

OF CONSECRATION UNDER SILENCE.

THE SIXTEENTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Or that it was then lawful for the priest to pronounce the words of consecration closely and in silence unto¹¹ himself.

[OF SECRET PRONOUNCING THE CANON OF THE MASS.—ARTICLE XVI.
H. A. 1564.]

M. HARDING. THE FIRST DIVISION.

The matter of this article is neither one of the highest mysteries nor one of the greatest keys of our religion, howsoever M. Jewel pleaseth himself with that report, thinking thereby to impair the estimation of the catholic church. The diversity of observation in this behalf sheweth the indifferency of the thing. For else, if one manner of pronouncing the words of consecration had been thought a necessary point of religion, it had been every where uniform and invariable. That the bread and wine be consecrated by the words of our Lord pronounced by the priest, as in the person of Christ, by virtue of the¹² which, through the grace of the Holy Ghost, the bread and wine are changed into our Lord's body and blood; (213) this thing hath in all times, and in all places, and with consent of all, invariably been done, and so believed. But the manner of pronouncing the words, concerning silence or open utterance, according to diversity of places, hath been diverse.

The two hundred and thirteenth untruth. Often avouched, and never proved.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

This, saith M. Harding, is but a small key of our religion. Which thing may very well appear, both otherwise, and also by the small weight and slenderness of his proofs. Howbeit, in cases of religion, and in the service of God, nothing ought to be judged small, specially that may deceive the people. Verily, how small soever they will now have this key to seem, as it hath been heretofore cause of no small superstition, so it hath shut out God's people from the sight and understanding of our greatest mysteries.

Certain it is that the religion of Christ may well stand without this kind of mystical silence, as it may also without transubstantiation, or private mass, or any other their like fantasies. But if the matter be so small, wherefore doth M. Harding take so great pains to prove it, and that by so great untruths and so manifest fables? Wherefore are they not ashamed to say, that Christ himself at his last supper consecrated in silence and secrecy, and that in like order and form as they do now¹³? Or how durst the bishops in this present council of Trident so solemnly to abanne¹⁴ and accurse all them that dare to find fault with the same¹⁵? So small a matter as this is now supposed to be should never need so great ado.

Thom. in iii. Part. Summ. Quæst. 78. Art. 8. Concil. Trid. Sess. 2.

But, whether these words be uttered secretly or aloud, he imagineth that by the power thereof the substance of the bread and wine is really and wholly changed into the substance of the body and blood of Christ. The untruth hereof is mani-

[¹¹ To, H. A. 1564.]

[¹² H. A. 1564, omits *the*.]

[¹³ Different opinions are recited by Aquinas.—*Thom. Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. Summ. Theol. Tert. Pars, Quæst. lxxviii. Art. I. Tom. XII. fol. 254. Conf. In Sentent. Lib. iv. Dist. viii. Quæst. ii. Art. I. Tom. VIII. fol. 42.*]

[¹⁴ Aban: ban, curse.]

[¹⁵ *Si quis dixerit, ecclesiæ Romanæ ritum, quo submissa voce pars canonis et verba consecrationis proferuntur, damnandum esse, &c....anathema sit.—Concil. Trid. Sess. xxii. De Sacrif. Miss. can. 9, in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 856.*]

festly reproved by St Augustine, St Chrysostom, Theodoretus, Gelasius, and by the general consent of all the old fathers; and is answered more at large in the tenth article of this book¹. Certainly this error neither was ever confirmed in the Latin church² before the council of Lateran in Rome, which was above twelve hundred years after Christ, nor ever received in the Greek church from the birth of Christ until this day.

M. HARDING. THE SECOND DIVISION.

The Greeks in the east church have thought it good to pronounce the words of consecration clara voce³, as we find in Chrysostom's mass, and, as Bessarion writeth, alta voce, that is plainly, "out aloud," or "with a loud voice." Sacerdos alta voce juxta orientalis ecclesiæ ritum verba illa pronunciat: Hoc est corpus meum⁴: "The priest," saith Bessarion, "after the rite or manner of the east church, pronounceth with a loud voice these⁵ words, 'This is my body⁶.'" Which manner of loud pronouncing was thought good to be used in the Greek church, as it may be gathered by that Bessarion writeth (who, being a Greek born, and brought up in learning amongst the Greeks, knew right well the order of that church), to the intent the people might thereby, for the better maintenance of their faith, be stirred and warned to give token of consent and of belief thereto. "When the priest," saith he, "pronounceth those words with a loud voice, the people standing by, in utraque parte, that is, first at the consecration of the body, and again at the consecration of the blood, answereth, Amen; as though they said thus: Truly so it is as thou sayest. For, whereas Amen is an adverb of affirming in Hebrew, in Greek it signifieth so much as 'truly.' And therefore the people answering Amen to these⁷ words, Verily, say they, these gifts set forth are the body and blood of Christ. So we believe: so we confess⁸." Thus⁹ far Bessarion. It is declared by Clement, Lib. VIII. Constitutionum Apostolicarum, that the people said Amen when the words of consecration had been pronounced¹⁰. Whereby we understand that order to have been taken by the apostles. The same custom also may be gathered out of St Ambrose, who saith thus: Dicit tibi sacerdos, Corpus Christi; et tu dicis, Amen, hoc est, Verum. Quid¹¹ confitetur lingua, teneat affectus¹². De Sacram. Lib. IV. cap. v.: "The priest saith, 'The body of Christ;' and thou sayest, 'Amen,' that is to say, 'True.' Hold with thy heart that which thou confessest with the¹³ tongue." He saith likewise hereof, De iis qui initiantur Mysteriis, cap. ix.¹⁴ Frustra ab illis respondetur, Amen, &c.¹⁵: "Amen is answered in vain by them who dispute against that which is received," saith Leo, Sermone 6, De Jejuniis vii. Mensis.

[The manner of pronouncing the consecration in the Greek and Latin churches divers. H. A. 1564.]

[In Libello de Sacramento Eucharistie. H. A. 1564.]

D. Tonst. de Euch. Lib. I. Concil. Lat. Anno 1215.

Bessarion a young doctor. He lived anno Dom. 1439.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

It is clearly witnessed by all these doctors, against M. Harding and the order of the church of Rome, that the words of consecration were pronounced with a loud voice; and that the people not only heard, but also understood and answered

[¹ See before, pages 562, &c.]

[² Tonst. De Verit. Corp. et Sang. Dom. in Euch. Lut. 1554. Lib. I. fol. 46. See before, page 549, note 8.]

[³ Εὐλογεῖ τὸν ἅγιον ἄρτον, ἐκφώνως λέγων, κ. τ. λ.—Chrysost. Lit. in Lit. Sanct. Patr. Par. 1560. p. 96.]

[⁴ Meum, &c. H. A. 1564.]

[⁵ Those, H. A. 1564.]

[⁶ Body, &c. H. A. 1564.]

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

[⁸ Sacerdote enim verba illa alta voce, ut vos Græci soletis, pronunciant, assistens populus in utraque parte respondet, Amen, quasi dicat, Vere ita est, ut tu dicis. Amen enim cum affirmandi apud Hebræos adverbium sit, Græce idem quod vere significat. Amen igitur ad ea verba respondens populus, Certè, inquit, corpus et sanguis Christi sunt munera

ista proposita, ita credimus, ita confitemur.—Bessar. De Sacram. Euch. in Biblioth. Patr. per M. de la Bigne, Par. 1624. Tom. VI. col. 481.]

[⁹ This, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[¹⁰ Constit. Apost. Lib. VIII. cap. xii. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 483.]

[¹¹ Quod, 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

[¹² Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Sacram. Lib. IV. cap. v. 25. Tom. II. col. 372; where quod.]

[¹³ Thy, H. A. 1564.]

[¹⁴ Id. Lib. de Myst. cap. ix. 54. Tom. II. col. 340.]

[¹⁵ ... frustra ab illis Amen respondetur, a quibus contra id quod accipitur disputatur.—Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. De Jej. Sept. Mens. Sermon. vi. 2. col. 248.]

the same. Wherefore M. Harding can find but small relief in these authorities. Verily in his church, which he so often calleth ancient and only catholic, the people neither answereth, nor understandeth, nor heareth the words of consecration. Thus it appeareth he hath alleged these five doctors in three special points against himself.

M. Harding addeth hereto: Amen is as much as *Verum est*, "It is true." And therefore the people, answering Amen, confessed thereby that they believed the very real and substantial changing of the bread into the body of Christ. It was needless and out of season to renew this matter in this place. But he thought it better skill to speak from the purpose than utterly to hold his peace and to say nothing.

First, as it is said before, the Latin church never received this new belief before the council of Lateran holden in Rome; the Greek church never until this day. Therefore, by M. Harding's skill, the people thus answering said Amen to that thing that they believed not; and so confirmed the child eight hundred years and more before it was born. Indeed, the people said Amen to that they heard spoken by the priest. But the priest spake nothing neither of real presence, nor of transubstantiation, nor of accidents without subject. Therefore it is not likely the people's answer had relation to any such matter. Otherwise they should seem to answer that thing that was not spoken. The priest only uttered these words of Christ, "This is my body;" whereunto the Greeks make answer in this sort, as it is recorded in the council of Florence: *Firmiter credimus, verbis illis dominicis sacramentum fieri*¹⁶: "We believe stedfastly that by these words of our Lord there is made a sacrament." Likewise St Ambrose: *Post consecrationem corpus [Christi] significatur*¹⁷: "After the consecration the body of Christ is signified." Again: *Ante consecrationem aliud dicitur: post consecrationem sanguis nuncupatur. Et tu dicis, Amen, hoc est, Verum est*¹⁸: "Before the consecration it is called another thing: after consecration it is named the blood of Christ. And thou sayest, 'Amen,' that is to say, 'It is true.'" So Dionysius writeth unto Sixtus, the bishop of Rome, of one that had been baptized amongst heretics: *Gratiarum actionem in ecclesia audivit, et ad illam una cum aliis respondit, Amen*¹⁹: "He heard the thanksgiving in the church, and to the same together with others he answered, 'Amen.'" So St Augustine: *Fratres nostri eadem sacramenta celebrantes [et]... unum Amen respondententes*²⁰: "Our brethren resorting to one sacrament, and answering all one Amen." This answering Amen imported not any sudden transubstantiation, but a thanksgiving unto God for our delivery by the death of Christ.

But Leo saith, they answer Amen in vain that dispute against the same thing that they receive²¹. For clear understanding of which words, it behoveth thee, good reader, to remember that Leo, as well herein as also in sundry other places, bendeth the whole force of his learning against the heretic Eutyches, whose error was this, much like unto the common error that is now defended; that Christ's body after his ascension was turned wholly into the Godhead, and so was no longer a man's body. Against which error Leo taketh an argument of the holy mysteries, wherein the faithful people, as with their bodily mouth they receive the mystical bread and wine, so with their spirit and faith they receive the body and blood of Christ, and that verily and in truth; and in witness thereof the receiver saith, Amen. But, saith Leo, "he saith Amen in vain that denieth the same thing that he receiveth;" that is to say, that receiveth the sacrament of Christ's body, and yet nevertheless is persuaded, as the heretic Eutyches was, that Christ indeed hath no body. And in this sense St Augustine seemeth to say: *Mors illi erit, non vita, qui mendacem putaverit vitam*²²: "The

Anno Dom. 1215.

Concil. Florent. Sess. ult.

Ambros. de iis qui init. cap. ix.

Euseb. Lib. vii. cap. ix. εὐχαριστίας... ἐπακούσαντα, καὶ συνεπιφθεγγάμενον τὸ Ἀμὴν. August. in Psalm. xxxiii. Leo de Jejun. 7 Mens. Serm. 6.

Bed. 1 Cor. x.

[¹⁶ Responderunt [Græci], se firmiter credere, &c.—Gen. viii. Synod. Sess. Ult. Florent. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. p. 474.]

[¹⁷ Ambros. Op. Lib. de Myst. cap. ix. 54. Tom. II. col. 339.]

[¹⁸ Id. ibid. col. 340.]

[¹⁹ Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. vii. cap. ix. p. 208.]

[²⁰ August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. xxxiii. Enarr. iii. 29. Tom. IV. col. 208; where *fratribus nostris, celebrantibus, and respondentibus.*]

[²¹ See above, note 15.]

[²² Ven. Bed. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. Ad Cor. i. cap. x. Tom. VI. col. 363; where *erit autem illa homini mors.*]

receiving of the sacrament shall be death, and not life, unto him that thinketh that Christ, being the life itself, was a liar;" delivering these holy mysteries as the sacrament or pledge of his body, himself indeed having no body. So likewise Prosper Aquitanus: *Christum...a populo Judaico fuisse occisum, nullus jam ambigit Christianus; cujus sacrum¹ sanguinem omnis nunc terra accipiens clamat, Amen:... ut neganti Judæo, quod occiderit Christum, recte dicatur a Deo: Vox sanguinis fratris tui clamat ad me de terra²*: "Whether Christ were slain of the Jews or no, there is no christian man now that can stand in doubt. For now all the earth receiveth his holy blood, and crieth Amen. Therefore, if the Jew will deny that ever he slew Christ, God may justly say unto him: 'The voice of the blood of thy brother crieth unto me from the earth.'" So St Chrysostom: *Hæc afferentes mysteria, ora ipsorum consuimus. Si enim mortuus Christus non est, cujus symbolum ac signum hoc sacrificium est³*? "Laying forth these mysteries, we stop their mouths. For, if Christ died not, whose sign then and whose token is this sacrifice?" Thus, by the judgment of these learned fathers, Eutyches the heretic, or any other, that denied either the body or the death of Christ, might soon be reproved, even by the receiving of these holy mysteries. For they receive the sacrament, and yet deny the thing itself that is represented by the sacrament; and so, as Leo saith, they dispute against the thing itself that they receive. And thus Leo himself plainly expoundeth and openeth his own meaning: *Quam...sibi in hujus sacramenti præsidio spem relinquunt, qui in Salvatoris nostri corpore negant humanæ substantiæ veritatem? Dicant, quo sacrificio [sint] reconciliati: dicant, quo sanguine sint redempti⁴*: "What hope do they leave themselves in the help of this sacrament, that say there is no truth of the substance of man in the body of our Saviour? Let them tell me by what sacrifice they are reconciled: let them tell me with what blood they are redeemed."

By these holy fathers it is plain, that whoso receiveth the holy mystery of Christ's body, and yet thinketh and holdeth that Christ indeed hath no body, as Eutyches the heretic did, he disputeth against that thing itself that he receiveth. For Gelasius saith: *Hoc nobis in ipso Domino Christo sentiendum [est], quod in ejus imagine profitemur⁵*: "We must think the same of Christ the Lord himself that we profess (in the sacrament, which is) his image." And therefore in the communion-book that beareth the name of St James it is written thus: *Quotiescunque comederitis hunc panem, et hunc calicem biberitis, mortem Filii hominis annuntiat, ...donec veniat. Populus respondet, Credimus, et confitemur⁶*: "As often as ye shall eat this bread, or drink this cup, ye do publish the death of the Son of man, until he come. Hereto the people maketh answer, 'We believe it, and we confess it.'" This is it that St Ambrose, St Chrysostom, Leo, and Clement call Amen. And this is that undoubted truth of Christ's body, not in the sacrament, as M. Harding imagineth, but in the unity of one person, that Leo defendeth against the heretic Eutyches. Bessarion's authority in these cases cannot be great; both for that he was but of very late years, and therefore a very young doctor to be alleged; and also for that, being promoted to the bishoprick of Tusculum, and made a cardinal of Rome in the late council of Florence, contrary to the minds and judgments of the rest of his brethren of Græcia, he openly flattered and yielded himself unto the pope.

M. HARDING. THE THIRD DIVISION.

And that the people should give their consent and apply their faith to this truth without error and deceit, and that by saying "Amen" they should then believe and confess the bread and wine to be made the body and blood of Christ, (214) when it was made indeed, and not else, for so were it a great error—for this cause

[¹ Sacris, 1609, 1611.]

[² Prosp. Aquit. Op. Par. 1711. De Promiss. et Præd. Dei, Pars 1. cap. vi. 2. Append. col. 95. This treatise is not genuine.]

[³ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. lxxxii. Tom. VII. p. 783.]

[⁴ Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Palest. Episc.

Epist. lxxxiii. 4. col. 440.]

[⁵ Gelas. adv. Eut. et Nestor. in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. V. Pars 111. p. 671; where *Christo Domino*.]

[⁶ Jacob. Lit. in Lit. Sanct. Patr. Par. 1560. p. 24; where the response is assigned to the deacons.]

Prosp. de Promiss. Dei, Pars 1. cap. vi.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 83.

Leo, Epist. 81 ad Palest.

Gelas. contr. Eutych.

Lit. Jacob.

Anno Dom. 1439.

The two hundred and fourteenth untruth. For

[De ecclesiasticis
diversis capitulis
constitut. 123. II.
A. 1564.]

Justinian the emperor made an ordinance, that the bishops and priests should to this intent pronounce their service plainly, distinctly, and so as it might be understood, that the people might answer, "Amen:" (which is to be referred to each part of the service, but specially to the consecration) that they might believe and confess it was the body and blood of Christ (215) when it was indeed, and not so confess when it was not; which might happen if they heard not the words of consecration plainly pronounced. And hereunto specially that constitution of Justinian is to be restrained, as pertaining only to the Greek church, wherein he lived, (216) and not to be stretched further to serve for proof of all the service to be had and said in the vulgar tongue in the west church, as to that purpose of our new teachers it is untruly alleged.

Justinian meant no such thing. But M. Harding is licensed at Lovaine to make comments as he listeth. The two hundred and fifteenth untruth, vain and fantastical. For whereunto should the people answer Amen, hearing no part of the prayer? The two hundred and sixteenth untruth. For this law touched as well the church of Rome as the church of Græcia, as shall appear.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

So many untruths in so little room, so constantly to be avouched without blushing! Where is the fear of God? Where is the reverence of the reader? Where is shame become? First, neither doth that godly emperor Justinian once mention or touch this new fantasy of M. Harding's doctrine, nor did the Greek church, as it is sufficiently already proved, ever hitherto consent unto the same. Will M. Harding make the world believe, that the people openly in the church gave their consents unto that thing that they never believed, but knew undoubtedly to be an error? Is he able to allege not one council, not one doctor, not one father, that ever expounded "Amen" in this sort? Is the matter so miserable and so bare, that no honest witness will speak for it? Or must M. Harding's bare word, without scripture, council, doctor, or father, be taken for the doctrine of the church?

The emperor's words are plain: "We command all the holy bishops and priests to minister the holy oblation, and the sacrament of baptism, and other prayers (not closely or in silence, as the manner is now in the church of Rome, but) with a loud voice, that may be heard of the faithful people, (not to testify M. Harding's transubstantiation, which then was not known, but) that the hearts of the hearers may thereby both the more be humbled to repentance, and also the more be stirred to glorify God⁷." If the pronouncing of these two syllables, "Amen," be proof sufficient to warrant transubstantiation, then may we easily find the same transubstantiation, not only in the sacrament of Christ's body, but also in the sacrament of baptism, and in all other public prayers: for in every hereof the people was willed to say, "Amen."

De Eccles.
Div. Capit.
Constit. 123.

εις πλείονα
κατάνυξιμ.

Secondly, M. Harding saith (and he saith it alone, for no man ever said it before him), that the bishop and priest was thus commanded to speak aloud, lest the people should happen to prevent the time, and to answer "Amen" out of season, before the sacrament were consecrate. And this must be taken as a grave and a deep consideration, and meet for the emperor of the world. But, O the vanities of these vain men! For whereunto should the people answer "Amen," that heard no part of the prayer? Or how should they confirm that was said by the priest, that knew not one word what he said? Certainly it appeareth not that the emperor Justinian doubted so much the over-hasty answering of the people, but rather thought that, if the priest's voice were not heard, the people should be able to answer nothing. For to that end he allegeth these words of St Paul: "How shall the unlearned man answer Amen to thy thanksgiving? For he knoweth not what thou sayest."

1 Cor. xiv.

Last of all he saith, this constitution of the emperor Justinian touched only the Greek church, and pertained nothing to the church of Rome; adding further, that by these new masters it hath been and is otherwise untruly alleged. Thus much M. Harding only of himself, without any other further authority, either old or new. Perhaps he would have us think, according to that childish fable of their forged donation, that the emperor Constantinus had given over the whole empire of the west part of the world unto the pope⁸, and that therefore Justinian

Don. Constant. in 1
Tom. Conc.

[⁷ Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Auth. Coll. ix. Tit. xx. Novell. cxxxvii. 6. Tom. II. pp. 196, 7. See before, page 287, note 10.]

[⁸ Edict. Constant. Imp. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1561. Tom. I. p. 228.]

the emperor had now nothing to do in the church of Rome. But Justinian himself, contrary to M. Harding's commentary, commandeth his laws to be taken as general, and to be kept universally throughout the world. For thus he writeth: *Visum est, . . . præsentem legem omni terrarum orbi ponendam, nullis locorum vel temporum angustiis coartandam*¹: "We have thought it good that this law should generally concern the whole world, to be restrained by no limits of place or time."

And, making an ordinance for the church, he writeth thus: *Et hoc, non solum in veteri Roma, vel in hac regia civitate, sed in omni terra, ubicunque Christianorum nomen colitur, obtinere sancimus*²: "And this law we will to take place, not only in the old city of Rome, or in this princely city of Constantinople, but also in all the world where the name of Christians is had in honour." Likewise Eusebius writeth of Justinian the emperor's proclamation for the keeping of the Sunday: "Upon that day he commanded not only the Greeks, but also all other nations that were subject to the empire of Rome, to rest from bodily labours³."

And concerning such matters as specially touched the city of Constantinople, he writeth thus in the same law that M. Harding hath here alleged: "Whatsoever things namely concern the church of this princely city of Constantinople, we have comprised the same in a particular law specially serving to that purpose⁴." Yet nevertheless M. Harding thinketh it lawful for him to say, The emperor's mind was not to extend this law to the church of Rome; and we must believe him upon his bare word, yea, although the emperor himself say the contrary.

But to what purpose excepteth M. Harding the Latin church in this behalf? was not St Ambrose bishop of Millaine, Clemens and Leo bishops of Rome, all three bishops of the Latin church? And doth not M. Harding say that every of these three pronounced the words of consecration openly with loud voice, and not in silence? And doth not M. Harding further tell us it was the tradition of the apostles? Wherefore then doth he so nicely except the church of Rome? Had the church there any special privilege to break the apostles' traditions more than others? Certainly, Clemens Alexandrinus saith, the traditions of the apostles, as well in the east church as in the west, were all one, even as was their doctrine. *Fuit una omnium apostolorum, sicut doctrina, ita traditio*⁵. Thus hath M. Harding found, by his own confession, both the tradition of the apostles and the ancient doctors Ambrose, Clemens, and Leo, and both the churches of God, the Greek and the Latin, against himself.

M. HARDING. THE FOURTH DIVISION.

Now in this west church, which is the Latin church, the people having been sufficiently instructed touching the belief of the body and blood of our Lord in the sacrament, (217) it hath been thought by the fathers convenient the words of consecration to be pronounced by the priest closely and in silence, rather than with open voice. Wherein they had special regard to the dignity of that high mystery. And doubtless for this point they understood, as St Basil writeth, that "the apostles and the fathers, which at the beginning made laws for the order of ecclesiastical things, maintained the mysteries in their due authority by keeping them secret and in silence. For it is not," saith he, "any mystery at all which is brought forth to the popular and vulgar ears⁶," whereof he wrote very truly before: *Ei, quod publicatum est, et per se apprehendi potest, imminere contemptum; ei vero, quod remotum est ac rarum, etiam naturaliter quodammodo esse conjunctam admirationem*⁷: "That

[Lib. de Spiritu sancto, cap. xxvii. H. A. 1564.]

[¹ Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Cod. Lib. III. Tit. i. 13. Tom. II. p. 84; where *super his per orbem terrarum nullis, and coartandam ponere.*]

[² Id. Cod. Lib. i. Tit. iii. 52. Tom. II. p. 22. See before, page 286, note 5.]

[³ Euseb. De Vit. Constant. Lib. iv. cap. xviii. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. p. 441; where *πολιτευομένοις ἄπασιν.*]

[⁴ Corp. Jur. Civil. Auth. Coll. i. Tit. vi. Novell. vi. 8. Tom. II. p. 14. See before, page 286, note 3.]

[⁵ Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Strom. Lib. VII. 17. Tom. II. p. 900.]

[⁶ Κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον, καὶ οἱ τὰ περὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐξαρχῆς διαθεσμοθετήσαντες ἀποστολοὶ καὶ πατέρες ἐν τῷ κεκρυμμένῳ καὶ ἀφθέγκτῳ τῷ σεμνῷ τοῖς μυστηρίοις ἐφύλασσον. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὅλως μυστήριον τὸ εἰς τὴν δημώδη καὶ εἰκαίαν ἀκοῆν ἔκφορον.—Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Lib. de Spir. Sanct. cap. xxvii. Tom. I. p. 55.]

[⁷ Id. *ibid.*]

Cod. De Jud. cap. Prope-
randum.

Cod. De Episc. cap. Generaliter.

Euseb. in Vit. Constant. Orat. 4. cap. xix.
πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆν [τῶν] Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν πολιτευομένοις. ταῦτα εἰδικῶ νόμῳ περιελάβομεν.

M. Harding contrary to himself.

Clemens Alex. Strom. Lib. vii.

The two hundred and seventeenth untruth. For there is no such thing decreed by the ancient fathers. These words of St Basil pertain nothing to the sacrament.

what is done openly, and made common, and of itself may be attained, it is like to come in contempt, and be despised. But what is kept far off, and is seldom gotten, that even naturally in manner is never without wondering at." And in such respect Christ gave warning, that precious stones be not strewed before hogs.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

It is most certain, and therefore the more lamentable, that, as it now fareth through the whole church of Rome, the people knoweth neither the substance, nor the meaning, nor the use, nor the effect, nor the end or purpose of the sacrament, nor the consecration, nor any word thereto belonging. They hear nothing: they see nothing: they understand nothing: they learn nothing. The pope, the cardinals, the bishops, the priests teach them nothing. It is thought to be the surest fence and strongest ward for that religion, that they should be kept still in ignorance, and know nothing. M. Harding, both in this place and also before, calleth them all hogs and swine, as insensible and brute beasts, and void of reason, and able to judge and conceive nothing. Yet he blusheth not to say: The people of the Latin church is sufficiently instructed touching the sacraments⁸; and that more sufficiently, as it appeareth, than ever they were instructed in the primitive church, or in the time of the old learned fathers. Verily ignorance is easily learned: they may soon be taught to know nothing. But the doctrine that he meaneth standeth in transubstantiation and real presence, and other like matters incident unto the same, such as the godly people in the old times never learned. Howbeit, if the people were thoroughly instructed, and knew the meaning of all mysteries, would M. Harding thereof conclude that therefore they should not hear the words of consecration? Is this the logic of Lovaine? Who ever taught him to frame such a *syllogismus*? In what form, in what mood may it stand? How may this antecedent and this consequent join together?

Art. 15.
Div. 7.

But, where he addeth, that in consideration hereof the fathers thought it convenient the words of consecration should be pronounced in silence; this, besides other great wants, is also a great untruth to make up his simple *syllogismus*. For what were these fathers? what names had they? where dwelt they? In what council, in what country met they? This is a very strange case, that, being fathers, and such fathers, able to alter the traditions of the apostles, and the whole state of the church, no man should know them but only M. Harding.

As for St Basil, whose name he much abuseth to this purpose, it is plain that he speaketh not neither of the sacrament nor of the words of consecration. And here, good christian reader, mark, I beseech thee, the circumspection and constancy of M. Harding. For proof of his late-invented order of the Latin church; he sheweth us examples of the Greek church; and, to avouch his consecration in silence, he allegeth the authority of St Basil, who, by his own confession, evermore pronounced the same aloud with open voice, and never in silence. He should neither so unadvisedly avouch the names of ancient fathers, nor have so small regard unto his reader. True it is, as St Basil saith: "Familiar use breedeth contempt⁹." And for that cause pope Innocentius saith the words of consecration were commanded to be said in silence, *ne sacrosancta verba vilescerent*¹⁰, "lest the holy words should be despised." The like hereof is surmised also by John Billet¹¹. Thomas of Aquine saith, that "the oblation and consecration belong only to the priest, and that therefore the words be spoken in silence, as nothing pertaining to the people¹²." But if the people be thus naturally inclined, the less they hear or know things, the more to have them

Basil. de Spir. Sanct. cap. xxvii. τῶ πεκα- τημένῳ πρόχειρος ἢ κατα- φρόνησις. Innoc. III. de Sac. Alt. Myst. Lib. iii. cap. i. Jo. Billet, de Div. Offic. Thom. Par. iii. Quæst. 183.

cale. Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Lugd. 1565. fol. 510.]

[¹² ... quædam vero pertinent ad solum sacerdotem, sicut oblatio et consecratio. et ideo quæ circa hæc sunt dicenda, occulte a sacerdote dicuntur.— Thom. Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. Summ. Theol. Tert. Pars, Quæst. lxxxiii. Art. 4. Tom. XII. fol. 279.]

[⁸ See before, page 678.]

[⁹ Basil. Op. Lib. de Spir. Sanct. cap. xxvii. Tom. I. p. 55.]

[¹⁰ Innoc. Papæ III. Op. Col. 1575. Myst. Miss. Lib. III. cap. i. Tom. I. p. 364.]

[¹¹ J. Beleth. Div. Offic. Explic. cap. xlvi. ad

in admiration; then were it good they should never hear neither the words of baptism, nor any part of the gospel, nor the Lord's prayer, nor the name of God or Christ, no, nor the mass itself. And, as now their ears be barred from hearing the words that make the sacrament, so were it good policy their eyes were also barred from seeing the sacrament. For naturally contempt groweth as well of sight as of hearing, or rather more. For by M. Harding's skill these were good ways to breed reverence in the people, and to increase devotion. But this is an unreverent reverence, and a disordered honour of God. The people of God is not made to serve the sacraments; but the sacraments are made to serve the people. But these be the secret works and policies of Satan, to make the simple believe they reverence the sacraments, and yet understand no part, neither of the meaning, nor of the use of the sacraments. Lactantius saith: *Hinc fida silentia . . . instituta sunt ab hominibus callidis, ut nesciret populus quid coleret*¹: "Therefore subtle and crafty men devised to have their sacrifices wrought in silence, that the people should not know what thing they honoured for their God."

Lactant. Lib.
v. cap. xx.

M. HARDING. THE FIFTH DIVISION.

If in the old law priests were chosen (as St Ambrose writeth) to cover the ark of the testament, because it is not lawful for all persons to see the depth of mysteries; if the sons of Caath by God's appointment did only bear the ark and those other holy things of the tabernacle on their shoulders, whensoever the children of Israel removed and marched forward in the wilderness, being closely folded and lapped within veils, curtains, and palls by the priests, and might not at no time touch nor see the same upon pain of death, which were but figures of this²; how much more is this high and worthy mystery to be honoured with secretness, closeness, and silence!

[Num. iv.
H. A. 1564.]

[Vide Ori-
genem, Hom. 5.
in Numer. cap.
iv. H. A. 1564.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here M. Harding seemeth to reason thus: In the time of the old testament it was not lawful for every of the people to behold the ark of God and the things therein contained; ergo, the priest ought to pronounce the words of consecration in silence, and secretly to himself. This simple reason holdeth from Moses to Christ; from the old testament to the new; from seeing to hearing; and, to be short, from somewhat to nothing; and serveth only to control all the ancient fathers of the church, who, as M. Harding knoweth, and hath already in part confessed, never pronounced these words in such secret sort, nor ever used these policies for increase of reverence. Notwithstanding, M. Harding, the better to lead along his simple reader, hath cunningly drawn in the names of two old fathers, Ambrose and Origen, to the intent to make his own conclusion to seem theirs. And thus under his painted coverings and veils of eloquence he foldeth up closely, not the ark of God, but, as his wont is, great untruths.

M. HARDING. THE SIXTH DIVISION.

"For this cause, as they report," saith Carolus Magnus, that noble, virtuous, and learned emperor, writing to his school-master Alcuinus, our countryman and first teacher of philosophy in Paris, "it is become a custom in the church, that the canon and consecration be said by the priest secretly, that those words so holy, and pertaining to so great a mystery, should not grow in contempt, whiles all in manner through common use bearing them away would sing them in the highways, in the streets, and in other places where it were not thought⁴ convenient. Whereof it is told that, before this custom was received, shepherds, when they sang them in the field, were by God's hand stricken⁵."

[In fragmento
Caroli Mag. de
ritib. veteris
ecclesie. H. A.
1564.]

[¹ Lactant. Op. Lut. Par. 1748. Div. Inst. Lib. v. cap. xx. Tom. I. p. 413; where nesciat, and colat.]

[² 1565, 1609, and II. A. 1564, omit the.]

[³ Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Levit. Hom. v. Tom. II. pp. 284, &c.]

[⁴ H. A. 1564, omits thought.]

[⁵ Idcirco ut ferunt consuetudo venit in ecclesia, ut tacite ista obsecratio atque consecratio a sacerdote cantetur, ne verba tam sacra et ad tantum mysterium pertinentia vilescerent, dum pene omnes per usum ea retinentes, per vicus et plateas aliisque in locis, ubi non conveniret, ea decantarent. Inde fertur,

Luther himself, in Præceptorio, is much against them that would have the canon of the mass to be pronounced with a loud voice for the better understanding⁶.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

It appeareth M. Harding is much scanted of good authorities, when he is thus driven by tales⁷ and fables to countervail the tradition of the apostles; and that by such fables as he himself is fain to cut off in the midst, and cannot truly report without shame. Howbeit, nothing cometh amiss that may serve to astonie the simple. Such grounds be sufficient for such doctrine. The tale, as it is told by Innocentius and Durandus amongst other fables, is this⁸: Certain shepherds, having by often hearing learned the words of consecration, began to practise the same amongst themselves, over their bread in the field, upon a stone. Suddenly the bread was flesh: the poor men were amazed: God was angry: fire came from heaven and burnt them up; not one left alive to tell these tidings. Hereupon, saith M. Harding, this law was made. For view of the likelihood hereof, they say that the priest himself, be he never so holy, unless he have his altar, his super-altar, his chalice, his corpresse, his lights, his vestiments, and all other appurtenances necessary; unless he stedfastly eye and behold the bread; unless he pronounce all these five words with one breath without stop; and unless he have a special intent and mind to work consecration; he laboureth in vain, and can never consecrate. Yet these poor shepherds, not being priests, for ought that we know, nor having either altar, or super-altar, or vestiments, or any knowledge of these cautels, nor intention or mind to work consecration, yet notwithstanding had consecrate suddenly before they were ware. By these it may be gathered, that consecration is easier for a shepherd than for a priest. But, when these shepherds were all slain in the place where they stood, and not one left alive to report these doings, M. Harding should have told us by what angel or archangel or other secret revelation this tale afterward came to light. His reader would also long to know in what kingdom or in what country, in what king's or pope's days these things happened, in what chronicle, in what story they were recorded. Otherwise he will suspect M. Harding found it in the shepherds' calendar. And touching this new decree for silence and secrecy, M. Harding should have taught us in what council, in what synod, in what convocation, in what diet, in what country, and at what time it was determined; who was legate at the doing, who was referendary, who was president, who was present. If he have nothing to say, his tale hath lost his grace, and will be thought a shepherd's fable.

But hereof these two things M. Harding might well have learned; first, that before these strange unknown shepherds gave this attempt, the consecration was every where pronounced aloud; and farther, that the same consecration was pronounced in the common known mother tongue of every country, that the shepherds might learn it and understand it, unless M. Harding will happily say they were Greek or Latin shepherds.

M. HARDING. THE SEVENTH DIVISION.

The fathers of the primitive church had this sacrament in such reverence and honour, that they excluded some sorts of faithful people from being present at the celebration of it, thinking them unworthy not only to hear the mystical words of consecration pronounced, but also to see the forms of the outward elements, and to be in the church whiles that most holy sacrifice was offered. They were these, catechumeni, energumeni, and pœnitentes⁹. The first were learners of our belief, who, as they were daily in-

[What persons the primitive church excluded from presence of the sacrament. H. A. 1564.]

quod antequam hæc consuetudo inolevisset, cum pastores ea decantarent in agro, divinitus sunt percussa.—Fragm. Quæd. Carol. Magni De Vet. Eccles. Rit. Antv. 1560. De Sacrif. Miss. p. 100.]

[⁶ Luth. Op. Witeb. 1554 &c. De III. Præcept. Declam. Pop. Tom. I. fol. 18. 2. This is one of Luther's earliest works.]

[⁷ Tables, 1609, 1611.]

[⁸ Innoc. Papæ III. Op. Col. 1575. Myst. Miss.

Lib. III. cap. i. Tom. I. p. 364.

Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Lugd. 1565. Lib. iv. cap. xxxv. 7. fol. 151. 2.

J. Beleth. Div. Offic. Explic. cap. xlv. fol. 509.]

[⁹ For an account of these classes of persons and their exclusion from the eucharist, see Bingham, Orig. Eccles. Book 1. chap. iii. 5. Book xv. chap. iii. 3. 21. &c.]

structed, believed in Christ; and, as St Augustine writeth, "bare Christ's Tract. in Jo. cross in their forehead, and marked themselves with the same¹." The^{xi} second were such as, notwithstanding they had been christened, yet for the inconstancy of their mind were vexed with unclean spirits. The third sort were they, who for their sins committed had not yet made an end of doing their open penance. All these were judged by the governors of the church at the beginning unworthy to be present at these holy mysteries. Now, if this great reverence towards the holy things in them was justly praised, the admitting of all sorts of people, not only to be present and to behold the same, but also to hear and understand the words of consecration (218) (that hath thus always been honoured with silence and secret-ness), cannot seem to wise, zealous, and godly men a thing commendable; specially in these times, in which the holy christian discipline of the church is loosed and utterly shaken off, and no difference nor account of any diversity is² made between the perfit and godly people, and them that ought to do open penance, that be possessed with devils, and be infamous for heinous and notorious crimes committed.

The two hundred and eighteenth untruth. For the contrary is known and evident.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The reverence, that M. Harding presumeth was given only to this sacrament, was given likewise and in as ample sort to the sacrament of baptism. And, as the *catechumeni* were sequestered from the presence and sight of the one sacrament, so were they also sequestered from the other. In the council holden at Arausica it is written thus: *Catechumeni ad baptisterium nunquam admittendi sunt*³: "The *catechumeni* may never be admitted to the place of baptism." St Chrysostom, touching the words of baptism, writeth thus: *Verba Dei, quæ norunt fideles, in aquæ lavacro per sacerdotem pronuntiata, tanquam in utero quodam, formant ac regenerant eum qui baptizatur*⁴: "The words of God, which the faithful know, being pronounced by the priest in the water of baptism, do form and regenerate him that is baptized, as if it were in the mother's womb." Likewise again he saith: *Cupiam sane verba illa clare proferre, &c.*⁵: "Fain would I in plain sort utter these words (of baptism), if the presence of these ungodly men, the heathens, did not let me. They cause my interpretation to be the harder: I may not speak plainly, nor publish our mysteries because of them." So saith Cyrillus: *Dicerem de baptismo alia, . . . nisi vererer non initiatorum aures*⁶: "Touching baptism I would say more, saving that I doubt the ears of these profane people that are not christened." To like purpose St Augustine saith: *Opera nostra bona vident etiam pagani; sacramenta vero nostra occultantur illis*⁷: "The heathens may see our good works; but our sacraments (that is, our baptism and our Lord's supper) are hidden from them." The like may be said both of public and solemn prayers, and also of the understanding of the scriptures. Chrysostom saith: *Quid . . . oratione potentius? . . . Et catechumenis quidem hoc nondum permissum est, &c.*⁸: "What thing is there more mighty than the solemn prayer (of the church)? yet is it not lawful for the *catechumeni* to use the same. For they are not yet come to that boldness. But you (being christened) are commanded to pray for the whole world, and for the church." Thus, like as for reverence of the mystery the *catechumeni* might⁹ not be present at the ministration of the sacrament of Christ's body, even so, for like reverence,

Concil. Araus. cap. 19. Chrysost. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. iv.

Chrysost. in i. ad Cor. Hom. 40.

Cyrl. contr. Julian. Lib. vii.

August. in Psalm. civ.

Chrysost. ad Pop. Ant. Hom. 79.

[¹ Si dixerimus catechumeno, Credis in Christum? respondet, Credo, et signat se: jam crucem Christi portat in fronte.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. iii. Tractat. xi. 3. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 376.]

[² 1565, and H. A. 1564, omit *is*.]

[³ Ad baptisterium catechumeni nunquam admittendi.—Concil. Araus. i. cap. 19. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 623.]

[⁴ Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In cap. iv. Epist. ad Gal. Comm. Tom. X. p. 711.]

[⁵ Καὶ βούλομαι μὲν σαφῶς αὐτὸ εἰπεῖν, οὐ τολμῶ δὲ διὰ τοὺς ἀμύητους· οὗτοι γὰρ δυσκολώτερον ἡμῖν ποιοῦσι τὴν ἐξηγήσειν, ἀναγκάζοντες ἢ μὴ λέγειν σαφῶς, ἢ εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκφέρειν τὰ ἀπόρ-

ρήτα.—Id. in Epist. i. ad Cor. Hom. xl. Tom. X. p. 379.]

[⁶ Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Contr. Julian. Lib. vii. Tom. VI. p. 249.]

[⁷ These words do not appear in the place referred to. Ideas, however, something similar are there expressed. See August. Op. Enarr. in Psalm. civ. 2. 5. Tom. IV. cols. 1179, 80.]

[⁸ Chrysost. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. Ad Pop. Ant. Hom. lxxix. Tom. V. col. 471. The homily proceeds: *permissum hoc nondum est, quoniam nondum ad hanc pervenere fiduciam: vobis autem et pro terrarum orbe et pro ecclesia . . . jubetur orationes emittere.*]

[⁹ Mought, 1565.]

they might⁹ not be present, neither at the sacrament of baptism, nor at the solemn common prayers.

But now let us weigh M. Harding's reasons. In the old time¹⁰, saith he, the *catechumeni*, which were only novices in the faith, and as yet unchristened, and other renegades, frantic and ungodly people, might⁹ not be present at the holy mysteries; *ergo*, now the godly faithful people may not hear the words of consecration. No man would use such logic but M. Harding. And yet this he thinketh for wise, zealous, and godly men is sufficient. As for the rest, indeed M. Harding, as a man of travel, that hath been in Rome, and hath seen bishops and cardinals men of war; children and boys set in the highest degrees and dignities of the church; open stews so dearly rented; so many thousand cortegians so well regarded; priests so freely allowed to keep their concubines; the church of God turned into a cave of thieves; such corruption in the clergy, such corruption in the people; so little difference between wife and harlot, honest and dishonest, godly and ungodly, and, as Bernard¹¹ saith of them, "the servants of Christ serving antichrist¹²;" and all this suffered without correction, and well allowed of and accounted catholic; seeing, I say, the church of God in Rome thus used, he may justly complain of corruption of life and looseness of discipline. Howbeit, it were hard hereof to conclude, that therefore no man may hear the words of consecration. Verily, it is thought lawful for usurers, thieves, whores, murderers, traitors, and all other like to be present and to hear mass without exception.

M. HARDING. THE EIGHTH DIVISION.

Whereas in old times, when by wholesome discipline the faithful people were kept in godly awe and obedience, that prayer also, which was said over the oblation before consecration (219) was pronounced closely and in silence; and therefore it was called of the Latins *secretata*, of the Greeks *mystica oratio*, meaning thereby that it ought not to be uttered openly and made common.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY..

Here M. Harding, for want of other proofs, presumeth of himself that in old times the prayer before consecration was pronounced, as he saith, closely and in silence. And that he guesseth only by his¹³ word *secretata*, which is a term peculiar only to his mass-book, and in the old catholic fathers was never found. And yet doth not the same import any such silence or secrecy as M. Harding supposeth. For so Gerardus Lorichius writeth of it: *Non arbitrandum [est], orationem eam dici secretam, quasi non liceat laicis illam vel nosse vel audire; sed quod, juxta atque canon, non cantetur voce*¹⁴ *altiori*¹⁵: "We may not think that the prayer is called *secretata* for that it is not lawful for the lay-people to know it or to hear it, but only for that it is not sung out with loud voice, as is the canon." Therefore M. Harding concludeth this matter with two untruths both together.

Thus, notwithstanding this new dumb ceremony hath¹⁶ been only received in the church of Rome, and nowhere else, and that only for a time, and not from the beginning, and therefore mere particular, and no way universal, and so not catholic; notwithstanding also it be utterly void of any shew, either of the scriptures, or of the old councils, or ancient fathers, or of any manner antiquity; yet M. Harding thinketh himself well able to maintain it, as he doth the rest, against St Ambrose, against St Augustine, against St Chrysostom, against Leo, against his own Clemens, against the whole primitive church, both Greek and Latin, and against the decrees and traditions of the apostles, and against his own knowledge, and, I fear me, also against his own conscience.

The two hundred and nineteenth untruth. For the same secret prayer was pronounced aloud, as shall appear.

Ger. Lorich. Lib. ii.

[¹⁰ Times, 1565.]

[¹¹ St Bernard, 1565.]

[¹² Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Cant. Serm. xxxiii. 15. Vol. I. Tom. iv. col. 1393. See before, page 382, note 11. See also In Concil. Remens. Serm. 5. Vol. II. Tom. v. col. 737.]

[¹³ This, 1565.]

[¹⁴ Alteriori, 1611.]

[¹⁵ Ger. Lorich. De Miss. Pub. Prorogand. 1536. Lib. II. cap. i. Secret. p. 120; where *quia* for *quod*.]

[¹⁶ Have, 1565.]