

THE  
WORKS  
OF  
JOHN JEWEL,  
BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

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EDITED FOR

*The Parker Society,*

BY THE

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VOLUME THE SECOND.

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

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THE present volume completes the controversy with Dr Harding which arose upon bishop Jewel's challenge sermon. It contains also the Exposition upon the Epistles to the Thessalonians, the bishop's Sermons, and the Treatise of the Sacraments.

The text, as before, is that of the edition of 1611; with which others have been collated: for the "Reply" to Harding, besides Harding's "Answer," Lovaine, 1564, the revised edition of the same, Antwerp, 1565, which the editor had not previously obtained: it supplies some curious variations; for the "Exposition" the editions of 1583, 1584, and 1594; for the "Learned and godly Sermon" the original edition, without date; for the first six of "Certain Sermons" and the "Treatise" the edition of 1583: for the remaining seven Sermons the editor has used only the folios of 1609 and 1611. He is aware of the existence of but one copy (in private hands) of the very rare first edition; and to this, owing to the absence of the proprietor, he has not been able to obtain access. He trusts, however, that he shall hereafter have the opportunity of seeing it. The folio of 1609 has throughout been consulted.

The editor has spared no pains to verify the numerous references which crowd this volume; but he has to acknowledge, as before, that in a few cases the passages intended have eluded his search. Still he would hope that no omission or error of much importance has occurred.

In order to diminish the bulk of the notes, a passage heretofore quoted has not now been reprinted; and the reader is referred back to the place where it may be found. In some cases, however, where it seemed desirable to place an author's words at once before the eye, and occasionally perhaps from inadvertence, this rule has been departed from.

It is proposed to commence the succeeding volume with bishop Jewel's "Apology," and to proceed with the "Defence of the Apology;" and it is confidently expected that the whole works of this eminent prelate, accompanied by a memoir, will be comprised in four volumes.

The editor has again to tender his thanks to the kind friends to whom he before acknowledged his obligations.

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

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### Vol. I.

PAGE

- 98 note 1. *For lxxiii. read lxxxiii.*
- 120 note 3. It is probable that the treatise in question was originally written in Latin.
- 121 note 14. *For col. 656 read col. 956.* There is this misprint in the edition consulted.
- 139 The numbers in the text referring to the notes are confused. Sacramenti should have <sup>6</sup> and priests <sup>8</sup> attached.
- 150 note 6. *For Lib. II. read Lib. I.*
- 168 note 6. *For 1654 read 1564.*
- 312 The passage quoted from Durandus is the following: In ecclesiis vero ostia ab oriente habentibus, ut Romæ, nulla est in salutatione necessaria conversio: sacerdos in illis celebrans semper ad populum stat conversus.—Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Lugd. 1565. Lib. v. cap. ii. 57. fol. 219. 2.
- 341 note 16. *Add Conf. Marcellin. Condemn. Præm. ad Lect. ibid. p. 187.*
- 400 note 3. *For 1736 read 1706.*
- 451 note 14. *For Dist. xxxviii. read Dist. ii. can. 38.*
- 531 The passage, which Harding has transcribed from the divines of Zurich, may be found in Tonst. De Verit. Corp. et Sang. Dom. in Euch. Lut. 1554. Lib. I. fol. 45.

### Vol. II.

- 568 margin. The hundred. 1565 omits *The*.
- 574 notes 7, 8, 9, 10. The references should have been made to the Greek text. For that of Samons, Methonensis, and Marcus Ephesius, respectively, see Lit. Sanct. Patr. Par. 1560. pp. 134, 131, and 141. For the Greek of Cabasilas, see Biblioth. Patr. Græco-Lat. Par. 1624. Tom. II. p. 233.
- 630 line 25. After "enough," the second edition of Harding's Answer, 1565, adds: "as by good authority of the civil law we learn." The reference given in the margin is: "L. veluti, §. hæc vox, ff de edendo." See Paul. in Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Digest. Lib. II. Tit. xiii. 7. §. 1. Tom. I. p. 95.
- 680 note 8. *For Cor. read Col.*
- 792 note 13. *For lxxii. read lxxxii.*
- 907 note 18. The reference should have been: Lib. xxv. in cap. xxxiv. B. Job. cap. xvi. 34. col. 807; where *nequam*.

# OF THE CANOPY.

## THE NINTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

OR that the sacrament was then, or now ought to be, hanged up under a canopy.

[OF THE REVERENT HANGING UP OF THE SACRAMENT UNDER A CANOPY.—  
ARTICLE IX. H. A. 1564.]

M. HARDING. THE FIRST DIVISION.

If M. Jewel would in plain terms deny the reservation and keeping of the blessed sacrament, for which purpose the pix and canopy served in the churches of England, as of the professors of this new gospel it is both in word and also in deed denied; it were easy to prove the same by no small number of authorities, such as himself cannot but allow for good and sufficient. But he, knowing that right well, guilefully refraineth from mention of that principal matter, and, the better to make up his heap of articles for some shew against the sacrament, by denial reproveth the hanging up of it under the canopy; thereby shewing himself like to *Momus*, who, espying nothing reprobable in fair *Venus*, found fault with her slipper.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

This article, as it is small of itself, and therefore might the better be dissembled and passed over, were it not accessory to idolatry, so it is warranted of M. Harding's side by very simple and slender proofs, as shall appear. It liketh M. Harding for his entry, to solace himself and his friends withal, to call us new doctors; himself being not able hitherto to allege any one of all the old doctors, without force and fraud, plainly and directly, to serve his purpose. But these new doctors are neither so new nor so much destitute of antiquity as these men would fain have the world to believe. For, touching the abolishing of the reservation of the sacrament, which M. Harding hath here drawn in to help out the matter, being otherwise not necessarily incident unto this article, they have the authorities and examples of good ancient old catholic fathers for their warrant in that behalf. For St Cyprian saith: [*Panis iste*] *recipitur, non includitur*<sup>1</sup>: "The bread is received, and not shut up." Clemens, who, as M. Harding saith, was the apostles' fellow, writeth thus: *Tanta in altario holocausta offeruntur, quanta populo sufficere debeant: quod si remanserint, in crastinum non reservantur*<sup>2</sup>: "Let there be so many hosts, or so much bread, offered at the altar, as may be sufficient for the people. If any thing remain, let it not be kept until the morning." Origen or Cyrillus saith (for one book beareth both their names): *Dominus panem, quem discipulis [suis] dabat, . . . non distulit, nec jussit seruari in crastinum*<sup>4</sup>: "The bread that our Lord gave to his disciples, he lingered it not, nor bade it to be kept until the morning." His reason is grounded upon the order of Christ's institution; for that Christ said not, Take, and keep, but, "Take, and eat." St Hierome saith: *Post communionem, quæcunque . . . de sacrificiis*

Cypr. de  
Cœn. Dom.

Clemens,  
Epist. 2.

Orig. { in  
Cyril. Lev.  
Hom. 5.

Hieron.  
1 Cor. xi.

[<sup>1</sup> Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Cœn. Dom. (Arnold.) p. 42.]

[<sup>2</sup> Tit. 1565.]

[<sup>3</sup> Clemens. Epist. ii. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1561. Tom. I. col. 41.]

[<sup>4</sup> Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Levit. Hom. v. 8. Tom. II. p. 211. See before, page 175, note 11. These homilies on Leviticus have been ascribed to Cyril of Alexandria; but they appear to be really Origen's.]

Reserva-  
tion.

August. de  
Trin. Lib. iii.  
cap. x.  
Hesych. in  
Levit. Lib. ii.  
cap. viii.  
Niceph. Lib.  
xvii. cap. xxv.

Concil. Ma-  
tisc. II. cap.  
6.  
Gab. Biel,  
Lect. 26.

Cypr. de  
Laps. Serm. 5.  
Tertull. ad  
Uxor.  
Hieron. ad  
Rust.  
Basil. ad  
Cæsar.

Euseb. Lib.  
vi. cap. xlv.  
Ambr. de  
Obit. Satyr.

*superfuisent, illic in ecclesia communem cœnam comedentes pariter consumebant*<sup>1</sup>: "After the communion was done, whatsoever portion of the sacrifices remained, they spent it there together in the church eating their common supper." St Augustine likewise seemeth to say the same: "The bread made to this purpose is spent in receiving the sacrament<sup>2</sup>." Hesychius saith that the remanents of the sacrament were burnt immediately in the fire<sup>3</sup>. Nicephorus saith, the same remanents in some places were given to children that went to school to be eaten by them presently in the church<sup>4</sup>. The like whereof is also decreed in the council of Matiscon<sup>5</sup>. So saith Gabriel Biel, a new doctor of M. Harding's company: *Non dedit discipulis, ut ipsum honorifice conservarent; sed dedit in suum usum, dicens, Accipite, et manducate*<sup>6</sup>: "Christ gave not (the sacrament) to his disciples, that they should reverently reserve it; but he gave it for their use, saying, 'Take, and eat.'"

Thus many old doctors, and yet many more we have on our side. Therefore M. Harding was somewhat overseen, for following of them, to call us new doctors.

I know, the sacrament in old times in some places was reserved, as it may appear by Tertullian, St Cyprian, St Hierome, St Basil, Eusebius, and others. St Cyprian saith, women used to keep it at home in their chests<sup>7</sup>. Tertullian saith, the faithful used then to have it in their private houses, and to eat it before other meats<sup>8</sup>. St Hierome saith that Exuperius, the bishop of Toulouse, used to carry it abroad in a basket<sup>9</sup>. St Basil saith that in Egypt, and specially about Alexandria, every man for the most part had the sacrament in his house<sup>10</sup>. Eusebius seemeth to say, the priest had it in his chamber<sup>11</sup>. St Ambrose saith, men used then to carry it about them, not only by land, but also by sea, in their napkins<sup>12</sup>. All these were abuses of the holy mysteries; and therefore afterward were abolished. Thus was then the sacrament reserved, in private houses, in chests, in baskets, and in napkins. Now, if M. Harding be able truly to shew any such-like ancient authority for his canopy, then may he say, he holdeth up<sup>13</sup> the old catholic fathers. But, forasmuch as M. Harding hath leisure, to call to mind his old fable of Momus, Venus, and such-like; indeed they say, Momus was wont to espy faults, and to control all the gods without exception, even the great Jupiter himself, that sat in Rome in the capitol; and therefore his office oftentimes was not so thankful as some others. But one great fault he found with Vulcan, for the making of man, for that he had not set a grate or a window at his breast, that others might peer in and espy some part of his secret thoughts. If M. Harding had such a grate or window at his breast, and men might look in and see his conscience, I doubt not but they should see many more sparks of God's truth than as now outwardly do appear.

[<sup>1</sup> Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. I. ad Cor. cap. xi. Tom. V. col. 998.]

[<sup>2</sup> ... panis ad hoc factus in accipiendo sacramento consumitur.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Trin. Lib. III. cap. x. 19. Tom. VIII. col. 803.]

[<sup>3</sup> Sed hoc quod reliquum est de carnibus, et panibus, in igne incendi præcepit. Quod nunc videmus etiam sensibiliter in ecclesia fieri, ignique tradi quæcunque remanere contigerit inconsumpta, &c.—Iych. in Levit. Basil. 1527. Lib. II. cap. viii. fol. 49. 2.]

[<sup>4</sup> \*Ἔθος κεκράτηκεν ἐκ πολλοῦ τῆ βασιλίδι τῶν πόλεων, αἷς ἐπειδὴν πολὺ τι τῶν μερίδων τοῦ ἀχράντου καὶ θείου σώματος τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐναπολειφθεῖη, μεταστέλλεσθαι τοὺς ἱερέας παῖδας ἀφθόρους ἐκ τῶν ἐς χαριδιδασκάλου φοιτῶντων, καὶ ταῦτας νήστευε ἐσθίου, κ. τ. λ.—Niceph. Call. Hist. Eccles. Lut. Par. 1630. Lib. xvii. cap. xxv. Tom. II. p. 772.]

[<sup>5</sup> Quæcunque reliquæ sacrificiorum post peractam missam in sacrario supersederint, quarta vel sexta feria innocentes ab illo, cujus interest, ad ecclesiam adducantur, et indicto eis jejunio, easdem reliquias conspersas vino percipiant.—Concil. Matiscon.

II. cap. 6. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 176.]

[<sup>6</sup> Gab. Biel, Sac. Canon. Miss. Expos. Basil. 1515. Lect. xxxvi. fol. 83. 2; where *neque* for *non*.]

[<sup>7</sup> Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Laps. pp. 132, 3. See before, page 6, note 4.]

[<sup>8</sup> Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Ad Uxor. Lib. II. 5. p. 190. See before, page 6, note 4.]

[<sup>9</sup> Nihil illo ditius, qui corpus Domini canistro vimineo, sanguinem portat in vitro.—Hieron. Op. Ad Rust. Monach. Epist. xcvi. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 778.]

[<sup>10</sup> Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Ad Cæsar. Epist. xciii. Tom. III. pp. 186, 7. See before, page 152.]

[<sup>11</sup> Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. VI. cap. xlv. p. 200. See before, pages 149, &c.]

[<sup>12</sup> Qui ... in naufragio constitutus ... ne vacuum mysterii exiret e vita; quos initiatos esse cognoverat, ab his divinum illud fidelium sacramentum poposcit... Etenim ligari fecit in orario, et orarium involvit collo, &c.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Excess. Fratr. Satyr. Lib. I. 43. Tom. II. col. 1125.]

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

As for his fair lady Venus, whereby he meaneth his church of Rome, the world seeth, and he himself knoweth, she hath been taken in open advoutry; and Phœbus, the Son of God, with the heavenly beams of his holy word hath revealed it. O would to God we had no cause justly to say with the prophet Esay: *Quomodo facta est meretrix civitas fidelis!* "O how is that faithful city become an harlot!" Verily Momus shall not need now to reprove her slipper. He shall rather have cause to say: *A planta pedis, usque ad verticem capitis, non est in ea sanitas:* "From the sole of the foot to the top of the head there is no whole part in her." For so St Bernard complaineth of her miserable state in his time<sup>14</sup>.

Reserva-  
tion.

Isai. i.

Isai. i.

Bernard. de  
Conv. Paul.

M. HARDING. THE SECOND DIVISION.

[Diverse manners  
of keeping the  
blessed sacrament.  
H.A. 1564.]

Whereto we say that, if he, with the rest of the sacramentaries, would agree to the keeping of the sacrament, then would we demand why that manner of keeping were not to be liked. And here, upon proofs made of default in this behalf, and a better way shewed, in so small a matter, conformity to the better would soon be persuaded. In other christian countries, we grant, it is kept otherwise, under lock and key, in some places at the one end or side of the altar, in some places in a chapel builded for that purpose, in some places in the vestry, or in some inward and secret room of the church, as it was in the time of Chrysostom at Constantinople<sup>15</sup>. In some other places we read that it was kept in the bishop's palace near to the church, and in the holy-days brought reverently to the church, and set upon the altar, which, for abuses committed, was by order of councils abrogated<sup>16</sup>.

In Epist. ad In-  
nocentium.

In Concil. Brac-  
carum. tit. can. 5.

Thus in divers places diversely it hath been kept, every where reverently and surely, so as it might be safe from injury and villany of miscreants and despisers of it. The hanging up of it on high hath been the manner of England, as Lindwood noteth upon the Constitutions Provincial<sup>17</sup>; on high, that wicked despite might not reach to it; under a canopy, for shew of reverence and honour.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here M. Harding sheweth that this reservation of the sacrament in divers countries hath been diversely used, under lock and key, at the altar's end, in a chapel, in the vestry, in the bishop's palace. And all this of the usage of late years; for of antiquity, saving only the epistle of Chrysostom to Innocentius, which also, as it shall appear, maketh much against him, he toucheth nothing. But amongst all these diversities of keeping, he hath not yet found out his canopy. And touching that he allegeth of the reservation of the sacrament in the bishop's palace, it seemeth very little to further his purpose. For, whereas the sacrament was reserved only in the bishop's custody, it followeth necessarily that there in other parish churches and chapels was no such reservation. Chrysostom's epistle to Innocentius is good witness that the sacrament was reserved to be received of the people at the communion the next day, or in very short time after. For it was reserved in both kinds<sup>18</sup>, as it appeareth plainly by his words. But it is clear, both by the judgment of reason, and also by their own cautels in this behalf<sup>19</sup>, that the wine in such sort and quantity cannot be kept any long time without souring. And the manner in Græcia was, during the time of Lent, to consecrate only upon the Saturdays and Sundays, and yet nevertheless to com-

Chrysost. ad  
Innoc.

De Consecr.  
Dist. 2.  
Presb. in  
Gloss.  
In Sexta  
Synod. Const.  
can. 52.  
τῆς θεῆς  
leitourgias  
τῶν προη-  
γιασμένων.

[<sup>14</sup> Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Conv. S. Paul. Serm. l. 3. Vol. I. Tom. III. col. 956; where *ad veritatem non est sanitas ulla.*]

[<sup>15</sup> Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Ad Innoc. Epist. l. Tom. III. p. 519. See before, page 241, note 11.]

[<sup>16</sup> Concil. Brac. III. cap. 6. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. II. p. 273. The particular abuse here noted is the following: Agnovimus quosdam de episcopis, quod in solemnitatibus martyrum ad ecclesiam properant, reliquias collo suo imponant, ut majoris

fastus apud homines gloria intumescant, et quasi ipsi sint reliquiarum arca, Levitæ albas induti, in sellulis eos deportent.]

[<sup>17</sup> See below, page 557, notes 11, 12.]

[<sup>18</sup> See before, note 15.]

[<sup>19</sup> Sed sanguinem non præcipitur servare, quia &c.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. Gloss. in can. 93. cols. 1963, 4.]

[<sup>20</sup> 1611 omits τῆς.]

Canopy  
not com-  
menda-  
ble.

municate of the same upon the other week-days<sup>1</sup>. For the end of this reservation in old times was, not that the sacrament should be adored, but that it should be received of the people; and specially that persons excommunicate, for whose sake it was reserved, being suddenly called out of this life, upon their repentance might at all times receive the communion, and depart with comfort, as the members of the church of God.

But methinketh M. Harding doth herein as Apelles the painter sometime did in setting out king Antigonus' physiognomy. For, understanding that Antigonus was blind of the one side, he thought it best to paint him out only with half face, and so he cunningly shadowed the deformity of the other eye. Even so M. Harding sheweth us certain variety of keeping the sacrament, and other small matters of like weight; but the danger of idolatry, and other like horrible deformities, he dissembleth cunningly and turneth from us. Loth I am to use the comparison, but St Hierome saith it: *Diabolus nunquam se prodit aperta facie*<sup>2</sup>: "The devil never sheweth himself openly with his whole face."

In the old times, when the sacrament was kept in chests, in napkins, in baskets, and in private houses, there was no danger of adoration. But under the canopy we see not only that the effect hath fallen out far otherwise, but also that the very cause thereof was at the first to the contrary. For so saith Linwood himself: *Citius representatur nostris aspectibus adoranda*<sup>3</sup>: "It is the rather offered unto our sights to be worshipped." If there were no cause else, yet is this itself cause sufficient to abolish this new order of hanging up the sacrament under a canopy. For therefore the king Ezechias took down the brasen serpent and brake it in pieces, notwithstanding God had specially commanded Moses to erect it up; because he saw it abused to idolatry.

Again, they themselves, upon smaller considerations, have utterly abolished the manner of reservation that was used in the primitive church. For they will not now suffer neither lay people nor women to keep it in their houses; nor boys to carry it to the sick, as then the boy did to Serapion<sup>4</sup>; nor infidels, or men not christened, to wear it about them, as then did St Ambrose's brother Satyrus<sup>5</sup>. I leave the rust, the mould, the canker, and the breeding of worms, whereby that holy and reverend mystery of Christ's death is oftentimes made loathsome, and brought into contempt. They themselves do testify that such things not only may happen, but also have often happened. It is said that Alphonsus the king of Arragon, for the preservation of his honour and safety, so long kept the sacrament about him, that at last it putrefied, and bred worms; which when they had eaten up and consumed one another, in the end there remained only one great worm, that was the last, and had eaten all his fellows<sup>6</sup>. In such cases they command that the worms be burnt, and the ashes buried in the altar<sup>7</sup>. The gloss itself upon the decrees saith thus: "It is not necessary to keep the wine." And the reason is this: *Quia opus esset nimia cautela*<sup>8</sup>: "Because we should need to have too much ado with the keeping of it."

In the council of Lateran it is confessed, that the sacrament so kept hath been abused *ad horribilia et nefaria facinora*<sup>9</sup>: "to work horrible and wicked

Hieron. in  
Vit. Malch.

Gul. Linw.  
Lib. iii. de  
Custod.  
Euch. &c.

2 Kings xviii.

Euseb. Lib.  
vi. cap.  
xliii.  
Ambros. de  
Obit. Satyr.

Ger. contr.  
Floret. Lib.  
iv.  
Concil.  
Aurel.  
De Consecr.  
Dist. ii.  
Presb. in  
Gloss.  
Concil. Lat.  
sub Innoc.  
III. can. 20.

[<sup>1</sup> Concil. Quinisext. can. 52. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VI. cols. 1166, 7. See before, page 129, note 6.]

[<sup>2</sup> ... nunquam diabolum aperta fronte se prode. — Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Vit. Malch. Monach. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 91.]

[<sup>3</sup> Lyndew. Provincial. seu Const. Angl. Antw. 1525. Lib. III. De Custod. Euch. fol. 179. 2.]

[<sup>4</sup> Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. vi. cap. xlv. p. 200.]

[<sup>5</sup> Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Excess. Fratr. Satyr. Lib. I. 43. Tom. II. col. 1125. See before, page 554, note 12.]

[<sup>6</sup> This story may be found Ant. Panorm. de Dict. et Fact. Alphons. Basil. 1588. Æn. Silv. Comm. Lib. I. 39. p. 251. But the king does not there say that such a thing occurred to himself: Vas aureum

aperuit quispiam in quo ante mensem eucharistiam condiderat, nihil ibi præter vermiculum reperit.]

[<sup>7</sup> Sed quæritur quid fiendum, si ex illis speciebus generentur vermes. Solu. Dicendum est quod vermes debent comburi et cineres intra altare recondi. — Floret. Lib. Lugd. 1499. Lib. iv. fol. 99. 2.]

Ex Concil. Aurel. capp. 5, 6. in Burchard. Decret. Lib. xx. Par. 1549. Lib. v. capp. I. li. foll. 140, 1.]

[<sup>8</sup> Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, Dist. ii. Gloss. in can. 93. cols. 963, 4.]

[<sup>9</sup> Statuimus... ut chrisma et eucharistia sub fidelis custodia clavibus adhibitis conserventur, ut non possit ad illa temeraria manus extendi, ad aliqua horribilia vel nefaria exercenda. — Concil. Lat. sub Innoc. III. cap. 20. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 953.]



deeds." And M. Harding himself confesseth that, for certain like abuses, the same reservation was in some part abolished in the council of Bracara<sup>10</sup>.

To be short, touching the canopy, Linwood himself findeth fault with it, as it appeareth in the Provincial. For thus he writeth: *Dicitur, quod in loco mundo et singulari debet servari*<sup>11</sup>: "It is said, the sacrament ought to be kept in a clean several place sequestered from other." Whereunto he addeth thus: *Ex hoc videtur, quod usus observatus in Anglia, ut . . . in canopæo pendeat, . . . non est commendabilis*<sup>12</sup>: "Hereby it appeareth that the order that is used in England, of hanging up the sacrament in a canopy, is not commendable." Here M. Harding hath causes, both in general, why all manner such reservation ought to be disliked, and also in special, why the canopy cannot be liked.

Canopy  
not com-  
mend-  
able.

Concil.  
Brac. III.  
can. 5.  
Extr. de Cel.  
Missar. Sane.  
Gul. Linw.  
Lib. III. de  
Custod.  
Euch.

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

If princes be honoured with cloth of estate, bishops with solemn thrones in their churches, and deans with canopies of tapestry, silk, and arras (as we see in sundry cathedral churches), and no man find fault with it; why should M. Jewel mislike the canopy that is used for honour of that blessed sacrament, (172) wherein is contained the very body of Christ, and, through the inseparable joining together of both natures in unity of person, Christ himself, very God, and very<sup>13</sup> man? With what face speaketh he against the canopy used to the honour of Christ in the sacrament, that, sitting in the bishop's seat at Sarisbury, can abide the sight of a solemn canopy made of painted boards spread over his head? If he had been of counsel with Moses, David, and Salomon, it is like he would have reprov'd their judgments, for the great honour they used, and caused to be<sup>15</sup> continued towards the ark, wherein was contained nothing but the tables of the law, Aaron's rod, and a pot full of manna. [2 Sam. vii. H. A. 1564.] King David thought it very unfitting, and felt great remorse in heart, that he dwelt in a house of cedars, and the ark of God was put in the midst of skins, that is, of the tabernacle, whose outward parts were covered with beasts' skins.

The hundred  
and seventy-  
second un-  
truth. For  
Chrysostom  
saith: "In  
vasis sanctis  
non verum  
corpus  
Christi, sed  
mysterium  
corporis  
Christi con-  
tinetur"<sup>14</sup>.

And now there is one found, among other \*monstrous and strange forms of creatures, manners, and doctrines, who, being but dust and ashes, as Abraham said of himself, promoted to the name of a bishop, and not chosen, I ween, to do high service of a man according to God's own heart, as David was, thinketh not himself unworthy to sit in a bishop's chair under a gorgeous testure or canopy of gilted boards, and cannot suffer the precious body of Christ, whereby we are redeemed, to have, for remembrance of honour done of our part, so much as a little canopy, a thing of small price. (173) Yet was the ark but a shadow, and this the body; that the figure, this the truth; that the type or sign, this the very thing itself. As I do not envy M. Jewel that honour, by what right soever he enjoyeth it, so I cannot but blame him for\* bereaving Christ of his honour in this blessed sacrament.

\* "Let your  
modesty be  
known to all  
men." Phil.  
iv.

The hundred  
and seventy-  
third un-  
truth. For  
both are  
figures, both  
types, both  
signs. Nazian.  
saith: "Fi-  
gura figura."  
De Pas-  
chate<sup>16</sup>.

\* Christ will  
say, "In vain  
ye worship  
me," &c.  
Matt. xv.

#### THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Princes use to sit under a cloth of estate; bishops and deans under painted thrones, or cloth of arras; ergo, (saith M. Harding), the sacrament ought to be hanged up under a canopy. I trow, it is not lawful for all men to use such arguments. In such sort Durandus reasoneth: "The ark of the covenant was carried by the Levites; ergo, the pope must be carried aloft upon the deacons' shoulders<sup>17</sup>." And again, they seem by practice further to reason thus:

Durand.  
Lib. II.

[<sup>10</sup> Concil. Brac. III. cap. 5. in eod. Tom. II. p. 273. See before, page 555, note 16.]

[<sup>11</sup> Lyndew. Provincial. seu Const. Angl. Lib. III. De Custod. Euch. fol. 179; where *singulari mundo et signato debet*. See Corp. Jur. Canon. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. III. Tit. XII. cap. 10. col. 1378.]

[<sup>12</sup> Id. *ibid.*]

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

[<sup>14</sup> . . . in quibus non est verum corpus Christi, sed mysterium corporis ejus continetur.—Chrysost. Op.

Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. ex cap. v. Hom. xi. Tom. VI. p. lxiii.]

[<sup>15</sup> So to be, H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>16</sup> Τὸ γὰρ νομικὸν πάσχα . . . τύπου τύπος ἢ ἀμυδρότερος.—Gregor. Nazianz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. In Sanct. Pasch. Orat. xlv. 23. Tom. I. p. 863.]

[<sup>17</sup> A quinqueagesimo autem anno jussi sunt Levites vasa custodire: et a xxv. annis et supra jussi sunt in tabernaculo deservire, tanquam ætatis ad onera portanda robustæ: qui possent arcam fœderis, mensam

“The pope is carried upon men’s shoulders; *ergo*, the sacrament must be carried before him, whithersoever he go, upon a fair white jennet.”

And whereas it liketh M. Harding thus merrily to sport himself with bishops sitting under painted boards; certainly, I reckon it much fitter for the church of God to have painted boards than painted bishops, such as he is that claimeth to be the bishop of all bishops, and yet doth not indeed any part of the office of one bishop. The bishop’s chair or stall was appointed at the first as a place most convenient for him to read and to preach in. But what needeth more? Such vanity of words should not be answered.

Exod. xxv.  
& xxvii.

For the rest, God himself commanded Moses to make the tabernacle, and also shewed him in the mount in what order and form it should be made. Neither durst Moses, or his workmen, to add, or to minish, or to alter any one thing of their device, or to do any thing more or less, otherwise than God had appointed him. When David of his devotion would have built a temple unto God, God forbade him by the mouth of his prophet Nathan, and said: “Thou shalt build me no temple.” Afterward Salomon set upon to build the temple; not when he would himself, but only when God had so willed him. Neither followed he therein any part of his own fantasy, but only that self-same plat and proportion that God had given to his father. For so saith David himself: “All this pattern was sent to me in writing by the hand of the Lord, which made me understand all the workmanship of the pattern.”

Sam. vii.

1 Chron.  
xxviii.

Here mark, good christian reader, in every of these examples, God hath bridled our devotion, and hath taught us to worship him, not in such sort as may seem good in our eyes, but only as he hath commanded us. Yet can M. Harding by his cunning apply every of these same examples to prove thereby, that we may honour God in such sort as we of ourselves can best devise.

1 al. iv.

This was evermore the very root of all superstition. And therefore Almighty God saith: “My thoughts be not as your thoughts, nor my ways as your ways. Who ever required these things at your hands?” M. Harding would fain, in all that he taketh in hand, be called catholic; and yet nevertheless maintaineth a mere particular devotion, only used within this realm, and that only within these few late years, and never either used or known in any other christian country else, and therefore such as can in no wise be called catholic.

But he saith: “There is now found one among other monstrous and strange forms,” &c. This, I trow, is not that sobriety and modesty that was promised at the beginning. Such eloquence would better become some other person than a man professing learning and gravity. Herein I will gladly give place to M. Harding. It is rather a testimony of his impatience and inordinate choler than good proof of the cause.

Rom. i.

Certainly, if the sacrament be both God and man, as here, I know not how godly, it is avouched, then is this but a very simple honour for so great a majesty. Undoubtedly this is a very strange and monstrous doctrine, to teach the people, that Christ, being both God and man, and now immortal and glorious, may canker and putrefy and breed worms. The time was, when whoso had uttered such words of blasphemy had been reckoned a monster among the faithful. But this is the just judgment of God. He giveth men up “into a reprobate mind, to turn God’s truth into a lie, and to worship and serve a creature, forsaking the Creator, which is God blessed for ever.”

I trust, our doctrine abridgeth not any part of Christ’s glory. We adore him, as he hath commanded us, sitting in heaven at the right hand of the power of God. And therefore, O M. Harding, ye have burnt your brethren, and scattered their bones upon the face of the earth, and wrought upon them what your pleasure was, only because they would not be traitors unto God, and give his glory unto a creature.

Gen. xxxi.  
Chrysost. in  
Gen. Hom.  
57.

Chrysostom, expounding the complaint of Laban against Jacob for stealing away of his gods, writeth thus: *Quare deos meos furatus es? O excellentem insti-*

propositionis, et vasa tabernaculi deportare... Hinc etiam diaconi cardinales mensam Lateranensis altaris...deportant... Ipsi quoque semper summum pontifi-

cem velut arcam foederis deportant.—Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Lugd. 1565. Lib. II. cap. ix. 2. foll. 55, 6.]

*pietiam! Tales sunt dii tui, ut quis eos furari queat? Non erubescis dicere, Quare furatus es deos meos?* "Wherefore hast thou stolen away my gods?" O what a passing folly is this! Be thy gods such ones, that a man may steal them? And art thou not ashamed to say, 'Wherefore hast thou stolen away my gods?'" This matter needeth no farther application. Verily, the thing that M. Harding calleth God and man may soon be stolen away, with pix, and canopy, and all together. If Chrysostom were now alive, he would say to M. Harding, as he said to Laban: "Art thou not ashamed," &c. And, touching the honouring of Christ, he saith: *Discamus.... Christum, prout ipse vult, venerari. Honorato namque jucundissimus [est] honor, quem ipse vult, non quem nos putamus. Nam et.... Petrus eum honorare putabat, cum sibi pedes eum lavare prohibebat: sed non erat honor, quod agebat, sed contrarium*<sup>2</sup>: "Let us learn to honour Christ, as he hath willed us. For to him that is honoured that honour is most pleasant that he himself would have, not that we imagine. For Peter thought to honour Christ, when he forbade him to wash his feet: howbeit, that was no honour unto Christ, but, contrariwise, it was dishonour."

Chrysost. ad  
Pop. Ant.  
Hom. 60.

To conclude, whereas M. Harding, in the impatience of his heat, demandeth of us, with what face we can find fault with the hanging up of the sacrament under a canopy, we may easily answer him thus: Even with the same face wherewith Linwood found fault with the same; and with the same face wherewith all Christendom, England only excepted, hath evermore refused to do the same.

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

Now concerning this article itself, if it may be called an article, wherein M. Jewel thinketh to have great advantage against us, as though nothing could be brought for it\* (though it be not one of the greatest keys, nor of the highest mysteries of our religion, as he reporteth it to be, the more to deface it), of the canopy what may be found, I leave to others, neither it forceth greatly. But

\* Before it was the honouring of God: now it is no great key of religion.

[Hanging up of the sacrament in a pix over the altar is ancient. H. A. 1564.] of the hanging up of the sacrament over the altar, we find plain mention in St Basil's life, written by Amphilochius, that worthy bishop of Iconium; who telleth that St Basil at his mass, having divided the sacrament in three parts, did put the one into the golden dove (after which form the pix was then commonly made) hanging over the altar. His words be these: *Imposuerunt<sup>3</sup> columbæ aureæ pendenti super altare<sup>4</sup>*. And for further evidence that such pixes, made in form of a dove in remembrance of the Holy Ghost that appeared like a dove, were hanged up over the altar, we find in the acts of the general council holden at Constantinople, that the clergy of Antioch accused one Severus, an heretic, before John the patriarch and the council there, that he had rifled and spoiled the holy altars, and molted the consecrated vessels, and had made away with some of them to his companions: *Præsumpsisset etiam columbas aureas et argenteas in formam Spiritus sancti, super divina lavacra et altaria appensas, una cum aliis sibi appropriare, dicens, non oportere in specie columbæ Spiritum sanctum nominare<sup>5</sup>*. Which is to say, that "he had presumed also to convert to his own use, beside other things, the golden and silver<sup>6</sup> doves made to represent the Holy Ghost, that were hanged up over the holy fonts and altars, saying, that no man ought to speak of the Holy Ghost in the shape of a dove."

A vain childish fable under the name of Amphilochius.

Here be doves indeed, but no mention of any sacrament.

Neither hath the sacrament been kept in all places and in all times in one manner of vessels. So it be reverently kept for the voyage-provision for the sick, no catholic man will maintain strife for the manner and order of keeping. Symmachus, a very worthy bishop of Rome, in the time of Anastasius the emperor,

[<sup>1</sup> Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In cap. xxxi. Gen. Hom. lvii. Tom. IV. p. 556.]

[<sup>2</sup> Id. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. Ad Pop. Ant. Hom. ix. Tom. V. col. 306; where *prohiberet*.]

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

[<sup>4</sup> Amphiloch. Op. Par. 1644. In Vit. S. Basil. pp. 175, 6. See before, page 188.]

[<sup>5</sup> Suppl. Cler. Ant. ad Joan. Patr. contr. Sever. in Concil. Constant. sub Menna, Act. v. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. V. col. 160. See also Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 34.]

[<sup>6</sup> Sylvern, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

Dove.

as it is written in his life, made two vessels of silver to reserve the sacrament in, and set them on the altars of two churches in Rome, of St Sylvester and of St Andrew<sup>1</sup>. These vessels they call commonly ciboria<sup>2</sup>. We find likewise in the life of St Gregory, that he also like Symmachus made such a vessel, which they call ciborium, for the sacrament, with four pillars of pure silver, and set it on the altar at St Peter's in Rome<sup>3</sup>.

The hundred and seventy-fourth untruth, standing in untruth translation.

In a work of Gregorius Turonensis, this vessel is called turris...in qua mysterium dominici corporis habebatur<sup>4</sup>: "a tower wherein (174) our Lord's body was kept." In an old book, De Pœnitentia, of Theodorus the Greek of Tarsus in Cilicia, sometime archbishop of Canterbury, before Beda his time, it is called pixis cum corpore Domini ad viaticum pro infirmis: "the pix with our Lord's body for the voyage-provision for the sick." In that book, in an admonition of a bishop to his clergy in a synod, warning is given, that nothing be put upon the altar in time of the sacrifice, but the coffer of reliques, the book of the four evangelists, and the pix with our Lord's body<sup>5</sup>.

In the fable of Amphilo-chius, and nowhere else.

Thus we find that the blessed sacrament hath always been kept, in some places in a pix hanged up over the altar, in some other places otherwise, every where and in all times safely and reverently, as is declared, to be always in a<sup>6</sup> readiness for the voyage-provision of the sick. Which keeping of it for that godly purpose, and with like due reverence, if M. Jewel and the sacramentaries would admit, no man would<sup>7</sup> be either so scrupulous or so contentious as to strive with them either for the hanging up of it, or for the canopy.

## THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

It is marvel that M. Harding in so short a tale cannot avoid manifest contradiction. He holdeth and teacheth, that this is the honouring of Christ, God and man; and yet he saith, it is no great key of his religion. Verily, whatsoever key he now make of it, great or small, he bringeth in very small authorities and proofs to make it good.

Concerning the canopy, wherein all this question standeth, he is well contented to yield in the whole, as being not able to find it once mentioned in any manner old writer. But the hanging up of the sacrament, and that even over the altar, he is certain may well be proved by that solemn fable that we have so often heard under the name of Amphilo-chius; concerning which fable (for a very childish fable it is, and no better) I must for shortness refer thee, gentle reader, to that is written before in the first article of this book, and in the thirty-third division<sup>8</sup>, as answer to the same. Yet thus much shortly, and by the way: first, M. Harding's Amphilo-chius saith that St Basil, after he had said mass to Christ and his twelve apostles, immediately, the same night, put one portion of the sacrament in the dove, that was then hanging over the altar; and the next day following sent for a goldsmith, and caused the same dove to be made, the same dove, I say, that he put the sacrament in the night before. And so M. Harding's dove was a dove before it was made. But dreams and fables are worthy of privilege. Yet, lest this tale should pass alone, it is accompanied with a miracle. For after that time, whensoever St Basil was at mass, and lifted

[<sup>1</sup> Hic fecit basilicam S. Andræ apostoli...ubi fecit ciborium ex argento...basilicam S. Sylvestri et Martini...construxit...ubi et super altare ciborium argenteum fecit.—Ex Lib. Pontif. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. pp. 999, 1000.]

[<sup>2</sup> Bingham produces authorities to shew that the ciborium ought not to be confounded with the pix; for that anciently it was quite another thing, viz. an ornamental erection over the altar.—Bingham, Orig. Eccles. Book VIII. chap. vi. 18, 19.]

[<sup>3</sup> Hic fecit ad beatum Petrum apostolum super altare ciborium cum columnis quatuor ex argento puro.—Ex eod. in eod. Tom. II. p. 180.]

[<sup>4</sup> Gregor. Turon. Op. Lut. Par. 1699. De Glor. Mart. Lib. i. cap. lxxxvi. cols. 818, 9; where turris.]

[<sup>5</sup> The editor has not succeeded in discovering this passage in the Penitential of Theodore; but it occurs in a treatise De Cur. Past. attributed to Leo IV. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671—2. Tom. VIII. col. 34, as follows: Super altare nihil ponatur nisi capse cum reliquiis sanctorum, aut forte quatuor sancta Dei evangelia, aut pyxis cum corpore Domini ad viaticum pro infirmis. See, however, Not. in Cave, Script. Eccles. Hist. Lit. Oxon. 1740—3. Vol. II. p. 40; also Fabric. Biblioth. Lat. Med. et Inf. Ætat. Hamb. 1734—46. Tom. IV. p. 761.]

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

[<sup>7</sup> Will, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>8</sup> See before, pages 189, &c.]

up the bread, the same dove (so saith this Amphilochius) used evermore to rouse herself over the altar, and moved and stirred of herself hither and thither; much like to the mathematical dove, that Archytas Tarentinus made, that was able to fly alone<sup>9</sup>. If this golden dove had not been endued with spirit and life, this tale had lost half his grace. Again, Pekham in his Provincial giveth a strait commandment of<sup>10</sup> all priests, that the bread in the pix be changed and renewed every seventh day<sup>11</sup>, for avoiding of putrefaction, or some other loathsomeness that may happen. But M. Harding's golden dove had a special virtue above all others, to keep the bread seven years together without corruption, and the same at the last meet to be given to a sick man in his death-bed.

Dove.

But there is mention made of golden and silver doves in the council of Constantinople. I grant. Howbeit, there is no mention made there of any pix or reservation of the sacrament. But if every dove there were a pix, or, as they call it, a monster, then hath M. Harding a great advantage. For, seeking out but one pix, he hath found twenty, and that all together in one church, some about the altar, some about the holy font, and some elsewhere. And yet I could never understand, but evermore in one church, were it never so big, one pix was thought sufficient. O what pains M. Harding hath taken to furnish a fable! God grant us to be simple as doves in obeying of God's truth, and wise as serpents in discerning and eschewing lies. Matt. x.

The rest, that is alleged of Symmachus, Gregorius Romanus, Gregorius Turonensis, and Theodorus, as it is not denied, so it is no parcel of this question. The hanging of the sacrament, and the canopy, wherein the greatest danger stood, being removed, somewhat may be considered touching reservation, when it shall be thought necessary. Wherein to counterpoise the credit of these four obscure and late doctors, we have the authority of eight other doctors counted learned and ancient, Clemens, Cyprian, Origen, Cyril, Hierome, Augustine, Hesychius, and Nicephorus, as it is already proved.

[<sup>9</sup> Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. Lib. x. cap. xii. 4.]

[<sup>10</sup> To, 1665, 1609.]

[<sup>11</sup> Quod quidem venerabile sacramentum omni

die dominica præcipimus innovari.—Joh. Pecch. in Lyndew. Provincial. Antw. 1525. Lib. 111. De Custod. Euch. fol. 179. 2.]