom. xvii. Tom. XII. p. 169.]

¹¹ Suam, 1611.]

¹² Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. In Psalm. xxxviii.]

Enarr. 25. Tom. I. col. 853; where sequimur.]

¹³ Sacrifices, H. A. 1564.]

¹⁴ Chrysost. Op. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. x. Hom. xvii. Tom. XII. pp. 168, 9.]

Melchisedech.

*aliud quam dominici corporis in cruce immolatio... significatur*¹? “When the oblation is broken, and the blood (that is to say, the sacrament of the blood) is poured into the mouths of the faithful, what other thing is there signified, but the sacrifice of our Lord’s body upon the cross?”

Even so St Ambrose saith Christ is offered here in the earth (not really and indeed, as M. Harding saith, but) in like sort and sense as St John saith “the Lamb was slain from the beginning of the world;” that is, not substantially or in real manner, but in signification, in a mystery, and in a figure. And thus St Ambrose expoundeth his own meaning, even in the same place that is here alleged: *Primum... umbra præcessit: sequuta est imago: erit veritas. Umbra in lege; imago... in evangelio; veritas in caelestibus... Ascende... homo, in caelum, et videbis illa, quorum hic umbra erat vel imago*²: “First the shadow went before: the image followed: the truth shall be. The shadow in the law, the image in the gospel, the truth in the heavens. O man, go up into heaven, and thou shalt see those things whereof here was an image and a shadow.” To like purpose St Ambrose writeth thus: *Vidimus eum, et oculis nostris perspeximus, et in vestigia clavorum ejus digitos nostros inseruimus. Videmur enim... vidisse [eum] quem legimus, spectasse pendentem, et vulnera ejus spiritu ecclesie scrutante tentasse*³: “We have seen him, and looked upon him with our eyes; and we have thrust our fingers into the dents of his nails.” The reason hereof is this: “For we seem to see him that we read of, and to have beholden him hanging on the cross, and with the feeling spirit of the church to have searched his wounds.” So St Hierome saith: *Quod semel natum est ex Maria quotidie... in nobis nascitur*⁴: “Christ, that was once born of Mary, is born in us every day.” Now, as St Ambrose saith, “We see Christ even with our eyes hanging upon the cross, and thrust in our fingers, and search his wounds;” even so do we see Christ coming unto us, and offering himself in sacrifice unto God. And, as St Hierome saith, “Christ is born every day;” even so, and none otherwise, St Ambrose saith, “Christ is sacrificed every day.” In like manner St Ambrose writeth unto certain virgins: *Vestras mentes confidenter altaria dixerim, in quibus quotidie pro redemptione corporis Christus offertur*⁵: “I may boldly say your hearts be altars; upon which hearts Christ is daily offered for the redemption of the body.” Hitherto M. Harding hath found no manner token of that he sought for.

M. HARDING. THE THIRTEENTH DIVISION.

Now, for proof of the sacrifice and oblation of Christ by the doctors’ mind upon the figure of Melchisedech, first St Cyprian saith thus: *Qui magis sacerdos Dei summi, quam Dominus noster Jesus Christus, qui sacrificium Deo Patri obtulit, et obtulit hoc idem quod Melchisedech... id est, panem et vinum, suum, scilicet, corpus et sanguinem*⁶? “Who is more the priest of the highest God than our Lord Jesus Christ, who offered a sacrifice to God the Father, and offered the self-same that Melchisedech did, that is, bread and wine, that is to say, his own body and blood?” St Hierome, in an epistle that he wrote for the virtuous women Paula and Eustochium to Marcella, hath these words: *Recurre ad Genesim, et Melchisedech regem Salem. Hujus principem invenies civitatis, qui jam... in typo Christi panem et vinum obtulit, et mysterium christianum in Salvatore sanguine et corpore dedicavit*⁷: “Return to the book of Genesis, and to Melchisedech the king of Salem, and thou shalt find the prince of that city, who even at that time in the figure of Christ offered bread and wine, and dedicated the mystery of Christians in the body and blood of our Saviour.” Here this learned father

[¹ Cum frangitur hostia, dum sanguis &c. designatur.—August. in Lib. Sentent. Prosp. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 38. col. 1930.]

[² Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. In Psalm. xxxviii. Enarr. 25, 6. Tom. I. cols. 852, 3; where *umbra hic*.]

[³ Id. Expos. Evang. sec. Luc. Lib. v. cap. vii. v. 19. 97. Tom. I. col. 1378.]

[⁴ Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Breviar. in Psalt. Psal. lxxxiv. Tom. II. Append. col. 345.]

[⁵ ... quarum mentes altaria confidenter, &c.—Ambros. Op. De Virgin. Lib. II. cap. ii. 18. Tom. II. col. 166.]

[⁶ Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cæcil. Epist. lxxiii. p. 149; where *quis magis*.]

[⁷ Hieron. Op. Paul. et Eustoch. ad Marcel. Epist. xlv. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 547.]

maketh a plain distinction between the oblation of the figure, which was bread and wine, and the oblation of the truth, which is the mystery of christian people, the blood and the body of Christ our Saviour. Of this St Augustine speaketh largely in his first sermon upon the thirty-third psalm⁸, and in the seventeenth book De Civitate Dei, cap. xx.⁹

Melchisedech.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

If M. Harding mean plainly, and will have St Cyprian's words taken as they lie, without figure, then must he say that Melchisedech offered up verily and really Christ himself. For St Cyprian's words be clear: *Christus... obtulit hoc idem, quod Melchisedech obtulerat*¹⁰: "Christ offered up the same thing that Melchisedech had offered." Notwithstanding, it is certain that the sacrifice that Melchisedech made, if it were granted to be a sacrifice, yet in plain and common manner of speech was not Christ the Son of God, but only material bread and wine, and other like provision of victuals prepared for Abraham and for his men. And therefore the old learned fathers say not, Melchisedech offered the same in sacrifice unto God; but, he brought it forth as a present, as the manner was, to refresh them after the pursuit and chase of their enemies. And St Hierome in his translation turneth it not *obtulit*, "he sacrificed;" but *protulit*¹¹, "he brought it forth." Josephus reporteth the matter thus: *Melchisedech milites Abrahami hospitaliter habuit, nihil illis ad victum deesse passus. Simulque ipsum adhibuit mensæ*¹²: "Melchisedech feasted Abraham's soldiers, and suffered them to want nothing that was necessary for their provision. And likewise he received Abraham himself unto his table." Chrysostom¹³ and Epiphanius¹⁴ say thus: "He brought forth unto them bread and wine." Tertullian saith: *Abrahamo revertenti de prælio obtulit panem et vinum*¹⁵: "Melchisedech offered bread and wine (not unto God, but) unto Abraham returning from the fight." So St Ambrose: *Occurrit... Melchisedech, ... et obtulit Abrahamo panem et vinum*¹⁶: "Melchisedech came forth to meet, and offered (not unto God, but) unto Abraham, bread and wine."

Cypr. l. ii. Epist. 3.

Joseph. Antiquit. Lib. i. cap. xi.

Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 35. Epiph. contr. Melchisedech. Lib. ii. ἐξέβαλεν αὐτῷ ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον. Tertull. contr. Jud. Ambros. de Sacram. Lib. iv. cap. iii.

By these few it may appear, that Melchisedech brought forth bread and wine and other provision, not as a sacrifice unto God, but as a relief and sustenance for Abraham and for his company.

St Paul compareth Christ with Melchisedech, in that, like unto Melchisedech, he was the King of justice; in that he was the Prince of peace, as Melchisedech was; and in that he had neither father nor mother; for so it is¹⁷ likewise written of Melchisedech. But of the sacrifice of bread and wine he speaketh nothing. Yet, notwithstanding, the ancient holy fathers oftentimes resemble the same present of Melchisedech unto the sacrifice that Christ made upon the cross. And in that respect St Cyprian saith, Christ offered the same thing that Melchisedech offered; that is to say, as M. Harding himself must needs expound it, the same thing in performance of truth upon the cross that Melchisedech had before offered in a figure.

Heb. vii.

So saith St Augustine: *Illis petra Christus*¹⁸: "Unto them the rock was Christ;" and yet not really and indeed, but only by way of signification, because it signified and represented Christ.

August. in Johan. Tract. 26.

Sometimes they compare it with the sacrifice of thanksgiving, and with the ministration of the holy communion, and make it equal with the same.

⁸ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. xxxiii. Enarr. i. 5, &c. Tom. IV. cols. 210, &c.]

⁹ Id. De Civ. Dei, Lib. xvii. cap. xx. 2. Tom. VIII. col. 484.]

¹⁰ See above, note 6.]

¹¹ ... proferens panem et vinum.—Hieron. Op. Lib. Gen. cap. xiv. Tom. I. col. 14.]

¹² Joseph. Op. Amst. 1726. Antiq. Jud. Lib. i. cap. x. 2. Tom. I. p. 32. The Greek text of the latter part of the quotation is, *καὶ παρὰ τὴν εὐωχίαν αὐτὸν τε ἐπαινεῖν ἤρξατο.*]

¹³ Chrysostom simply says, *Ἐξήνεγκε γὰρ ἄρτους καὶ οἶνον.*—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In cap. xiv. Genes. Hom. xxxv. Tom. IV. p. 357. But

see Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. In cap. Genes. xiv. Hom. xxxv. Tom. I. col. 291; where *extulit enim illi panem et vinum.*]

¹⁴ Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. ii. Hær. lv. 6. Tom. I. p. 472.]

¹⁵ ... Melchisedech... Abrahamo... revertenti de prælio panem et vinum obtulit.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Jud. 3. p. 207.]

¹⁶ Ambros. Op. De Sacram. Lib. iv. cap. iii. 10. Tom. II. col. 367; where *ei* for *Abrahamo.*]

¹⁷ Is it, 1565.]

¹⁸ ... *petra autem erat Christus... Petra Christus in signo.*—August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 12. Tom. III. Pars ii. col. 499.]

Melchisedech.

August. in Quæst. Novi et Veter. Testamenti, Quæst. 109. Hieron. ad Marcel.

St Augustine saith: *Melchisedech... Abrahæ primum, quasi patri fidelium, tradidit eucharistiam... corporis et sanguinis Domini*¹: "Melchisedech gave first unto Abraham, as unto the father of the faithful, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ." So St Hierome saith: *Melchisedech... in typo Christi panem et vinum obtulit, et mysterium Christianorum in Salvatoris corpore et sanguine dedicavit*²: "Melchisedech in the figure of Christ offered bread and wine, and dedicated the mystery of Christians in the body and blood of Christ." These authorities might serve to make some shew that Melchisedech said mass, and consecrated the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and offered up Christ in sacrifice unto his Father; but of M. Harding or any other such priest they touch nothing.

And lest any man happen of simplicity to be deceived, thinking that St Hierome hereby meant M. Harding's real presence, for that he saith, "Melchisedech dedicated the christian mystery in the body and blood of Christ;" it may please him to consider that both St Hierome and all³ other ancient fathers have often used the same manner of speech in other cases, wherein M. Harding can have no manner suspicion of real presence. St Hierome saith: *Evangelium... passione et sanguine Domini dedicatur*⁴: "The gospel is dedicated in the passion and blood of Christ." St Augustine saith: *Quid est [Mare] Rubrum? Sanguine Domini consecratum*⁵: "What is the Red Sea?" He answereth: "Consecrate in the blood of Christ." Again he saith: *Unde rubet baptismus Christi, nisi Christi sanguine consecratus*⁶? "Whereof is Christ's baptism red, but that it is dedicate in the blood of Christ?" Thus Melchisedech dedicated the christian mystery in the blood of Christ.

Hieron. adv. Jovin. Lib. i.

August. in Psal. lxxx.

August. in Johan. Tract. II.

M. HARDING. THE FOURTEENTH DIVISION.

*Of all other Ecumenius speaketh most plainly to this purpose upon this place of St Paul alleged out of the psalm: Tu es sacerdos in æternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech: "Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech." His words be these: Significat sermo, quod non solum Christus obtulit incrementam hostiam (siquidem suum ipsius corpus obtulit), verum etiam qui ab ipso fungentur sacerdotio, quorum Deus pontifex esse dignatus est, sine sanguinis effusione offerent. Nam hoc significat "in æternum." Neque enim de ea, quæ semel a Deo facta est oblatio et hostia, dixisset in æternum; sed respiciens ad præsentem sacrificos, per quos medios Christus sacrificat et sacrificatur, qui etiam in mystica cœna modum illis tradidit hujusmodi sacrificii*⁷: "The meaning of this place is," saith he, "that not only Christ offered an unbloody sacrifice, for he offered his own body, but also that they which after him shall do the office of a priest (whose bishop he vouchsafeth to be) shall offer without shedding of blood. For that signifieth the word 'for ever.' For concerning that oblation and sacrifice which was once made by God, he would never say, in æternum 'for ever.' But he said so, having an eye to those priests that be now, by the mediation of whom Christ sacrificeth and is sacrificed; who also in his mystical supper taught them by tradition the manner of such a sacrifice."

Concerning the prophecy of Malachi for proof of this oblation, though the place of Irenæus above recited may stand in stead of many authorities, yet I will not let to rehearse the sayings of a father or two for confirmation of this article.

Chrysostom saith very plainly: In omni loco sacrificium offertur nomini meo, et sacrificium purum. Vide quam luculenter quamque dilucide mysticam interpretatus est mensam, quæ est increnta hostia⁸: "In every place a sacrifice shall be offered to my name, and that a pure sacrifice. See how plainly and clearly he interpreted the mystical table, which is the unbloody sacrifice."

[¹ Id. Quæst. ex Utroq. Mixt. Quæst. cix. Tom. III. Append. col. 108.]

[² Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Paul. et Eustoch. ad Marcel. Epist. xlv. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 547. See before, page 730.]

[³ Also, 1565, 1609.]

[⁴ Id. Adv. Jovin. Lib. I. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 167; where *ipsius dedicatur*.]

[⁵ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. lxxx.

Enarr. 8. Tom. IV. col. 861.]

[⁶ Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. iii. Tractat. xi. 4. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 377.]

[⁷ H. A. 1564 omits this reference. It appears in H. A. 1565.]

[⁸ Ecumen. Op. Lut. Par. 1631. In Epist. ad Hebr. Comm. cap. v. Tom. II. p. 348.]

[⁹ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Hom. in Psalm. xcv. Tom. V. p. 630. This homily is spurious.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here might I justly take exception against this doctor, as finding him without the compass of the first six hundred years. Howbeit, he saith not that "the priest hath power or authority to sacrifice the Son of God," nor seemeth any way to favour M. Harding's purpose. Therefore we shall not need to touch his credit.

The whole contents of his words are these: That there is in the church an unbloody sacrifice, and that Christ himself offereth up the same by the mean and ministry of the priest, and that Christ himself is that sacrifice. Which words, with due construction and in the sense and meaning of the ancient fathers, may well be granted. For like as St Hierome saith, as it is alleged before, *Quod natum est ex virgine, nobis quotidie nascitur*¹⁰: *Christus nobis quotidie crucifigitur*¹¹, "Christ, that was born of the virgin, is born unto us every day:" "Christ unto us is daily crucified;" and as St Augustine saith, *Tum [Christus] cuique occiditur, cum credit occisum*¹², "Then is Christ presently slain to every man, when he trusteth wholly in his death, and believeth he was slain;" and as the same St Augustine saith, *Tibi [Christus] quotidie resurgit*¹³, "Christ riseth again to thee every day;" and as Chrysostom saith, "In the holy mysteries is wrought and perfited the death of Christ¹⁴;" briefly, as Gregory saith, *[Christus] iterum in hoc mysterio moritur*¹⁵, "Christ is slain in this mystery, and dieth again;" even so, and in the same sense and meaning, and none otherwise, Œcumenius saith: "Christ is offered in the holy supper."

But, as Christ is neither¹⁶ daily born of the virgin, nor daily crucified, nor daily slain, nor daily riseth from the dead, nor daily suffereth, nor daily dieth, but only in a certain manner of speech, not verily and indeed; even so Christ is daily sacrificed only in a certain manner of speech, and in a mystery; but really, verily, and indeed he is not sacrificed.

The rest that followeth in Œcumenius only expresseth the two several natures in Christ, the Godhead and the manhood¹⁷, that, touching his manhood¹⁷, he was sacrificed; touching his Godhead, he was the priest, and made the sacrifice; and further to M. Harding's purpose it maketh nothing. So Beda saith, although somewhat otherwise: *Filius Dei...et orat pro nobis, et orat in nobis, et oratur a nobis. Orat pro nobis ut sacerdos:...orat in nobis ut caput:...oratur a nobis ut Deus*¹⁸: "The Son of God both prayeth for us, and prayeth in us, and is prayed of us. He prayeth for us as our priest, he prayeth in us as our head, he is prayed of us as our God." Epiphanius saith: *Christus est victima, sacerdos, altare, Deus, homo, rex, pontifex, ovis, agnus, omnia in omnibus pro nobis factus*¹⁹: "Christ is our sacrifice, our priest, our altar, God, man, king, bishop, sheep, lamb, made for our sakes all in all." Thus is Christ our sacrifice, thus is Christ our sacrificer; not to be offered by the priest, as M. Harding imagineth, but, as the old masters and fathers of the church have taught us, offered by himself upon the cross. St Augustine saith: *Ecce istic oblatus est: ibi seipsum obtulit:...simul et hostia et sacerdos...et altare erat crux*²⁰: "Behold, there was he offered: there he offered himself: he was both the priest and the sacrifice; and his cross was the altar."

This word *incruentum*, that M. Harding hath here alleged out of Chrysostom, is thought to bear great weight; but, being well considered of that side it is alleged for, as it shall appear, it weigheth nothing. The holy learned fathers

Sacrificed
daily.
Christ
the Priest
and the
Oblation.

Hieron. in
Psal. lxxxvi.
Hieron. in
Psal. xcvii.

August.
Quæst.
Evang. Lib. ii.

August. de
Verb. Dom.
sec. Luc.
Serm. 38.
Chrysost. in
Act. Hom. 21.
De Consecr.
Dist. 2.
Quid sit.

Bed. in Epist.
ad Ephes.
cap. ii.

Epiph. de
Melchised.
Lib. ii.

August. de
Temp. Serm.
130.

Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 73. col. 1953. See below, page 743, note 15.]

[¹⁶ Neither is, 1565.]

[¹⁷ Manhead, 1565.]

[¹⁸ Ven. Bed. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. Ad Ephes. cap. i. Tom. VI. col. 566; where *orat pro nobis et orat, and oretur.*]

[¹⁹ Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. ii. Hær. lv. 4. Tom. I. pp. 471, 2.]

[²⁰ August. Op. Serm. clv. 2. Tom. V. Append. col. 273. The Benedictine editors consider this a mutilated version of a homily ascribed to Chrysostom.]

[¹⁰ Hieron. Op. Breviar. in Psal. Psal. lxxxiv. Tom. II. Append. col. 345. See before, page 730.]

[¹¹ Id. ibid. Psal. xcv. col. 377. See before, page 726.]

[¹² August. Op. Quæst. Evang. Lib. II. Quæst. xxxiii. 5. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 260. See before, page 726, note 12.]

[¹³ Id. Serm. lxxxv. 3. Tom. V. Append. col. 153. Conf. Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Sacram. Lib. v. cap. iv. 26. Tom. II. col. 379.]

[¹⁴ Chrysost. Op. In Act. Apost. Hom. xxi. Tom. IX. p. 176.]

[¹⁵ Gregor. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624.]

Un-
bloody
Sacrifice.

apply that word sometime to prayer and other devotion of the mind, and sometime¹ to the ministration of the holy communion.

For the better opening hereof it may please thee, good christian reader, to understand that, in the time of Moses' law, the priests and Levites offered up unto God oxen, calves, rams, and goats, and with the blood thereof sprinkled the book, the instruments of the ministry, the whole tabernacle, and all the people; and, as St Paul saith, in the ceremonies of that law "without blood-shedding there was no remission of sin." Likewise the heathens killed and offered up their cattle unto their idols, sometimes an hundred fat oxen in one day. Sometime they proceeded further, and made their sacrifices of man's blood. Erichtheus of Athens and Marius of Rome killed and offered up their own daughters in the honour of Pallas². The nobles of Carthage, in the honour of their idol Saturnus, killed and offered up three-score and ten of their own male children in one sacrifice.

In respect of these gross and fleshly and bloody sacrifices, our christian sacrifices in the gospel, because they are mere spiritual, and proceed wholly from the heart, are called unbloody. Eusebius saith: *Incendimus orationis suffitum; et sacrificium, quod appellatur purum, non per cruores facimus, sed per puras actiones*³: "We burn the incense of prayer; and we offer up the sacrifice that is called pure, not by shedding of blood, but by pure and godly doings."

So Chrysostom: *Offerimus non per fumum, nidorem, aut sanguinem, sed per Spiritus gratiam*⁴: "We make our sacrifices not by smoke, smell, and blood, but by the grace of the Holy Spirit." He addeth further: "For God is spirit, and he that adoreth him must adore in spirit and truth⁵."

And this is the unbloody sacrifice. So saith Eusebius: *Offerent illi rationabiles et incruentas hostias*⁶: "They shall offer unto him reasonable (or spiritual) and unbloody oblations." And the same he expoundeth "the sacrifice of praise⁷."

In like sort St Hierome seemeth to say: *In sinceritate azyma epulamur*⁸: "We feast in pureness, without leaven." In like consideration the sacrifices that in old times were made unto Fides and Terminus were called *ἀναιμκτα*, "unbloody," because they consisted only in suffumigations and odours, and were not imbrued with any blood. And for the like cause Thucydides calleth certain of the heathen oblations *ἀγρὰ θύματα*, "pure sacrifices." Likewise Cyrillus calleth the prayers and melody of the angels and blessed spirits in heaven, continually praising and glorifying the name of God; *incruenta sacrificia*⁹, "unbloody sacrifices." Again he saith: *Nos, relicto crasso ministerio Judæorum, præceptum habemus, ut tenue et spirituale et subtile sacrificium faciamus. Itaque offerimus Deo in odorem suavitatis virtutes omne genus, fidem, spem, caritatem*¹⁰: "We, having left the gross ministry of the Jews, have a commandment to make a fine, thin, and spiritual sacrifice. And therefore we offer unto God all manner virtues, faith, hope, charity, as most sweet savours."

For this cause the sacrifices of our prayers and other like devotions are called unbloody, for that they require no fleshly service or shedding of blood, as did the sacrifices of the Jews and heathens, but are mere ghostly and spiritual, and stand wholly in the lifting up and elevation of the mind.

In like manner the ministration of the holy communion is sometimes of the ancient fathers called an "unbloody sacrifice;" not in respect of any corporal or fleshly presence that is imagined to be there without blood-shedding, but for that

[¹ Sometimes, 1565.]

[² Ἐρεχθεὺς δὲ ὁ Ἀττικὸς, καὶ Μάριος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος, τὰς αὐτῶν ἐθυσάτην θυγατέρας ὧν ὁ μὲν τῇ Φερεφάττῃ... ὁ δὲ τοῖς ἀποτροπαίοις, ὁ Μάριος.—Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Cohort. ad Gent. Tom. I. p. 37.]

[³ Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. Par. 1623. Lib. 1. cap. vi. p. 19.]

[⁴ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Adv. Jud. Orat. v. Tom. I. p. 648.]

[⁵ Id. ibid. pp. 648, 9.]

[⁶ Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. Lib. 1. cap. x. p. 39; where τὰς ἀναιμούς καὶ λογικὰς... θυσίας.]

[⁷ Id. ibid.]

[⁸ Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. iv. Tom. V. col. 1043.]

[⁹ ... τὰς νοητὰς δηλονότι καὶ ἀναιμκτους θυσίας, ὕμνους καὶ δοξολογίας.—Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Ad Regin. de Rect. Fid. Lib. 11. 38. Tom. V. Pars II. p. 160.]

[¹⁰ Id. Contr. Julian. Lib. x. Tom. VI. p. 345.]

Heb. ix.

Clemens in
Orat. contr.
Gent.

Euseb. de
Demonstr.
Lib. i. cap. vi.
τὴν οὐδὲ
ἀιμάτων.

Chrysost.
contr. Jud.
Orat. 3.

Euseb. de
Demonstr.
Lib. ii.
λογικὰς
καὶ ἀναι-
μούς θυ-
σίας.

Hieron. in
Epist. ad Gal.
cap. iv.

Cyril. ad
Regin.
Cyril. contr.
Jul. Lib. x.

it representeth and reporteth unto our minds that one and everlasting sacrifice that Christ made in his body upon the cross. Therefore Eusebius saith: *Excitantus illi altare incruentorum et rationabilium sacrificiorum, secundum nova mysteria*¹¹: "We erect unto God an altar of unbloody and reasonable or spiritual sacrifices, according to the new mysteries." Again: *Sacrificium incendimus illi, memoriam magni illius sacrificii*¹²: "We burn a sacrifice unto God, that is, the remembrance of that great sacrifice." Likewise again: *Christus obtulit mirabile sacrificium pro salute omnium nostrum, jubens nos offerre memoriam pro sacrificio*¹³: "Christ offered up that marvellous sacrifice for our salvation, commanding us to offer a remembrance thereof instead of a sacrifice." So likewise saith St Hierome, although not altogether in like respect: *Pane et vino, puro et simplici sacrificio Christi dedicavit sacramentum*¹⁴: "He dedicated the sacrament of Christ in bread and wine, which is (not a bloody or loathsome, but) a pure and a simple sacrifice."

Unbloody Sacrifice.

Euseb. de Demonstr. Lib. i. θυσιαστήριον ἀναιμών και λογικῶν θυσιῶν κατά τὰ καινά μυστήρια.
In eod. libro.
In eod. μνημην... ἡμῶν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ... προσφέρειν.
Hieron. ad Evang. August. de Grat. Nov. Test. ad Honorat. Just. Mart. in Dial. cum Tryph. Chrysost. in Epist. ad Heb. Hom. 11.

This remembrance and oblation of praises and rendering of thanks unto God for our redemption in the blood of Christ is called of the old fathers "an unbloody sacrifice," and of St Augustine "the sacrifice of the new testament"¹⁵.

Justinus Martyr saith: *Esaias non pollicetur cruentarum victimarum instaurationem, sed veras et spirituales oblationes laudis et gratiarum actionis*¹⁶: "Esaias promiseth not the restoring of bloody sacrifices, but the true and spiritual oblations of praises and thanksgiving."

St Chrysostom saith: *Non jam sanguinem aut adipem offerimus, &c.*¹⁷: "We offer not now the fat or blood of beasts. All these things are abolished. And instead thereof there is brought in a reasonable or spiritual duty. But what is this duty that we call reasonable or spiritual? That it is that is offered by the soul and spirit."

This kind of sacrifice, because it is mere spiritual, and groweth only from the mind, therefore it needeth not any material altar of stone or timber to be made upon, as doth that sacrifice that M. Harding imagineth in his mass. Chrysostom saith: *Munus evangelii sine sanguine, sine fumo, sine altari, ceterisque sursum ascendit*¹⁸: "The sacrifice of the gospel ascendeth up without blood, without smoke, without altar, and other the like." In the second council of Nice it is written thus: *Nos Christiani propemodum quid sit ara, et quid sit victima, nescimus*¹⁹: "What sacrifice or altar meaneth, we, being christian people, in a manner cannot tell."

Chrysost. in Psal. xcvi.

St Hierome saith: *Unusquisque sanctus altare Domini in se habet, quod est fides*²⁰: "Every holy man hath in himself the altar of God, which is faith." To be short, St Augustine saith: *Sacrificium novi testamenti est, quando altaria cordis...nostri munda et pura in conspectu divinæ Majestatis offerimus*²¹: "The sacrifice of the new testament is when we offer up the altars of our hearts pure and clean in the sight of the divine Majesty." In these respects our prayers, our praises, our thanksgiving unto God for our salvation in the death of Christ, is called an unbloody sacrifice. Hereof the slenderness of M. Harding's guesses may soon appear. For thus he would seem to reason: The ministration of the holy communion, and our humble remembrance of the death of Christ, is called

Hieron. in Psal. xxvi.

August. de Temp. Serm. 125.

[¹¹ Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. Lib. i. cap. vi. p. 20.]
[¹² Id. ibid. Lib. i. cap. x. p. 40.]
[¹³ Id. ibid. p. 38.]
[¹⁴ Hieron. Op. Ad Evang. Epist. Tom. II. col. 571; where *simplici puroque sacrificio*, and *dedicaverit*.]
[¹⁵ ... ut ostenderet sacrificium novi testamenti ... Immola, inquit, Deo sacrificium laudis. — August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Grat. Nov. Test. Lib. ad Honorat. seu Epist. cxl. cap. xviii. 46. Tom. II. col. 439.]
[¹⁶ Just. Mart. Op. Par. 1742. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 211.]
[¹⁷ ... οὐκέτι αἷμα και κνίσσαν. πάντα ταῦτα λένυται, και ἀντισεινήκεται ἀντι τούτων ἡ λογική λατρεία. τί δὲ ἐστίν ἡ λογική λατρεία; τὰ διὰ

ψυχῆς, τὰ διὰ πνεύματος.—Chrysost. Op. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. vi. Hom. xi. Tom. XII. p. 115.]
[¹⁸ Id. Hom. in Psalm. xcv. Tom. V. p. 630.]
[¹⁹ Leont. Episc. Neap. ex Quint. Serm. pro Christ. Apol. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. iv. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VII. col. 243.]
[²⁰ Hieron. Op. Breviar. in Psal. Psal. xxv. Tom. II. Append. col. 183.]
[²¹ The following is probably the passage meant: ... duplex a nobis sacrificium quaerit Deus ... Tunc enim ordinem legitimum consecrationis altaris cum gaudio celebramus, quando altaria &c.—August. Op. Serm. ccxxx. 4. Tom. V. Append. col. 378. It is very doubtful whether this is really a sermon of Augustine's.]

an unbloody sacrifice; *ergo*, the priest hath power to offer up the Son of God in sacrifice unto his Father.

Melchisedech.

M. HARDING. THE FIFTEENTH DIVISION.

St Augustine hath many evident sayings touching this matter in his works. One shall suffice for all, which is in a little treatise he made contra Judæos, uttered in these words: Aperite oculos tandem aliquando, et videte ab oriente sole usque ad occidentem, non in uno [loco], ut vobis fuit constitutum, sed in omni loco offerri sacrificium christianorum, non cuilibet deo, sed ei qui ista prædixit, Deo Israel¹: "Open your eyes at last, you Jews, and see that from the rising of the sun to the setting, not in one place, as it was appointed to you, but in every place the sacrifice of the christian people is offered, not to every god, but to him that prophesied of these things before, the God of Israel." And even so with that protestation which St Augustine made to the Jews I end this tedious matter, consisting in manner altogether in allegations, to M. Jewel. Open you your eyes² at last, M. Jewel, and see how (230) all the holy and learned fathers that have preached the faith of Christ from the rising of the sun to the setting, have taught this doctrine, by word and writing left to the posterity, that they, which under Christ do use the office of a priest after the order of Melchisedech, have not only authority, but also express commandment to offer up Christ unto his Father.

The two hundred and thirtieth untruth. For not one of all these fathers here alleged ever said that the priest hath either power or commandment to offer up the Son of God unto his Father.

The proof of which doctrine, although it depend of the weight of one place, yet I have thought good to fortify it with some number³, that it may the better appear to be a most undoubted truth, not moved greatly with the blame of tediousness, where no thanks are sought, but only defence of the catholic religion is intended.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

St Augustine, as in these words he neither toucheth nor signifieth this new manner of offering up Christ unto his Father, so in sundry other places he openeth his own meaning plainly and fully touching the same. In his treaty against the Jews he writeth thus: *Sacerdotium Aaron jam nullum est in aliquo templo; at Christi sacerdotium... æternum perseverat in celo⁴*: "The (bloody) priesthood of Aaron is now in no temple to be found; but the priesthood of Christ continueth still (not upon any earthly altar, but) in heaven." Again: "The priest offereth up the sacrifice of praise, not after the order of Aaron, but after the order of Melchisedech⁵." *Ejus sacrificii similitudinem celebrandam in sue passionis memoriam commendavit; et illud, quod Melchisedech obtulit Deo, jam per totum orbem terrarum... videmus offerri⁶*: "Christ hath left unto us a likeness or token of that sacrifice in remembrance of his passion; and the same that Melchisedech offered unto God we see is now offered throughout the whole world." *Holocausti ejus imaginem ad memoriam passionis sue in ecclesia celebrandam dedit⁷*: "Christ hath given us to celebrate in his church an image or token of that sacrifice, for the remembrance of his passion." *Hujus sacrificii caro et sanguis ante adventum Christi per victimas similitudinum promittebatur: in passione Christi per ipsam veritatem reddebatur: post ascensionem Christi per sacramentum memorie celebratur⁸*: "The flesh and blood of this sacrifice before the coming of Christ was promised by sacrifices of resemblance: the same was performed in deed in the time of Christ's passion; but after Christ's ascension it is frequented by a sacrament of remembrance." *Sacrificium hoc visibile invisibilis sacrificii sacramentum, id est, sacrum signum est⁹*:

August. adv. Jud. cap. 1.

Contr. Adv. Leg. et Proph. Lib. i. cap. i. August. in Lib. lxxx. Quest. 61.

In ead. Quest.

August. contr. Faust. Lib. xx. cap. xxi.

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Sacrificium.

[¹ Id. Tractat. adv. Jud. cap. ix. 13. Tom. VIII. col. 38; where *in occidentem*, and *sicut vobis erat*.]

[² Open, open your eyes, H. A. 1564.]

[³ Some good number, H. A. 1564.]

[⁴ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Tractat. adv. Jud. cap. ix. 13. Tom. VIII. col. 39; where *Aaron sacerdotium*, and *et for at*.]

[⁵ Iste immolat Deo sacrificium laudis, non secundum ordinem Aaron, sed secundum ordinem Melchisedec. — Id. Contr. Advers. Leg. et Proph. Lib. i. cap. xx. 39. Tom. VIII. col. 570.]

[⁶ Id. Lib. de Div. Quest. Octog. Trib. Quest. lxi. 2. Tom. VI. col. 34; where *ut illud*, and *videamus*.]

[⁷ Id. *ibid.* col. 35.]

[⁸ Id. Contr. Faust. Lib. xx. cap. xxi. Tom. VIII. col. 348; where *adscensum*.]

[⁹ Id. de Civ. Dei, Lib. x. cap. v. Tom. VII. col. 241; where *ergo for hoc*. Conf. Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 32. col. 1925; where the reading is somewhat different.]

"This visible sacrifice is a sacrament, that is to say, a token or sign of the sacrifice invisible." *Quod appellamus sacrificium, signum est et representatio sacrificii*¹⁰: "The thing that we call a sacrifice is a sign and representation of a sacrifice." August. de Civit. Dei. Lib. x. cap. v.

Thus many ways St Augustine himself teacheth us what he meant by this word "sacrifice," an oblation of praise, a similitude, a resemblance, a likeness, an image, a remembrance, a token, a sign, a representation of a sacrifice. So Nazianzene calleth it *τὴν τῶν μεγάλων μυστηρίων ἀντίτυπον*¹¹, "the figure or token of the great mysteries." To conclude, St Hierome saith thus: *Tunc acceptabis sacrificium, . . . vel cum te pro nobis offers Patri, vel [cum] a nobis laudes et gratiarum actiones accipis*¹²: "Then shalt thou receive sacrifice, either when thou offerest thyself¹³ (upon thy cross) for us unto thy Father, or when thou receivest of us praises and thanksgiving." Nazianz. in Apolog. Hieron. in Psal. ii.

Neither hath God appointed any certain order of outward priesthood to make this sacrifice. Every faithful christian man hath authority to offer up and to make the same. Howbeit, this I mean not of the ministration of the holy sacraments, which only pertaineth unto the minister, but only of the oblation and making of the¹⁴ spiritual sacrifice. Thus much I say, lest any man either of malice take occasion or of ignorance be deceived. St Cyprian saith: *Omnes, qui a Christi nomine dicuntur Christiani, offerunt Deo quotidianum sacrificium, ordinati a Deo sanctimonix sacerdotes*¹⁵: "All that of Christ be called Christians offer up unto God the daily sacrifice, being ordained of God priests of holiness." Origen saith: *Omnes, quicumque, &c.*¹⁶: "All that are bathed with the holy ointment are made priests; even as Peter saith unto the whole church, 'You are the chosen stock, and the kingly priesthood.'" St Augustine saith: *Holocaustum dominicæ passionis offert quisque pro peccatis suis*¹⁸: "Every man offereth up the sacrifice of our Lord's passion for his own sins." St Ambrose saith: *Invicem exspectate, . . . ut multorum oblatio simul celebretur*¹⁹: "Wait ye one for another, that the sacrifice of many may be offered together." St Chrysostom saith: *In mysteriis nihil differt sacerdos a subdito*²⁰: "In the holy mysteries (the ministration only excepted) the priest differeth nothing from the people." Cyprian. de Unct. Christm. Orig. in Levit. Hom. 9. 1 Pet. ii. August. in Expos. Incho. ad Rom. Ambros. in 1 Cor. cap. xi. Chrysost. in 2 Cor. Hom. 18.

It appeareth by these ancient learned fathers, that every christian man is bound to offer up the unbloody and daily sacrifice of the new testament, and that in as full and ample sort as is the priest. And therefore M. Harding himself saith even in the very canon of his mass: *Memento Domine famulorum famularumque tuarum, . . . et omnium circumstantium, . . . pro quibus tibi offerimus, vel qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis*²¹: "Remember, O Lord, thy servants and all them that stand about, for whom we offer unto thee, or else which do offer unto thee this sacrifice of praises."

Out of St Augustine's words M. Harding in the end concludeth thus: Christ is a priest after the order of Melchisedech; ergo, the priest hath authority to offer up the Son of God in sacrifice unto his Father. It were hard to

¹⁰ ... quoniam illud quod ab omnibus appellatur sacrificium, signum est veri sacrificii.—Id. ibid. col. 242.]

¹¹ Gregor. Nazianz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Orat. H. 95. Tom. I. p. 56.]

¹² Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Brev. in Psalt. Psal. I. Tom. II. Append. col. 254; where *quum vel te, and accipis actiones.*]

¹³ Theeself, 1565.]

¹⁴ This, 1565, 1609.]

¹⁵ ... ita et participes ejus quotquot sunt . . . dicantur a Christo Christiani . . . et offerant Deo &c.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Unct. Christm. (Arnold.) p. 48.]

¹⁶ Omnes enim quicumque unguento sacri chris-matis delibuti sunt, sacerdotes effecti sunt, sicut et Petrus ad omnem dicit ecclesiam: Vos autem genus electum, et regale sacerdotium, gens sancta.—Orig.

Op. Par. 1733-59. In Levit. Hom. ix. 9. Tom. II. p. 243.]

¹⁷ Dominici, 1611.]

¹⁸ ... holocausto Dominicæ passionis, quod eo tempore offert quisque pro peccatis suis, quo ejusdem passionis fide dedicatur, &c.—August. Op. Epist. ad Rom. Expos. Inch. 19. Tom. III. Pars 11. col. 937.]

¹⁹ Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. ad Cor. I. cap. xi. v. 33. Tom. II. Append. col. 150.]

²⁰ Ἔστι δὲ ὕπου οὐδὲ διέστηκεν ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ ἀρχομένου οἴου, ὅταν ἀπολαύειν δὲ τῶν φρικτῶν μυστηρίων.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. II. ad Cor. Hom. xviii. Tom. X. p. 568.]

²¹ Missal. ad Us. ac Consuet. Sar. Par. 1527. fol. 156. 2.]

tell us how this antecedent and this consequent came together. No man hath authority thus to mince his logic but M. Harding.

Christ only is that priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech: he hath made an endless sacrifice: he himself hath offered up himself unto God his Father upon the cross. Therefore God the Father saith unto him: "Thou art that priest for ever;" not any mortal creature or worldly¹ wight, but thou (only), being both God and man, art that priest for ever. St Paul saith: "We are made perfit and sanctified by that one sacrifice once made upon the cross." St John the evangelist saith: "He is the propitiation and sacrifice for our sins." St Peter saith: "He carried our sins in his body upon the tree." St Paul saith: "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself." Therefore St John the Baptist saith: "Behold that Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world."

If M. Harding and his fellows doubt hereof, as they seem to do, let Christ himself bear witness to the price of his own blood. Hanging upon the cross and yielding up the spirit, he sealed up all with these words: *Consummatum est*: that is to say: "This is the sacrifice for sin: hereby my Father's wrath is pacified: hereby all things are made perfit."

The² sacrifice is but one: we may look for none other. It is full and perfit: we may look for no better.

St Peter saith: "Christ offereth us³ unto God his Father." St Paul saith: "Through Christ we have access to the throne of glory." What then meaneth M. Harding thus to tell us, and to bear the world in hand, that contrariwise he hath authority to offer up Christ, and to present him before the throne of glory? Or how dareth he to desire God to receive his only-begotten Son into favour, and favourably and fatherly to look upon him at his request? For thus he biddeth his prayer even in his canon, even in the secretest and devoutest part of his mass: *Super quæ propitio ac sereno vultu, &c.*⁴: "Upon these things (that is to say, saith Gabriel Biel, upon the body and blood of Christ thy Son⁵), O Lord, look down with a merciful and a cheerful countenance, and receive the same (the body and blood of thy Son) as thou didst in old times receive the sacrifice of Abel and of Abraham" (which was a wether, or a calf, or some other like thing). Thus he not only taketh upon him to pray for Christ, but also compareth the sacrifice of the Son of God with the sacrifice of brute cattle. If he deny any part hereof, his own canon, his own mass-book will reprove him. If this be not blasphemy, what thing can be called blasphemy?

But God will answer such a blasphemous and rash sacrificer: I know my Son; in him my heart is pleased. But what art thou? Who bade thee thus to pray? Who required such sacrifice at thy hand?

O, M. Harding, God open the eyes of your heart, that you may see the miserable nakedness of your side! Deceive not yourself. Mock not the world. Consider better of your authorities. Of all the holy learned fathers, of whom ye tell us ye have such store, ye are not yet able to shew us one, either Greek or Latin, or heretic or catholic, from the rising of the sun to the sun going down, that ever said as you say: "A mortal man hath authority and power to offer up in sacrifice the Son of God."

Talk of your store when ye have tried it better. Thraso⁶ will talk of that he hath not. And somewhat it may serve to fray the simple; but the wise will think it folly.

[¹ Worry, 1611.]

[² This, 1565, 1609.]

[³ Offereth up us, 1565.]

[⁴ Missal. ad Us. ac Consuet. Sar. Par. 1527. Can. Miss. fol. 159. See below, page 773, note 12.]

[⁵ ... [supra quæ] scilicet dona et data tibi in hoc sacrificio oblata, corpus scilicet et sanguinem Christi Filii tui, &c.—Gab. Biel. Can. Miss. Expos. Basil. 1515. Lect. lv. fol. 142. 2.]

[⁶ A character in the Eunuch of Terence.]

Heb. vii. & ix.
Psalm. cx.

Heb. x.

1 John ii.

1 Pet. ii.

2 Cor. v.

John i.

1 Pet. iii.

Heb. iv.