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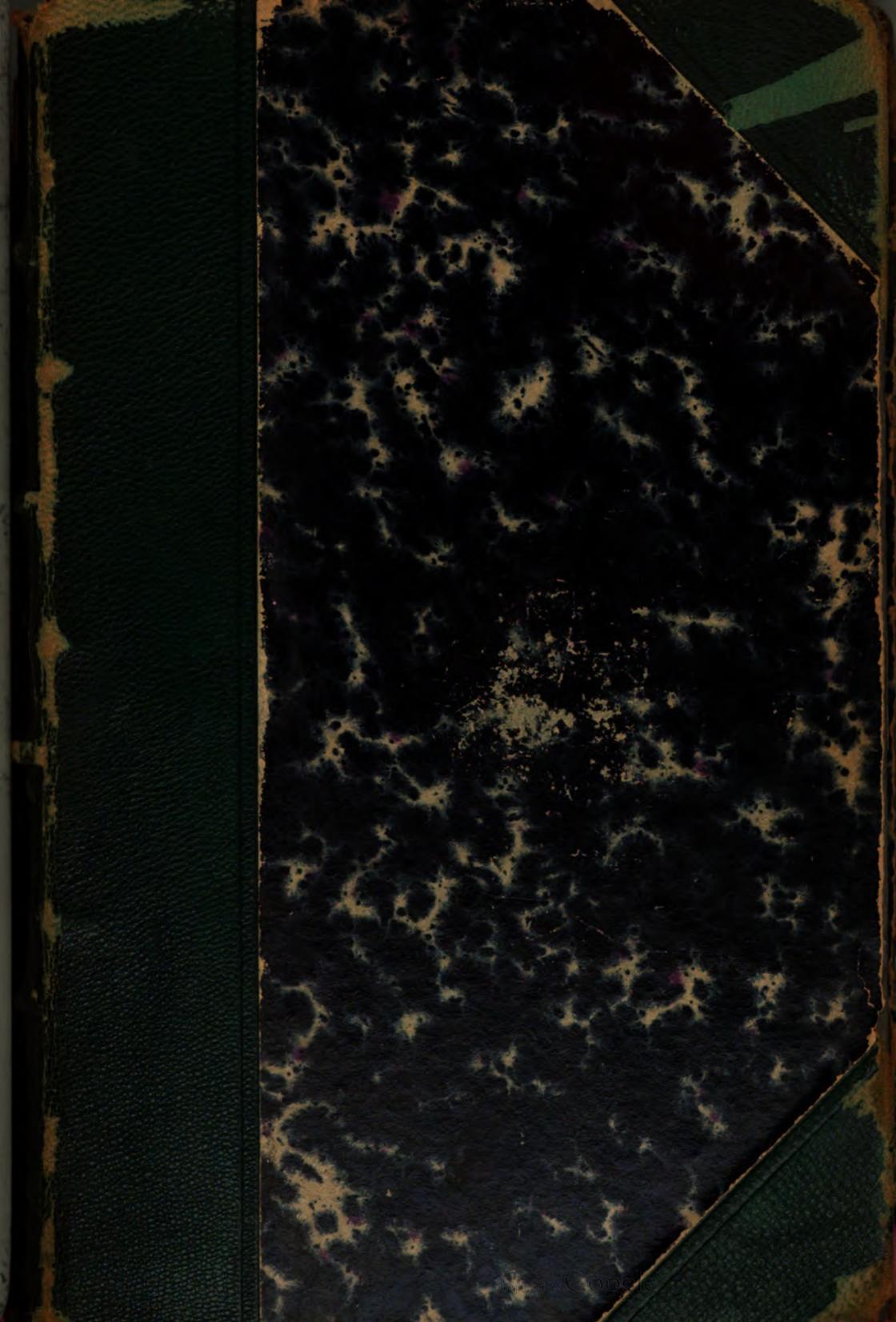
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and Moral Sciences.”

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THE
REMAINS

OF

THOMAS CRANMER, D. D.

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

COLLECTED AND ARRANGED

BY

THE REV. HENRY JENKYN, M. A.

FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE.



IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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*THE
A N S W E R
OF
T H O M A S,
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, &c.
AGAINST THE
FALSE CALUMNIATIONS OF DR. RICHARD SMYTH,
WHO HATH TAKEN UPON HIM TO^b CONFUTE THE DE-
FENCE OF THE TRUE AND CATHOLIC DOCTRINE
OF THE SACRAMENT OF THE BODY AND
BLOOD OF OUR SAVIOUR CHRIST.

I HAVE now obtained, gentle reader, that thing which I have much desired, which was, that if all men would not embrace the truth lately set forth by me concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, at the least some man would vouchsafe to take pen in hand, and write against my book, because that thereby the truth might both better be searched out, and also more certainly known to the world. And herein I heartily thank the late Bishop of Winchester and Doctor Smythe, who partly have satisfied my long desire; saving that I would have wished adversaries more substantially learned in holy Scriptures, more exercised in the old ancient ecclesiastical authors, and having a more godly zeal to the trial out of the truth, than are

^a [This short tract was appended to the *Answer to Gardyner* published 1 Oct. 1551; but the expressions at the beginning and end prove it to have been written before. Whether or not it was also printed before does not appear. It again accompanied the *Answer &c.* in the edition of 1580.]

^b [The title of Smythe's book was, *A Confutation of the True and Catholic Doctrine*, &c. Strype, *Cranmer*, (Oxford, 1812.) p. 1089. See also *ibid.* p. 255. and App. N^o. 61; and *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 43.]

these two, both being crafty sophisters, the one by art, and the other by nature, both also being drowned in the dregs of papistry, brought up and confirmed in the same, the one by Duns and Dorbell and such like sophisters, the other by the popish Canon Law, whereof by his degree taken in the University he is a professor. And as concerning the late Bishop of Winchester, I will declare his crafty sophistications in mine answer unto his book.

But Doctor Smithe, as it appeareth by the title of his Preface, hath craftily devised an easy way to obtain his purpose, that the people being barred from the searching of the truth, might be still kept in blindness and error, as well in this as in all other matters wherein they have been in times past deceived.

Falsehood
feareth the
light, but
truth desir-
eth to be
tried.

He seeth full well, that the more diligently matters be searched out and discussed, the more clearly the craft and falsehood of the subtle papists will appear. And therefore in the Preface to the reader, he exhorteth all men to leave disputing and reasoning of the same by learning, and to give firm credit unto the Church, as the title of the said Preface declareth manifestly. As who should say, that the truth of any matter that is in question might be tried out, without debating and reasoning by the word of God, whereby, as by the true touchstone, all men's doctrines are to be tried and examined. But the truth is not ashamed to come to the light, and to be tried to the uttermost. For as pure gold, the more it is tried, the more pure it appeareth, so is all manner of truth. Whereas on the other side all maskers, counterfeiters, and false deceivers abhor the light, and refuse the trial. If all men without right or reason would give credit unto this papist and his Romish Church, against the most certain word of God and the old holy and catholic Church of Christ, the matter should be soon at an end, and out of all controversy. But forasmuch as the pure word of God, and the first Church of Christ from the beginning, taught the true catholic faith, and Smith with his Church of Rome do now teach the clean contrary, the chaff cannot be tried out from the pure corn (that is to say, the untruth dis-

cerned from the very truth) without threshing, windowing, and fanning, searching, debating, and reasoning.

As for me, I ground my belief upon God's word, wherein can be no error, having also the consent of the primitive Church, requiring no man to believe me further than I have God's word for me. But these papists speak at their pleasure what they list, and would be believed without God's word, because they bear men in hand, that they be the Church. The Church of Christ is not founded upon itself, but upon Christ and his word; but the papists build their Church upon themselves, devising new articles of the faith from time to time, without any Scripture, and founding the same upon the Pope and his clergy, monks and friars, and by that means they be both the makers and judges of their faith themselves. Wherefore this papist, like a politic man, doth right wisely provide for himself and his Church, in the first entry of his book, that all men should leave searching for the truth, and stick hard and fast to the Church, meaning himself and the Church of Rome. For from the true catholic Church, the Romish Church which he accounteth catholic, hath varied and dissented many years passed, as the blindest that this day do live may well see and perceive, if they will not purposely wink and shut up their eyes. This I have written to answer the title of his Preface.

Faith ought to be grounded upon God's word, but the papists ground their faith upon themselves.

Now in the beginning of the very Preface itself, when this great doctor should recite the words of Ephesine council, he translath them so unlearnedly, that if a young boy, that had gone to the grammar-school but three years, had done no better, he should scant have escaped some schoolmaster's hands with six jerks. And beside that, he doeth it so craftily to serve his purpose, that he cannot be excused of wilful depravation of the words, calling celebration an offering, and referring the participle "made" to Christ, which should be referred to the word "partakers," and leaving out those words that should declare, that the said Council spake

Ephesine Council. Cyril the author of the words in the Council. [1580.]

^c [See *Authorities* in the Appendix.]

of no propitiatory sacrifice in the mass, but of a sacrifice of laud and thanks, which Christian people give unto God at the holy communion, by remembrance of the death, resurrection, and ascension of his Son Jesus Christ, and by confessing and setting forth of the same.

Here by the ungodly handling of this godly Council at his first beginning, it may appear to every man how sincerely this papist intendeth to proceed in the rest of this matter.

Smyth belieth the Council.

And with like sincerity he untruly belieth the said Council, saying that it doth plainly set forth the holy sacrifice of the mass, which doth not so much as once name the mass, but speaketh of the sacrifice of the Church, which the said Council declareth to be the profession of Christian people in setting forth the benefit of Christ, who only made the true sacrifice propitiatory for remission of sin. And whosoever else taketh upon him to make any such sacrifice maketh himself Antichrist.

Smith belieth me twice in one place. The first lie.

And then he belieth me in two things, as he useth commonly throughout his whole book. The one is, that I deny the sacrifice of the mass, which in my book have most plainly set out the sacrifice of Christian people in the holy communion or mass, (if Dr. Smyth will needs so term it,) and yet I have denied that it is a sacrifice propitiatory for sin, or that the priest alone maketh any sacrifice there. For it is the sacrifice of all Christian people to remember Christ's death, to laud and thank him for it, and to publish it and show it abroad unto other, to his honour and glory.

The controversy is not, whether in the holy communion be made a sacrifice or not, (for herein both Dr. Smyth and I agree with the foresaid Council at Ephesus,) but whether it be a propitiatory sacrifice or not, and whether only the priest make the said sacrifice; these be the points wherein we vary. And I say so far as the Council saith, that there is a sacrifice, but that the same is propitiatory for remission of sin, or that the priest alone doth offer it, neither I nor the Council do so say, but Dr. Smyth hath added that of his own vain head.

The other thing wherein Dr. Smyth belieith me is this : ^{The second} he saith that I deny, that we receive in the sacrament that ^{lie.} flesh which is adjoined to God's own Son. I marvel not a little what eyes Doctor Smyth had, when he read over my book. It is like that he hath some privy spectacles within his head, wherewith whensoever he looketh, he seeth but what he list. For in my book I have written in mo than an hundred places, that we receive the selfsame body of Christ that was born of the Virgin Mary, that was crucified and buried, that rose again, ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty. And the contention is only in the manner and form how we receive it.

For I say (as all the old holy fathers and martyrs used to say), that we receive Christ spiritually by faith with our minds, eating his flesh and drinking his blood : so that we receive Christ's own very natural body, but not naturally nor corporally. But this lying papist saith, that we eat his natural body corporally with our mouths, which neither the Council Ephesine, nor any other ancient Council or doctor ever said or thought.

And the controversy in the Council Ephesine was not of the uniting of Christ's flesh to the forms of bread and wine in the sacrament, but of the uniting of his flesh to his Divinity at his incarnation in unity of person. Which thing Nestorius the heretic denied, confessing that Christ was a godly man as other were, but not that he was very God in nature : which heresy that holy Council confuting, affirmeth that the flesh of Christ was so joined in person to the Divine nature, that it was made the proper flesh of the Son of God, and flesh that gave life : but that the said flesh was present in the sacrament corporally, and eaten with our mouths, no mention is made thereof in that Council.

And here I require Dr. Smyth, as proctor for the papists, either to bring forth some ancient Council or doctor that saith as he saith, that Christ's own natural body is eaten corporally with our mouths, (understanding the very body in deed, and not the signs of the body, as Chrysostome doth,) or else let him confess that my saying is true, and recant

his false doctrine the third time, as he hath done twice already^d.

Smyth
saith that
Christ
called not
bread his
body.

THEN forth goeth this papist with his Preface, and saith, that these words, "This is my body that shall be given to death for you," no man can truly understand of bread. And his proof thereof is this, because that bread was not crucified for us. First here he maketh a lie of Christ. For Christ said not, as this papist allegeth, "This is my body which shall be given to death for you," but only he saith, *This is my body which is given for you*, which words some understand not of the giving of the body of Christ to death, but of the breaking and giving of bread to his Apostles, as St. Paul said, *The bread which we break*, &c.

Luc. xxii.

1 Cor. x.

But let it be, that he spake of the giving of his body to death, and said of the bread, "This is my body which shall be given to death for you;" by what reason can you gather hereof, that the bread was crucified for us?

If I look upon the image of King David, and say, 'This is he that killed Goliath,' doth this speech mean, that the image of King David killed Goliath? or if I hold in my hand my book of St. John's Gospel, and say, 'This is the Gospel that St. John wrote at Pathmos,' (which fashion of speech is commonly used,) doth it follow hereof that my book was written at Pathmos? or that St. John wrote my book, which was but newly printed at Paris by Robert Stephanus? or if I say of my book of St. Paul's Epistles, 'This is Paul that was the great persecutor of Christ,' doth this manner of speech signify that my book doth persecute Christ? Or if I show a book of the New Testament, saying, 'This is the New Testament which brought life into the world,' by what form of argument can you induce hereof, that my book that I bought but yesterday brought life into the world? No man that useth thus to speak, doth mean of the books, but of the very things themselves that in the books be taught and contained. And after the same wise, if Christ called bread his

^d [See Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 171. and App. N^o. 39; and *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 39.]

body, saying, " This is my body which shall be given to death for you," yet he meant not, that the bread should be given to death for us, but his body which by the bread was signified.

If this excellent clerk and doctor understand not these manner of speeches, that be so plain, then hath he both lost his senses, and forgotten his grammar, which teacheth to refer the relative to the next antecedent. But of these figurative speeches I have spoken at large in my third book ; first in the viiith chapter, proving by authority of the oldest authors in Christ's Church, that he called bread his body, and wine his blood ; and again in the ixth, xth, xith, and xiith chapters, I have so fully entreated of such figurative speeches, that it should be but a superfluous labour here to speak thereof any more : but I refer the reader to those places.

And if Mr. doctor require a further answer herein, let him look upon the late Bishop of Winchester's book, called the *Detection of the Devil's Sophistry*, where he writeth plainly, that when Christ spake these words, *This is my body*, he made demonstration of the bread.

THEN further in this Prologue this papist is not ashamed to say, that I set the cart before the horses, putting reason first and faith after ; which lie is so manifest, that it needeth no further proof but only to look upon my book, wherein it shall evidently appear, that in all my five books I ground my foundation upon God's word. And lest the papists should say, that I make the expositions of the Scripture myself, as they commonly use to do, I have fortified my foundation by the authority of all the best learned and most holy authors and martyrs, that were in the beginning of the Church and many years after, until the Antichrist of Rome rose up and corrupted altogether.

And as for natural reason, I make no mention thereof in all my five books, but in one place only, which is in my second book, speaking of transubstantiation. And in that place I set not reason before faith, but, as an handmaiden, have appointed her to do service unto faith, and to wait

upon her. And in that place she hath done such service, that Dr. Smyth durst not once look her in the face, nor find any fault with her service, but hath slyly and craftily stolen away by her, as though he saw her not.

But in his own book he hath so impudently set the cart before the horses in Christ's own words, putting the words behind that go before, and the words before that go behind, that, except a shameless papist, no man durst be so bold to attempt any such thing of his own head. For where the Evangelist and St. Paul rehearse Christ's words thus: *Take, eat, this is my body*, he in the confutation of my second book turneth the order upside down, and saith, "This is my body, take and eat."

Matt. xxvi.
1 Cor. xi.

Of the wonderful works of God.

After this in his Preface he rehearseth a great number of the wonderful works of God, as that God made all the world of naught, that he made Adam of the earth and Eve of his side, the bush to flame with fire and burn not, and many other like, which be most manifestly expressed in holy Scripture. And upon these he concludeth most vainly and untruly that thing which in the Scripture is neither expressed nor understood, that Christ is corporally in heaven and in earth, and in every place where the sacrament is.

And yet Dr. Smith saith, that God's word doth teach this as plainly as the other, using herein such a kind of sophistical argument, as all logicians do reprehend, which is called *petitio principii*, when a man taketh that thing for a supposition and an approved truth, which is in controversy. And so doth he in this place, when he saith: "Doth not God's word teach it thee as plainly as the other?" Here by this interrogatory he required that thing to be granted him as a truth, which he ought to prove, and whereupon dependeth the whole matter that is in question; that is to say, whether it be as plainly set out in the Scripture, that Christ's body is corporally in every place where the sacrament is, as that God created all things of nothing, Adam of the earth, and Eve of Adam's side, &c. This is it that I deny, and that he should prove. But he taketh it for a supposition, saying by interrogation, "Doth not the word of

“ God teach this as plainly as the other ?” which I affirm to be utterly false, as I have showed in my third book, the xith and xiith chapters, where I have most manifestly proved, as well by God’s word as by ancient authors, that these words of Christ, *This is my body*, and, *This is my blood*, be no plain speeches, but figurative.

THEN forth goeth this papist unto the sixth chapter of St. John, saying, “ Christ promised his disciples to give them such bread as should be his own very natural flesh, which he would give to death for the life of the world. Can this his promise,” saith Mr. Smith, “ be verified of John vi. common bread? Was that given upon the cross for the life of the world ?”

Whereto I answer by his own reason. Can this his promise be verified of sacramental bread? Was that given upon the cross for the life of the world. I marvel here not a little of Mr. Smith’s either dulness or maliciousness, that cannot or will not see, that Christ in this chapter of St. John spake not of sacramental bread, but of heavenly bread: nor of his flesh only, but also of his blood and of his Godhead, calling them heavenly bread that giveth everlasting life. So that he spake of himself wholly, saying, *I am the bread of life: he that cometh to me shall not hunger; and he that believeth in me shall not thirst for ever.* And neither spake he of common bread, nor yet of sacramental bread: for neither of them was given upon the cross for the life of the world.

And there can be nothing more manifest than that in this sixth chapter of John, Christ spake not of the sacrament of his flesh, but of his very flesh. And that, as well for that the sacrament was not then instituted, as also that Christ said not in the future tense, ‘The bread which I will give shall be my flesh,’ but in the present tense, *The bread which I will give, is my flesh*; which sacramental bread was neither then his flesh, nor was then instituted for a sacrament, nor was after given to death for the life of the world.

John iv. But as Christ, when he said unto the woman of Samaria, *The water which I will give, shall spring into everlasting life*, he meant neither of material water, nor of the accidents of water, but of the Holy Ghost, which is the heavenly fountain that springeth unto eternal life: so likewise when

John vi. he said, *The bread which I will give, is my flesh which I will give for the life of the world*, he meant neither of the material bread, neither of the accidents of bread, but of his own flesh. Which although of itself it availeth nothing, yet being in unity of person joined unto his Divinity, it is the same heavenly bread that he gave to death upon the cross for the life of the world.

But here Mr. Smyth asketh a question of the time, saying thus: "When gave Christ that bread which was his very flesh that he gave for us to death, if he did it not at his last Supper, when he said, *This is my body that shall be given for you?*"

I answer, according to Cyril's^c mind upon the same place, that Christ alone suffered for us all, and by his wounds were we healed, he bearing our sins in his body upon a tree, and being crucified for us, that by his death we might live.

But what need I, Mr. Smith, to labour in answering to your question of the time, when your question in itself containeth the answer, and appointeth the time of Christ giving himself for the life of the world? when you say, that he gave himself for us to death, which, as you confess scant three lines before, was not at his supper, but upon the cross.

And if you will have none other giving of Christ for us but at his supper, (as your reason pretendeth, or else it is utterly naught,) then surely Christ is much bound unto you, that have delivered him from all his mocking, whipping, scourging, crucifying, and all other pains of death, which he suffered for us upon the cross, and bring to pass that he was given only at his supper without blood or pain, for the life of the world. But then is all the world little beholding

^c [Cyril, *In Joan.* lib. iv. cap. 12. See *Authorities* in the Appendix.]

unto you, that by delivering of Christ from death will suffer all the world to remain in death, which can have no life but by his death.

AFTER the Gospel of St. John, Mr. Smyth allegeth for his purpose St. Paul to the Corinthians, who biddeth every man to *examine himself before he receive this sacrament, for he that eateth and drinketh it unworthily, is guilty of the body and blood of Christ, eating and drinking his own damnation, because he discerneth not our Lord's body.* The place of St. Paul, 1 Cor. xi.

Here by the way it is to be noted, that Dr. Smyth in reciting the words of St. Paul doth alter them purposely, commonly putting this word "sacrament," in the stead of these words "bread and wine," (which words he seemeth so much to abhor as if they were toads or serpents, because they make against his transubstantiation,) whereas St. Paul ever useth those words, and never nameth this word "sacrament."

But to the matter: "What need we to examine ourselves," saith Dr. Smith, "when we shall eat but common bread, and drink wine of the grape? Is a man guilty of the body and blood of Christ, which eateth and drinketh nothing else but only bare bread made of corn, and mere wine of the grape?" Who saith so, good sir? Do I say in my book, that those which come to the Lord's table do eat nothing else but bare bread made of corn, nor drink nothing but mere wine made of grapes? How often do I teach and repeat again and again, that as corporally with our mouths we eat and drink the sacramental bread and wine, so spiritually with our hearts, by faith, do we eat Christ's very flesh and drink his very blood, and do both feed and live spiritually by him, although corporally he be absent from us, and sitteth in heaven at his Father's right hand. And as in baptism we come not unto the water as we come to other common waters, when we wash our hands or bathe our bodies, but we know that it is a mystical water, admonishing us of the great and manifold mercies of God towards us, of the league and promise made between him and us, and of his wonderful working and operation in us: wherefore we

come to that water with such fear, reverence, and humility, as we would come to the presence of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and of Jesus Christ himself both God and man; although he be not corporally in the water, but in heaven above: and whosoever cometh to that water, being of the age of discretion, must examine himself duly, lest if he come unworthily, (none otherwise than he would come unto other common waters,) he be not renewed in Christ, but in the stead of salvation receive his damnation:

Even so it is of the bread and wine in the Lord's holy Supper. Wherefore every man, as St. Paul saith, must examine himself when he shall approach to that holy table, and not come to God's board as he would do to common feasts and banquets, but must consider that it is a mystical table, where the bread is mystical, and the wine also mystical, wherein we be taught that we spiritually feed upon Christ, eating him and drinking him, and as it were sucking out of his side the blood of our redemption and food of eternal salvation, although he be in heaven at his Father's right hand. And whosoever cometh unto this heavenly table, not having regard to Christ's flesh and blood, who should be there our spiritual food, but cometh thereto without faith, fear, humility, and reverence, as it were but to carnal feeding, he doth not there feed upon Christ, but the Devil doth feed upon him, and devoureth him, as he did Judas.

And now may every man perceive, how fondly and falsely Mr. Smyth concludeth of these words of St. Paul, that our Saviour Christ's body and blood is really and corporally in the sacrament.

Master
Peter Martyr.

AFTER this he falleth to railing, lying, and slandering of Mr. Peter Martyr, a man of that excellent learning and godly living, that he passeth Dr. Smyth as far as the sun in his clear light passeth the moon being in the eclipse.

“Peter Martyr,” saith he, “at his first coming to Oxford, when he was but a Lutheran in this matter, taught as Dr. Smyth now doth. But when he came once to the Court,

“and saw that doctrine misliked them, that might do him hurt in his living, he anon after turned his tippet and sang another song.”

Of Mr. Peter Martyr his opinion and judgment in this matter no man can better testify than I. Forasmuch as he lodged within my house long before he came to Oxford; and I had with him many conferences in that matter, and know that he was then of the same mind that he is now, and as he defended after openly in Oxford, and hath written in his book. And if Dr. Smyth understood him otherwise in his lectures at the beginning, it was for lack of knowledge, for that then Dr. Smyth understood not the matter, nor yet doth not, as it appeareth by this foolish and unlearned book which he hath now set out.

No more than he understood my book of the Catechism, and therefore reporteth untruly of me, that I in that book did set forth the real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament. Unto which false report I have answered in my fourth book the eighth chapter.

But this I confess of myself, that not long before I wrote the said Catechism, I was in that error of the real presence, as I was many years past in divers other errors, as of transubstantiation, of the sacrifice propitiatory of the priests in the mass, of pilgrimages, purgatory, pardons, and many other superstitions and errors that came from Rome, being brought up from youth in them, and nouseled therein for lack of good instruction from my youth, the outrageous floods of papistical errors at that time overflowing the world. For the which and other mine offences in youth, I do daily pray unto God for mercy and pardon, saying: *Delicta juventutis meæ et ignorantias meas, ne memineris, Domine.* Good Lord, remember not mine ignorances and offences of my youth.

But after it had pleased God to show unto me by his holy word a more perfect knowledge of his son Jesus Christ, from time to time as I grew in knowledge of him, by little and little I put away my former ignorance. And as God of his mercy gave me light, so through his grace I opened

mine eyes to receive it, and did not wilfully repugn unto God, and remain in darkness. And I trust in God's mercy and pardon for my former errors, because I erred but of frailness and ignorance. And now I may say of myself as St. Paul said; When I was like a babe or child in the know-
 1 Cor. xiii. ledge of Christ, I spake like a child and understood like a child; but now that I am come to man's estate, and growing in Christ through his grace and mercy, I have put away that childishness.

Now after that Doctor Smith hath thus untruly belied both me and Master Peter Martyr, he falleth into his exclamations, saying: "O Lord! what man is so mad to believe "such mutable teachers, which change their doctrine at "men's pleasure, as they see advantage and profit? They "turn and will turn as the wind turneth."

Do you not remember, Mr. Smith, the fable, how the old crab rebuked her young, that they went not straight forth; and the common experience that those that look a squint, sometimes find fault with them that look right? You have turned twice, and retracted your errors, and the third time promised, and breaking your promise ran away⁵. And find you fault with me and Mr. Peter Martyr, as though we for men's pleasures turn like the wind, as we see advantage? Shall the weathercock of Paul's, that turneth about with every wind, lay the fault in the Church, and say that it turneth?

I will not here answer for myself, but leave the judgment to God, (who seeth the bottom of all men's hearts, and at whose only judgment I shall stand or fall,) saving that this I will say before God, who is every where present, and knoweth all things that be done, that as for seeking to please men in this matter, I think my conscience clear, that I never sought herein but only the pleasure and glory of God. And yet will I not judge myself herein, nor take Dr. Smyth for my judge, but will refer the judgment to him that is the rightful Judge of all men. But as for Dr. Peter Martyr, hath he sought to please men for advantage?

⁵ [See Strype, *Cranmer*, pp. 172, 203.]

who having a great yearly revenue in his own country, forsook all for Christ's sake, and for the truth and glory of God came into strange countries where he had neither land nor friends, but as God of his goodness, who never forsaketh them that put their trust in him, provided for him.

BUT after his exclamation, this papist returneth to the matter, saying, "Tell me, why may not Christ's body be
 " as well in the sacrament and in heaven both at once, as The argu-
ment of the
door and
sepulchre.
 " that his body was in one proper place with the body of
 " the stone that lay still upon his grave, when he rose from
 " death to life? and as his body was in one proper place at
 " once with the body of the door or gate, when, the same
 " being shut, he entered into the house where the Apostles
 " were?"

Make you these two things all one, Mr. Smyth, divers bodies to be in one place, and one body to be in divers places? If Christ's body had been in one place with the substance of the stone or door and at the same time, then you might well have proved thereby, that his body may as well be in one place with the substance of bread and wine. But what availeth this to prove that his body may be in divers places at one time? which is nothing like to the other, but rather clean contrary. Marry, when Christ arose out of the sepulchre, or came into the house when the doors were shut, if you can prove that at the same time he was in heaven, then were that to some purpose, to prove that his body may be corporally in heaven and earth both at one time.

And yet the controversy here in this matter is not what may be, but what is. God can do many things, which he neither doth, nor will do. And to us his will, in things that appear not to our senses, is not known but by his word. Christ's body may be as well in the bread and wine as in the door and stone, and yet it may be also in the door and stone, and not in the bread and wine.

But if we will stretch out our faith no further than God's word doth lead us, neither is Christ's body corporally present in one proper place with the bread and wine, nor was

also with the stone or door. For the Scripture saith in no place that the body of Christ was in the door, or in the stone that covered the sepulchre, but it saith plainly, that *an angel came down from heaven, and removed away the stone from the sepulchre, and the women that came to see the sepulchre found the stone removed away.* And although the Gospel say, that *Christ came into the house when the door was shut,* yet it sayeth not that Christ's body was within the door, so that the door and it occupied both but one place.

Matt.
xxviii.

Mark xvi.
John xx.
Acts v.

But peradventure Mr. Smyth will ask me this question, 'How could Christ come into the house, the door being shut, except he came through the door? and that his body must be in the door.' To your wise question, Mr. Smyth, I will answer by another question: Could not Christ come as well into the house when the door was shut, as the Apostles could go out of prison the door being shut? Could not God work this thing, except the Apostles must go through the door, and occupy the same place that the door did? Or could not Christ do so much for his own self, as he did for his Apostles?

But Mr. Smith is so blind in his own phantasies, that he seeth not how much his own examples make against himself. For if it be like in the sacrament as it was in the stone and door, and Christ's body was in one proper place with the body and substance of the stone and door, then must Christ's body in the sacrament be in one proper place with the body and substance of bread and wine. And so he must then confess that there is no transubstantiation.

The ap-
pearing of
Christ in
his ascen-
sion.

THEN from the door and sepulchre, Dr. Smyth cometh to the revelations of Peter and Paul, which saw Christ, as he saith, bodily upon earth after his ascension. Which declareth, that although Christ departed hence at the time of his ascension into heaven, and there sitteth at the right hand of his Father, yet he may be also here in the blessed sacrament of the altar. I am not so ignorant but I know that Christ^h

^h [See Cranmer's discussion of this point with Lambert, in a note to

appeared to St. Paul, and said to him: *Saul, Saul, why dost thou persecute me?* But St. Augustine saith, that Christ at his ascension spake the last words that ever he spake upon earth. And yet we find that Christ speaketh, saith he, but in heaven and from heaven, and not upon earth. For he spake to Paul from above, saying: *Saul, Saul, why dost thou persecute me?* The head was in heaven, and yet he said: *Why dost thou persecute me?* because he persecuted his members upon earth.

And if this please not Master Smith, let him blame St. Augustine and not me, for I feign not this myself, but only allege St. Augustine.

And as the Father spake from heaven, when he said: *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am pleased,* and also St. Stephen saw Christ sitting in heaven at his Father's right hand: even so meant St. Augustine, that St. Paul, and all other that have seen and heard Christ speak since his ascension, have seen and heard him from heaven.

Now when this papist, going forward with his works, seeth his building so feeble and weak that it is not able to stand, he returneth to his chief foundation, the Church and Councils General, willing all men to stay thereupon, and to leave disputing and reasoning. And chiefly he shoreth up his house with the Council *Lateranense*, whereat, saith he, were thirteen hundred fathers and fifteen. But he telleth not, that eight hundred of them were monks, friars, and canons, the Bishop of Rome's own dear darlings and chief champions, called together in his name and not in Christ's. From which brood of vipers and serpents what thing can be thought to come, but that did proceed from the spirit of their most holy father that first begat them, that is to say, from the spirit of Antichrist.

And yet I know this to be true, that Christ is present with his holy Church, which is his holy elected people, and shall be with them to the world's end, leading and govern-

Examination before Brokes at Oxford, or in Foxe, Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 425.]

ing them with his holy Spirit, and teaching them all truth necessary for their salvation. And whensoever any such be gathered together in his name, there is he among them, and he shall not suffer the gates of hell to prevail against them. For although he may suffer them by their own frailness for a time to err, fall, and to die, yet finally, neither Satan, hell, sin, nor eternal death, shall prevail against them.

But it is not so of the Church and see of Rome, which accounteth itself to be the holy catholic Church, and the Bishop thereof to be most holy of all other. For many years ago Satan hath so prevailed against that stinking whore of Babylon, that her abominations be known to the whole world, the name of God is by her blasphemed, and of the cup of her drunkenness and poison have all nations tasted.

The true faith was in the Church from the beginning, and was not taught first by Berengarius.

AFTER this cometh Smyth to Berengarius, Almericus, Carolostadius, Æcolampadius, and Zuinglius, affirming that the Church ever sithence Christ's time a thousand five hundred years and mo, hath believed that Christ is bodily in the sacrament, and never taught otherwise until Berengarius came, about a thousand years after Christ, whom the other followed.

But in my book I have proved by God's word and the old ancient authors, that Christ is not in the sacrament corporally, but is bodily and corporally ascended into heaven, and there shall remain unto the world's end.

And so the true Church of Christ ever believed from the beginning without repugnance, until Satan was let loose, and Antichrist came with his papists, which feigned a new and false doctrine contrary to God's word and the true catholic doctrine.

And this true faith God preserveth in his holy Church still, and will do unto the world's end, maugre the wicked Antichrist and all the gates of hell. And Almighty God from time to time hath strengthened many holy martyrs for this faith to suffer death by Antichrist and the great harlot of Babylon, who hath embrued her hands, and is made drunken with the blood of martyrs. Whose blood

God will revenge at length, although in the mean time he suffer the patience and faith of his holy saints to be tried.

ALL the rest of his Preface containeth nothing else but the authority of the Church, which, Smith saith, cannot wholly err: and he so setteth forth and extolleth the same, that he preferreth it above God's word, affirming not only that it is the pillar of truth, and no less to be believed than holy Scripture; but also that we should not believe holy Scripture but for it. So that he maketh the word of men equal or above the word of God.

What Church it is that cannot err.

And truth it is indeed, that the Church doth never wholly err, for ever in most darkness God shineth unto his elect, and in the midst of all iniquity he governeth them so with his holy word and Spirit, that the gates of hell prevail not against them. And these be known to him, although the world many times know them not, but hath them in derision and hatred, as it had Christ and his Apostles. Nevertheless at the last day they shall be known to all the whole world, when the wicked shall wonder at their felicity, and say: 'These be they whom we sometime had in derision and mocked. We fools thought their lives very madness, and their end to be without honour. But now lo, how they be accounted among the children of God, and their portion is among the saints. Therefore we have erred from the way of truth, the light of righteousness hath not shined unto us, we have wearied ourselves in the way of wickedness and destruction.'

Sap. v.

But this holy Church is so unknown to the world, that no man can discern it, but God alone, who only searcheth the hearts of all men, and knoweth his true children from other that be but bastards.

Psal. vii.
2 Tim. ii.

This Church is the pillar of truth, because it resteth upon God's word, which is the true and sure foundation, and will not suffer it to err and fall. But as for the open known Church, and the outward face thereof, it is not the pillar of truth, otherwise than that it is, as it were, a register or treasury to keep the books of God's holy will and testa-

Tim. iii.

ment, and to rest only thereupon, as St. Augustine and Tertullian mean, in the places by Mr. Smith alleged.

And as the register keepeth all men's wills, and yet hath none authority to add, change, or take away any thing, nor yet to expound the wills further than the very words of the will extend unto, (so that he hath no power over the will, but by the will,) even so hath the Church no further power over the holy Scripture, which containeth the will and testament of God, but only to keep it, and to see it observed and kept. For if the Church proceed further, to make any new articles of the faith, besides the Scripture, or contrary to the Scripture, or direct not the form of life according to the same, then it is not the pillar of truth, nor the Church of Christ, but the synagogue of Satan, and the temple of Antichrist, which both erreth itself, and bringeth into error as many as do follow it.

Luke xii. And the holy Church of Christ is but a small herd or flock, in comparison to the great multitude of them that follow Satan and Antichrist, as Christ himself saith, and the word of God and the course of the world from the beginning until this day hath declared.

Gen. vii. For from the creation of the world until Noe's flood, what was then the open face of the earth? How many godly men were in those thousand and six hundred years and mo? Did not iniquity begin at Cain to rule the world, and so increased more and more, that at the length God could no longer suffer, but drowned all the world for sin, except eight persons, which only were left upon the whole earth?

Gen. xii. And after the world was purged by the flood, fell it not by and by to the former iniquity again? so that within few years after, Abraham could find no place where he might be suffered to worship the true living God, but that God appointed him a strange country, almost clearly desolate and uninhabited; where he and a few other, contrary to the usage of the world, honoured one God.

And after the great benefits of God showed unto his people of Israel, and the law also given unto them, whereby they were taught to know him, and honour him, yet how

many times did they fall from him? Did they not from time to time make them new gods, and worship them? Was not the open face of the Church so miserably deformed, not only in the wilderness, and in the time of the judges, but also in the time of the kings, that after the division of the kingdom, amongst all the kings of Juda there was but only Ecclus. xlix. three, in whose times the true religion was restored, and among all the kings of Israel not so much as one. Were not all that time the true priests of God a few in number? Did not all the rest maintain idolatry and all abominations in groves and mountains, worshipping Baal and other false gods. And did they not murder and slay all the true prophets that taught them to worship the true God? Insomuch that Helias the Prophet, knowing no mo of all the whole people that followed the right trade, but himself alone, made his complaint unto Almighty God, saying: *O Lord, they* 1 Reg. xix. *have slain thy prophets, and overthrown thine altars, and there is no mo left but I alone, and yet they lie in wait to slay me also.* So that although Almighty God suffered them in their captivity at Babylon no more but seventy Jerem. xxv. and xxix. years, yet he suffered them in their idolatry, following their own ways and inventions, many hundred years, the mercy Acts xiv. of God being so great, that their punishment was short and small, in respect of their long and grievous offences. And at the time of Christ's coming, the high priests came to their offices by such fraud, simony, murder, and poisoning, that the like hath not been often read nor heard of, except only at Rome.

And when Christ was come, what godly religion found he? What Annasses and Cayphasses? what hypocrisy, superstition, and abomination before God, although to men's eyes things appeared holy and godly? Was not then Christ alone and his Apostles, with other that believed his doctrine, the holy and true Church? Although they were not so taken, but for heretics, seditious persons, and blasphemers of God, and were extremely persecuted and put to villainous death, by such as accounted themselves and were taken for the Church, which fulfilled the measure of their fathers that

Matth. xiii. persecuted the prophets. Upon whom came all the righteous blood that was shed upon the earth, from the blood of just Abel unto the blood of Zacharye, the son of Barachie, whom they slew between the temple and the altar.

And how many persons remained constantly in the true lively faith, at the time of Christ's passion? I think Master
 Matt. xxvi. Smith will say but a very few, seeing that Peter denied
 Matt. xiv. Christ his Master three times, and all his Apostles fled away, and one for haste without his clothes.

What wonder is it then, that the open Church is now of late years fallen into many errors and corruption, and the holy Church of Christ is secret and unknown? seeing that Satan these five hundred years hath been let loose, and Antichrist reigneth, spoiling and devouring the simple flock
 1 Reg. xix. of Christ. But as Almighty God said unto Helias: *I have reserved and kept for mine own self seven thousand which never bowed their knee to Baal*, so it is at this present. For although Almighty God hath suffered these four or five hundred years, the open face of his Church to be ugly deformed, and shamefully defiled by the sects of the papists, (which is so manifest, that now all the world knoweth it,) yet hath God of his manifold mercy, ever preserved a good number, secret to himself, in his true religion, although Antichrist hath bathed himself in the blood of no small number of them.

And although the papists have led innumerable people out of the right way, yet the Church is to be followed, but the Church of Christ, not of Antichrist: the Church, that concerning the faith containeth itself within God's word, not that deviseth daily new articles contrary to God's word: the Church, that by the true interpretation of Scripture and good example gathereth people unto Christ, not that by wresting of the Scripture, and evil example of corrupt living, draweth them away from Christ.

And now forasmuch as the wicked Church of Rome, counterfeiting the Church of Christ, hath in this matter of the sacrament of the blessed body and blood of our Saviour Christ, varied from the pure and holy Church in the Apo-

stles' time, and many hundred years after, (as in my book I have plainly declared, and manifestly proved,) it is an easy matter to discern which Church is to be followed. And I cannot but marvel, that Smith allegeth for him *Vincentius Lirenensis*, who, contrary to Doctor Smyth, teacheth plainly, that the canon of the Bible is perfect and sufficient of itself for the truth of the catholic faith: and that the whole Church cannot make one article of the faith, although it may be taken as a necessary witness, for the receiving and establishing of the same, with these three conditions, that the thing which we would establish thereby, hath been believed in all places, ever, and of all men. Which the papistical doctrine in this matter hath not been, but came from Rome since Berengarius' time, by Nicolas the Second, Innocentius the Third, and other of their sort: whereas the doctrine which I have set forth, came from Christ and his Apostles, and was of all men every where with one consent taught and believed, as my book showeth plainly, until the papists did transform and transubstantiate the chief articles of our Christian faith.

Thus is an answer made unto the false calumniations of Smith in the Preface of his book, or rather unto his whole book, which is so full of bragging, boasting, slandering, misreporting, wrangling, wresting, false construing, and lying, that, those taken out of the book, there is nothing worthy in the whole book to be answered. Nevertheless in answering to the late Bishop of Wynchester's book, I shall fully answer also Doctor Smith in all points that require answer. And so with one answer shall I dispatch them both. And in some places where one of them varieth from another, (as they do in many great matters, and in the chief and principal points,) I shall set them together, *Bitum cum Bachio, et Esernium cum Pacidiano*, to try which of them is more stout and valiant to overthrow the other.

HERE ENDETH THE ANSWER UNTO THE PREFACE OF MR. SMYTHE'S BOOK WHICH HE WROTE AGAINST THE DEFENCE OF THE TRUE AND CATHOLIC DOCTRINE OF THE SACRAMENT OF THE BODY AND BLOOD OF OUR SAVIOUR CHRIST.

AN
ANSWER

OF

THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD

THOMAS,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND,
AND METROPOLITAN,

UNTO

A CRAFTY AND SOPHISTICAL CAVILLATION

DEvised BY

STEPHEN GARDINER,

DOCTOR OF LAW, LATE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,

Against the true and godly Doctrine of the most holy Sacrament of the Body
and Blood of our Saviour Jesu Christ.

Wherein is also, as occasion serveth, answered such places of the book of

DR. RICHARD SMITH,

As may seem any thing worthy the answering.

ITEM

Ye shall find here also the true copy of the book written, and in open court
delivered, by Dr. Stephen Gardiner, not one word added or
diminished, but faithfully in all points agreeing
with the original.

Read with judgment, and confer with diligence, laying aside all affection on either party,
and you shall easily perceive, good reader, how slender and weak the allegations
and persuasions of the papists are, wherewith they go about to
defend their erroneous and false doctrine, and
to impugn the truth.

ANNO MDLI.

IMPRINTED AT LONDON BY REYNOLDE WOLFE, WITH THE KING'S MOST
GRACIOUS PRIVILEGE.

And licensed according to the meaning of the late Proclamation.

[The *Answer to Gardyner*, when first published, was accompanied by the whole, both of the *Defence*, &c. and of Gardyner's attempted *Confutation* of it. The former, having been already printed separately in the second volume, is omitted here, and references substituted in the places where its different parts were inserted. The latter is given entire. It is distinguished from Cranmer's *Answer* by a smaller type. To secure its accuracy, the press has been corrected from the original edition in octavo, which appeared, while Gardyner was in the Tower, without any name of printer or place. The authorities used for the *Answer* are, the first edition, "imprinted at London by Reynolde Wolfe," 1551, folio, and the second, also in folio, which issued from the press of John Daye in 1580, under the superintendence, as it has been supposed, of Bishop Parkhurst. The last of these has supplied many marginal notes, together with the useful numerals which point to the corresponding passages in the attack and defence. It is represented in its title-page to have been "revised and corrected by the Archbishop at Oxford, before his Martyrdome; Wherein hee hath beautified Gardiner's doynges, with asmuch diligence as might be, by applying Notes in the Margent, and markes to the Doctors saying : which before wanted in the first Impression."]

[*The following lines were prefixed to the edition of
1580.*]

—◆—
J. PARKHURSTI.

Accipe præclarum, lector studiose, libellum,
 Quem tibi Cranmerus scripserat ante rogos.
Hic docta sanctam tractat ratione synaxin,
 Insistens, patres quas docuere, viis.
Hic, Gardnere, tuas phaleratas detegit artes ;
 Detrahit et larvam, sæve tyranne, tuam.
Atque tuo ipsius jugulum transverberat ense,
 Ut jaceas veluti sensibus absque fera.
Denique rixosis hic obstruit ora papistis,
 Rixandi posset si tamen esse modus.
Solvitur in cineres corpus, mens scandit ad astra,
 Fama superstes erit tempus in omne memor.

PREFACE TO THE READER.

I THINK it good, gentle reader, here in the beginning to admonish thee of certain words and kinds of speeches, which I do use sometime in this mine Answer to the late Bishop of Wynchester's book, lest in mistaking, thou do as it were stumble at them.

First this word, "sacrament," I do sometimes use (as it is *Sacrament*. many times taken among writers and holy doctors) for the sacramental bread, water, or wine; as when they say, that "*sacramentum est sacræ rei signum*," "a sacrament is the "sign of an holy thing." But where I use to speak sometimes, as the old authors do, that Christ is in the sacraments, I mean the same as they did understand the matter, that is to say, not of Christ's carnal presence in the outward sacrament; but sometimes of his sacramental presence: and sometime by this word, "sacrament," I mean the whole ministration and receiving of the sacraments, either of Baptism, or of the Lord's Supper, and so the old writers many times do say, that Christ and the Holy Ghost be present in the sacraments, not meaning by that manner of speech, that Christ and the Holy Ghost be present in the water, bread, or wine, (which be only the outward visible sacraments,) but that in the due ministration of the sacraments according to Christ's ordinance and institution, Christ and his holy Spirit be truly and in deed present by their mighty and sanctifying power, virtue, and grace, in all them that worthily receive the same.

Moreover when I say and repeat many times in my book,

Christ's presence in the godly receiver.

that the body of Christ is present in them that worthily receive the sacrament, lest any man should mistake my words, and think that I mean, that although Christ be not corporally in the outward visible signs, yet he is corporally in the persons that duly receive them, this is to advertise the reader, that I mean no such thing, but my meaning is, that the force, the grace, the virtue, and benefit of Christ's body that was crucified for us and of his blood that was shed for us, be really and effectually present with all them that duly receive the sacraments, but all this I understand of his spiritual presence, of the which he saith, *I will be with you until the world's end.* And, *Wheresoever two or three be gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.* And, *He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.* Nor no more is truly he corporally or really present in the due ministration of the Lord's Supper, than he is in the due ministration of Baptism; that is to say, in both spiritually by grace. And wheresoever in the Scripture it is said, that Christ, God, or the Holy Ghost is in any man, the same is understand spiritually by grace^a.

Matt. xxviii.

Matt. xviii.

John vi.

The naming of the late Bishop of Wynchester.

'The third thing to admonish the reader of is this, that when I name Doctor Stephen Gardyner, Bishop of Wynchester, I mean not that he is so now, but forasmuch as he was Bishop of Wynchester at the time when he wrote his book against me, therefore I answer his book as written by the Bishop of Wynchester, which else needed greatly none answer for any great learning or substance of matter that is in it.

The real presence of

The last admonition to the reader is this, where the said

^a ["That is to say——understand spiritually by grace." This clause is taken from the edition of 1580; it does not exist in that of 1551.]

late Bishop thinketh, that he hath sufficiently proved transubstantiation, that is to say, that the substance of bread and wine cannot be in the sacrament, if the body and blood of Christ were there, because two bodies cannot be together in one place; although the truth be, that in the sacrament of Christ's body, there is corporally but the substance of bread only, and in the sacrament of the blood, the substance of wine only; yet how far he is deceived, and doth vary from the doctrine of other papists, and also from the principles of philosophy, (which he taketh for the foundation of his doctrine in this point,) the reader hereby may easily perceive. For if we speak of God's power, the papists affirm, that by God's power two bodies may be together in one place, and then why may not Christ's blood be with the wine in the cup, and his flesh in the same place where the substance of the bread is? And if we consider the cause wherefore two bodies cannot be together in one place by the rules of nature, it shall evidently appear, that the body of Christ may rather be in one place with the substance of the bread, than with the accidents thereof, and so likewise his blood with the wine. For the natural cause wherefore two bodies cannot be together in one place, as the philosophers say, is their accidents, their bigness and thickness, and not their substances. And then by the very order of nature it repugneth more, that the body of Christ should be present with the accidents of bread, and his blood with the accidents of wine, than with the substances either of bread or wine. This shall suffice for the admonition to the reader, joining thereto the Preface in my first book, which is this^b:

^b [See vol. ii. p. 287.]

A CRAFTY AND SOPHISTICAL CAVILLATION DEVISED BY
MR. STEVEN GARDINER, DOCTOR OF LAW, LATE BISHOP
OF WINCHESTRE, AGAINST THE TRUE AND GODLY DOC-
TRINE OF THE MOST HOLY SACRAMENT OF THE BODY
AND BLOOD OF OUR SAVIOUR CHRIST, (CALLED BY HIM,
AN EXPLICATION AND ASSERTION THEREOF,) WITH AN
ANSWER UNTO THE SAME, MADE BY THE MOST REVE-
REND FATHER IN GOD THOMAS, ARCHBISHOP OF CAN-
TERBURY, PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND, AND METROPO-
LITAN.

*The title of the book of Steven Gardiner, late Bishop of
Winchester :*

AN EXPLICATION AND ASSERTION OF THE TRUE CATHOLIC FAITH,
TOUCHING THE MOST BLESSED SACRAMENT OF THE
ALTAR, WITH CONFUTATION OF A BOOK
WRITTEN AGAINST THE SAME^a.

The Answer of Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, &c.

HERE before the beginning of your book, you have preferred a goodly title, but it agreeth with the argument and matter thereof as water agreeth with the fire. For your book is so far from an explication and assertion of the true catholic faith in the matter of the sacrament, that it is but a

BOOK
1.

^a [To this title is added in the original edition of the *Explication*:
“ Made by Steven Byshop of Wynchester, and exhibited by his owne
“ hande for his defence to the Kynge’s Majestie’s Commissioners at
“ Lambeth.” This public presentation took place on the 26th of January,
1551, and is thus described by Foxe. “ The said Bishop . . . for part
“ of his proof of his matter justificatory, did exhibit and leave among
“ the articles of this cause, a certain book written and made by him,
“ as he said, concerning his opinion and true belief of the sacrament of
“ the altar, and of the true catholic faith therein, for confutation, as he
“ affirmed, of my Lord of Canterbury’s book, lately set forth upon the
“ said matter, and not provoking, as he said, the said judges presently
“ to dispute thereupon, offered himself to be ready at the will and plea-
“ sure of the judges, at any time and place convenient, and before a
“ due audience, by learning to defend the said book, which book he re-
“ quired to be inserted among the articles of this cause, and a copy
“ thereof to be graunted to him.” Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, p. 799.
(edit. 1563.)]

BOOK
I.

crafty cavillation and subtle sophistication to obscure the truth thereof, and to hide the same, that it should not appear. And in your whole book, the reader, if he mark it well, shall easily perceive how little learning is showed therein, and how few authors you have alleged other than such as I brought forth in my book, and made answer unto: but there is showed what may be done by fine wit and new devices, to deceive the reader, and by false interpretations to avoid the plain words of Scripture and of the old authors.

Wherefore inasmuch as I purpose, God willing, in this defence of my former book, not only to answer you, but by the way also to touch Doctor Smythe, two things I would wish in you both; the one is, truth with simplicity; the other is, that either of you both had so much learning as you think you have, or else that you thought of yourselves no more than you have in deed. But to answer both your books in few words: the one showeth nothing else, but what railing without reason or learning, the other, what frowardness armed with wit and eloquence, be able to do against the truth. And Smythe, because he would be vehement, and show his heat in the manner of speech, where the matter is cold, hath framed in a manner all his sentences throughout his whole book by interrogations. But if the reader of both your books do no more, but diligently read over my book once again, he shall find the same not so slenderly made, but that I have foreseen all that could be said to the contrary^b; and that I have fully answered beforehand all that you both have said, or is able to say.

Winchester.

FORASMUCH as amongst other mine allegations for defence of myself in this matter, moved against me by occasion of my^c Ser-

^b [Cranmer might well make this assertion, for most of the authorities alleged against him are to be found in his own common-place book still preserved in the British Museum, having been extracted by him, as is evident from some marginal notes, while he was still a believer in the Corporal Presence. Royal MSS. 7 B. xi. xii.]

^c [This Sermon was preached on the 29th of June, 1543, by command of the Council. The chief grounds of complaint against it were, that Gar-

mon made before the King's most excellent Majesty, touching partly the catholic faith of the most precious sacrament of the altar, which I see now impugned, by a book set forth under the name of my lord of Canterbury's grace: I have thought expedient for the better opening of the matter, and considering I am by name^d touched in the said book, the rather to utter partly that I have to say by confutation of that book; wherein I think nevertheless not requisite to direct any speech by special name to the person of him that is entitled author, because it may possibly be that his name is abused, wherewith to set forth the matter, being himself of such dignity and authority in the commonwealth, as for that respect should be inviolable. For which consideration, I shall in my speech of such reproof as the untruth of the matter necessarily requireth, omitting the special title of the author of the book, speak only of the author in general, being a thing to me greatly to be marvelled at, that such matter should now be published out of my lord of Canterbury's pen; but because he is a man, I will not wonder, and because he is such a man, I will reverently use him, and forbearing further to name him, talk only of the author by that general name.

I would as
much as
may be do
my due to
the matter
and him
also.

[1580.]

Canterbury.

The first entry of your book showeth to them that be wise, what they may look for in the rest of the same, except the beginning vary from all that followeth. Now the beginning is framed with such sleight and subtlety, that it may deceive the reader notably in two things. The one, that he should think you were called into judgment before the King's Majesty's Commissioners^e at Lamhith for your catholic faith

The craft
of Winches-
ter in the
beginning.

dyner had failed in his promise of declaring his concurrence in certain changes of religion, and in particular, that he had not asserted the authority of the King while under age. He was, however, charged also with having "declared divers judgments and opinions on the sacrament of the altar, to the manifest contempt of his Highness's inhibition." See the articles and other proceedings against him in Foxe, vol. ii. p. 726, and Burnet, *Ref.* vol. ii. p. 340. vol. iii. p. 379. It must be recollected that the later editions of Foxe contain an abridgment only of Gardyner's trial. For a full account of it, the first edition of 1563 must be consulted. The Sermon, as collected by Udall, may be there seen at length, p. 771.]

^d [See *Defence*, &c. book. iii. chap. 8. vol. ii. p. 376.]

^e [See the definitive sentence of these Commissioners in Foxe, vol. ii. p. 738. It was passed on the 18th of April, 1551, Burn. *Ref.* vol. ii. p. 340.]

BOOK in the sacrament : the other, that you made your book for
 I. your defence therein ; which be both utterly untrue. For
 your book was made or ever ye were called before the said
 Commissioners, and after you were called, then you altered
 only two lines in the beginning of your book, and made
 that beginning which it hath now. This am I able to prove,
 as well otherwise, as by a book which I have of your own
 handwriting, wherein appeareth plainly the alteration of
 the beginning.

And as concerning the cause wherefore ye were called be-
 fore the Commissioners, whereas by your own importune suit
 and procurement, and as it were enforcing the matter, you
 were called to justice for your manifest contempt and con-
 tinual disobedience from time to time, or rather rebellion
 against the King's Majesty, and were justly deprived of your
 estate for the same, you would turn it now to a matter of
 the sacrament, that the world should think your trouble
 rose for your faith in the sacrament, which was no matter
 nor occasion thereof, nor no such matter was objected
 against you, wherefore you need to make any such defence.
 And where you would make that matter the occasion of
 your worthy deprivation and punishment, (which was no
 cause thereof,) and cloak your wilful obstinacy and disobe-
 dience, (which was the only cause thereof,) all men of judg-
 ment may well perceive, that you could mean no goodness
 thereby, neither to the King's Majesty, nor to his realm.

But as touching the matter now in controversy, I impugn²
 not the true catholic faith which was taught by Christ and
 his Apostles, as you say I do, but I impugn the false pa-
 pistical faith invented, devised, and imagined by Antichrist
 and his ministers.

And as for further forbearing of my name, and talking of³
 the author in general, after that you have named me once,
 and your whole book is directed against my book openly
 set out in my name, all men may judge that your doing
 herein is not for reverence to be used unto me, but that by
 suppressing of my name you may the more unreverently
 and unseemly use your scoffing, taunting, railing, and de-

faming of the author in general, and yet shall every man understand, that your speech is directed to me in especial, as well as if you had appointed me with your finger. And your reverent using of yourself before the King's Highness' Commissioners of late, doth plainly declare what reverent respect you have to them that be in dignity and authority in the commonwealth.

BOOK
I.

Winchester.

THIS author denieth the real presence of Christ's most precious body and blood in the sacrament.

The sum of
the book.
[1580.]

This author denieth transubstantiation.

This author denieth evil men to eat and drink the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament.

These three denials only impugn and tend to destroy that faith which this author termeth the popish to err in, calling now all popish that believe either of these three articles by him denied, the truth whereof shall hereafter be opened.

1 Now because faith affirmeth some certainty: if we ask this author, what is his faith, which he calleth true and catholic, it is only this, as we may learn by his book, that in our Lord's Supper be consecrate bread and wine, and delivered as tokens only to signify Christ's body and blood; he calleth them holy tokens, but yet noteth that the bread and wine be never the holier; he saith nevertheless they be not bare tokens, and yet concludeth Christ not to be spiritually present in them, but only as a thing is present in that which signifieth it, (which is the nature of a bare token,) saying in another place, there is nothing to be worshipped, for there is nothing present but in figure, and in a sign: which whosoever saith, calleth the thing in deed absent. And yet the author saith, Christ is in the man that worthily receiveth spiri-
2
3
4 ritually present, who eateth of Christ's flesh and his blood reigning in heaven, whither the good believing man ascendeth by his faith. And as our body is nourished with the bread and wine received in the Supper, so the true believing man is fed with the body and blood of Christ. And this is the sum of the doctrine of that faith, which this author calleth the true catholic faith.

Because the
author pre-
tendeth a
defence of
the catholic
faith, it were
reason to
know what
it is.
[1580.]

The effect
of that this
author cal-
leth his
faith.
[1580.]
Untrue re-
port.
[1580.]

Canterbury.

1 I desire the reader to judge my faith not by this short,

BOOK

I.

envious, and untrue collection and report, but by mine own book, as it is at length set out in the first part, from the eighth unto the sixteenth chapter.

Bread,
wine, and
water, be
not holy,
but holy
tokens.

And as concerning the holiness of bread and wine, (whereunto I may add the water in baptism,) how can a dumb or an insensible and lifeless creature receive into itself any food, and feed thereupon? No more is it possible that a spiritless creature should receive any spiritual sanctification or holiness. And yet do I not utterly deprive the outward sacraments of the name of holy things, because of the holy use whereunto they serve, and not because of any holiness that lieth hid in the insensible creature. Which although they have no holiness in them, yet they be signs and tokens of the marvellous works and holy effects which God worketh in us by his omnipotent power.

They be
not bare
tokens.

And they be no vain nor bare tokens, as you would persuade, (for a bare token is that which betokeneth only, and giveth nothing, as a painted fire which giveth neither light nor heat,) but in the due ministration of the sacraments, God is present, working with his word and sacraments.

And although, to speak properly, in the bread and wine be nothing in deed to be worshipped, yet in them that duly receive the sacraments is Christ himself inhabiting, and is of all creatures to be worshipped.

Christ is
present in
his sacra-
ments.

And therefore you gather of my sayings unjustly, that Christ is in deed absent, for I say, according to God's words and the doctrine of the old writers, that Christ is present in his sacraments, as they teach also that he is present in his word, when he worketh mightily by the same in the hearts of the hearers. By which manner of speech it is not meant that Christ is corporally present in the voice or sound of the speaker, which sound perisheth as soon as the words be spoken, but this speech meaneth, that he worketh with his word, using the voice of the speaker as his instrument to work by, as he useth also his sacraments, whereby he worketh, and therefore is said to be present in them.

Winchester.

A catholic
faith.

Now a catholic faith is an universal faith taught and preached

through all, and so received and believed agreeably and consonant to the Scriptures, testified by such as in all ages have in their writings given knowledge thereof, which be the tokens and marks of a true catholic faith, whereof no one can be found in the faith this author calleth catholic.

BOOK
I.

This author's faith hath no point of a catholic faith. Utrue report. Scripture in letter favoureth not this author's faith. [1580.]

2 First, there is no Scripture that in letter maintaineth the doctrine of this author's book. For Christ saith not that the bread doth only signify his body absent, nor St. Paul saith not so in any place, ne any other canonical Scripture declareth Christ's words so. As for the sense and understanding of Christ's words, there hath not been in any age any one approved and known learned man, that hath so declared and expounded Christ's words in his Supper, that the bread did only signify Christ's body, and the wine his blood, as things absent.

Canterbury.

1 The first part of your description of a catholic faith is crafty and full of subtlety, for what you mean by "all," you do not express. The second part is very true, and agreeth fully with my doctrine in every thing, as well in the matter of transubstantiation, of the presence of Christ in the sacrament, and of the eating and drinking of him, as in the sacrifice propitiatory. For as I have taught in these four matters of controversy, so learned I the same of the holy Scripture, so is it testified by all old writers and learned men of all ages, so was it universally taught and preached, received and believed, until the see of Rome, the chief adversary unto Christ, corrupted all together, and by hypocrisy and simulation in the stead of Christ erected Antichrist, who, being the son of perdition, hath extolled and advanced himself, and sitteth in the temple of God as he were God himself, loosing and binding at his pleasure in heaven, hell, and earth; condemning, absolving, canonizing, and damning, as to his judgment he thinketh good.

My doctrine is catholic by your own description. [1580.]

But as concerning your doctrine of transubstantiation; of the real, corporal, and natural presence of Christ's body in the bread and blood in the wine; that ill men do eat his flesh and drink his blood; that Christ is many times offered; there is no Scripture that in letter maintaineth any of them,

BOOK I. as you require in a catholic faith, but the Scripture in the letter doth maintain this my doctrine plainly, that the bread remaineth, *Panis quem frangimus, nonne communicatio corporis Christi est? Is not the bread which we break the communion of Christ's body?* And that evil men do not eat Christ's flesh, nor drink his blood; for the Scripture saith expressly: *He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him,* which is not true of ill men. And for the corporal absence of Christ, what can be more plainly said in the letter than he said of himself, that he forsook the world? besides other Scriptures which I have alleged in my third book, the fourth chapter. And the Scripture speaketh plainly in the Epistle to the Hebrews, that Christ was never more offered than once.

1 Cor. x.
John vi.
John xvi.
Heb. vii. ix. and x.
Christ is spiritually present.

But here you take such a large scope, that you flee from the four proper matters that be in controversy unto a new scope devised by you, that I should absolutely deny the presence of Christ, and say, That the bread doth only signify Christ's body absent, which thing I never said nor thought. And as Christ saith not so, nor Paul saith not so, even so likewise I say not so, and my book in divers places saith clean contrary, that Christ is with us spiritually present, is eaten and drunken of us, and dwelleth within us, although corporally he be departed out of this world, and is ascended up into heaven.

Winchester.

An issue. AND to the intent every notable disagreement from the truth may the more evidently appear, I will here in this place, as I will hereafter likewise when the case occurreth, join as it were an issue with this author, that is to say, to make a stay with him in this point, triable, as they say, by evidence, and soon tried. For in this point the Scriptures be already by the author brought forth, the letter whereof proveth not his faith. And albeit he travaileth and bringeth forth the saying of many approved writers, yet is there no one of them that writeth in express words the doctrine of that faith which this author calleth the faith catholic. And to make the issue plain, and to join it directly, thus I say.

- 2 No author known and approved, that is to say, Ignatius, Polycarpe, Justine, Irene, Tertullian, Cyprian, Chrysostome, Hilary, Gregory Nazianzene, Basill, Emissen, Ambrose, Cyrill, Hierome, Augustine, Damascene, Theophilact, none of these hath this doctrine in plain terms, that the bread only signifieth Christ's body absent; nor this sentence, that the bread and wine be never the holier after consecration; nor that Christ's body is none otherwise present in the sacrament, but in a signification: nor this sentence, that the sacrament is not to be worshipped, because there is nothing present but in a sign. And herein what the truth is, may soon appear, as it shall by their works never appear to have been taught and preached, received and believed universally, and therefore can be called no catholic faith, that is to say, allowed in the whole, through and in outward teaching, preached and believed.
- BOOK
I.
No writer approved testifieth this writer's faith.
The sum of the issue. [1580.]
Outward teaching. [1580.]

Canterbury.

- 1 In your issues you make me to say what you list, and take your issue where you list, and then if twelve false varlets pass with you, what wonder is it? But I will join with you this issue, that neither Scripture nor ancient author writeth in express words the doctrine of your faith. And to make the issue plain, and to join directly with you therein, thus I say: That no ancient and catholic author hath your doctrine in plain terms. And because I will not take my issue in bye matters, as you do, I will make it in the four principal points, wherein we vary, and whereupon my book resteth.
- 2 This therefore shall be mine issue: That as no Scripture, so no ancient author known and approved, hath in plain terms your transubstantiation: nor that the body and blood of Christ be really, corporally, naturally, and carnally under the forms of bread and wine: nor that evil men do eat the very body and drink the very blood of Christ: nor that Christ is offered every day by the priest a sacrifice propitiatory for sin. Wherefore by your own description and rule of a catholic faith, your doctrine and teaching in these four articles cannot be good and catholic, except you can find it in plain terms in the Scripture and old catholic doctors,
- Your doctrine is not catholic by your own description.
My issue.

BOOK
1.

which when you do, I will hold up my hand at the bar, and say, Guilty. And if you cannot, then it is reason that you do the like, *per legem talionis*.

Winchester.

If this author, setting apart the word "catholic," would of his own wit go about to prove, howsoever Scripture hath been understood hitherto, yet it should be understood in deed as he now teacheth, he hath herein divers disadvantages and hinderances worthy considerations, which I will particularly note.

A notable matter, a man to be condemned by his own former writings. [1580.] Bertram confessed to be of this opinion. [1580.]

First, the prejudice and sentence, given as it were by his own mouth against himself, now in the book called the Catechism in his name set forth.

Secondly, that about seven hundred year ago, one Bertram, if the book set forth in his name be his, enterprised secretly the like, as appeareth by the said book, and yet prevailed not.

Thirdly, Berengarius being in deed but an archdeacon, about 4 five hundred years past, after he had openly attempted to set forth such like doctrine, recanted, and so failed in his purpose.

Fourthly, Wykclif, not much above an hundred years past, enterprised the same, whose teaching God prospered not.

Fifthly, how Luther in his works handled them that would have in our time raised up the same doctrine in Germany, it is manifest by his and their writings; whereby appeareth the enterprise that hath had so many overthrows, so many rebuts, so often reproofs, to be desperate, and such as God hath not prospered and favoured, to be received at any time openly as his true teaching.

This author's doctrine often rejected as false. [1580.]

Herein whether I say true or no, let the stories try me, and it is matter worthy to be noted, because Gamaliel's observation written in the Acts of the Apostles is allowed to mark, how they prosper and go forward in their doctrine that be authors of any new teaching.

Acts v.

Canterbury.

I have not proved in my book my four assertions by mine own wit, but by the collation of holy Scripture, and the sayings of the old holy catholic authors. And as for your five notes, you might have noted them against yourself, who by them have much more disadvantage and hinderance than I have.

- 2 As concerning the Catechism by me set forth, I have answered in my fourth book the eighth chapter, that ignorant men, for lack of judgment and exercise in old authors, mistake my said Catechism. BOOK
I.
My Catechism.
[1580.]
- 3 And as for Bertrame, he did nothing else but at the request of King Charles set out the true doctrine of the holy catholic Church from Christ unto his time, concerning the sacrament. And I never heard nor read any man that condemned Bertrame before this time, and therefore I can take no hinderance, but a great advantage at his hands. For all men that hitherto have written of Bertram, have much commended him. And seeing that he wrote of the sacrament at King Charles' request, it is not like that he would write against the received doctrine of the Church in those days. And if he had, it is without all doubt that some learned man, either in his time or sithence, would have written against him, or at the least not have commended him so much as they have done^f. Bertrame.
- 4 Berengarius of himself had a godly judgment in this matter, but by the tyranny of Nicholas the Second he was constrained to make a devilish recantation, as I have declared in my first book, the seventeenth chapter. Berengarius.
- 5 And as for John Wiclef, he was a singular instrument of God in his time to set forth the truth of Christ's gospel, but Antichrist that sitteth in God's temple, boasting himself as God, hath by God's sufferance prevailed against many holy men, and sucked the blood of martyrs these late years. Wyclefe.
- 6 And as touching Martyn Luther, it seemeth you be sore pressed, that be fain to pray aid of him, whom you have hitherto ever detested. The fox is sore hunted that is fain to take his burrow, and the wolf that is fain to take the lion's den for a shift, or to run for succour unto a beast which he most hateth. And no man condemneth your doctrine of transubstantiation, and of the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass, more severely and earnestly than doth Martyn Luther. Luther.

^f [See a curious account of the contradictory opinions expressed by Roman catholic writers respecting Bertram's book, in the Preface to the English translation of it, London, 1686.]

BOOK
I.

The papists have been the cause why the catholic doctrine hath been hindered, and hath not had good success these late years.

But it appeareth by your conclusion, that you have waded so far in rhetoric, that you have forgotten your logic. For this is your argument: Bertram taught this doctrine and prevailed not; Berengarius attempted the same, and failed in his purpose; Wiclefe enterprised the same, whose teaching God prospered not; therefore God hath not prospered and favoured it to be received at any time openly as his true teaching. I will make the like reason. The prophet Osee taught in Samaria to the ten tribes the true doctrine of God, to bring them from their abominable superstitions and idolatry: Joel, Amos, and Micheas, attempted the same, whose doctrine prevailed not; God prospered not their teaching among those people, but they were condemned with their doctrine; therefore God hath not prospered and favoured it to be received at any time openly as his true teaching.

If you will answer, as you must needs do, that the cause why that among those people the true teaching prevailed not, was by reason of the abundant superstition and idolatry that blinded their eyes, you have fully answered your own argument, and have plainly declared the cause, why the true doctrine in this matter hath not prevailed these five hundred years; the Church of Rome, which all that time hath borne the chief swing, being overflowed and drowned in all kind of superstition and idolatry, and therefore might not abide to hear of the truth. And the true doctrine of the sacrament, which I have set out plainly in my book, was never condemned by no Council, nor your false papistical doctrine allowed, until the Devil caused Antichrist his son and heir Pope Nicholas the Second, with his monks and friars, to condemn the truth, and confirm these your heresies.

And where of Gamaliel's words you make an argument of 7 prosperous success in this matter, the Scripture testifieth how Antichrist shall prosper and prevail against saints no short while, and persecute the truth. And yet the counsel of Gamaliel was very discreet and wise. For he perceived that God went about the reformation of religion, grown in

those days to idolatry, hypocrisy, and superstition, through traditions of Pharisees, and therefore he moved the rest of the Council to beware, that they did not rashly and unadvisedly condemn that doctrine and religion which was approved by God, lest in so doing they should not only resist the Apostles, but God himself. Which counsel if you had marked and followed, you would not have done so unsoberly in many things as you have done.

And as for the prosperity of them that have professed Christ and his true doctrine, they prospered with the papists, as St. John Baptist prospered with Herode, and our Saviour Christ with Pylate, Annas, and Cayphas. Now which of these prospered best say you? Was the doctrine of Christ and St. John any whit the worse, because the cruel tyrants and Jews put them to death for the same?

Winchester.

But all this set apart, and putting aside all testimonies of the old Church, and resorting only to the letter of the Scripture, there to search out an understanding: and in doing thereof, to forget what hath been taught hitherto: how shall this author establish upon Scripture that he would have believed? What other text is there in Scripture that encountereth with these words of Scripture, *This is my body*, whereby to alter the signification of them? There is no Scripture saith, Christ did not give his body, but the figure of his body; nor the giving of Christ's body in his supper, verily and really so understood, doth not necessarily impugn and contrary any other speech or doing of Christ expressed in Scripture. For the great power and omnipotency of God excludeth that repugnance which man's reason would deem of Christ's departing from this world, and placing his humanity in the glory of his Father.

These words, *This is my body*, agree in sense with the rest of the Scripture. Untrue report. This author hath no words of Scripture for the ground of his faith. [1580.]

Canterbury.

1 The Scripture is plain, and you confess also, that it was bread that Christ spake of, when he said, *This is my body*. And what need we any other Scripture to encounter with these words, seeing that all men know that bread is not Christ's body, the one having sense and reason, the other

This is my body, is no proper speech.

BOOK I. none at all? Wherefore in that speech must needs be sought another sense and meaning than the words of themselves do give, which is, as all old writers do teach, and the circumstances of the text declare, that the bread is a figure and sacrament of Christ's body. And yet as he giveth the bread to be eaten with our mouths, so giveth he his very body to be eaten with our faith. And therefore I say, that Christ giveth himself truly to be eaten, chewed, and digested, but all is spiritually with faith, not with mouth. And yet you would bear me in hand, that I say that thing which I say not: that is to say, That Christ did not give his body, but the figure of his body. And because you be not able to confute that I say, you would make me to say that you can confute.

God's omnipotency. Psal. cxv. Rom. ix.

As for the great power and omnipotency of God, it is no place here to dispute what God can do, but what he doth. I know that he can do what he will both in heaven and in earth, and no man is able to resist his will. But the question here is of his will, not of his power. And yet if you can join together these two, that one nature singular shall be here and not here both at one time, and that it shall be gone hence when it is here, you have some strong cement, and be a cunning geometrician: but yet you shall never be good logician, that would set together two contradictories. For that, the schoolmen say, God cannot do.

Winchester.

An answer to the like speeches in appearance. The faith of this author is but to believe a story. The Lord's Supper hath no miracle in it by this author's understanding. No

If this author, without force of necessity, would induce it by the like speeches, as when Christ said: I am the door, I am the vine, he is Helias, and such other, and because it is a figurative speech in them, it may be so here, which maketh no kind of proof that it is so here: but yet if by way of reasoning I would yield to him therein, and call it a figurative speech, as he doth; what other point of faith is there then in the matter, but to believe the story, that Christ did institute such a Supper, wherein he gave bread and wine for a token of his body and blood, which is now after this understanding no secret mystery at all, or any ordinance above reason? For commonly men use to ordain in sensible things remembrances of themselves when they die, or depart the country.

So as in the ordinance of this Supper, after this understanding, Christ showed not his omnipotency, but only benevolence, that he loved us, and would be remembered of us. For Christ did not say, Whosoever eateth this token eateth my body, or eateth my flesh, or shall have any profit of it in special, but, *Do this in remembrance of me.*

BOOK
I.
promise
made to a
token in
the supper
or in the
sixth
of John.
[1580.]

Canterbury.

1 I make no such vain inductions as you imagine me to do, but such as be established by Scripture and the consent of all the old writers. And yet both you and Smyth use such fond inductions for your proof of transubstantiation, when you say, God can do this thing, and he can make that thing: whereof you would conclude, that he doth clearly take away the substance of bread and wine, and putteth his flesh and blood in their places: and that Christ maketh his body to be corporally in many places at one time; of which doctrines you have not one jot in all the whole Scripture.

2 And as concerning your argument made upon the history of the institution of Christ's Supper, like fond reasoning might ungodly men make of the sacrament of baptism, and so scoff out both these high mysteries of Christ. For when Christ said these words after his resurrection, *Go into the whole world, and preach unto all people, baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost:* here might wicked blasphemers say, What point of faith is in these words, but to believe the story, that Christ did institute such a sacrament, wherein he commanded to give water for a token? which is now, after this understanding, no secret mystery at all, or any ordinance above reason: so as in the ordinance of this sacrament after this understanding, Christ showed not his omnipotency; for he said not then, Whosoever receiveth this token of water shall receive remission of sin, or the Holy Ghost, or shall have any profit of in it especial, but, *Do this.*

Injury to
baptism.
Matt. ult.
Mark ult.

Winchester.

1 And albeit this author would not have them bare tokens, yet and they be only tokens, they have no warrant signed by Scrip- Tokens be but tokens, howsoever

BOOK I. ture for any apparel at all. For the sixth of John speaketh not

they be garnished with gay words without Scripture. Untrue report. [1580.]

of any promise made to the eating of a token of Christ's flesh, but to the eating of Christ's very flesh, whereof the bread, as this author would have it, is but a figure in Christ's words, when he said, *This is my body*. And if it be but a figure in Christ's words, it is but a figure in St. Paul's words, when he said: *The bread which we break, is it not the communication of Christ's body?* that is to say, a figure of the communication of Christ's body, if this author's doctrine be true, and not the communication in deed.

Every special sacrament hath promise annexed, and hath a secret hidden truth. [1580.]

Wherefore if the very body of Christ be not in the Supper delivered in deed, the eating there hath no special promise, but only commandment to do it in remembrance. After which doctrine why should it be noted absolutely for a sacrament and special mystery, that hath nothing hidden in it, but a plain open ordinance of a token for a remembrance: to the eating of which token is annexed no promise expressly, ne any holiness to be accounted to be in the bread or wine, as this author teacheth, but to be called holy, because they be deputed to an holy use. If I ask the use, he declareth, to signify. If I should ask, What to signify? there must be a sort of good words framed without Scripture. For 3 Scripture expresseth no matter of signification of special effect.

Canterbury.

Bread is not a vain and bare token.

If I granted for your pleasure that the bare bread, having no further respect, were but only a bare figure of Christ's body, or a bare token, (because that term liketh you better, as it may be thought for this consideration, that men should think that I take the bread in the holy mystery to be but as it were a token of 'I recommend me unto you,') but if I grant, I say, that the bare bread is but a bare token of Christ's body, what have you gained thereby? Is therefore the whole use of the bread in the whole action and ministration of the Lord's holy Supper but a naked or nude and bare token? Is not one loaf being broken and distributed among faithful people in the Lord's Supper, taken and eaten of them, a token that the body of Christ was broken and crucified for them? and is to them spiritually and effectually given, and of them spiritually and fruitfully taken and eaten, to their spiritual and heavenly comfort, sustentation, and nourishment of their souls, as the bread is of their bodies?

And what would you require more? Can there be any greater comfort to a Christian man than this? Is there nothing else but bare tokens? BOOK
I.

But yet importune adversaries, and such as be wilful and obstinate, will never be satisfied, but quarrel further, saying, What of all this? Here be a great many of gay words framed together, but to what purpose? For all be but signs and tokens as concerning the bread. But how can he be taken for a good Christian man, that thinketh that Christ did ordain his sacramental signs and tokens in vain, without effectual grace and operation? For so might we as well say, that the water in baptism is a bare token, and hath no warrant signed by Scripture for any apparel at all: for the Scripture speaketh not of any promise made to the receiving of a token or figure only. And so may be concluded after your manner of reasoning, that in baptism is no spiritual operation in deed, because that washing in water, in itself, is but a token.

But to express the true effect of the sacraments: as the washing outwardly in water is not a vain token, but teacheth such a washing as God worketh inwardly in them that duly receive the same: so likewise is not the bread a vain token, but showeth and preacheth to the godly receiver, what God worketh in him by his almighty power secretly and invisibly. And therefore as the bread is outwardly eaten in deed in the Lord's Supper, so is the very body of Christ inwardly by faith eaten in deed of all them that come thereto in such sort as they ought to do, which eating nourisheth them unto everlasting life.

- 2 And this eating hath a warrant signed by Christ himself ^{A warrant.} in the sixth of John, where Christ saith, *He that eateth my* ^{John vi.} *flesh and drinketh my blood, hath life everlasting.* But they that to the outward eating of the bread, join not thereto an inward eating of Christ by faith, they have no warrant by Scripture at all, but the bread and wine to them be vain, nude, and bare tokens.
- 3 And where you say that Scripture expreseth no matter of signification of special effect in the sacraments of bread

- BOOK I. and wine, if your eyes were not blinded with popish errors, frowardness and self love, ye might see, in the 22nd of Luke, Luke xxii. where Christ himself expresseth a matter of signification, saying: *Hoc facite in mei commemorationem. Do this in remembrance of me.* And St. Paul likewise, 1 Cor. xi. hath the very same thing, which is a plain and direct answer to that same your last question, whereupon you triumph at your pleasure, as though the victory were all yours. For ye say, when this question is demanded of me, What to signify, here must be a sort of good words framed without Scripture. But here St. Paul answereth your question in express words, that it is the Lord's death, that shall be signified, represented, and preached in these holy mysteries until his coming again. And this remembrance, representation, and preaching of Christ's death, cannot be without special effect, except you will say, that Christ worketh not effectually with his word and sacraments. And St. Paul expresseth the effect, when he saith: *The bread which we break, is the communion of Christ's body.* But by this place and such like in your book, ye disclose yourself to all men of judgment, either how wilful in your opinion, or how slender in knowledge of the Scriptures you be.
- 1 Cor. xi.
- 1 Cor. xi.
- 1 Cor. x.

Winchester.

A new teaching of only figure. How can a faith be called catholic, that beginneth to be published now? [1580.]

AND therefore like as the teaching is new, to say it is an only figure, or only signifieth: so the matter of signification must be newly devised, and new wine have new bottles, and be throughly new, after fifteen hundred and fifty years, in the very year of jubilee, as they were wont to call it, to be newly erected and builded in Englishmen's hearts.

Canterbury.

It seemeth that you be very desirous to abuse the people's ears with this term, "new," and with the year of jubilee, as though the true doctrine of the sacrament, by me taught, should be but a new doctrine, and yours old, as the Jews slandered the doctrine of Christ by the name of newness, or else that in this year of jubilee you would put the people in remembrance of the full remission of sin, which they were

Mark i.

wont to have at Rome this year, that they might long to return to Rome for pardons again, as the children of Israel longed to return to Egypt for the flesh that they were wont to have there. BOOK
I.

But all men of learning and judgment know well enough, that this your doctrine is no elder than the Bishop of Rome's usurped supremacy, which though it be of good age by number of years, yet is it new to Christ and his word. If there were such darkness in the world now, as hath been in that world which you note for old, the people might drink new wine of the whore of Babylon's cup, until they were as drunk with hypocrisy and superstition, as they might well stand upon their legs, and no man once say, black is their eye. But now, thanks be to God, the light of his word so shineth in the world, that your drunkenness in this year of jubilee is espied, so that you cannot erect and build your popish kingdom any longer in Englishmen's hearts, without your own scorn, shame, and confusion. The old popish bottles must needs brast, when the new wine of God's holy word is poured into them.

Winchester.

WHICH new teaching, whether it proceedeth from the spirit of truth or no, shall more plainly appear by such matter as this author uttereth, wherewith to impugn the true faith taught hitherto. For among many other proofs, whereby truth after much travail in contention, at the last prevaieth, and hath victory, there is none more notable, than when the very adversaries of truth, who pretend nevertheless to be truth's friends, do by some evident untruth bewray themselves. According whereunto, when the two women contended before king Salomon for the child yet alive, Salomon discerned the true natural mother from the other, by their speeches and sayings. Which in the very true mother, were ever conformable unto nature, and in the other, at the last evidently against nature. The very true mother spake always like herself, and never disagreed from the truth of nature, but rather than the child should be killed, as Salomon threatened when he called for a sword, required rather it to be given whole alive to the other woman. The other woman, that was not the

Tokens
how to discern truth
from falsehood.
[1580.]

BOOK
I.

A lesson of
Salomou's
judgment.
[1580.]

Truth need-
eth no aid
of lies.
[1580.]

Truth lov-
eth sim-
plicity and
plainness.
[1580.]

true mother, cared more for victory than for the child, and there-
fore spake that was in nature an evidence that she lied calling
herself mother, and saying, Let it be divided, which no true natural
mother could say of her own child. Whereupon proceeded Sal-
omon's most wise judgment, which hath this lesson in it, ever
where contention is, on that part to be the truth, where all say-
ings and doings appear uniformly consonant to the truth pre-
tended, and on what side a notable lie appeareth, the rest may
be judged to be after the same sort. For truth needeth no aid of
lies, craft, or sleight, wherewith to be supported and maintained.
So as in the entreating of the truth of this high and ineffable
mystery of the sacrament, on what part thou, reader, seest craft,
sleight, shift, obliquity, or in any one point an open manifest lie,
there thou mayest consider, whatsoever pretence be made of truth,
yet the victory of truth not to be there intended, which loveth
simplicity, plainness, direct speech, without admixtion of shift or
colour.

Canterbury.

The Church
of Rome is
not the true
mother of
the catholic
faith.

If either division or confusion may try the true mother, the
wicked Church of Rome, not in speech only, but in all
other practices, hath long gone about to oppress, confound,
and divide the true and lively faith of Christ, showing her-
self not to be the true mother, but a most cruel stepmother,
dividing, confounding, and counterfeiting all things at her
pleasure, not contrary to nature only, but chiefly against the
plain words of Scripture.

Absurda et
falsa.
[1580.]

For here in this one matter of controversy between you,
Smyth, and me, you divide against nature the accidents of
bread and wine from their substances, and the substance of
Christ from his accidents, and contrary to the Scripture you
divide our eternal life, attributing unto the sacrifice of Christ
upon the cross, only the beginning thereof, and the con-
tinuance thereof you ascribe unto the sacrifice of popish
priests. And in the sacraments you separate Christ's body
from his spirit, affirming that in baptism we receive but his
spirit, and in the communion but his flesh; and that Christ's
spirit reneweth our life, but increaseth it not, and that his
flesh increaseth our life, but giveth it not. And against all
nature, reason, and truth, you confound the substance of

bread and wine, with the substance of Christ's body and blood, in such wise as you make but one nature and person of them all. And against Scripture and all conformity of nature, you confound and jumble so together the natural members of Christ's body in the sacrament, that you leave no distinction, proportion, nor fashion of man's body at all. BOOK
I.

And can your Church be taken for the true natural mother of the true doctrine of Christ, that thus unnaturally speaketh, divideth, and confoundeth Christ's body?

If Salomon were alive, he would surely give judgment, that Christ should be taken from that woman that speaketh so unnaturally and so unlike his mother, and be given to the true Church of the faithful, that never digressed from the truth of God's word, nor from the true speech of Christ's natural body, but speak according to the same, that Christ's body, although it be inseparably annexed unto his Godhead, yet it hath all the natural conditions and properties of a very man's body, occupying one place, and being of a certain height and measure, having all members distinct and set in good order and proportion. And yet the same body joined unto his Divinity, is not only the beginning, but also the continuance and consummation of our eternal and celestial life. By him we be regenerated, by him we be fed and nourished from time to time, as he hath taught us most certainly to believe by his holy words and sacraments, which remain in their former substance and nature, as Christ doth in his, without mixtion or confusion. This is the true and natural speaking in this matter, like a true natural mother, and like a true and right believing Christian man. The speaking of the true mother.

Mary of that doctrine which you teach, I cannot deny but the Church of Rome is the mother thereof, which in Scripture is called Babylon, because of commixtion or confusion. Which in all her doings and teachings so doth mix and confound error with truth, superstition with religion, godliness with hypocrisy, Scripture with traditions, that she showeth herself alway uniform and consonant to confound all the doctrine of Christ, yea Christ himself, showing herself to be Christ's stepmother, and the true natural mother of Antichrist. Rome is the mother of the papistical faith.

BOOK
I.

And for the conclusion of your matter here, I doubt not but the indifferent reader shall easily perceive what spirit moved you to write your book. For seeing that your book is so full of crafts, sleights, shifts, obliquities, and manifest untruths, it may be easily judged, that whatsoever pretence be made of truth, yet nothing is less intended, than that truth should either have victory, or appear and be seen at all.

Winchester.

The name of the author great, wherewith to put men to silence. [1580.]

AND that thou, reader, mightest by these marks judge of that is here intreated by the author against the most blessed sacrament, I shall note certain evident and manifest untruths which this author is not afraid to utter, (a matter wonderful, considering his dignity, if he that is named be the author in deed,) which should be a great stay of contradiction, if any thing were to be regarded against the truth.

An impudent untruth. [1580.]

First I will note unto the reader, how this author termeth the faith of the real and substantial presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, to be the faith of the papists: which saying, what foundation it hath, thou mayest consider of that followeth.

Luther, that professed openly to abhor all that might be noted papish, defended stoutly the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, and to be present really and substantially, even with the same words and terms.

Bucer, that is here in England, in a solemn work that he writeth upon the Gospels, professeth the same faith of the real and substantial presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, which he affirmeth to have been believed of all the Church of Christ from the beginning hitherto.

The faith of the sacrament in the Catechism improveth this author's doctrine now. [1580.]

Justus Jonas hath translate a Catechism out of Dutch into Latin, taught in the city of Noremberge in Germany, where Hosiander is chief preacher: in which Catechism, they be accounted for no true Christian men that deny the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament. The words "really" and "substantially" be not expressed, as they be in Bucer, but the word "truly" is there: and as Bucer saith, that is substantially. Which Catechism was

‡ [Bucer must be allowed to explain his own expressions. The following extracts are from a short statement of his opinions on the Eucharist, written in 1550.

"38. Si negemus Christum percipi in Eucharistia realiter et substan-

translate into English in this author's name about two years past. BOOK
I.

Philip Melancton, no papist nor priest, writeth a very wise Epistle^b in this matter to Œcolampadius, and signifying soberly his belief of the presence of Christ's very body in the sacrament : and to prove the same to have been the faith of the old Church from the beginning, allegeth the sayings of Irene, Cyprian, Chrysostome, Hilary, Cyril, Ambrose, and Theophylacte; which authors he esteemeth both worthy credit, and to affirm the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament plainly without ambiguity. He answereth to certain places of St. Augustine, and saith all Œcolampadius' enterprise to depend upon conjectures and arguments applausible to idle wits, with much more wise matter, as that Epistle doth purport, which is set out in a book of a good volume among the other Epistles of Œcolampadius, so as no man may suspect any thing counterfeit in the matter.

One Hippinus, or Œpinus, of Hamborough, greatly esteemed among the Lutherans, hath written a bookⁱ to the King's Majesty that now is, published abroad in print, wherein much inveighing

"tialiter, videmur contraria harum vocum affirmare, id est, percipi eum fecte et accidentaliter : optarim has voces in totum repudiari, nec admitti eas, sive negando sive affirmando.

"39. Si quando autem res ferat, ut propter tuendam Christi veritatem apud filios Dei contra adversarios, voces istæ in disputationem ingerantur, equidem definirem has voces : et si quis vellet per 'adesse Dominum realiter et substantialiter,' intelligere eum percipi fide re ipsa et substantiam ejus, darem. Sin aliquid hujus sæculi vellet his vocibus admiscere, negarem. Reliquit enim Dominus mundum hunc.

"40. Voces 'carnaliter' et 'naturaliter,' quoniam perceptionem sensuum innuunt, nunquam admiserim." Bucer *Scripta Anglicæ*, p. 542.

A translation of this tract is printed by Strype, *Cranm.* App. N^o. 46. under the title of, "The sententious sayings of Master Martin Bucer upon the Lord's Supper."

^b [The Epistle referred to was prefixed to a Collection of authorities on the Lord's Supper, formed by Melancton in 1530, and was addressed, as is remarked afterwards by Cranmer, not to Œcolampadius, but to Frederic Myconius. It will be found at length in Hospinian, *Hist. Sacrament.* tom. ii. p. 114. Respecting the change in Melancton's opinions on this subject see the same work, pp. 68, 115, &c.]

ⁱ [Strype describes the book thus : "I add another book in quarto of a foreigner, dedicated this year [1548] to the King in a long Epistle dated from Hamburgh. The author was Johannes Œpinus. The subjects of his book were, *De Purgatorio, Satisfactionibus, Remissione Culparum et Pæna, &c.* This Œpinus was chief minister of the Church of Hamburgh, and was sent twelve years before as envoy from Hamburgh into England to King Henry upon matters of religion." Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 146.]

BOOK
I.

against the Church of Rome, doth in the matter of the sacrament write as followeth^k. Eucharistia is called by itself a sacrifice, because it is a remembrance of the true sacrifice offered upon the cross, and that in it is dispensed the true body and true blood of Christ, which is plainly the same in essence, (that is to say, substance,) and the same blood in essence signifying, though the manner of presence be spiritual, yet the substance of that is present, is the same with that in heaven.

Erasmus commendeth to the world the work of Algerus on the sacrament. The body of Christ hidden under the signs. Erasmus would all to repent that follow Berengarius' error. [1580.]

Erasmus noted a man that durst, and did speak of all abuses in the Church liberally, taken for no papist, and among us so much esteemed, as his Paraphrases of the Gospel is ordered to be had in every church of this realm, declareth in divers of his works most manifestly his faith of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament; and by his epistles recommendeth to the world the work of Algerus in that matter of the sacrament, whom he noteth well exercised in the Scriptures and the old doctors, Cyprian, Hilarie, Ambrose, Hierome, Augustine, Basil, Chrysostom; and for Erasmus' own judgment, he saith we have an inviolable foundation of Christ's own words, *This is my body*, rehearsed again by St. Paul. He saith further: the body of Christ is hidden under those signs; and showeth also upon what occasions men have erred in reading the old Fathers, and wisheth that they which have followed Berengarius in error, would also follow him in repentance. I will not, reader, encumber thee with mo words of Erasmus.

Peter Martyr doth with lies impugn the faith of the sacrament. [1580.]

Peter Martyr of Oxford, taken for no papist, in a treatise he made of late of the sacrament, which is now translated into English, showeth how as touching the real presence of Christ's body, it is not only the sentence of the papists, but of other also, whom the said Peter nevertheless doth with as many shifts and lies as he may, impugn for that point, as well as he doth the papists for transubstantiation; but yet he doth not, as this author doth, impute that faith of the real presence of Christ's body and blood to

^k [This passage is quoted in such a manner by Gardyner, that it is difficult to distinguish what belongs to Æpinus, from that which was written by himself. The original Latin therefore is subjoined. "Eucharistia per se sacrificium appellata est, quod veri sacrificii in cruce oblati commemoratio est, et quod in ea verum corpus et verus sanguis Christi dispensatur, qui essentia plane idem est cum illo, quod traditum est et qui fusus est in cruce." Joan. Æpinus, *Liber de Purgatorio*, &c. fol. 58. b.]

4 the only papists. Whereupon, reader, here I join with the author an issue, that the faith of the real and substantial presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, is not the device of papists, or their faith only, as this author doth considerably slander it to be, and desire therefore, that according to Salomon's judgment this may serve for a note and mark, for to give sentence for the true mother of the child. For what should this mean, so without shame openly and untruly to call this faith papish, but only with the envious word of papist to overmatch the truth.

BOOK
I.

An issue. This author would, with the envious word of papish, oppress the truth. [1580.]

Canterbury.

- 1 This explication of the true catholic faith noteth to the reader certain evident and manifest untruths, uttered by me, as he saith, which I also pray the good reader to note, for this intent, that thou mayest take the rest of my sayings for true, which he noteth not for false, and doubtless they should not have escaped noting as well as the other, if they had been untrue, as he saith the other be. And if I can prove these things also true, which he noteth for manifest and evident untruths, then methinketh it is reason that all my sayings should be allowed for true, if those be proved true, which only be rejected as untrue. But this untruth is to be noted in him generally, that he either ignorantly mistaketh, or willingly misreporteth almost all that I say. But now note, good reader, the evident and manifest untruths which I utter, as he saith. The first is, that the faith of the real presence is the faith of the papists. Another is, that these words, *my flesh is verily meat*, I translate thus: *my flesh is very meat*. Another is, that I handle not sincerely the words of St. Augustine, speaking of the eating of Christ's body. The fourth is, that by these words, *This is my body*, Christ intendeth not to make the bread his body, but to signify that such as receive that worthily, be members of Christ's body. These be the heinous and manifest errors which I have uttered.
- 2 As touching the first, that the faith of the real and substantial presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, is the faith of the papists, this is no untruth, but a most certain truth. For you confess yourself, and defend

Four manifest untruths.

The first untruth, that the faith of the real presence is the

BOOK

I.

faith of the
papists.
Mine issue.
[1580.]

in this book, that it is your faith: and so do likewise all the papists. And here I will make an issue with you, that the papists believe the real, corporal, and natural presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament. Answer me directly without colour, whether it be so or not. If they believe not so, then they believe as I do, for I believe not so: and then let them openly confess that my belief is true. And if they believe so, then say I true, when I say that it is the papists' faith. And then is my saying no manifest untruth, but a mere truth, and so the verdict in the issue passeth upon my side by your own confession.

Luther,
Bucer,
Jonas,
Melancthon,
Epius.

And here the reader may note well, that once again you³ be fain to flee for succour unto Martin Luther, Bucer, Jonas, Melancthon and Æpinus, whose names before were wont to be so hateful unto you, that you could never with patience abide the hearing of them. And yet their sayings help you nothing at all. For although these men in this and many other things, have in times past, and yet peradventure some do (the veil of the old darkness not clearly in every point removed from their eyes) agree with the papists in part of this matter, yet they agree not in the whole; and therefore it is true nevertheless, that this faith which you teach is the papists' faith: for, if you would conclude that this is not the papists' faith, because that Luther, Bucer, and other believe in many things as the papists do; then by the same reason you may conclude, that the papists believe not that Christ was born, crucified, died, rose again, and ascended into heaven, which things, Luther, Bucer, and the other constantly both taught and believed.

And yet the faith of the real presence may be called rather the faith of the papists than of the other, not only because the papists do so believe, but specially, for that the papists were the first authors and inventors of that faith, and have been the chief spreaders abroad of it, and were the cause that other were blinded with the same error.

But here may the reader note one thing by the way, that it is a foul clout that you would refuse to wipe your nose withal, when you take such men to prove your matter,

whom you have hitherto accounted most vile and filthy heretics. And yet now you be glad to flee to them for succour, whom ye take for God's enemies, and to whom you have ever had a singular hatred. You pretend that you stay yourself upon ancient writers: and why run you now to such men for aid, as be not only new, but also, as you think, be evil and corrupt in judgment? and to such as think you, by your writings and doings, as rank a papist as is any at Rome?

BOOK.
I.

And yet not one of these new men, whom you allege, do thoroughly agree with your doctrine, either in transubstantiation, or in carnal eating and drinking of Christ's flesh and blood, or in the sacrifice of Christ in the mass, nor yet thoroughly in the real presence. For they affirm not such a gross presence of Christ's body, as expelleth the substance of bread, and is made by conversion thereof into the substance of Christ's body, and is eaten with the mouth. And yet if they did, the ancient authors that were next unto Christ's time, whom I have alleged, may not give place unto these new men in this matter, although they were men of excellent learning and judgment, howsoever it liketh you to accept them.

But I may conclude that your faith in the sacrament is popish, until such time as you can prove that your doctrine of transubstantiation, and of the real presence, was universally received and believed, before the Bishops of Rome defined and determined the same. And when you have proved that, then will I grant, that in your first note you have convinced me of an evident and manifest untruth; and that I untruly charge you with the envious name of a papistical faith.

But in your issue you term the words at your pleasure, and report me otherwise than I do say. For I do not say, that the doctrine of the real presence is the papists' faith only, but that it was the papists' faith, for it was their device. And herein will I join with you an issue, that the papistical Church is the mother of transubstantiation, and of all the four principal errors which I impugn in my book.

Mine issue.

[1580.]

Winchester.

It shall be now to purpose, to consider the Scriptures touching the matter of the sacrament, which the author pretending to bring forth faithfully as the majesty thereof requireth, in the rehearsal of the words of Christ out of the Gospel of St. John, he beginneth a little too low, and passeth over that pertaineth to the matter, and therefore should have begun a little higher, at this clause: *And the bread which I shall give you is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world. The Jews therefore strived between themselves, saying: How can this man give his flesh to be eaten? Jesus therefore said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day. For my flesh is very meat, and my blood very drink. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father; even so he that eateth me, shall live by me. This is the bread which came down from heaven: not as your fathers did eat manna and are dead: he that eateth this bread shall live for ever.*

Here is also a fault in the translation of the text, which should be thus in one place. *For my flesh is verily meat, and my blood is verily drink.* In which speech, the verb that coupleth the words *flesh* and *meat* together, knitteth them together in their proper signification; so as the flesh of Christ is verily meat, and not figuratively meat, as the author would persuade. And in these words of Christ may appear plainly, how Christ taught the mystery of the food of his humanity, which he promised to give for food, even the same flesh that he said he would give for the life of the world; and so expresseth the first sentence of this Scripture here by me wholly brought forth, that is to say: *And the bread which I shall give you is my flesh, which I shall give for the life of the world.* And so it is plain that Christ spake of flesh in the same sense that St. John speaketh in, saying: *The word was made flesh,* signifying by flesh the whole humanity. And so did Cyril agree to Nestorius, when he, upon these texts, reasoned how this eating is to be understood of Christ's humanity, to which nature in Christ's person is properly attribute, to be eaten as meat spiritually to nourish man, dispensed and given in the sacrament.

Cyril and
Nestorius.
[1580.]

And between Nestorius and Cyril was this diversity in understanding the mystery, that Nestorius esteeming of each nature in Christ a several person, (as it was objected to him,) and so dissolving the ineffable unity, did so repute the body of Christ to be eaten as the body of a man separate. Cyril maintained the body of Christ to be eaten as a body inseparably united to the Godhead, and for the ineffable mystery of that union, the same to be a flesh that giveth life. And then as Christ saith, *If we eat not the flesh of the Son of man, we have not life in us*; because Christ hath ordered the sacrament of his most precious body and blood to nourish such as be by his Holy Spirit regenerate. And as in baptism we receive the Spirit of Christ, for the renewing of our life, so do we in this sacrament of Christ's most precious body and blood, receive Christ's very flesh and drink his very blood, to continue and preserve, increase and augment the life received.

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And therefore in the same form of words Christ spake to Nicodemus of baptism, that he speaketh here of the eating of his body and drinking his blood; and in both sacraments, giveth, dispenseth, and exhibiteth in deed those celestial gifts in sensible elements, as Chrysostom saith. And because the true faithful believing men do only by faith know the Son of man to be in unity of person the Son of God, so as for the unity of the two natures in Christ in one person, the flesh of the Son of man is the proper flesh of the Son of God.

In baptism we receive Christ's spirit to give life; in the Lord's Supper we receive his flesh and blood to continue life. [1580.]

St. Augustine said well, when he noted these words of Christ, "Verily, verily, unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, &c." to be a figurative speech, because after the bare letter it seemeth unprofitable, considering that flesh profiteth nothing in itself, esteemed in the own nature alone; but as the same flesh in Christ is united to the divine nature, so is it, as Christ said, after Cyril's exposition, spirit and life, not changed into the divine nature of the spirit, but for the ineffable union in the person of Christ thereunto, it is *vivificatrix*, as Cyril said, and as the holy Ephesine Council decreed, a flesh giving life, according to Christ's words: *Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the latter day.* And then to declare unto us, how in giving this life to us, Christ useth the instrument of his very human body, it followeth: *For my flesh is verily meat, and my blood verily drink.* So like as Christ sanctifieth by his godly spirit, so doth he sanctify us by his godly flesh: and there-

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fore repeateth again, to inculcate the celestial thing of this mystery, and saith, *He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him*; which is the natural and corporal union between us and Christ. Whereupon followeth, that as Christ is naturally in his Father, and his Father in him; so he that eateth verily the flesh of Christ, he is by nature in Christ, and Christ is naturally in him, and the worthy receiver hath life increased, augmented, and confirmed by the participation of the flesh of Christ.

And because of the ineffable union of the two natures, Christ said, *This is the food that came down from heaven*; because God, whose proper flesh it is, came down from heaven, and hath another virtue than manna had; because this giveth life to them that worthily receive it, which manna, being but a figure thereof, did not, but being in this food Christ's very flesh inseparably unite to the God-head, the same is of such efficacy, as he that worthily eateth of it, shall live for ever. And thus I have declared the sense of Christ's words, brought forth out of the Gospel of St. John. Whereby appeareth how evidently they set forth the doctrine of the mystery of the eating of Christ's flesh and drinking his blood in the sacrament, which must needs be understood of a corporal eating, as Christ did after order in the institution of the said sacrament, according to his promise and doctrine here declared.

Canterbury.

Here, before you enter into my second untruth, as you call it, you find fault by the way, that in the rehearsal of the words of Christ out of the Gospel of St. John, I begin a little too low. But if the reader consider the matter for the which I allege St. John, he shall well perceive that I began at the right place where I ought to begin. For I do not bring forth St. John for the matter of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, (whereof is no mention made in that chapter, and as it would not have served me for that purpose, no more doth it serve you, although you cited the whole Gospel,) but I bring St. John for the matter of eating Christ's flesh and drinking his blood, wherein I passed over nothing that pertaineth to that matter, but rehearse the whole fully and faithfully. And because the reader may the better understand the matter, and judge between us

both, I shall rehearse the words of my former book, which be these. BOOK
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[See vol. ii. p. 291—293. “The Supper of the Lord”
——“live for ever.”]

- 1 Here have I rehearsed the words of Christ faithfully and fully, so much as pertaineth to the eating of Christ's flesh and drinking of his blood. And I have begun neither too high nor too low, but taking only so much as served for the matter.
- 2 But here have I committed a fault, say you, in the translation, for *verily meat*, translating *very meat*. And this is another of the evident and manifest untruths by me uttered, as you esteem it. Wherein a man may see how hard it is to escape the reproaches of Momus. For what an horrible crime, trow you, is committed here, to call *very meat* that which is *verily meat*? As who should say, that *very meat* is not *verily meat*, or that which is *verily meat* were not *very meat*. The old authors say *very meat*, ἀληθῆς βρώσις, *verus cibus*, in an hundred places¹.

The second untruth, for “verily meat,” translating “very meat.”

And what skilleth it for the diversity of the words, where no diversity is in the sense? And whether we say, *very meat*, or *verily meat*, it is a figurative speech in this place, and the sense is all one; and if you will look upon the New Testament lately set forth in Greek by Robert Stevens, you shall see that he had three Greek copies, which in the said sixth chapter of John have ἀληθῆς, and not ἀληθῶς. So that I may be bold to say, that you find fault here where none is.

And here in this place you show forth your old condition, which you use much in this book, in following the nature of ^{The nature of} a cuttle.

¹ Origenes, *In Levit. Hom. 7.* “Propterea ergo et caro ejus verus est cibus, et sanguis ejus verus est potus.” Et *In Matt. Hom. 12.* “Caro mea vera est esca, et sanguis meus verus est potus.” Hieron. *In Eccles. cap. iii.* “Caro enim verus est cibus, et sanguis ejus verus est potus.” August. *In Psalm. xxxiii.* “Caro mea vera est esca, et sanguis meus vere potus est.” Damasc. *lib. iv. cap. 14.* “Caro mea verus est cibus, et sanguis meus verus est potus.” Euthymius, *In Joan. cap. i.* “Caro mea verus est cibus, et sanguis meus verus est potus.” [1580.]

BOOK I. a cuttle. "The property of the cuttle," saith Pliny^m, "is to cast out a black ink or colour whensoever she spieth herself in danger to be taken, that the water being troubled and darkened therewith, she may hide herself, and so escape untaken." After like manner do you throw out this whole book. For when you see none other way to fly and escape, then you cast out your black colours, and make yourself so in clouds and darkness, that men should not discern where you become: which is a manifest argument of untrue meaning; for he that meaneth plainly, speaketh plainly: *Et qui sophisticè loquitur, odibilis est*, saith the wise man. For he that speaketh obscurely and darkly, it is a token that he goeth about to cast mists before men's eyes, that they should not see, rather than to open their eyes that they may clearly see the truth.

Eccles.
xxxvii.

Christ is
verily and
truly given
in the sa-
crament,
but yet
spiritually.

And therefore to answer you plainly, the same flesh that was given in Christ's last supper, was given also upon the cross, and is given daily in the ministration of the sacrament. But although it be but one thing, yet it was diversely given. For upon the cross Christ was carnally given to suffer and to die: at his last supper he was spiritually given in a promise of his death, and in the sacrament he is daily given in remembrance of his death. And yet it is all but one Christ that was promised to die, that died in deed, and whose death is remembered; that is to say, the very same Christ, the eternal Word that was made flesh. And the same flesh was also given to be spiritually eaten, and was eaten in deed before his supper, yea and before his incarnation also. Of which eating, and not of sacramental eating, he spake in the sixth of John, *My flesh is very meat, and my blood is very drink: he that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.*

John vi.

And Cyrilⁿ, I grant, agreed to Nestorius in the substance of the thing that was eaten, which is Christ's very flesh, but in the manner of eating they varied. For Nestorius imagined a carnal eating, as the papists do, with mouth, and tearing

^m Plin. lib. ix. cap. 29. [1580.]

ⁿ Cyril. Anathematismo xi.

with teeth, but Cyril in the same place saith, that Christ is eaten only by a pure faith, and not that he is eaten corporally with our mouths, as other meats be, nor that he is eaten in the sacrament only. BOOK
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And it seemeth you understand not the matter of Nestorius, who did not esteem Christ to be made of two several natures and several persons, as you report of him, but his error was, that Christ had in him naturally but one nature and one person, affirming that he was a pure man and not God by nature, but that the Godhead by grace inhabited, as he doth in other men.

5 And where you say that in baptism we receive the Spirit of Christ, and in the sacrament of his body and blood we receive his very flesh and blood: this your saying is no small derogation to baptism, wherein we receive not only the Spirit of Christ, but also Christ himself, whole body and soul, manhood and Godhead, unto everlasting life, as well as in the holy communion. For St. Paul saith, *Qui- cunque in Christo baptizati estis, Christum induistis, As many as be baptized in Christ, put Christ upon them:* Nevertheless, this is done in divers respects; for in baptism it is done in respect of regeneration, and in the holy communion, in respect of nourishment and augmentation. Injury to
baptism.
Gal. iii.

6 But your understanding of the sixth chapter of John is such as never was uttered of any man before your time, and as declareth you to be utterly ignorant of God's mysteries. For who ever said or taught before this time, that the sacrament was the cause why Christ said, *If we eat not the flesh of the Son of man, we have not life in us?* The spiritual eating of his flesh and drinking of his blood by faith, by digesting his death in our minds, as our only price, ransom, and redemption from eternal damnation, is the cause wherefore Christ said, that *if we eat not his flesh, and drink not his blood, we have not life in us: and if we eat his flesh, and drink his blood, we have everlasting life.* And if Christ had never ordained the sacrament, yet should we have eaten his flesh and drunken his blood, and have had thereby everlasting life, as all the faithful did before the sa- In the sixth
chapter of
John,
Christ
spake not
of corporal
eating.
John vi.

BOOK I. sacrament was ordained, and do daily, when they receive not the sacrament. And so did the holy men that wandered in the wilderness, and in all their lifetime very seldom received the sacrament, and many holy martyrs, either exiled or kept in prison, did daily feed of the food of Christ's body, and drank daily the blood that sprang out of his side, (or else they could not have had everlasting life, as Christ himself said in the Gospel of St. John,) and yet they were not suffered with other Christian people to have the use of the sacrament. And therefore your argument in this place is but a *fallax a non causa, ut causa*, which is another trick of the Devil's sophistry.

And that in the sixth of John, Christ spake neither of 7 corporal nor sacramental eating of his flesh, the time manifestly showeth. For Christ spake of the same present time that was then, saying, *The bread which I will give is my flesh*: and, *He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him, and hath everlasting life*. At which time the sacramental bread was not yet Christ's flesh, for the sacrament was not then yet ordained; and yet at that time all that believed in Christ did eat his flesh and drink his blood, or else they could not have dwelled in Christ, nor Christ in them.

Moreover you say yourself, that in the sixth of St. John's Gospel, when Christ said, *The bread is my flesh*, by the word "flesh" he meant his whole humanity, as is meant in this sentence, *The Word was made flesh*; which he meant not in the word "body," when he said of bread, *This is my body*, whereby he meant not his whole humanity, but his flesh only, and neither his blood nor his soul. And in the sixth of John, Christ made not bread his flesh, when he said, *The bread is my flesh*, but he expounded in those words, what bread it was that he meant of, when he promised them bread that should give them eternal life. He declared in those words, that himself was the bread that should give life, because they should not have their phantasies of any bread made of corn. And so the eating of that heavenly bread could not be understood of the sacrament, nor of corporal

eating with the mouth, but of spiritual eating by faith, as all the old authors do most clearly expound and declare. And seeing that there is no corporal eating, but chawing with the teeth or swallowing, as all men do know, if we eat Christ corporally, then you must confess, that we either swallow up Christ's flesh, or chaw and tear it with our teeth, as Pope Nicholas constrained Berengarius to confess, which, St. Augustine saith, is a wicked and heinous thing. But in few words to answer to this second evident and manifest untruth, (as you object against me,) I would wish you as truly to understand these words of the sixth chapter of John, as I have truly translated them.

Winchester.

- 1 Now, where the author, to exclude the mystery of corporal manducation, bringeth forth of St. Augustine such words as entreat of the effect and operation of the worthy receiving of the sacrament, the handling is not so sincere as this matter requireth.
- 3 For, as hereafter shall be entreated, that is not worthily and well done, may, because the principal intent faileth, be called not done, and so St. Augustine saith, "Let him not think to eat the body of Christ, that dwelleth not in Christ," not because the body of Christ is not received, which, by St. Augustine's mind, evil men do to their condemnation, but because the effect of life faileth.
- 2 And so the author by sleight, to exclude the corporal manducation of Christ's most precious body, uttereth such words as might sound Christ to have taught the dwelling in Christ to be an eating, which dwelling may be without this corporal manducation in him that cannot attain the use of it, and dwelling in Christ is
- 4 an effect of the worthy manducation, and not the manducation itself, which Christ doth order to be practised in the most precious sacrament institute in his supper. Here thou, reader, mayest see, how this doctrine of Christ, as I have declared it, openeth the
- 5 corporal manducation of his most holy flesh and drinking of his most precious blood, which he gave in his supper under the forms of bread and wine.

Canterbury.

- 1 This is the third evident and manifest untruth whereof you note me. And because you say, that in citing of St. The third untruth, of the hand-

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ling the words of St. Augustine. Mine issue. [1580.]

Augustine in this place, I handle not the matter so sincerely as it requireth: let here be an issue between you and me, which of us both doth handle this matter more sincerely, and I will bring such manifest evidence for me, that you shall not be able to open your mouth against it. For I allege St. Augustine justly as he speaketh, adding nothing of myself. The words in my book be these.

[See vol. ii. p. 293. "Of these words"——"our
"Saviour Christ."]

Thus allege I St. Augustine truly, without adding anything of mine own head, or taking any thing away. And what sleight I used is easy to judge; for I cite directly the places, that every man may see whether I say true or no. And if it be not true, quarrel not with me, but with St. Augustine, whose words I only rehearse. And that which St. Augustine saith, spake before him St. Cyprian, and Christ himself also plainly enough; upon whose words I thought I might be as bold to build a true doctrine for the setting forth of God's glory, as you may be to pervert both the words of Cyprian and of Christ himself to stablish a false doctrine, to the high dishonour of God, and the corruption of his most true word. For you add this word "worthily," whereby you gather such an unworthy meaning of St. Augustine's words, as you list yourself. And the same you do to the very words of Christ himself, who speaketh absolutely and plainly without adding of any such word as you put thereto. What sophistry this is you know well enough. Now if this be permitted unto you to add what you list, and to expound how you list, then you may say what you list without controlment of any man, which it seemeth you look for.

How Christ's flesh is eaten.

And not of like sort, but of like evilness do you handle, in reprehending of my second untruth as you call it, another place of St. Augustine, in his book *De Doctrina Christiana*, where he saith, that "the eating and drinking of Christ's flesh and blood is a figurative speech:" which place you ex-

° Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, lib. iii. cap. 4.

pound so far from St. Augustine's meaning, that whosoever looketh upon his words, may by and by discern, that you do not or will not understand him. But it is most like, the words of him being so plain and easy, that purposely you will not understand him, nor nothing else that is against your will, rather than you will go from any part of your will and received opinion. For it is plain and clear, that St. Augustine in that place speaketh not one word of the separation of the two natures in Christ, and although Christ's flesh be never so surely and inseparably united unto his Godhead, (without which union it could profit nothing,) yet being so joined, it is a very man's flesh, the eating whereof, after the proper speech of eating, is horrible and abominable. Wherefore the eating of Christ's flesh must needs be otherwise understood, than after the proper and common eating of other meats with the mouth, which eating after such sort could avail nothing. And therefore St. Augustine in that place declareth the eating of Christ's flesh to be only a figurative speech. And he openeth the figure so, as the eating must be meant with the mind, not with the mouth, that is to say, by chewing and digesting in our minds, to our great consolation and profit, that Christ was crucified and died for us. Thus doth St. Augustine open the figure and meaning of Christ, when he spake of the eating of his flesh and drinking of his blood. And his flesh being thus eaten, it must also be joined unto his Divinity, or else it could not give everlasting life, as Cyril and the Council Ephesine truly decreed. But St. Augustine declared the figurative speech of Christ to be in the eating, not in the union. And whereas to shift off the plain words of Christ spoken in the sixth of *John vi.* *John, He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me and I in him,* you say, that dwelling in Christ is not the manducation: you say herein directly against St. Cyprian^p, who saith, "quod mansio nostra in ipso, sit manducatio," "that our dwelling in him, is the eating." And also against St. Augustine^q, whose words be

^p Cyprianus in *Sermone de Cæna Domini.*

^q Augustinus, *In Joannem*, tract. xxvi.

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these: "Hoc est ergo manducare escam illam, et illum bibere potum, in Christo manere, et illum manentem in se habere," "This is to eat that meat, and drink that drink, to dwell in Christ, and to have Christ dwelling in him." And although the eating and drinking of Christ be here defined by the effect, for the very eating is the believing, yet wheresoever the eating is, the effect must be also, if the definition of St. Augustine be truly given. And therefore although good and bad eat carnally with their teeth bread, being the sacrament of Christ's body, yet no man eateth his very flesh, which is spiritually eaten, but he that dwelleth in Christ, and Christ in him.

And where in the end you refer the reader to the declaration of Christ's words, it is an evil sequel; you declare Christ's words thus: *Ergo*, they be so meant. For by like reason might Nestorius have prevailed against Cyril, Arrius against Alexander, and the Pope against Christ. For they all prove their errors by the doctrine of Christ, after their own declarations, as you do here in your corporal manducation. But of the manducation of Christ's flesh I have spoken more fully in my fourth book, the second, third, and fourth chapters.

Now before I answer to the fourth untruth which I am appeached of, I will rehearse what I have said in the matter, and what fault you have found: my book hath thus:

[See vol. ii. p. 293—297. "Now as touching"——
"Amen."]

Winchester.

Now let us consider the texts of the Evangelists, and St. Paul, which be brought in by the author as followeth.

Matt. xxvi. *When they were eating, Jesus took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, gave it to his disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my body. And he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this, for this is my blood of the new testament that is shed for many for the remission of sins. But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I shall drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom.*

As they did eat, Jesus took bread, and when he had blessed, he brake it, and gave it to them, and said, Take, eat, this is my body. BOOK
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And taking the cup, when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, and they all drank of it. And he said to them, This is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many. Verily I say unto you, I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine, until that day that I drink it new in the kingdom of God. Mark xiv.

When the hour was come, he sat down, and the twelve Apostles with him: and he said unto them, I have greatly desired to eat this Pascha with you before I suffer. For I say unto you, henceforth I will not eat of it any more, until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God. And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and said, Take this and divide it among you. For I say unto you, I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God come. And he took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it unto them, saying, This is my body, which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me. Likewise also, when he had supped, he took the cup, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you. Luke xxii.

Is not the cup of blessing, which we bless, a communion of the blood of Christ? Is not the bread which we break a communion of the body of Christ? We being many, are one bread and one body, for we are all partakers of one bread and of one cup. 1 Cor. x.

That which I delivered unto you, I received of the Lord. For the Lord Jesus, the same night in the which he was betrayed, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eat, this is my body, which is broken for you: do this in remembrance of me. Likewise also he took the cup when supper was done, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood: do this, as often as ye drink it, in remembrance of me: for as often as you shall eat this bread and drink of this cup, ye show forth the Lord's death till he come. Wherefore, whosoever shall eat of this bread, or drink of this cup unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. But let a man examine himself, and so eat of the bread, and drink of the cup. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lord's body. For this cause, many are weak and sick among you, and many do sleep. 1 Cor. xi.

After these texts brought in, the author doth, in the fourth chapter, begin to traverse Christ's intent, that he intended not by

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The fourth
untruth,
that by
these
words, *Hoc
est corpus
meum*,
Christ
meant not
to make the
bread his
body.
[1580.]

these words, *This is my body*, to make the bread his body : but to signify, that such as receive that worthily, be members of Christ's body. The catholic Church acknowledging Christ to be very God and very man, hath from the beginning upon these texts of Scripture confessed truly Christ's intent and effectual miraculous work, 2 to make the bread his body, and the wine his blood, to be verily meat, and verily drink, using therein his humanity wherewith to 3 feed us, as he used the same wherewith to redeem us ; and as he doth sanctify us by his holy Spirit, so to sanctify us by his holy divine flesh and blood ; and as life is renewed in us by the gift of Christ's holy Spirit, so life to be increased in us, by the gift of his holy flesh. So, as he that believeth in Christ, and receiveth the sacrament of belief, which is baptism, receiveth really Christ's Spirit : so he that having Christ's Spirit receiveth also the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, doth really receive in the same, and also effectually Christ's very body and blood. And therefore Christ in the institution of this sacrament said, delivering that he consecrated, *This is my body*, &c. And likewise of the cup, *This is my blood*. And although to man's reason it seemeth strange, that Christ standing or sitting at the table should deliver them his body to be eaten : yet when we remember Christ to be very God, we must grant him omnipotent, 4 and by reason thereof, repress in our thoughts all imaginations how it might be, and consider Christ's intent, by his will preached unto us by Scriptures, and believed universally in his Church. But if it may now be thought seemly for us to be so bold, in so high a mystery to begin to discuss Christ's intent ; what should move us to think, that Christ would use so many words, without effectual and real signification, as he rehearsed touching the mystery of this sacrament ?

First, in the sixth of John, when Christ had taught of the eating of him, being the bread descended from heaven, and 6 declaring that eating to signify believing, wherewith was no murmuring, that then he should enter to speak of giving of his flesh to be eaten, and his blood to be drunken, and to say he would give a bread, that is, his flesh, which he would give for the life of the world. In which words Christ maketh mention of two gifts, 7 and therefore, as he is truth, must needs intend to fulfil them both. And therefore as we believe the gift of his flesh to the Jews to be crucified ; so we must believe the gift of his flesh to be eaten,

and of that gift, livery and seisin, as we say, to be made of him, that is in his promises faithful, as Christ is to be made in both.

8 And therefore, when he said in his supper, *Take, eat, this is my body*, he must needs intend plainly, (as his words of promise required, and these words in his supper purport,) to give as really then his body to be eaten of us, as he gave his body in deed to be crucified for us, aptly nevertheless and conveniently for each effect, and therefore in manner of giving diversely, but in the substance of the same given, to be as his words bear witness the same, and therefore said, *This is my body, that shall be betrayed for you*, expressing also the use when he said, *Take, eat*; which words, in delivering of material bread, had been superfluous. For what should men do with bread, when they take it, but eat it? specially when it is broken?

9 But, as Cyril saith, Christ opened there unto them the practice of that doctrine he spake of in the sixth of St. John, and because he said, he would give his flesh for food, which he would give for the life of the world, he, for fulfilling of his promise, said, *Take, eat, this is my body*; which words have been taught, and believed to be of effect and operatory, and Christ under the form of bread to have given his very body. According whereunto St. Paul noteth the receiver to be guilty, when he doth not esteem it our Lord's body wherewith it pleaseth Christ to feed such as be in him regenerate, to the intent that as man was redeemed by Christ, suffering in the nature of his humanity, so to purchase for man the kingdom of heaven lost by Adam's fall; even likewise in the nature of the same humanity, giving it to be eaten, he ordained it to nourish man and make him strong to walk and continue his journey, to enjoy that kingdom. And therefore to set forth lively unto us the communication of the substance of Christ's most precious body in the sacrament, and the same to be in deed delivered, Christ used plain words, testified by the Evangelists. St. Paul also rehearsed the same words in the same plain terms in the eleventh to the Corinthians; and in the tenth, giving, as it were, an exposition of the effect, useth the same proper words declaring the effect to be the communication of Christ's body and blood.

10 And one thing is notable touching the Scripture, that in such notable speeches uttered by Christ, as might have an ambiguity, the Evangelists by some circumstance declared it, or sometime opened it by plain interpretation, as when Christ said, he would dissolve

BOOK
I.

the temple, and within three days build it again : the Evangelist by and by addeth for interpretation : *This he said of the temple of his body*. And when Christ said, *He is Helias, and I am the true vine* : the circumstance of the text openeth the ambiguity.

Neither St. Paul nor the Evangelists add any words, whereby to take away the signification of bread and wine. [1580.]

But to show that Christ should not mean of his very body when he so spake : neither St. Paul after, ne the Evangelists in the place, add any words or circumstances, whereby to take away the proper signification of the words "body" and "blood," so as the same might seem not in deed given, as the catholic faith teacheth, but in signification, as the author would have it. For as for the words of Christ, *The spirit giveth life, the flesh profiteth nothing*, be to declare the two natures in Christ, each in their property apart considered, but not as they be in Christ's person united, the mystery of which union, such as believed not Christ to be God could not consider, and yet to insinuate that unto them, Christ made mention of his descension from heaven, and after of his ascension thither again, whereby they might understand him very God, whose flesh taken in the Virgin's womb, and so given spiritually to be eaten of us, is, as I have before opened, vivific and giveth life.

And this shall suffice here, to show how Christ's intent was to give verily, as he did in deed, his precious body and blood to be eaten and drunken, according as he taught them to be verily meat and drink, and yet gave and giveth them so under form of visible creatures to us, as we may conveniently, and without horror of our nature receive them, Christ therein condescending to our infirmity. As for such other wrangling, as is made in the understanding of the words of Christ, shall after be spoken of, by further occasion.

Canterbury.

The fourth untruth, that Christ intended not by these words, *This is my body*, to make the bread his body. The variance between you and Smith.

Now we be come to the very pith of the matter, and the chief point whereupon the whole controversy hangeth, whether in these words, *This is my body*, Christ called bread his body : wherein you and Smith agree like a man and a woman that dwelled in Lincolnshire, as I have heard reported, that what pleased the one, misliked the other, saving that they both agreed in wilfulness ; so do Smith and you agree both in this point, that Christ made bread his body, but that it was bread which he called his body,

when he said, *This is my body*: this you grant, but Smith denieth it. And because all Smith's buildings clearly fall down, if this his chief foundation be overthrown, therefore must I first prove against Smith, that Christ called the material bread his body, and the wine which was the fruit of the vine, his blood. For "Why did you not prove this, my lord?" saith Smith, "would you that men should take you for a prophet, or for one that could not err in his sayings?"

BOOK
1.

Against
Smith.

Christ
called bread
his body.

First I allege against Smith's negation your affirmation, which, as it is more true in this point than his negation, so for your estimation is it able to countervail his saying, if there were nothing else. And yet if Smith had well pondered what I have written in the second chapter of my second book, and in the seventh and eighth chapters of my third book, he should have found this matter so fully proved, that he neither is, nor never shall be able to answer thereto. For I have alleged the Scripture, I have alleged the consent of the old writers, holy fathers, and martyrs, to prove that Christ called bread his body, and wine his blood. For the Evangelists, speaking of the Lord's supper, say, that *he took bread, blessed it, brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, This is my body.* And of the wine he said, *Take this, divide it among you, and drink it, this is my blood.* I have alleged Irene saying that "Christ confessed bread to be his body, and the cup to be his blood." I have cited Tertullian, who saith, in many places, that "Christ called bread his body." I have brought in for the same purpose Cyprian, who saith, that "Christ called such bread as is made of many corns joined together, his body: and such wine he named his blood, as is pressed out of many grapes." I have written the words of Epiphanius, which be these, that "Christ speaking of a loaf, which is round in fashion, and can neither see, hear, nor feel, said of it, *This is my body.*" And St. Hierom writing *Ad Hedibiam* saith, that "Christ called the bread which he brake, his body." And St. Augustine saith, that "Jesus called meat his body, and drink his blood." And Cyril saith

Matt. xxvi.
Mark xiv.
Luke xxii.

Ireneus.

Tertullianus.

Cyprianus.

Epiphanius.

Hieronymus.

Augustinus.
Cyrillus.

BOOK
I.
Theodore-
tus.

more plainly, that "Christ called the pieces of bread his "body." And last of all I brought forth Theodorete, whose saying is this, that "when Christ gave the holy mysteries, "he called bread his body, and the cup mixed with wine "and water, he called his blood." All these authors I alleged, to prove that Christ called bread his body, and wine his blood.

Which because they speak the thing so plainly, as nothing can be more, and Smith seeth that he can devise nothing to answer these authors, like a wily fox, he stealeth away by them softly, as he had a flea in his ear, saying nothing to all these authors, but that they prove not my purpose. If this be a sufficient answer, let the reader be judge; for in such sort could I make a short answer to Smith's whole book in this one sentence, that nothing that he sayeth, proveth his purpose. And as for proofs of his saying, Smythe hath utterly none, but only this fond reason, that if Christ had called bread his body, then should bread have been crucified for us, because Christ added these words, *This is my body which shall be given to death for you.* If such wise reason shall take place, a man may not take a loaf in his hand made of wheat, that came out of Danske, and say, This is wheat that grew in Danske, but it must follow, that the loaf grew in Danske. And if the wife shall say, This is butter of mine own cow; Smyth shall prove by this speech, that her maid milked butter. But to this phantastical, or rather frantic reason I have spoken more, in mine Answer to Smythe's Preface.

Howbeit you have taken a wiser way than this, granting that Christ called bread his body, and wine his blood: but adding thereto, that Christ's calling was making. Yet here may they that be wise, learn by the way, how evil favouredly you and Smyth do agree among yourselves.

And forasmuch as Smythe hath not made answer unto the authors by me alleged in this part, I may justly require, that for lack of answer in time and place where he ought to have answered, he may be condemned as one that standeth

mute. And being condemned in this his chief demur, he hath after nothing to answer at all. For this foundation being overthrown, all the rest falleth down withal.

Wherefore now will I return to answer you in this matter, which is the last of the evident and manifest untruths, whereof you appeach me.

I perceive here how untoward you be to learn the truth, being brought up all your life in papistical errors. If you could forget your law, which hath been your chief profession and study from your youth, and specially the canon law, which purposely corrupteth the truth of God's word, you should be much more apt to understand and receive the secrets of holy Scripture. But before those scales fall from your Saulish eyes, you neither can nor will perceive the true doctrine of this holy sacrament of Christ's body and blood. But yet I shall do as much as lieth in me, to teach and instruct you, as occasion shall serve, so that the fault shall be either in your evil bringing up altogether in popery, or in your dulness, or frowardness, if you attain not the true understanding of this matter.

2 Where you speak of the miraculous working of Christ, to make bread his body, you must first learn, that the bread is not made really Christ's body, nor the wine his blood, but sacramentally. And the miraculous working is not in the bread, but in them that duly eat the bread, and drink that drink. For the marvellous work of God is in the feeding, and it is Christian people that be fed, and not the bread.

God's miraculous works in the sacrament.

And so the true confession and belief of the universal Church from the beginning, is not such as you many times affirm, but never can prove. For the catholic Church acknowledged no such division between Christ's holy flesh and his Spirit, that life is renewed in us by his holy Spirit, and increased by his holy flesh, but the true faith confesseth, that both be done by his holy Spirit and flesh jointly together, as well the renovation as the increase of our life. Wherefore you diminish here the effect of baptism, wherein is not given only Christ's Spirit, but whole Christ. And herein I will join an issue with you. And you shall find,

Injury to baptism.

Mine issue.
[1580.]

BOOK
I.
that although you think I lack law, wherewith to follow my plea, yet I doubt not but I shall have help of God's word enough to make all men perceive that you be but a simple divine; so that for lack of your proofs, I doubt not but the sentence shall be given upon my side by all learned and indifferent judges that understand the matter which is in controversy between us.

God's omnipotency. And where you say that we must repress our thoughts⁴ and imaginations, and by reason of Christ's omnipotency judge his intent by his will, it is a most certain truth, that God's absolute and determinate will is the chief governor of all things, and the rule whereby all things must be ordered and thereto obey. But where, I pray you, have you any such will of Christ, that he is really, carnally, corporally, and naturally under the forms of bread and wine? There is no such will of Christ set forth in the Scripture, as you pretend by a false understanding of these words, *This is my body*. Why take you then so boldly upon you to say that this is Christ's will and intent, when you have no warrant in Scripture to bear you?

It is not a sufficient proof in Scripture to say, God doth it, because he can do it. For he can do many things, which he neither doth nor will do. He could have sent mo than
Matt. xxvi. twelve legions of angels to deliver Christ from the wicked Jews, and yet he would not do it. He could have created
Gen. i. the world and all things therein in one moment of time, and yet his pleasure was to do it in six days.

In all matters of our Christian faith, written in holy Scripture for our instruction and doctrine, how far soever they seem discrepant from reason, we must repress our imaginations, and consider God's pleasure and will, and yield thereto, believing him to be omnipotent: and that by his omnipotent power such things are verily so, as holy Scripture teacheth. Like as we believe that Christ was born of the blessed Virgin Mary without company of man; that our Saviour Christ the third day rose again from death; that he in his humanity ascended into heaven; that our bodies at the day of judgment shall rise again; and many other such like

things, which we all that be true Christian men, do believe firmly, because we find these things written in Scripture: and therefore we, knowing God's omnipotency, do believe that he hath brought some of the said things to pass already, and those things that are yet to come, he will by the same omnipotency without doubt likewise bring to pass.

Now if you can prove that your transubstantiation, your fleshly presence of Christ's body and blood, your carnal eating and drinking of the same, your propitiatory sacrifice of the mass, are taught us as plainly in the Scripture, as the said articles of our faith be, then I will believe that it is so in deed. Otherwise, neither I nor any man that is in his right wits, will believe your said articles, because God is omnipotent, and can make it so. For you might so, under pretence of God's omnipotency, make as many articles of our faith, as you list, if such arguments might take place; that God by his omnipotent power can convert the substance of bread and wine into the substance of his flesh and blood: *Ergo*, he doth so in deed.

5 And although Christ be not corporally in the bread and wine, yet Christ used not so many words in the mystery of his holy Supper, without effectual signification. For he is effectually present, and effectually worketh, not in the bread and wine, but in the godly receivers of them, to whom he giveth his own flesh spiritually to feed upon, and his own blood to quench their great inward thirst.

6 And here I would wish you to mark very well one true sentence which you have uttered by the way, which is, that Christ declared, that eating of him signifieth believing, and start not from it another time. And mark the same, I pray thee, gentle reader. For this one sentence assoileth almost all the arguments that be brought by this lawyer in his whole book against the truth.

Eating signifieth believing.

And yet to the said true saying you have joined another untruth, and have yoked them both together in one sentence. For when Christ had taught of the eating of him, being the bread descended from heaven, there was no murmuring thereat, say you; which your saying I cannot but

Three untruths uttered by you in this one place. The first.

BOOK I. wonder at, to see you so far deceived in a matter so plain and manifest. And if I had spoken such an evident and manifest untruth, I doubt not but it should have been

John vi.

spoken of to Rome gates. For the text saith there plainly, *Murmurabant Judæi de illo, quod dixisset, Ego sum panis vivus, qui de cælo descendi: The Jews murmured at him, because he said, I am the bread of life that came from heaven.* But when you wrote this, it seemeth you looked a little too low, and should have looked higher.

† And here by this one place the reader may gather of your own words your intent and meaning in this your book, if that be true which you said before, that ever, where contention is, on what part the reader seeth in any one point an open manifest lie, there he may consider, whatsoever excuse be made of truth, yet the victory of truth not to be there intended.

The second.

John vi.

Another untruth also followeth incontinently, that when Christ said, *The bread which I will give you, is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world:* in these words, say you, Christ maketh mention of two gifts. But what be those two gifts I pray you? and by what words is the diversity of those two gifts expressed? If the giving, as Smith saith, be giving to death, then those two gifts declare that Christ died for us twice. And if one of Christ's gifts have livery and seisin, why hath not the other likewise? And when was then that livery and seisin given? And if eating of Christ be believing, as you said even now, then livery and seisin is given when we first believe, whether it be in baptism, or at any other time.

But what you mean by these words, that "Christ gave in his supper his body as really to be eaten of us, as he did to be crucified for us," I understand not, except you would have Christ so really eaten of his Apostles at his supper with their teeth, as he was after crucified, whipped, and thrust to the heart with a spear. But was he not then so really and corporally crucified, that his body was rent and

† ["And here"—"intended." This paragraph is one of the additions to the edition of 1580.]

corn in pieces? And was not he so crucified then, that he never was crucified after? Was he not so slain then, that he never died no more? And if he were so eaten at his supper, then did his Apostles tear his flesh at the supper, as the Jews did the day following. And then how could he now be eaten again? Or how could he be crucified the day following, if the night before he were after that sort eaten all up? But, "aply" say you, and "conveniently:" Mary, sir, I thank you: but what is that "aply" and "conveniently," but spiritually, and by faith, (as you said before,) not grossly with the teeth, as he was crucified? And so the manner was diverse, I grant, and the substance all one.

But when Christ said, *The bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world*, if he had fulfilled this promise at his supper, as you say he did, then what needed he after to die that we might live, if he fulfilled his promise of life at his supper? Why said the Prophets, that *he should be wounded for our iniquities, and that by his wounds we should be healed*, if we had life and were healed before he was wounded? Why doth the catholic faith teach us to believe, that we be redeemed by his blood shedding, if he gave us life, which is our redemption, the night before he shed his blood? And why saith St. Paul that *there is no remission without blood shedding*? Why did he say, *Absit mihi gloriari, nisi in cruce*, yea why did he say, *Absit mihi gloriari, nisi in Cæna Domini? God forbid that I should rejoice but in the cross only?* Why did he not rather say, *Absit mihi gloriari, nisi in Cæna Domini? God forbid that I should rejoice, but in the Lord's Supper?* whereat, as you say, the promise of life was fulfilled. This is godly doctrine for such men to make, as being ignorant in God's word, wander in phantasies of their own devices, and *putantes se esse sapientes, stulti facti sunt*. But the true faithful believing man professeth, that Christ by his death overcame him that was the author of death, and hath reconciled us to his Father, making us his children and heirs of his kingdom, that as many as believe in him, should not perish, but have life everlasting. Thus saith the true Christian man, putting his hope of life and eternal sal-

The third.
That Christ fulfilled not his promise to give us life at his supper.
John vi.
Isaiah liii.

Rom. iii.

Heb. ix.

Gal. vi.

Rom. i.

Heb. ii.

Eph. i.

John iii.

BOOK I.
Gal. vi. vation neither in Christ's Supper, although the same be to him a great confirmation of his faith, nor in any thing else, but saith with St. Paul, *Mihi absit gloriari, nisi in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi, God save me, that I rejoice in nothing, but in the cross of our Lord Jesu Christ.*

And when this true believing man cometh to the Lord's Supper, and according to Christ's commandment receiveth the bread broken in remembrance that Christ's body was broken for him upon the cross, and drinketh the wine in remembrance of the effusion of Christ's blood for his sins, and unfeignedly believeth the same, to him the words of our Saviour Christ be effectuous and operatory, *Take, eat, this is my body which is given for thee; and, Drink of this, for this is my blood which is shed for thee, to the remission of thy sins.* And as St. Paul saith, *the bread unto him is the communion of Christ's body, and the wine, the communion of his blood.* For the effect of his godly eating, as you truly herein gather of St. Paul's words, is the communication of Christ's body and blood; but to the faithful receiver, and not to the dumb creatures of bread and wine, under whose forms the catholic faith teacheth not the body and blood of Christ invisibly to be hidden. And as to the godly eater, who duly esteemeth Christ's body, and hath it in such price and estimation as he ought to have, the effect is the communication of Christ's body; so to the wicked eater, the effect is damnation and everlasting woe.

A warrant for apparel. And now I am glad, that here yourself have found out a warrant for the apparel of bread and wine, that they shall not go altogether naked, and be nude and bare tokens, but have promises of effectual signification, which now you have espied out, both in the words of Christ and St. Paul.

Christ's ambiguous speeches were not always opened by the Evangelists. Now for the ambiguity of Christ's speeches, it is not always true, that such speeches of Christ as might have ambiguity, the Evangelists either plainly or by circumstances open them. For Christ speaking so many things in parables, similes, allegories, metaphors, and other tropes and figures, although sometime Christ himself and sometime the Evangelists open the meaning, yet, for the most part, the

meaning is left to the judgment of the hearers, without any declaration, as when Christ said, *Gird your loins, and take light candles in your hands*: and when he said, *No man that setteth his hand to the plough, and looketh behind him, is meet for the kingdom of God*. And when he said, *Except the grain of wheat falling upon the ground die, it remaineth sole*. And as St. Matthew saith, Christ spake not to the people without parables, that the Scriptures might be fulfilled, which prophesied of Christ, that he should open his mouth in parables.

BOOK
I.

Luke xii.

Luke ix.

John xii.

Matt. xiii.

Psal. lxxvii.

And although some of his parables Christ opened to the people, some to his Apostles only, yet some he opened to neither of both, as can appear, but left them to be considered by the discretion of the hearers. And when Christ called Herod a fox, Judas a devil, himself a door, a way, a vine, a well, neither he nor the Evangelists expounded these words, nor gave warning to the hearers that he spake in figures; for every man that had any manner of sense or reason, might well perceive, that these sentences could not be true in plain form of words as they were spoken. For who is so ignorant, but he knoweth that a man is not a fox, a devil, a door, a way, a vine, a well.

And so likewise when Christ brake the bread, and commanded his disciples to eat it, and said, *This is my body*, and of the wine he said, *Divide it among you, drink it, this is my blood*, no man that was there present was so fond, but he knew well, that the bread was not Christ's body nor the wine his blood: and therefore they might well know, that Christ called the bread his body, and the wine his blood, for some figure, similitude, and property of the bread and wine unto his flesh and blood: for as bread and wine be foods to nourish our bodies, so is the flesh and blood of our Saviour Christ, being annexed unto his Deity, the everlasting food of our souls.

This is my body, is no proper speech.

And although the Evangelists in that place do not fully express the words in this sense, yet adjoining the sixth chapter of John, speaking of the spiritual manducation of Christ, to the circumstances of the text in the three Evan-

BOOK
I.

gelist, reciting Christ's last supper, the whole matter is fully gathered, as the old authors of the Church have declared. For doth not the circumstances of the text, both before and after the eating and drinking, declare that there is very bread and wine? Is not that which is broken and eaten, bread? and that which is divided, drunken, and the fruit of the vine, is it not very wine? And doth not the nature of sacraments require, that the sensible elements should remain in their proper nature, to signify an higher mystery and secret working of God inwardly, as the sensible elements be ministered outwardly? And is not the visible and corporal feeding upon bread and wine a convenient and apt figure and similitude to put us in remembrance, and to admonish us, how we be fed invisibly and spiritually by the flesh and blood of Christ, God and man? And is not the sacrament taken away, when the element is taken away? Or can the accidents of the element be the sacrament of substantial feeding? or did ever any old author say, that the accidents were the sacramental signs without the substances? 11

But for the conclusion of your matter here, I would wish that you would once truly understand me. For I do not say, that Christ's body and blood be given to us in signification and not in deed, but I do as plainly speak as I can, that Christ's body and blood be given to us in deed, yet not corporally and carnally, but spiritually and effectually, as you confess yourself within twelve lines after.

Winchester.

THE author uttereth a great many words, from the eighth to the seventeenth chapter of the first book, declaring spiritual hunger and thirst, and the relieving of the same by spiritual feeding in Christ, and of Christ, as we constantly believe in him; to the confirmation of which belief, the author would have the sacraments of baptism and of the body and blood of Christ, to be adminicles as it were, and that we by them be preached unto, as in water, bread and wine, and by them all our senses, as it were, spoken unto or properly touched; which matter in the gross, although there be some words by the way not tolerable, yet if, those words set apart, the same were in the sum granted to be

good teaching and wholesome exhortation, it containeth so no more but good matter not well applied. For the catholic Church, that profeseth the truth of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, would therewith use that declaration of hunger of Christ, and that spiritual refreshing in Christ, with the effect of Christ's passion and death, and the same to be the only mean of man's regeneration, and feeding also, with the differences of that feeding from bodily feeding for continuing this earthly life. But this toucheth not the principal point that should be entreated : whether Christ so ordered, to feed such as be regenerate in him, to give to them in the sacrament the same his body that he gave to be crucified for us. The good man is fed by faith, and by the merits of Christ's passion, being the mean of the gift of that faith, and other gifts also, and by the suffering of the body of Christ, and shedding of his most precious blood on the altar of the cross : which work and passion of Christ is preached unto us by words and sacraments, and the same doctrine received of us by faith, and the effect of it also. And thus far goeth the doctrine of this author.

But the catholic teaching, by the Scriptures, goeth further, confessing Christ to feed such as be regenerate in him, not only by his body and blood, but also with his body and blood delivered in this sacrament by him in deed to us, which the faithful, by his institution and commandment, receive with their faith and with their mouth also, and with those special dainties be fed specially at Christ's table. And so God doth not only preach in his sacraments, but also worketh in them, and with them, and in sensible things giveth celestial gifts, after the doctrine of each sacrament ; as in baptism the Spirit of Christ, and in the sacrament of the altar the very body and blood of Christ, according to the plain sense of his words which he spake : *This is my body, &c.* And this is the catholic faith, against which, how the author will fortify that he would have called catholic, and confute that he improveth, I intend hereafter more particularly to touch in discussion of that is said.

Canterbury.

I mistrust not the indifferency of the reader so much, but he can well perceive how simple and slender a rehearsal you have made here of my eight annotations, and how little

BOOK I. matter you have here to say against them, and how little your sayings require any answer.

And because this may the more evidently appear to the reader, I shall rehearse my words here again.

[See vol. ii. p. 297—308. “Although in this treaty”
——“phantastical inventions.”

Although I need make no further answer, but the rehearsal of my words, yet thus much will I answer, that where you say, that I speak some words by the way not tolerable, if there had been any such, they should not have failed to be expressed and named to their reproach, as other have been. Wherefore the reader may take a day with you before he believe you, when you reprove me for using some intolerable words, and in conclusion name not one of them.

And as for your catholic confession, that Christ doth in deed feed such as be regenerated in him, not only by his body and blood, but also with his body and blood at his holy table, this I confess also: but that he feedeth Jews, Turks, and Infidels, if they receive the sacrament, or that he corporally feedeth our mouths with his flesh and blood, this neither I confess, nor any Scripture or ancient writer ever taught, but they teach that he is eaten spiritually in our hearts and by faith, not with mouth and teeth, except our hearts be in our mouths, and our faith in our teeth.

Injury to
both sa-
craments.

Thus you have laboured sore in this matter, and spun a fair thread, and brought this your first book to a goodly conclusion. For you conclude your book with blasphemous words against both the sacrament of baptism and of the Lord's Supper, niggardly pinching God's gifts, and diminishing his liberal promises made unto us in them. For where Christ hath promised in both the sacraments to be assistant with us whole both in body and Spirit, (in the one to be our spiritual regeneration and apparel, and in the other to be our spiritual meat and drink,) you clip his liberal benefits in such sort, that in the one you make him to give but only his Spirit, and in the other but only his body. And yet you call your book An Explication and Assertion of the True Catholic Faith.

Here you make an end of your first book, leaving unanswered the rest of my book. And yet forasmuch as Smith busieth himself in this place with the answer thereof, he may not pass unanswered again, where the matter requireth. The words of my book be these.

[See vol. ii. p. 308—312. “But these things”——
“as the Prophet saith.”

Here Smith findeth himself much grieved at two false reports, wherewith he saith that I untruly charge the papists; one when I write, that some say that the very natural body of Christ is in the sacrament naturally and sensibly: which thing Smith utterly denieth any of them to say, and that I falsely lay this unto their charge. And moreover it is also very false, saith he, that you lay unto our charges that we say, that Christ's body is in the sacrament, as it was born of the Virgin, and that it is broken and torn in pieces with our teeth. This also, Smith saith, is a false report of me.

Some say that Christ is naturally in the sacrament.

But whether I have made any untrue report or no, let the books be judges. As touching the first, the Bishop writeth thus in his book of the Devil's Sophistry, the xivth leaf. “Good men were never offended with breaking of the Host, which they daily saw, being also persuaded Christ's body to be present in the sacrament *naturally* and really.” And in the xviiiith leaf he saith these words: “Christ, God and man, is *naturally* present in the sacrament.” And in ten or twelve places of this his last book, he saith that Christ is present in the sacrament, “*naturally*,” “*corporally*,” “*sensibly*,” and “*carnally*,” as shall appear evidently in the reading thereof. So that I make no false report herein, who report none otherwise than the papists have written and published openly in their books.

And it is not to be passed over, but worthy to be noted, how manifest falsehood is used in the printing of this Bishop's book, in the 136th leaf. For where the Bishop wrote, as I have two copies to show, one of his own hand, and another exhibited by him in open Court before the

A manifest falsehood in the printing of the Bishop's book.

BOOK King's Commissioners, that Christ's body in the sacrament
I. is truly present, and therefore really present, corporally also, and naturally: the printed book now set abroad hath changed this word "naturally," and in the stead thereof hath put these words, "but yet supernaturally," corrupting and manifestly falsifying the Bishop's book.

Who was the author of this untrue act I cannot certainly define, but if conjectures may have place, I think the Bishop himself would not command to alter the book in the printing, and then set it forth with this title, that it was the same book that was exhibited by his own hand for his defence to the King's Majesty's Commissioners at Lamhith.

And I think the printer, being a Frenchman, would not have enterprised so false a deed of his own head, for the which he should have no thanks at all, but be accused of the author as a falsifier of his book.

Now forasmuch as it is not like, that either the Bishop or the printer would play any such pranks, it must then be some other, that was of counsel in the printing of the book, which being printed in France, whither you be now fled from your own native country, what person is more like to have done such a noble act than you? who, being so full of craft and untruth in your own country, show yourself to be no changeling, wheresoever you become. And the rather it seemeth to me to be you than any other person, because that the book is altered in this word "naturally," upon which word standeth the reproof of your saying. For he saith, that Christ is in the sacrament naturally, and you deny that any man so saith, but that Christ is there supernaturally. Who is more like therefore to change in his book "naturally,"

¹ [See below, book ii. where the passage is printed according to Cranmer's reading. In Gardyner's *Explication*, 1551, leaf 136, it stands thus: "it is truly present, and therefore really present, corporally also, and but yet supernaturally, with relation to the truth of the body present, and not to the manner of presence, which is spiritual." But among the "faults escaped in the printing" is the direction, "for *supernaturally*, read *naturally*." It will be seen, that of these three readings, none but that which Cranmer asserts to be the true one, makes tolerable sense.]

into "supernaturally," than you, whom the matter toucheth, and no man else? But whether my conjectures be good in this matter, I will not determine, but refer it to the judgment of the indifferent reader.

Now as concerning the second untrue report, which I should make of the papists, I have alleged the words of Berengarius' recantation, appointed by Pope Nicholas the Second, and written *De Consecrat.* dist. ii. which be these: that "not only the sacraments of bread and wine, but also the very flesh and blood of our Lord Jesu Christ, are *sensibly handled of the priest in the altar, broken and torn with the teeth of the faithful people.*"

Thus the reader may see that I misreport not the papists, nor charge them with any other words, than they do write, that is to say, that the body of Christ is naturally and sensibly in the sacrament, and broken and torn in pieces with our teeth.

But, saith Smithe, the meaning of Berengarius in his recantation was otherwise, that the forms only of bread and wine are broken and torn with our teeth, but Christ is received wholly without breaking of his body or tearing with our teeth. Well, whatsoever the meaning of Berengarius was, his words be as I report, so that I make no false report of the papists, nor untruly charge them with that they say not. But how should men know what the papists mean, when they say one thing and mean another? For Berengarius said, that not only the sacraments be broken and torn with our teeth, (and you say he meant contrary, that only the sacraments be broken and torn with our teeth;) Berengarius said, that also the very flesh and blood of Christ be broken and torn, (and you say he meant clean contrary, that the flesh and blood of Christ be not broken and torn;) well, then would I fain learn how it may be known what the papists mean, if they mean yea when they say nay, and mean nay when they say yea.

And as for St. John Chrysostome, and other old authors, by whom you would excuse this manner of speech, they help you herein nothing at all. For not one of them speak

BOOK after this sort, that Berengarius doth. For although they
I. say sometimes, that we see Christ, touch him, and break him, (understanding that speech not of Christ himself, but of the sacraments which represent him,) yet they use no such form of speech, as was prescribed to Berengarius, that we see, feel, and break not only the sacraments, but also Christ himself.

And likewise of Loth, Abraham, Jacob, Josue, Marye Magdalene, and the Apostles, whom you bring forth in this matter, there is no such speech in the Scripture as Berengarius useth. So that all these things be brought out in vain, having no colour to serve for your purpose, saving that something you must say to make out your book.

And as for all the rest that you say in this process, concerning the presence of Christ visible and invisible, needeth no answer at all, because you prove nothing of all that you say in that matter; which may therefore easily be denied, by as good authority as you affirm the same. And yet all the old writers that speak of the diversity of Christ's substantial presence and absence, declare this diversity to be in the diversity of his two natures, (that in the nature of his humanity he is gone hence, and present in the nature of his Divinity,) and not that in divers respects and qualities of one nature he is both present and absent; which I have proved in my third book the fifth chapter.

And forasmuch as you have not brought one author for the proof of your saying, but your own bare words, nor have answered to the authorities alleged by me in the fore-said place of my third book, reason would that my proofs should stand and have place, until such time as you have proved your sayings, or brought some evident matter to improve mine. And this I trust shall suffice to any indifferent reader for the defence of my first book.

Winchester.

WHEREIN I will keep this order. First, to consider the third book, that speaketh against the faith of the real presence of Christ's most precious body and blood in the sacrament: then

against the fourth, and so return to the second, speaking of transubstantiation; whereof to talk, the real presence not being discussed, were clearly superfluous. And finally, I will somewhat say of the fifth book also.

Canterbury.

But now to return to the conclusion of the Bishop's book. As it began with a marvellous sleight and subtlety, so doth he conclude the same with a like notable subtlety, changing the order of my books, not answering them in such order as I wrote them, nor as the nature of the things requireth. For seeing that by all men's confessions there is bread and wine before the consecration, the first thing to be discussed in this matter is, Whether the same bread and wine remain still after the consecration, as sacraments of Christ's most precious body and blood. And next by order of nature and reason is to be discussed, Whether the body and blood of Christ represented by those sacraments, be present also with the said sacraments: and what manner of presence Christ hath, both in the sacraments and in them that receive the sacraments.

Why the order of my book was altered by the Bishop.

But for what intent the Bishop changed this order, it is easy to perceive. For he saw the matter of transubstantiation so flat and plain against him, that it was hard for him to devise an answer in that matter, that should have any appearance of truth, but all the world should evidently see him clearly overthrown at the first onset. Wherefore he thought, that although the matter of the real presence hath no truth in it at all, yet forasmuch as it seemed to him to have some more appearance of truth, than the matter of transubstantiation hath, he thought best to begin with that first, trusting so to juggle in the matter, and to dazzle the eyes of them that be simple and ignorant, and specially of such as were already persuaded in the matter, that they should not well see, nor perceive his legerdemain. And when he had won credit with them in that matter, by making them to wonder at his crafty juggling, then thought he, it should be a fit and meet time for him to bring in the matter of transubstantiation. For when men be amazed, they do

BOOK
I.
wonder rather than judge: and when they be muffled and blindfolded, they cannot find the right way, though they seek it never so fast, nor yet follow it, if it chance them to find it, but give up clearly their own judgment, and follow whomsoever they take to be their guide. And so shall they lightly follow me in this matter of transubstantiation, thought the Bishop, if I can first persuade them, and get their good wills in the real presence. This sleight and subtilty, thou mayest judge certainly, good reader, to be the cause, and none other, wherefore the order of my book is changed without ground or reason.

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

The Confutation of the Third Book.

IN the beginning of the third book, the author hath thought good to note certain differences, which I will also particularly consider. It followeth in him thus : BOOK III.

“ They teach, that Christ is in the bread and wine : but we say, according to the truth, that he is in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine.” The author.

1 Note here, reader, even in the entry of the comparison of these differences, how untruly the true faith of the Church is reported, which doth not teach that Christ is in the bread and wine, which was the doctrine of Luther; but the true faith is, that Christ's most precious body and blood is, by the might of his word and determination of his will which he declareth by his word, in his holy Supper present, under form of bread and wine : the substance of which natures of bread and wine is converted into his most precious body and blood, as it is truly believed and taught in the catholic Church, of which teaching this author cannot be ignorant. So as the author of this book reporteth an untruth wittingly against his conscience, to say, they teach, (calling them papists,) that Christ is in the bread and wine ; but they agree in form of teaching with that the Church of England teacheth at this day in the distribution of the holy communion, in that it is there said the body and blood of Christ to be under the form of bread and wine. And thus much serveth for declaration of the wrong and untrue report of the faith of the catholic Church made of this author, in the setting forth of this difference on that part, which it pleaseth him to name papists. The answer. Untrue report. [1580.]

And now to speak of the other part of the difference on the author's side, when he would tell what he and his say, he conveyeth a sense craftily in words to serve for a difference : such as no catholic man would deny. For every catholic teacher granteth, that no man can receive worthily Christ's precious body and blood in the sacrament, unless he hath by faith and charity dwelling in him, for otherwise, such one as hath not Christ in him, The teaching hitherto even at this day of the Church of England, agreeth with that this author calleth papists'. [1580.]

4 Crafty conveyance of speech by this author. [1580.]

Worthy receiving of Christ's precious

BOOK III. receiveth Christ's body in the sacrament unworthily, to his condemnation. Christ cannot be received worthily, but into his own temple, which be ye, St. Paul saith, and yet, he that hath not Christ's Spirit in him, is not his. As for calling it bread and wine, a catholic man forbeareth not that name, signifying what those creatures were before the consecration in substance. Wherefore appeareth, how the author of this book in the lieu and place of a difference, which he pretendeth he would show, bringeth in that under a "but" which every catholic man must needs confess, that Christ is in them who worthily eat and drink the sacrament of his body and blood, or the bread and wine, as this author speaketh.

A difference should be of contraries. [1580.] But and this author would have spoken plainly, and compared truly the difference of the two teachings, he should in the second part have said somewhat contrary to that the catholic Church teacheth, which he doth not, and therefore, as he showeth untruth in the first report, so he showeth a sleight and shift in the declaration of the second part, to say that repugneth not to the first matter, and that no catholic man will deny, considering the said two teachings be not of one matter, nor shoot not, as one might say, to one mark. For the first part is of the substance of the sacrament to be received, where it is truth, Christ to be present, God and man: the second part is of Christ's spiritual presence in the man that receiveth, which in deed must be in him before he receive the sacrament, or he cannot receive the sacrament worthily, as afore is said; which two parts may stand well together, without any repugnancy, and so both the differences, thus taught, make but one catholic doctrine. Let us see what the author saith further.

Canterbury.

Now the crafts, wiles, and untruths of the first book being partly detected, after I have also answered to this book, I shall leave to the indifferent reader to judge whether it be of the same sort or no. But before I make further answer, I shall rehearse the words of mine own third book, which you attempt next, out of order, to impugn. My words be these.

[See vol. ii. p. 355—356. "Now this matter"——
"bread and wine."

Here it pleaseth you to pass over all the rest of my sayings, and to answer only to the difference between the papists and the true catholic faith. BOOK
III.

Wherein first ye find fault that I have untruly reported the papistical faith, which you call the faith of the Church, which teacheth not, say you, that Christ is in the bread and wine, but under the forms of bread and wine. But to answer you I say, that the papists do teach that Christ is in the visible signs, and whether they list to call them bread and wine, or the forms of bread and wine, all is one to me, for the truth is, that he is neither corporally in the bread and wine, nor in or under the forms and figures of them, but is corporally in heaven, and spiritually in his lively members which be his temples where he inhabiteth. And what untrue report is this, when I speak of bread and wine to the papists, to speak of them in the same sense that the papists mean, taking bread and wine for the forms and accidents of bread and wine? The first
compari-
son.

Misreport
of bread
and wine
for the
forms and
figures of
them.

And yourself also do teach, to understand by the bread and wine, not their substances, but accidents. And what have I offended then, in speaking to you after your own manner of speech, which yourself doth approve and allow by and by after, saying these words: "As for calling it bread and wine, a catholic man forbeareth not that name." If a catholic man forbeareth not that name, and catholic men be true men, then true men forbear not that name. And why then charge you me with untruth for using that name, which you use yourself, and affirm catholic men to use, but that you be given altogether to find faults rather in other, than to amend your own, and to reprehend that in me, which you allow in yourself and other, and purposely will not understand my meaning, because ye would seek occasion to carp and controul?

For else what man is so simple that readeth my book, but he may know well, that I mean not to charge you for affirming of Christ to be in the very bread and wine? For I know that you say, there is neither bread nor wine, although you say untruly therein, but yet forasmuch as the

BOOK III. accidents of bread and wine you call bread and wine, and say that in them is Christ, therefore I report of you, that you say Christ is in the bread and wine, meaning, as you take bread and wine, the accidents thereof.

Smyth. Yet Doctor Smyth was a more indifferent reader of my book than you in this place, who understood my words as I meant, and as the papists use, and therefore would not purposely calumniate and reprehend that was well spoken. But there is no man so dull as he that will not understand. For men know that your wit is of as good capacity as Dr. Smyth's is, if your will agreed to the same.

But as for any untrue report made by me herein wittingly against my conscience, as you untruly report of me, by that time that I have joined with you throughout your book, you shall right well perceive, I trust, that I have said nothing wittingly, but that my conscience shall be able to defend at the great day, in the sight of the everliving God, and that I am able before any learned and indifferent judges, to justify by holy Scriptures and the ancient doctors of Christ's Church; as I will appeal the consciences of all godly men, that be any thing indifferent and ready to yield to the truth, when they read and consider my book.

The book of Common Prayer.

And as concerning the form of doctrine used in this Church of England in the holy communion, that the body and blood of Christ be under the forms of bread and wine, when you shall show the place where this form of words is expressed, then shall you purge yourself of that which in the mean time I take to be a plain untruth.

The second part.

Now for the second part of the difference, you grant that our doctrine is true, that Christ is in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine, and if it differ not from yours, then let it pass as a thing agreed upon by both parties. And yet if I would captiously gather of your words, I could as well prove by this second part, that very bread and wine be drunken after consecration, as you could prove by the first, that Christ is in the very bread and wine. And if a catholic man call that bread and wine, as you say in the second part of the difference, what meant you then in the first part

of this difference to charge me with so heinous a crime, with a note to the reader, as though I had sinned against the Holy Ghost, because I said that the papists do teach that Christ is in the bread and wine? Do not you affirm here yourself the same that I report, that the papists, which you call the catholics, do not forbear to call the sacrament, (wherein they put the real and corporal presence,) bread and wine? Let the reader now judge, whether you be caught in your own snare or no. But such is the success of them that study to wrangle in words, without any respect of opening the truth.

But letting that matter pass, yet we vary from you in this difference. For we say not, as you do, that the body of Christ is corporally, naturally, and carnally either in the bread and wine, or forms of bread and wine, or in them that eat and drink thereof: but we say that he is corporally in heaven only, and spiritually in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine. But you make an article of the faith, which the old Church never believed nor heard of.

And where you note in this second part of the difference a sleight and craft, as you note an untruth in the first, even as much craft is in the one as untruth in the other, being neither sleight nor untruth in neither of both. But this sleight, say you, I use, putting that for a difference wherein is no difference at all, but every catholic man must needs confess. Yet once again, there is no man so deaf as he that will not hear, nor so blind as he that will not see, nor so dull as he that will not understand. But if you had indifferent ears, indifferent eyes, and indifferent judgment, you might well gather of my words a plain and manifest difference, although it be not in such terms as contenteth your mind. But because you shall see that I mean no sleight nor craft, but go plainly to work, I shall set out the difference truly as I meant, and in such your own terms as I trust to content you, if it be possible. Let this therefore be the difference.

They say, that Christ is corporally under or in the forms of bread and wine: we say, that Christ is not there, neither corporally nor spiritually, but in them that worthily eat and

The dif-
ference.
[158o.]

BOOK III. drink the bread and wine he is spiritually, and corporally in heaven.

Here I trust I have satisfied, as well the untrue report wittingly made, as you say, in the first part of the difference against my conscience, as the craft and sleight used in the second part. But what be you eased now by this? We say, as the Scripture teacheth, that Christ is corporally ascended into heaven, and nevertheless is so in them that worthily eat the bread and drink the wine given and distributed at his holy Supper, that he feedeth and nourisheth them with his flesh and blood unto eternal life. But we say not, as you do clearly without ground of Scripture, that he is corporally under the forms of bread and wine, where his presence should be without any profit or commodity, either to us, or to the bread and wine.

Repugnance.

And here, in this difference, it seemeth that you have either clearly forgotten, or negligently overshotten yourself, uttering that thing unawares, which is contrary to your whole book. For the first part, which is of the being of Christ in the sacramental bread and wine, is of the substance of the sacrament to be received, say you, where it is true Christ to be present, God and man. The second part, say you, which is of the being of Christ in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine, is of Christ's spiritual presence. Of which your words I see nothing to be gathered, but that as concerning his substantial presence, Christ is received into the sacramental bread and wine, and as for them that worthily receive the sacrament, he is in them none otherwise than after a spiritual presence: for else why should ye say that the second part is of Christ's spiritual presence, if it be as well of his corporal as spiritual presence? Wherefore by your own words, this difference should be understood of two different beings of Christ, that in the sacrament he is by his substance, and in the worthy receivers spiritually, and not by his substance: for else the differences repugn not, as you object against me. Wherefore either you write one thing and mean another, or else, as you write of other, God so blindeth the adversaries of the

truth, that in one place or other they confess the truth un-
 awares. Now follow my words in the second comparison. BOOK
 III.

“ They say, that when any man eateth the bread and
 “ drinketh the cup, Christ goeth into his mouth or stomach The second
 compari-
 son.
 “ with the bread and wine, and no further. But we say,
 “ that Christ is in the whole man, both in body and soul of
 “ him that worthily eateth the bread and drinketh the cup,
 “ and not in his mouth or stomach only.”

Winchester.

1 IN this comparison, the author termeth the true catholic teach-
 2 ing at his pleasure, to bring it in contempt. Which doing in
 rude speech would be called otherwise then I will term it. Truth
 it is, as St. Augustine saith, we receive in the sacrament the body
 of Christ with our mouth, and such speech other use, as a book
 set forth in the Archbishop of Canterbury's name, called a Cate-
 chism, willeth children to be taught, that they receive with their
 bodily mouth the body and blood of Christ; which I allege, be-
 cause it shall appear it is a teaching set forth among us of late, as
 hath been also and is by the book of Common Prayer, being the
 most true catholic doctrine of the substance of the sacrament, in
 that it is there so catholicly spoken of, which book this author
 doth after specially allow, howsoever all the sum of his teaching
 doth improve it in that point. So much is he contrary to himself
 3 in this work, and here in this place, not caring what he sayeth,
 reporteth such a teaching in the first part of this difference, as I
 have not heard of before. There was never man of learning that
 I have read termed the matter so, that Christ goeth into the
 stomach of the man that receiveth, and no further. For that is
 written *contra Stercoranistas*, is nothing to this teaching, nor the
 speech of any gloss, if there be any such, were herein to be re-
 garded. The catholic doctrine is, that by the holy conjunction in
 the sacrament we be joined to Christ really, because we receive
 in the holy Supper the most precious substance of his glorious
 body, which is a flesh giving life: and that is not digested into
 our flesh, but worketh in us and attempereth by heavenly nurture
 our body and soul being partakers of his passion to be conform-
 able to his will, and by such spiritual food to be made more spi-
 ritual. In the receiving of which food in the most blessed sacra-

A sect re-
 proved that
 is called
 Stercora-
 nists.
 [1580.]

**BOOK
III.**

ment, our body and soul, in them that duly communicate, work together in due order, without other discussion of the mystery than God hath appointed, that is to say, the soul to believe as it is taught, and the body to do as God hath ordered, knowing that glorious flesh by our eating cannot be consumed or suffer, but to be most profitable unto such as do accustom worthily to receive the same. But to say, that the Church teacheth how we receive Christ at our mouth, and he goeth into our stomach and no further, is a report which by the just judgment of God is suffered to come out of the mouth of them that fight against the truth in this most high mystery.

Now where this author in the second part by an adversative with a "but" to make the comparison, telleth what he and his say, he telleth in effect that which every catholic man must needs and doth confess: for such as receive Christ's most precious body and blood in the sacrament worthily, they have Christ dwelling in them, who comforteth both body and soul, which the Church hath ever taught most plainly. So as this comparison of difference in his two parties, is made of one open untruth and a truth disguised, as though it were now first opened by this author and his, which manner of handling declareth what sleight and shift is used in the matter.

Canterbury.

In the first part of this comparison I go not about to term the true catholic faith, for the first part in all the comparisons is the papistical faith, which I have termed none otherwise, than I learned of their own terming, and therefore if my terming please you not, as in deed it ought to please no man, yet lay the blame in them that were the authors and inventors of that terming, and not in me, that against them do use their own terms, terming the matter as they do themselves, because they should not find fault with me, as you do, that I term their teaching at my pleasure.

And as for receiving of the body of Christ with our mouths, truth it is that St. Augustine, Ambrose, Chrysostome, and other use such speeches, that we receive the body of Christ with our mouths, see him with our eyes, feel him with our hands, break him and tear him with our teeth, eat

him and digest him, which speech I have also used in my Catechism, but yet these speeches must be understand figuratively, (as I have declared in my fourth book the eighth chapter, and shall more fully declare hereafter,) for we do not these things to the very body of Christ, but to the bread whereby his body is represented.

BOOK III.

And yet the book of Common Prayer neither useth any such speech, nor giveth any such doctrine, nor I in no point improve that godly book, nor vary from it. But yet glad I am to hear that the said book liketh you so well, as no man can mislike it, that hath any godliness in him joined with knowledge.

The book of Common Prayer.

3 But now to come to the very matter of this article, it is marvel that you never read, that Christ goeth into the mouth or stomach of the man that receiveth, and no further, being a lawyer, and seeing that it is written in the gloss of the law, *De Consecrat.* dist. ii. "Tribus gradibus," in these words. "It is certain that as soon as the forms be torn with the teeth, so soon the body of Christ is gone up into heaven." And in the chapter, "Non iste," is another gloss to the same purpose. And if you had read Thomas de Aquino and Bonaventure, (great clerks and holy saints of the Pope's own making,) with other school authors, then should you have known what the papists do say in this matter^a. For some say, that the body of Christ remaineth so long as the form and fashion of bread remaineth, although it be in a dog, mouse, or in the jakes. And some say, it is not in the mouse nor jakes, but remaineth only in the person that eateth it, until it be digested in the stomach, and the form of bread be gone. Some say, it remaineth no longer than the sacrament is in the eating, and may be felt, seen, and tasted in the mouth.

That the papists say, that Christ goeth no further than the mouth or stomach.

Thomas. Bonaventura.

And this, besides Hugo, saith Pope Innocentius himself, who was the best learned and chief doer in this matter of all the other popes. Read you never none of these authors? and yet take upon you the full knowledge of this matter? Will you take upon you to defend the papists, and know

Hugo. Innocentius III.

^a Read Smith, fol. 64. [1580.]

BOOK III. not what they say? Or do you know it, and now be ashamed of it, and for shame will deny it?

And seeing that you teach, that we receive the body of Christ with our mouths, I pray you, tell whether it go any further than the mouth or no, and how far it goeth, that I may know your judgment herein: and so shall you be charged no further than with your own saying, and the reader shall perceive what excellent knowledge you have in this matter.

And where you say, that to teach that we receive Christ at our mouth, and he goeth into our stomach, and no further, cometh out of the mouth of them that fight against the truth in this most high mystery: here, like unto Cayphas, you prophesy the truth unawares. For this doctrine cometh out of the mouth of none but of the papists, which fight against the holy catholic truth of the ancient fathers, saying that Christ tarrieth no longer than the proper forms of bread and wine remain, which cannot remain after perfect digestion in the stomach.

And I say not that the Church teacheth so, as you feign me to say, but that the papists say so. Wherefore I would wish you to report my words as I say, and not as you imagine me to say, lest you hear again, as you have heard heretofore, of your wonderful learning and practice in the Devil's sophistry.

The second part. Now as concerning the second part of this comparison, here you grant, that my saying therein is true, and that every catholic man must needs and doth confess the same.

Innocentius III.

By which your saying you must condemn almost all the school authors and lawyers, that have written of this matter, with Innocent the Third also, as men not catholic, because they teach that Christ goeth no further, nor tarrieth no longer, than the forms of bread and wine go and remain in their proper kind.

And yet now your doctrine, as far as I can gather of your obscure words, is this, that Christ is received at the mouth with the forms of bread and wine, and goeth with them into the stomach. And although they go no further in their

proper kinds, yet there Christ leaveth them, and goeth himself further into every part of the man's body, and into his soul also: which your saying seemeth to me very strange. For I have many times heard, that a soul hath gone into a body, but I never heard that a body went into a soul. But I ween of all the papists, you shall be alone in this matter, and find never a fellow to say as you do. BOOK
III.

And of these things which I have here spoken I may conclude, that this comparison of difference is not made of an open untruth and a truth disguised, except you will confess the papistical doctrine to be an open untruth.

Now the words of my third comparison be these.

“ They say, that Christ is received in the mouth, and entereth in with the bread and wine. We say, that he is received in the heart, and entereth in by faith.” The third
compari-
son.

Winchester.

2 HERE is a pretty sleight in this comparison, where both parts of the comparison may be understood on both sides, and therefore here is by the author in this comparison no issue joined: for the worthy receiving of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament is both with mouth and heart, both in fact and faith. After which sort St. Peter in the last supper received Christ's body, whereas in the same supper Judas received it with mouth and in fact only, whereof St. Augustine speaketh in this wise^b:

3 “ Non dicunt ista, nisi qui de mensa Domini vitam sumunt, sicut
“ Petrus, non iudicium sicut Judas, et tamen ipsa utrique fuit una,
“ sed non utrique valuit ad unum, quia ipsi non erant unum.”

Which words be thus much to say: “ That they say not so as
“ was before entreated, but such as receive life of our Lord's
“ table, as Peter did, not judgment, as Judas, and yet the table
“ was all one to them both, but it was not to all one effect in
“ them both, because they were not one.” Here St. Augustine noteth the difference in the receiver, not in the sacrament received, which being received with the mouth only, and Christ entering in mystery only, doth not sanctify us, but is the stone of stumbling, and our judgment and condemnation; but if he be re-

^b Augustinus, *Contra Literas Petil.* lib. ii. cap. 47.

BOOK
III.

ceived with mouth and body, with heart and faith, to such he bringeth life and nourishment. Wherefore in this comparison, the author hath made no difference, but with divers terms, the catholic teaching is divided into two members with a "but," fashioned nevertheless in another phrase of speech than the Church hath used, which is so common in this author, that I will not hereafter note it any more for a fault. Let us go further.

Canterbury.

Whether
Christ be
received in
the mouth.

There is nothing in this comparison worthy to be answered, for if you can find no difference therein, yet every indifferent reader can. For when I report the papists' teaching, that they say, Christ is received in the mouth, and entereth in with the bread and wine, and for an adversative thereto I say, that we, which follow the Scripture and ancient writers, say, that he is received in the heart, and entereth in by faith, every indifferent reader understandeth this adversative upon our side, that we say Christ is not received in the mouth, but in the heart, specially seeing that in my fourth book, the second and third chapter, I make purposely a process thereof, to prove that Christ is not eaten with mouths and teeth. And yet to eschew all such occasions of sleight as you impute unto me in this comparison, to make the comparison more full and plain, let this be the comparison.

The difference.
[1580.]

They say, that Christ is received with the mouth, and entereth in with the bread and wine. We say, that he is not received with the mouth, but with the heart, and entereth in by faith. And now I trust there is no sleight in this comparison, nor both the parts may not be understand on both sides, as you say they might before.

And as for St. Augustine serveth nothing for your purpose, to prove that Christ's body is eaten with the mouth. For he speaketh not one word in the place by you alleged, neither of our mouths, nor of Christ's body. But it seemeth you have so fervent a desire to be doing in this matter, that you be like to certain men, which have such a fond delight

^c Augustinus, *Contra Literas Petil.* lib. ii. cap. 47.

in shooting, that so they be doing, they pass not how far they shoot from the mark. For in this place of St. Augustine against the Donatists, he shooteth not at this butt, whether Christ's very natural body be received with our mouths, but whether the sacraments in general be received both of good and evil. And there he declareth, that it is all one water, whether Symon Peter or Symon Magus be christened in it: all one table of the Lord, and one cup, whether Peter sup thereat or Judas: all one oil, whether David or Saule were anointed therewith. Wherefore he concludeth thus: "Memento ergo sacramentis Dei nihil obesse mores malorum hominum, quo illa vel omnino non sint, vel minus sancta sint, sed ipsis malis hominibus, ut hæc habeant ad testimonium damnationis, non ad adiutorium sanitatis^d." "Remember therefore," saith St. Augustine, "that the manners of evil men hinder not the sacraments of God, that either they utterly be not, or be less holy, but they hinder the evil men themselves, so that they have the sacraments to witness of their damnation, not to help of their salvation." And all the process spoken there by St. Augustine is spoken chiefly of baptism against the Donatists, which said, that the baptism was naught, if either the minister or the receiver were naught. Against whom St. Augustine concludeth, that the sacraments of themselves be holy, and be all one, whether the minister or receiver be good or bad. But this place of St. Augustine proveth as well your purpose, that Christ's body is received by the mouth, as it proveth that Paul's steeple is higher than the Cross in the Cheape. For he speaketh not one word of none of them all. And therefore in this place, where you pretend to shoot at the butt, you shoot quite at rovers, and clean from the mark.

- 4 And yet if Judas received Christ with the bread, as you say, and the Devil entered with the bread, as St. John John xiii. saith, then was the Devil and Christ in Judas both at once: and then how they agreed I marvel. For St. Paul saith, 1 Cor. x. that Christ and Belyall cannot agree. Oh what a wit

^d Augustinus, *Contra Literas Petil.* lib. ii. cap. 47.

BOOK
III.

he had need to have, that will wittingly maintain an open error directly against God and his word, and all holy ancient writers.

Now followeth the fourth comparison in my book.

The fourth
compari-
son.

“ They say, that Christ is really in the sacramental bread, “ being reserved an whole year, or so long as the form of “ bread remaineth : but after the receiving thereof, he flieth “ up, say they, from the receiver unto heaven, as soon as “ the bread is chawed in the mouth, or changed in the “ stomach. But we say, that Christ remaineth in the man “ that worthily receiveth it, so long as the man remaineth a “ member of Christ.”

Winchester.

THIS comparison is like the other before, whereof the first part is garnished and embossed with untruth, and the second part is that the Church hath ever taught most truly, and that all must believe, and therefore that piece hath no untruth in the matter, but in the manner only, being spoken as though it differed from the continual open teaching of the Church, which is not so ; wherefore in the manner of it in utterance signifieth an untruth, which in the matter itself is nevertheless most true. For undoubtedly, Christ remaineth in the man that worthily receiveth the sacrament, so long as that man remaineth a member of Christ. In this first part, there is a fault in the matter of the speech, for explication whereof I will examine it particularly. This author saith, “ They say, that Christ is really in the sacramental bread, being reserved an whole year,” &c. The Church giving faith to Christ’s word, when he said, *This is my body*, &c. teacheth the body of Christ to be present in the sacrament under the form of bread : unto which words when we put the word “ really,” it serveth only to express that truth in open words, which was afore to be understanded in sense. For in Christ, who was the body of all the shadows and figures of the law, and who did exhibit and give in his sacraments of the new law the things promised in his sacraments of the old law, we must understand his words in the institution of his sacraments without figure in the substance of the celestial thing of them, and therefore when he ordered his most precious body and blood to be eaten and drunken of us

Pugnat cum
aliis pa-
pistis.
[1580.]

Christ is the
body of all
figures.
[1580.]

under the forms of bread and wine, we profess and believe, that truly he gave us his most precious body in the sacrament for a celestial food, to comfort and strengthen us in this miserable life. And for certainty of the truth of his work therein, we profess he giveth us his body really, that is to say, in deed his body the thing itself: which is the heavenly part of the sacrament, called *Eucharistia*, having the visible form of bread and wine, and containing invisibly the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ, which was not wont to be reserved otherwise, but to be ready for such as in danger of death call for it, and the same, so long as it may be used, is still the same sacrament, which only time altereth not, whereof Cyrill^e wrote to this sense many hundred years past, and Hesychius^f also, and what ought to be done, when by negligence of the minister it were reserved over long. Mary, where it liketh the author of these differences, to say the Church teacheth Christ to fly up from the receiver unto heaven, so soon as the bread is chewed in the mouth, or changed in the stomach, this manner of speech implieth as though Christ left the seat of his majesty in heaven to be present in the sacrament, which is most untrue. The Church acknowledgeth, believeth, and teacheth truly, that Christ sitteth on the right hand of his Father in glory, from whence he shall come to judge the world, and also teacheth Christ's very body and blood, and Christ himself, God and man, to be present in the sacrament, not by shifting of place, but by the determination of his will, declared in Scriptures, and believed of the catholic Church, which articles be to reason impossible, but possible to God omnipotent. So as being taught of his will, we should humbly submit all our senses and reason to the faith of his will and work declared in his Scriptures.

7 In the belief of which mysteries is great benefit and consolation, and in the unreverent search and curious discussion of them, 8 presumptuous boldness and wicked temerity. I know by faith Christ to be present, but the particularity how he is present, more than I am assured he is truly present, and therefore in substance 9 present, I cannot tell; but present he is, and truly is, and verily is, and so in deed, that is to say, really is, and unfeignedly is, and therefore in substance is, and, as we term it, substantially is present. 10 For all these adverbs, "really," "substantially," with the rest,

Really, that
is, in deed.
[1580.]

Christ
being present
in the sacrament,
is at the
same time
present in
heaven.
[1580.]

Truly,
really, sub-
stantially.
[1580.]

^e Cyrillus, *Ad Calosyrium Episcopum*.

^f Hesychius, *In Levit.* lib. iii. cap. 8.

BOOK
III.

be contained in the one word "is," spoken out of his mouth that speaketh as he meaneth, truly and certainly as Christ did, saying, *This is my body that shall be betrayed for you*; who then carried himself in his hands after a certain manner, as St. Augustine saith^s, which never man besides him could do, who in that his last supper gave himself to be eaten without consuming: the ways and means whereof no man can tell, but humble spirits, as they be taught, must constantly believe it, without thinking or talking of flying or stying of Christ again unto heaven, where Christ is in the glory of his Father continually, and is nevertheless, because he will so be, present in the sacrament, whole God and man, and dwelleth corporally in him that receiveth him worthily.

Wherefore, reader, when thou shalt again well consider this comparison, thou shalt find true, how the first part is disguised with untrue report of the common teaching of the Church, howsoever some gloss, or some private teacher might speak of it, and the second part, such as hath been ever so taught. One thing I think good to admonish the reader, that whatsoever I affirm or precisely deny, I mean within the compass of my knowledge, which I speak not because I am in any suspicion or doubt of that I affirm or deny, but to avoid the temerity of denying as never, or affirming as ever, which be extremities; and I mean also of public doctrine by consent received, so taught and believed, and not that any one man might blindly write as uttering his fancy, as this author doth for his pleasure. There followeth in the author thus.

Canterbury.

Because this comparison, as you say, is like the other, therefore it is fully answered before in the other comparisons. And here yet again it is to be noted, that in all these four comparisons you approve and allow for truth, the second part of the comparison which we say.

And where you say, that Christ undoubtedly remaineth in the man that worthily receiveth the sacrament, so long as that man remaineth a member of Christ: how agreeth this with the common saying of all the papists, that Christ is contained under the forms of bread and wine, and remaineth there no longer than the forms of bread and wine re-

^s Augustin. *Psal.* 33.

What is found in a blind gloss may not be taken for the teaching of the Church, and yet I never read of flying. It is in man dangerous to affirm or deny extremities, although they be true, for it maketh him suspect of presumption. [1580.] How long Christ tarrieth with the receiver of the sacrament.

main? Wherefore in this point all the whole rout of the papists will condemn for untruth, that which you so constantly affirm to be undoubtedly true.

3 And when the papists teach that the body of Christ is really in the sacrament under the form of bread, they speak not this, giving faith to Christ's words, as you say they do, for Christ never spake any such words. And as for this saying of Christ, *This is my body*, it is a figurative speech, called *metonymia*, when one thing is called by the name of another which it signifieth, and it hath no such sense as you pretend. For there is a great diversity between these two sayings, *This is my body*, and, The body of Christ is really in the sacrament under the form of bread. But the papists have set Christ's words upon the tenters, and stretched them out so far, that they make his words to signify as pleaseth them, not as he meant.

4 And this is a marvellous doctrine of you, to say that Christ was the body of all the shadows and figures of the law, and did exhibit and give in his sacraments of the new law the things promised in the sacraments of the old law. For he is the body of all the figures, as well of the new law as of the old, and did exhibit and give his promises in the sacraments of the old law, as he doth now in the sacraments of the new law. And we must understand the words spoken in the institution of the sacraments in both the laws, figuratively, as concerning the sacraments, and without figure, as concerning the things by them promised, signified, and exhibited. As in circumcision was given the same thing to them, that is given to us in baptism, and the same by manna, that we have at the Lord's table. Only this difference was between them and us, that our redemption by Christ's death and passion was then only promised, and now it is performed and past. And as their sacraments were figures of his death to come, so be ours figures of the same now past and gone. And yet it was all but one Christ to them and to us, who gave life, comfort, and strength to them by his death to come, and giveth the same to us by his death passed.

The fathers in the old law received the same things in their sacraments that we do in ours.

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And he was in their sacraments spiritually and effectually present, and for so much truly and really present, that is to say, in deed, before he was born, no less than he is now in our sacraments present, after his death and ascension into heaven. But as for carnal presence, he was to them not yet come; and to us he is come, and gone again unto his Father, from whom he came.

Reserva-
tion.
Cyrill.
Hesichius.

And as for the reservation of the sacrament, neither Cyrill nor Hesychius speak any word what ought to be done with the sacrament, when by negligence of the minister it were reserved over long, but Hesychius showeth plainly that nothing ought to be reserved, but to be burned whatsoever remained.

And as for the flying of Christ up into heaven so soon as the bread is chawed in the mouth, or changed in the stomach, I say not that the Church teacheth so, but that papists say so, which forasmuch as you say, that it liketh me to report this most untruly, read what the gloss sayeth upon the chapter, "Tribus gradibus^h." *De Consecrat.* dist. ii. and there you shall find these words. "Certum est, quod species quam cito dentibus teruntur, tam cito in caelum rapitur corpus Christi." And if this gloss be false and erroneous, why was it published and set out by the authority of the papists? Why hath it been written and printed in so many countries and so many years, without reproof, or any fault found therein by any man?

But here many wise men learn to be ware of your doctrine. For you reprove those papists which have written of this matter four or five hundred years past, and do invent a new device of your own. And therefore wise men when they see you teach one doctrine, and the papists that were before your time teach another, they will believe none of you all.

The benefit
and comfort
in this sa-
crament.

And where you say, that in the belief of this mystery is great benefit and consolation, what benefit, I beseech you, is it to us, if Christ be really and corporally in the forms of bread and wine a month or two, or a year or two? And if we receive him really and corporally with the bread and

^h *De Consecrat.* dist. ii. "Tribus gradibus."

wine into our mouths or stomachs, and no further, and there he tarrieth not in that sort, but departeth away from us by and by again; what great benefit or comfort, I pray you, is such a corporal presence unto us? And yet this is the teaching of all the papists, although you seem to vary from them in this last point of Christ's sudden departure. But when the matter shall be throughly answered, I ween you will agree with the rest of the papists, that as concerning his carnal presence, Christ departeth from us, at the least when the forms of bread and wine be altered in the stomach. And then I pray you, declare what comfort and benefit we have by this carnal presence, which by and by is absent, and tarrieth not with us? Such comfort have weak and sick consciences at the papists' hands, to tell them that Christ was with them, and now is gone from them.

Nevertheless in the belief of this mystery, if it be understand according to God's word, is great benefit and consolation; but to believe your addition unto God's word is neither benefit nor wisdom.

8 And I pray you, show in what place the Scripture saith, that under the forms of bread and wine is the body of Christ really, corporally, and naturally, or else acknowledge them to be your own addition besides God's word, and your stout assertion herein to be but presumptuous boldness and wicked temerity, affirming so arrogantly that thing, for the which you have none authority of God's word.

And where you seem to be offended with the discussion of this matter, what hurt, I pray you, can gold catch in the fire, or truth with discussing? Lies only fear discussing. The Devil hateth the light, because he hath been a liar from the beginning, and is loth that his lies should come to light and trial. And all hypocrites and papists be of a like sort, afraid that their doctrines should come to discussing, whereby it may evidently appear, that they be endued with the spirit of error and lying. If the papists had not feared, that their doctrines should have been espied, and their opinions have come to discussing, the Scriptures of God had been in the vulgar and English tongue many

BOOK III. years ago. But, God be praised, at the length your doctrine is come to discussing, so that you cannot so craftily walk in a cloud, but the light of God's word will always show where

John v. you be. Our Saviour Christ, in the fifth of John, willet h us to search the Scriptures, and to try out the truth by them. And shall not we then with humble reverence search the truth in Christ's sacraments?

The manner of presence. And if you cannot tell how Christ is present, why do you then say, that he is substantially present, corporally present, naturally and carnally present?

And how sure be you that Christ is in substance present, because he is truly present? Are you assured that this

your doctrine agreeth with God's word? Doth not God's word teach a true presence of Christ in spirit, where he is not present in his corporal substance? As when he saith,

Matt. xviii. *Where two or three be gathered together in my name, there*

Matt. ult. *am I in the midst of them.* And also when he saith, *I shall*

be with you unto the end of the world. Was it not a true presence that Christ in these places promised? And yet can you not of this true presence gather such a corporal presence of the substance of Christ's manhood, as you unlearnedly, contrary to the Scriptures, go about to prove in the sacrament. For when Christ said, *This is my body*, it was bread which he called his body in a figurative speech, as all the old authors teach, and as I have proved in my third book, the eighth and eleventh chapter. And the manner how Christ carried himself in his own hands, St. Augustine declareth it to be figuratively.

The comparison. [1580.] And because you can find no repugnance between the two parts of this comparison, to make them more plain, I shall fill them up with more words, as I did the other comparisons before. This therefore shall be the comparison.

They say, that Christ is really and corporally in the sacramental bread being reserved, so long as the form of bread remaineth, although it be an whole year and more: but after the receiving thereof, he flieth up from the receiver into heaven, as soon as the bread is chawed in the mouth or digested in the stomach. But we say, that after what

manner Christ is received of us, in the same wise he remaineth in us, so long as we remain the members of Christ. BOOK
III.

And where in the end you admonish the reader, that whatsoever you affirm or precisely deny, you mean within the compass of your knowledge, and of public doctrine, and of doctrine by consent received: what do you here else, but devise certain sleights and prepare for yourself privy holes to start out at, whensoever you should be taken with a manifest lie? So that you should not be compelled to abide by any word that you say. For by these crafty sleights and shifts, of the compass of your knowledge, and of public doctrine, and of doctrine by common consent received, you mean to say ever what you list. And though never so manifest a lie or untruth be laid to your charge, yet shall no man never be able to prove it so manifestly against you, but you shall have one of these three shifts to flee out at for your defence.

Now followeth in my book the fifth comparison.

“ They say, that in the sacrament, the corporal members The fifth comparison. of Christ be not distant in place one from another, but that wheresoever the head is, there be the feet, and wheresoever the arms be, there be the legs; so that in every part of the bread and wine is altogether whole head, whole feet, whole flesh, whole blood, whole heart, whole lungs, whole breast, whole back, and altogether whole, confused and mixed without distinction or diversity. O, what a foolish and an abominable invention is this, to make of the most pure and perfect body of Christ such a confused and monstrous body! And yet can the papists imagine nothing so foolish, but all Christian people must receive the same as an oracle of God, and as a most certain article of their faith, without whispering to the contrary.”

Winchester.

THIS is marvellous rhetoric, and such as the author hath overseen himself in the utterance of it, and confesseth himself prettily abused, to the latter end of his years to have believed that he now calleth so foolish. But to the purpose. In the

BOOK
III.

Book of Common Prayer, now at this time set forth in this realm, it is ordered to teach the people, that in each part of the bread² consecrate, broken, is the whole body of our Saviour Christ¹, which is agreeable to the catholic doctrine : upon occasion hereof, it liketh this author to multiply language by enumeration of parts ; and because reason without faith directeth the bodily eye to so little a visible quantity in the host, this author beareth in hand the catholic Church to say and teach all that fond reason deviseth, 3 whereas the Church, in the doctrine of this mystery, denieth all that reason without faith deviseth ; and therefore, when we acknowledge by faith Christ's body present, although we say it is present, truly, 4 really, substantially, yet we say our senses be not privy to that presence, ne the manner of it, but by instruction of faith ; and therefore we say, Christ's body to be not locally present, not by manner of quantity, but invisibly, and in no sensible manner, but marvelously in a sacrament and mystery truly, and in such a spiritual manner as we cannot define and determine ; and yet by faith we 5 know his body present, the parts of which be in themselves distinct one from another, in their own substance, but not by circumscription of several places, to be comprehended of our capacity ; which parts we cannot by demonstration place, nor by imagination displace, diminish, alter, or confound, as this author for his pleasure reporteth ; who writeth monstrously in so high a mystery, and impudently beareth in hand the catholic Church to teach 6 that he listeth to bear in hand may by wanton reason be deduced of their teaching ; whereas all true Christian men believe simply Christ's words, and trouble not their heads with such consequences as seem to strive with reason. This is in the author no whispering, but plainly railing ; wherein, if he had remembered himself well, he would not have spoken of all Christian men in

**Pugnatum
aliis pa-
pistis.
[1580.]**

¹ [The passage alluded to is in one of the concluding rubrics of Edward VI.'s first Book of Common Prayer, and is as follows : " For avoiding " of all matters and occasion of dissension, it is meet that the bread " prepared for the Communion be made through all this realm after " one sort and fashion : that is to say, unleavened and round as it was " afore, but without all manner of print, and something more larger and " thicker than it was, so that it may be aptly divided in divers pieces : " and every one shall be divided in two pieces at the least, or more, by " the discretion of the minister, and so distributed. And men must not " think less to be received in part than in the whole, but in each of " them the whole body of our Saviour Jesu Christ." *The Book of the Common Prayer*, 1549. fol. 131.]

the receipt of that he intendeth to disprove. And if he would say he spake it by an irony or scorn, yet it implieth, that all had received that he thus mocketh; which, after the sort he writeth, was never devised by papist or other to be so taught, otherwise than as this author might read it as an idle argument, to show absurdity in reason.

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7 For in God's works, as the sacraments be, we must think all seemliness in deed without deformity, even as we believe all God's judgments just and true, although reason conclude in them evident iniquity. Man's reason, when it seemeth most gallant, is full of spots and folly: God's works be all seemliness without confusion, monster, or any such absurdity as this author supposeth; although I cannot in the sacrament, with the eye of my reason, locally distinct Christ's head from his foot, his legs from his arm. And where in the Book of Common Prayer it is truly said, in each part of the bread consecrate broken to be Christ's whole body, if one of curiosity would question with me, and I of folly would answer him, first, Where is Christ's head? I should say, Here, pointing with my finger, he would think it first a little head. Then he would ask, Where is his foot? and I should say, There, and point in the same place again, for there is none other left. If he replied that I pointed before the same for the head, might not the third a catholic man that stood by, trow you, wisely call us both mad, to go about to discuss that we must grant we see not; and when by faith we know only the being present of Christ's most precious body, then by blind reason to discuss the manner of being in the situation of such parts as we do not see? Now if there came among us a fourth man as a mediator, and would do as King Alexander did, when he could not open the knot of Gordius, he did cut it with his sword; if this man should say: 'I will relieve this matter. You believe Christ's body is present in deed, really and substantially. Leave out really and substantially, and say his body is present in signification, and then it may be easily conceived by reason, that Christ's body being never so great, may be as well signified by a little piece of bread as by a great piece of bread: even as a man may write a great man's name as well in small letters short, as in great letters at length.' And to commend further his device unto us, would percase tell how many absurdities, as he thinketh, and inconveniences might be avoided by it. This fourth man I speak of, making himself a mediator, but in deed

What is received of all Christian men hath therein a manifest token in truth. [1580.]

It is a folly to answer a curious demander. [1580.]

Quintus Curtius maketh mention of this fact of Alexander. Faith of God and his work cannot by man's device have any qualification. [1580.]

BOOK III. unmeet therefore, because he hath no participation with faith :

yet if our religion and faith were man's invention, as that of Numa Pompilius was, he should not utter this his conceit all idly ; for he speaketh of a jolly easy way without any mystery or marvel at all. But our faith is of hearing, as hath been preached continually from the beginning, grounded upon the most sure truth of the word of God, and therefore cannot be attempered as man would devise it, to exclude travail in carnal reason. For then the Sabellians were to be hearkened unto, who by their heresy took away all the hard and difficle questions in the mystery of the Trinity.

Sabellians.

Arrians.

The Arrians also relieved much man's reason in consideration of Christ's death, denying him to be of the same substance with his Father, which was a pestilent heresy. Now in the sacrament to say Christ's body is present only by signification, as it relieveth in some men's judgments the absurdities in reason, which ought not to be relieved ; so it condemneth all the true public faith, testified in the Church from the beginning hitherto, and showeth the learned holy men to have wondered in their writings at that which hath no wonder at all, to ordain one thing to be the signification of another, which is practised daily among men. But from the beginning the mystery of the sacrament hath been with wonder marvelled at, how Christ made bread his body, and wine his blood, and under the figure of those visible creatures, gave invisibly his precious body and blood presently there. And as he gave, saith St. Bernard^k, his life for us, so he gave his flesh to us ; in that mystery to redeem us, in this to feed us. Which doings of Christ we must understand to have been perfected, not in an imagination in a figure and signification, but really in very deed, truly and unfeignedly, not because we believe it so, but because he wrought it so, whose works we must believe to be most perfectly true, according to the truth of the letter, where no absurdity in Scripture driveth us from it, howsoever it seem repugnant to our reason, be we never so wise and witty. Which man's reason, now a days inflamed with fury of language, is the only adversary against the most blessed sacrament, as it may appear by these comparisons of differences thoroughly considered.

Canterbury.

It is good
at all times

Did not you believe, I pray you, many years together,

^k Bernardus, *Super Cant.* serm. 31.

that the Bishop of Rome was Christ's vicar, and the head of his Church? If you did not, you wittingly and willingly defended a false error in the open Parliament. But sithence that time you have called that belief, as it is in deed, very foolish. And if you confessed your ignorance in that matter, be no more abashed to confess it in this, if you have respect more unto God's truth than to your own estimation. It is lawful and commendable for a man to learn from time to time, and to go from his ignorance, that he may receive and embrace the truth. And as for me, I am not, I grant, of that nature that the papists for the most part be, who study to devise all shameful shifts, rather than they will forsake any error, wherewith they were infected in youth. I am glad to acknowledge my former ignorance, (as St. Paul St. Cyprian, St. Augustine, and many other holy men did, who now be with Christ,) to bring other to the knowledge of the truth, of whose ignorance I have much ruth and pity. I am content to give place to God's word, that the victory may be Christ's. What a member had the Church of God lost, if Paul would have been as froward as some papists be, that will stick to their error tooth and nail, though the Scripture and ancient writers be never so plain and flat against them? Although St. Paul erred, yet because his error was not wilful, but of ignorance, so that he gave place to the truth when it was opened unto him, he became of a most cruel persecutor a most fervent setter forth of the truth, and Apostle of Christ. And would God I were as sure that you be changed in deed in those matters of religion, wherein with the alteration of this realm you pretend a change, as I am glad, even from the bottom of my heart, that it hath pleased Almighty God in this latter end of my years, to give me knowledge of my former error, and a will to embrace the truth, setting apart all manner of worldly respects, which be special hinderances, that hold back many from the free profession of Christ and his word.

2 And as for the Book of Common Prayer, although it say, that in each part of the bread broken is received the whole body of Christ, yet it saith not so of the parts unbroken,

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III.

to convert
from error
to truth.

1 Tim. i.

The Book
of Common
Prayer.

BOOK III. nor yet of the parts or whole reserved, as the papists teach. But as in baptism we receive the Holy Ghost, and put Christ upon us, as well if we be christened in one dish full of water taken out of the font, as if we were christened in the whole font or river; so we be as truly fed, refreshed, and comforted by Christ, receiving a piece of the bread at the Lord's holy table, as if we did eat an whole loaf. For as in every part of the water in baptism is whole Christ and the Holy Spirit, sacramentally, so be they in every part of the bread broken, but not corporally and naturally, as the papists teach.

The papists say, that whole Christ is in every part of the consecrated bread.

And I bear not the catholic Church in hand, as you report of me, that it saith and teacheth that whole Christ is in every part of the bread consecrated, but I say that the papists so teach. And because you deny it, read the chief pillars of all the papists, Duns, and Thomas de Aquino, which the papists call St. Thomas, who say, that Christ is whole under every part of the forms of bread and wine, not only when the host is broken, but when it is whole also. And there is no distance, saith he, of parts, one from another, as of one eye from another, or the eye from the ear, or the head from the feet. These be Thomas' words. "Christus totus est sub qualibet parte specierum panis et vini, non solum cum frangitur hostia, sed etiam cum intacta manet. Nec est distantia partium ab invicem, ut oculi ab oculo, aut oculi ab aure, aut capitis a pedibus, sicut est in aliis corporibus organicis. Talis enim distantia est in ipso corpore Christi vero, sed non prout est in hoc sacramento¹." And not only the papists do thus write and teach, but the Pope himself, Innocentius the Third. And so bear I in hand, or report of the papists nothing but that which they say in deed.

Innocentius III.

And yet you say, the Church saith not so; which I affirm also, and then it must needs follow, that the doctrine of the papists is not the doctrine of the Church. Which papists, not by reason without faith, but against as well reason as faith, would direct our minds to seek in every little crumb of

¹ Thomas, III. part. sum. q. 76. art. 3.

the bread, whole Christ, and to find him in so many places there, as be small crumbs in the bread. BOOK
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4 And where you traverse the matter of the judgment of our senses herein, it is quite and clean from the matter, and but a crafty shift, to convey the matter to another thing that is not in question, like unto crafty malefactors, which perceiving themselves to be sore pursued with a hound, make a new train to draw the hound to another fresh suit. For I speak not of the judgment of our senses in this matter, whether they perceive any distinction of parts and members or no, but whether in deed there be any such distinction in the sacrament or no, which the papists do deny. And therefore I say not untruly of them, that in the sacrament they say, there is no distance of parts one from another.

5 And if the parts in their substance be distinct one from another, as you say, and be not so distinct in the sacrament, as Thomas saith, then must it follow, that the parts in their own substance be not in the sacrament. And if this distinction of parts be in the true body of Christ, and not in the sacrament, as Thomas saith, then followeth it again, that the true body of Christ is not in the sacrament.

And forasmuch as I speak not one word of the comprehension of our senses, to what purpose do you bring this in, if it be not to draw us to a new matter, to avoid that which is in controversy? You do herein as if James should buy of John a parcel of land, and by his attorney take state and possession therein. And after John should traverse the matter, and say, that there was never no state delivered, and thereupon join their issue. And when James should bring forth his witnesses for the state and possession, then should John run to a new matter, and say that James saw not the possession delivered: what were this allegation of John to the purpose of the thing that was in issue, whether the possession were delivered in deed or no? Were this any other thing, than to avoid the issue craftily by bringing in of a new matter? And yet this shift is a common practice of you in this book. And this is another point of the Devil's

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sophistry, wherein it is pity that ever such a wit as you have should be occupied.

Wanton
reason.

Again you say, that impudently I bear the catholic Church in hand to teach that I list to bear in hand may by wanton reason be deduced of their teaching, whereas all true Christian men believe simply Christ's words, and trouble not their heads with such consequences. This is in the author no whispering, but plain railing, say you. This is your barking eloquence, wherewith your book is well furnished; for as dogs bark at the moon without any cause, so do you in this place. For I do no more, but truly report what the papists themselves do write, and none otherwise; not bearing the catholic Church in hand that it so teacheth, but charging the papists that they so teach; nor bearing the papists in hand what I list, or what by wanton reason may be deduced of their teaching, but reporting only what their own words and sayings be.

True Chris-
tian men.

And if they be no true Christian men that trouble their head with such matters, as you affirm they be not, then was Innocent the Third, the chief author of your doctrine, both of transubstantiation and of the real presence, no true Christian man, as I believe well enough; then was your St. Thomas no true Christian man; then Gabriel, Duns, Durande, and the great rabblement of the school authors, which taught your doctrine of transubstantiation and of the real presence, were not true Christian men. And in few words to comprehend the whole; then was almost none that taught that doctrine true Christian men, but yourself alone. For almost all with one consent do teach, that whole Christ is really in every part of the host.

But your terms here, of railing, mocking, and scorning, I would have taken patiently at your hand, if your tongue and pen had not overshot themselves in bragging so far, that the truth by you should be defaced. But now I shall be so bold as to send those terms thither, from whence they came. And for the matter itself, I am ready to join an issue with you, notwithstanding all your stout and boasting words.

7 But in God's works, say you, as the sacraments be, we must think all seemliness in deed without deformity. But what seemliness is this in a man's body, that the head is where the feet be, and the arms where the legs be? which the papists do teach, and yourself seem to confess, when you say, that the parts of Christ's body be distinct in themselves one from another in their own substance, but not by circumscription of several places. And yet you seem again to deny the same in your wise dialogue or quadrilogue between the curious questioner, the foolish answerer, your wise catholic man standing by, and the mediator.

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In which dialogue you bring in your wise catholic man to condemn of madness all such as say, that Christ's head is there where his feet be, and so you condemn of madness not only all the scholastical doctors, (which say that Christ is whole in every part of the consecrated bread,) but also your own former saying, where you deny the distinction of the parts of Christ's body in several places. Wherefore the mediator seemeth wiser than you all, who loosing this knot of Gordius, saith, that Christ's body, how big soever it be, may be as well signified by a little piece of bread as by a great: and so as concerning the reason of a sacrament, all is one, whether it be an whole bread or a piece of it; as it skilleth not whether a man be christened in the whole font, or in a part of the water taken out thereof. For the respect and consideration of the sacrament is all one in the less and the more.

8 But this fourth man, say you, hath no participation with faith, condemning all the true public faith testified in the Church from the beginning hitherto, which hath ever with wonder marvelled at the mystery of the sacrament, which is no wonder at all, if bread be but a signification of Christ's body. This is a wonderful saying of you, as of one that understood nothing utterly, what a sacrament meaneth, and what is to be wondered at in the sacrament. For the wonder is not, how God worketh in the outward visible sacrament, but his marvellous work is in the worthy receivers of the sacraments. The wonderful work of God is not in the

What is to
be wonder-
ed at in the
sacrament.

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water, which only washeth the body, but God by his omnipotent power worketh wonderfully in the receivers thereof, scouring, washing, and making them clean inwardly, and as it were new men, and celestial creatures. This have all old authors wondered at, this wonder passeth the capacities of all men's wits, how damnation is turned into salvation, and of the son of the Devil condemned into hell, is made the son of God and inheritor of heaven. This wonderful work of God all men may marvel and wonder at: but no creature is able sufficiently to comprehend it. And as this is wondered at in the sacrament of baptism, how he that was subject unto death, receiveth life by Christ, and his Holy Spirit: so is this wondered at in the sacrament of Christ's holy table, how the same life is continued and endureth for ever, by continual feeding upon Christ's flesh and his blood. And these wonderful works of God towards us, we be taught by God's holy word and his sacraments of bread, wine, and water, and yet be not these wonderful works of God in the sacraments, but in us.

And although many authors use this manner of speech, that Christ maketh bread his body and wine his blood, and wonder thereat, yet those authors mean not of the bread and wine in themselves, but of the bread and wine eaten and drunken of faithful people. For when Christ called bread his body and wine his blood, he spake not those words to the bread and wine, but to the eaters and drinkers of them, saying, *Eat, this is my body. Drink, this is my blood*; signifying to them that worthily do eat that bread and drink that cup, that they be inwardly and invisibly fed with Christ's flesh and blood, as they outwardly and visibly receive the sacraments of them.

To be short, here in this process you use plenty of words at your pleasure, to make the reader believe that I should suppose confusion, monstrousness, absurdity, and unseemliness to be in God's holy sacraments, whereas I do no more but tell what monstrous absurdities and errors the papists do teach in the sacraments. But if the reader take good heed to your talk, he shall find, that you, lacking good

matter to answer this comparison, do fall unto railing, and enforce your pen to invent such stuff as might bring me into hatred undeserved; which kind of rhetoric is called, *canina facundia*, and is used only of them that hunt for their own praise by the dispraise of their adversary. Which is yet another trick of the Devil's sophistry.

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And because you would bring me into more extreme hatred, you couple me with Sabellius and Arrius, whose doctrines, as you say, were facile and easy, as here you confess mine for to be. But if all such expositions as make the Scriptures plain, should by and by be slanderously compared to the doctrines of Arrius and Sabellius, then should all the expositions of the doctors be brought in danger, because that by their pains they have made hard questions facile and easy. And yet whether the doctrine which I set forth be easy to understand or not, I cannot define, but it seemeth so hard that you cannot understand it, except you will put all the fault in your wilfulness, that you can, and will not understand it.

Sabellius,
Arrius.

Now followeth the sixth comparison.

“Furthermore the papists say, that a dog or a cat eat the body of Christ, if they by chance do eat the sacramental bread. We say, that no earthly creature can eat the body of Christ nor drink his blood, but only man.”

Winchester.

I HAVE read some that entreat these chances of dogs and cats, but I never heard any of that abominable opinion, to say or write so as a doctrine, that a dog or a cat eateth the body of Christ, and set it forth for a teaching, as this author most impudently supposeth, and I marvel much that such a word and such a report can come out of a Christian man's mouth, and therefore this is by the author a marvellous surmise: whereupon to take occasion to bring the adversative “but” for the author's part, being such a saying on that side, as all Christendom hath ever taught, that no creature can eat the body and blood of Christ, but only man. But this abominable surmised untruth in the former part of his comparison, may be taken for a proof, whether such beastly asseverations

The contrary here-
of is noted
for a doctrine.
[1580.]

Pugnatum
aliis pa-
pistis.
[1580.]

BOOK III. proceed from the spirit of truth or no. And whether truth be there intended, where such blasphemy is surmised. But let us see the rest.

Canterbury.

Yet still in these comparisons you grant that part of the difference to be true, which I affirm, but you say that I report untruly of the papists, impudently bearing them in hand to say such abominable and beastly asseverations as you never heard. Whereby appeareth your impudent arrogancy in denial of that thing, which either you know the papists do say, or you are in doubt whether they say or say not, having not read what it is that they say. For why do they reject the Master of the Sentences in this point, that he said, a mouse or brute beast receive not the body of Christ, although they seem to receive it? Wherein if you say, as the Master did^m, that the mouse receiveth not the body of Christ, look for no favour at the papists' hands, but to be rejected as the Master was, unless they forbear you upon favour, and because that in other matters you have been so good a captain for them, they will pardon you this one fault. And so is this first part of the difference no untrue surmise of me, but a determination of the papists, condemning whosoever would say the contrary. And this is a common proposition among the school divines, that the body of Christ remaineth so long as the form of the bread is remaining, wheresoever it be; whereof your St. Thomas writeth thusⁿ:
 “ Quidam vero dixerunt, quod quam primum sacramentum
 “ sumitur a mure vel cane, desinit ibi esse corpus Christi.
 “ Sed hoc derogat veritati hujus sacramenti. Substantia
 “ enim panis sumpta a peccatore tam diu manet, dum per
 “ calorem naturalem est in digestionem, igitur tam diu manet
 “ corpus Christi sub speciebus sacramentalibus.” And Peryn in his book printed and set abroad in this matter for all men to read, saith, that although the mouse, or any

Whether a
bird or a
beast eat
the body of
Christ.

Peryn.

^m Lib. iv. distinct. 13. Vid. *Marcum Constantium*, fol. 72. object. 94. [1580.]

ⁿ Thomas, III. part. sum. qu. 80. art. 3. [1580.]

other beast do eat the sacrament, yet nevertheless the same is the very and real body of Christ. And he asketh what inconvenience it is against the verity of Christ's real body in the sacrament, though the impassible body lie in the mouth or maw of the beast? Is it not therefore the body of Christ? Yes undoubtedly, saith he. So that now these abominable opinions, and beastly asseverations, as you truly term them, meaning thereby to bite me as appeareth, be fit terms and meet for the papists, whose asseverations they be.

Now followeth the seventh comparison.

“They say, that every man, good and evil, eateth the body of Christ. We say, that both do eat the sacramental bread and drink the wine, but none do eat the very body of Christ and drink his blood, but only they that be lively members of his body.”

Winchester.

In this comparison the former part speaking of such men as be by baptism received into Christ's Church, is very true, confirmed by St. Paul, and ever since affirmed in the Church, in the proof whereof here in this book I will not travail, but make it a demur, as it were, in law, whereupon to try the truth of the whole matter. that doctrine called by this author the doctrine of the papists, and is in deed the catholic doctrine, be not in this point true, let all be so judged for me. If it be true, as it is most true, let that be a mark, whereby to judge the rest of this author's untrue asseverations. For undoubtedly St. Augustine saith^o: “We may not of men's manners esteem the sacraments; they be made by him whose they be, but worthily used they bring reward, unworthily handled they bring judgment. He that dispenseth the sacrament worthily, and he that useth it unworthily, be not one, but that thing is one, whether it be handled worthily or unworthily, so as it is neither better ne worse, but life or death of them that use it.” Thus saith St. Augustine, and therefore be the receiver worthy or unworthy, good or evil, the substance of Christ's sacrament is all one, as being God's work, who worketh uniformly, and yet is not in all that receive of like effect, not for

^o August. *Contra Literas Petil.* lib. ii. cap. 37.

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any alteration or diminution in it, but for the diversity of him that receiveth. So as the report made here of the doctrine of the catholic Church under the name of papists, is a very true report, and for want of grace reprov'd by the author as though it were no true doctrine. And the second part of the comparison on the author's side, contained under 'we say,' by them that in hypocrisy pretend to be truth's friends, containeth an untruth to the simple reader, and yet hath a matter of wrangling to the learned reader, because of the word "very," which referred to the effect of eating the body of Christ, whereby to receive life, may be so spoken, that none receive the body of Christ with the very effect of life, but such as eat the sacrament spiritually, that is to say, with true faith worthily. And yet evil men, as Judas, receive the same very body, touching the truth of the presence thereof, that St. Peter did. For in the substance of the sacrament, which is God's work, is no variety, who ordaineth all, as afore, uniformly; but in man is the variety, amongst whom he that receiveth worthily Christ's body, receiveth life, and he that receiveth unworthily, receiveth condemnation. There followeth further.

The word
"very"
may make
wrangling.
[1580.]

Canterbury.

Whether
evil men
eat the body
of Christ.

I thank you for this demur, for I myself could have chosen no better for my purpose. And I am content that the trial of the whole matter be judged hereby, as you desire. You say, that all that be baptized, good and evil, eat the body of Christ; and I say, only the good, and not the ill.

John vi.

Now must neither I nor you be judges in our own causes, therefore let Christ be judge between us both, whose judgment it is not reason that you refuse. Christ sayeth, *Who-soever eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me and I in him. As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father, even so he that eateth me, shall live by me. This is the bread which came down from heaven. Not as your fathers did eat manna and are dead, he that eateth this bread shall live for ever.* Now I ask you this question, Whether evil men shall live for ever? Whether they live by Christ? Whether they dwell in Christ, and have Christ dwelling in them? If you say nay, as you must needs do if

you will say the truth, then have I proved my negative, wherein stood the demur, that ill men eat not Christ's body nor drink his blood: for if they did, then by Christ's own words, they should live for ever, and dwell in Christ, and have Christ dwelling in them. And what proofs will you require more upon my part in this demur? For if Christ be with me, who can be able to stand against me?

2 But you allege for you St. Paul, who speaketh for you nothing at all. For the messenger will not speak against him that sent him. I know that St. Paul, in the eleventh to 1 Cor. xi. the Corinthians, speaketh expressly of the unworthy eating of the bread, but in no place of the unworthy eating of the body of Christ. And if he do, show the place, or else the demur passeth against you, and the whole matter tried with me, by your own pact and covenant. And yet for further proof of this demur, I refer me to the first, second, third, fourth, and fifth chapters of my fourth book.

3 And where you bring St. Augustine to be witness^p, his witness in that place helpeth nothing your cause. For he speaketh there generally of the using of the sacraments well or ill, as the diversity of men be, rehearsing by name the sacrament of circumcision, of the paschal lamb, and of baptism. Wherefore if you will prove any real and corporal presence of Christ by that place, you may as well prove that he was corporally present in circumcision, in eating of that paschal lamb, and in baptism, as in the Lord's Supper.

And here ye use such a subtlety to deceive the simple reader, that he hath good cause to suspect your proceedings, and to take good heed of you in all your writings, who do nothing else but go about to deceive him. For you conclude the matter of the substance of the sacrament, that the reader might think that place to speak only of the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, and to speak of the substance thereof, where St. Augustine neither hath that word, "substance," nor speaketh not one word specially of that sacrament, but all his process goeth chiefly of baptism, which is all one, (saith St. Augustine against the Donatists, which

^p August. *Contra Literas Petil.* lib. ii. cap. 37.

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reproved baptism for the vice of the minister,) whether the minister be good or ill, and whether he minister it to good or to ill. For the sacrament is all one, although the effect be diverse to good and to evil.

Truth's
feigned
friends.

And as for them whom ye say that in hypocrisy pretend to be truth's friends, all that be learned and have any judgment, know that it is the papists, which no few years passed, by hypocrisy and feigned religion, have uttered and sold their lies and fables in the stead of God's eternal truth, and in the place of Christ have set up idols and Antichrist. And for the conclusion of this comparison, in this word "very" you make such a wrangling, where none occasion is given, as never was had before this time of any learned man. For who heard ever before this time, that an adjective was referred to a verb, and not to his proper substantive, of any man that had any learning at all?

Very.

And as for the matter of Judas is answered before. For he received not the bread that was the Lord, as St. Augustine saith, but the bread of the Lord. For no man can receive the body of Christ unworthily, although he may receive unworthily the sacrament thereof.

Smythe.

And hitherto Dr. Smythe hath found no fault at all in my comparisons, whereby the reader may see, how nature passeth art, seeing here much more captiousness in a subtle sophistical wit, than in him that hath but learned the sophistical art. Now followeth the eighth comparison.

The eighth
compari-
son.

"They say, that good men eat the body of Christ and drink his blood, only at that time when they receive the sacrament. We say, that they eat, drink, and feed of Christ continually, so long as they be members of his body."

Winchester.

WHAT forehead, I pray you, is so hardened, that can utter this among them that know any thing of the learning of Christ's Church? In which it is a most common distinction, that there is three manner of eatings of Christ's body and blood: one, spiritual

Three man-
ner of eat-
ings.
[1580.]

¶ August. In Joan. tract. 59.

only, which is here affirmed in the second part 'we say,' wherein the author and his say as the Church saith. Another eating is both sacramentally and spiritually, which is when men worthily communicate in the Supper. The third is sacramentally only, which is by men unworthy, who eat and drink in the holy Supper to their condemnation only. And the learned men in Christ's Church say, that the ignorance and want of observation of these three manner of eatings causeth the error in the understanding of the Scriptures, and such fathers' sayings as have written of the sacrament. And when the Church speaketh of these three manner of eatings, what an impudency is it to say, that the Church teacheth good men only to eat the body of Christ and drink his blood, when they receive the sacrament, being the truth otherwise; and yet a diversity there is, of eating spiritually only, and eating spiritually and sacramentally, because in the Supper they receive his very flesh and very blood in deed, with the effects of all graces and gifts to such as receive it spiritually and worthily: whereas out of the Supper, when we eat only spiritually by faith, God that worketh without his sacraments as seemeth to him, doth relieve those that believe and trust in him, and suffereth them not to be destitute of that is necessary for them; whereof we may not presume, but ordinarily seek God where he hath ordered himself to be sought, and there to assure ourselves of his covenants and promises, which be most certainly annexed to his sacraments, whereunto we ought to give most certain trust and confidence: wherefore to teach the spiritual manducation to be equal with the spiritual manducation and sacramental also, that is to diminish the effect of the institution of the sacrament, which no Christian man ought to do.

Cause of
error.
[158o.]

God's pro-
mises an-
nexed to his
sacra-
ments.
We must in
teaching
exalt the
sacra-
ments after
their dig-
nity.
[158o.]

Canterbury.

Who is so ignorant that hath read any thing at all, but he knoweth the distinction of three eatings? But no man that is of learning and judgment understandeth the three divers eatings in such sort as you do; but after this manner: that some eat only the sacrament of Christ's body, but not the very body itself; some eat his body and not the sacrament; and some eat the sacrament and body both together. The sacrament, that is to say, the bread, is corporally eaten

Three man-
ner of eat-
ings.

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III.

and chewed with the teeth in the mouth. The very body is eaten and chewed with faith in the spirit. Ungodly men, when they receive the sacrament, they chew in their mouths, like unto Judas, the sacramental bread, but they eat not the celestial bread, which is Christ. Faithful Christian people, such as be Christ's true disciples, continually from time to time record in their minds the beneficial death of our Saviour Christ, chawing it by faith in the cud of their spirit, and digesting it in their hearts, feeding and comforting themselves with that heavenly meat, although they daily receive not the sacrament thereof, and so they eat Christ's body spiritually, although not the sacrament thereof. But

True sacramental eating.

when such men for their more comfort and confirmation of eternal life, given unto them by Christ's death, come unto the Lord's holy table, then, as before they fed spiritually upon Christ, so now they feed corporally also upon the sacramental bread. By which sacramental feeding in Christ's promises their former spiritual feeding is increased, and they grow and wax continually more strong in Christ, until at the last they shall come to the full measure and perfection in Christ. This is the teaching of the true catholic Church, as it is taught by God's word. And therefore St. Paul, speaking of them that unworthily eat, saith, that they eat the bread, but not that they eat the body of Christ, but their own damnation.

1 Cor. xi.

Whether Christ be really eaten without the sacrament.

And where you set out with your accustomed rhetorical colours a great impudency in me, that would report of the papists that good men eat the body of Christ and drink his blood only when they receive the sacrament, seeing that I know that the papists make a distinction of three manner of eatings of Christ's body, whereof one is without the sacrament: I am not ignorant in deed, that the papists grant a spiritual eating of Christ's body without the sacrament, but I mean of such an eating of his body as his presence is in the sacrament, and as you say he is there eaten, that is to say, corporally. Therefore to express my mind more plainly to you that list not understand, let this be the comparison.

They say, that after such a sort as Christ is in the sacrament, and there eaten, so good men eat his body and blood only, when they receive the sacrament. We say, that as they eat and drink Christ in the sacrament, so do they eat, drink, and feed upon him continually, so long as they be members of his body.

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The comparison.
[1580.]

Now the papists say, that Christ is corporally present in the sacrament, and is so eaten only when men receive the sacrament. But we say, that the presence of Christ in his holy Supper is a spiritual presence: and as he is spiritually present, so is he spiritually eaten of all faithful Christian men, not only when they receive the sacrament, but continually so long as they be members spiritual of Christ's mystical body. And yet this is really also, as you have expounded the word, that is to say, in deed and effectually. And as the Holy Ghost doth not only come to us in baptism, and Christ doth there clothe us, but they do the same to us continually so long as we dwell in Christ; so likewise doth Christ feed us so long as we dwell in him and he in us, and not only when we receive the sacrament. So that as touching Christ himself, the presence is all one, the clothing all one, and the feeding all one, although the one, for the more comfort and consolation, have the sacrament added unto it, and the other be without the sacrament.

Really.

The rest that is here spoken is contentious wrangling to no purpose.

But now cometh in Smith with his five eggs, saying that I have made here five lies in these comparisons. The first lie is, saith he, that the papists do say, that good men do eat and drink Christ's body and blood only when they receive the sacrament, which thing Smith saith the papists do not say, but that they then only do eat Christ's body and drink his blood corporally, which sufficeth for my purpose. For I mean none other thing, but that the papists teach such a corporal eating of Christ's body as endureth not, but vanisheth away, and ceaseth at the furthest within few hours after the sacrament be received. But forasmuch as Smithe agreeth here with you, that answer made before to you will

BOOK
III.

serve for him also. And yet Smith here shall serve me in good stead against you, who hath imputed unto me so many impudent lies made against the papists in the comparisons before rehearsed: and Smith saith that this is the first lie, which is in the eighth comparison. And so shall Smithe, being mine adversary and your friend, be such a witness for me as you cannot except against, to prove that those things which before you said were impudent lies, be no lies at all. For this is the first lie, saith Smith, and then my sayings before must be all true, and not impudent lies. Now to the ninth comparison.

“They say, that the body of Christ that is in the sacrament hath his own proper form and quantity. We say, that Christ is there sacramentally and spiritually without form or quantity.”

Winchester.

IN this comparison is both sleight and craft. In the first part of it, which is that they say, there is mention of the body of Christ which is proper of the humanity of Christ. In the second part, which is of ‘we say,’ there is no mention of Christ’s body, but of Christ, who in his divine nature is understood present without a body. Now the sacrament is institute of Christ’s body and blood, and because the divine nature in Christ continueth the unity with the body of Christ, we must needs confess, where the body of Christ is, there is whole Christ God and man. And when we speak of Christ’s body, we must understand a true body, which hath both form and quantity, and therefore such as confess the true catholic faith, they affirm of Christ’s body all truth of a natural body, which although it hath all those truths of form and quantity, yet they say, Christ’s body is not present after the manner of quantity, nor in a visible form, as it was conversant in this present life, but that there is truly in the sacrament the very true body of Christ, which good men believe upon the credit of Christ that said so, and knowledge therewith the manner of that presence to be an high mystery, and the manner so spiritual, as the carnal man cannot by discourse of reason reach it, but in his discourse shall, as this author doth, think it a vanity and foolishness. Which foolishness nevertheless overcometh the wisdom of the

Christ’s
body is un-
derstand-
ed of his hu-
manity.
[1580.]
The unity
of Christ’s
manhood
and God-
head.
[1580.]

world. And thus I have opened what they say on the catholic part. BOOK III.

Now for the other part whereof this author is, and with his faith, 'we say,' the words seem to imply, that Christ's human body is not in the sacrament, in that it is said, Christ to be there sacramentally and spiritually without form or quantity, which saying hath no Scripture for it. For the Scripture speaketh of Christ's body which was betrayed for us to be given us to be eaten. Where also Christ's Divinity is present as accompanying his humanity, which humanity is specially spoken of, the presence of which humanity when it is denied, then is there no text to prove the presence of Christ's Divinity specially, that is to say, otherwise than it is by his omnipotency present everywhere. And to conclude this piece of comparison, this manner of speech was never I think read, that Christ is present in the sacrament without form or quantity. And St. Paul speaketh of a form in the Godhead, *Qui quum in forma Dei esset. Who when he was in the form of God.* So as if Christ be present in the sacrament without all form, then is he there, neither as God nor man, which is a stranger teaching than yet hath been heard or read of; but into such absurdities in deed do they fall, who entreat irreverently and untruly this high mystery. This is here worthy a special note, how by the manner of the speech in the latter part of this difference, the teaching seemeth to be, that Christ is spiritually present in the sacrament, because of the word "there," which thou, reader, mayest compare how it agreeth with the rest of this author's doctrine. Let us go to the next.

A marvellous saying of this author without Scripture. [1580.]

Christ in the institution of the sacrament, spake of his humanity, saying, *This is my body.* [1580.]

Phil. ii.

There. [1580.] Note this contrariety in the author. [1580.]

Canterbury.

Such is the nature of many, that they can find many knots in a plain rush, and doubts where no doubts ought to be found. So find you sleight and craft where I meant all things simply and plainly. And to avoid such sleight and craft as you gather of my words, I shall express them plainly thus.

The papists say, that the body of Christ that is in the sacrament hath his own proper form and quantity. We say, that the body of Christ hath not his proper form and quantity, neither in the sacrament nor in them that receive the

The comparison. [1580.]

BOOK
III.

sacrament, but is in the sacrament sacramentally, and in the worthy receivers spiritually, without the proper form and quantity of his body. This was my meaning at the first, and no man that had looked of this place indifferently would have taken the second part of this comparison to be understood of Christ's divine nature: for the bread and wine be sacraments of his body and blood, and not of his Divinity, as Theodoretus saith ^r, and therefore his divine nature is not sacramentally in the sacrament, but his human nature only. And what manner of speech had this been, to say of Christ's divine nature, that it is in the sacrament without quantity, which hath in it no manner of quantity, wheresoever it be? And where I set forth these comparisons to show wherein we vary from the papists, what variance had been in this comparison, if I had understood the first part of Christ's humanity, and the second of his Divinity?

Smyth.

The reader by this one place among many other may easily discern how captious you be to reprehend whatsoever I say, and to pervert every thing into a wrong sense: so that in respect of you, Smyth is a very indifferent taker of my words, although in deed he far passeth the bounds of honesty.

Whether in the sacrament Christ's body hath his proper form and quantity.

But now to come directly to the matter, if it be true that you say, that in the sacrament Christ's body hath all the forms and quantities of a natural body, why say you then, that his body is not there present after the manner of quantity? Declare what difference is between form and quantity, and the manner of quantity. And if Christ's body in the sacrament have the same quantity, that is to say, the same length, breadth, and thickness, and the same form, that is to say, the same due order and proportion of the members and parts of his body that he had when he was crucified, and hath now in heaven, (as he hath by your saying here in this place,) then I pray you declare further, how the length, breadth, and thickness of a man should be contained in quantity within the compass of a piece of bread, no longer

^r Theodoret. *Dialog.* 1.

nor broader than one or two inches, nor much thicker than one leaf of paper: how an inch may be as long as an ell, and an ell as short as an inch: how length and roundness shall agree in one proportion; and a thick and thin thing be both of one thickness: which you must warrant to be brought to pass, if the form and quantity of Christ's body be contained under the form and quantity of such bread and wine as we now use.

But as Smyth in the last comparison did me good service Smyth. against you, so shall you in this comparison do me good service against him. For among the five lies wherewith he chargeth me in these comparisons, he accounteth this for one, that I report of the papists, that Christ's body in the sacrament hath his proper form and quantity, which you say is a truth. And therefore if I make a lie herein, as Smith saith I do, yet I lie not alone, but have you to bear me company. And yet once again more may the reader here note, how the papists vary among themselves.

4 And it is untrue that you say, that good men believe upon the credit of Christ, that there is truly in the sacrament the very true body of Christ. For Christ called bread his body and wine his blood, which, as the old authors say, must needs be understood figuratively, but he never said that his true body is truly in the sacrament, as you here report of him.

And the manner of his presence you call so high a mystery, that the carnal man cannot reach it. And in deed as you feign the matter, it is so high a mystery, that never man could reach it but yourself alone. For you make the manner of Christ's being in the sacrament so spiritual, that you say his flesh, blood, and bones be there really and carnally, and yet you confess in your book, that you never read any old author that so said. And this manner of handling of so pure a mystery, is neither godly foolishness nor worldly, but rather a mere frenzy and madness.

And although the Scripture speak of Christ's body to be eaten of us, yet that is understood of spiritual and not of corporal eating, and of spiritual, not of corporal presence.

BOOK
III.

John xvi.
Mark xvi.
Luke xxiv.
Acts i.

The Scripture saith, that Christ hath forsaken the world, and is ascended into heaven. Upon which words St. Augustine, Vigilus, and other ancient authors do prove, that as concerning the nature of his manhood, Christ is gone hence, and is not here, as I have declared in my third book, the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth chapters.

And where you think that this manner of speech was never read, that Christ is present in the sacrament without form or quantity, I am sure that it was never read in any approved author, that Christ hath his proper form and quantity in the sacrament. And Duns saith^s, that his quantity is in heaven, and not in the sacrament.

And when I say that Christ is in the sacrament sacramentally, and without form and quantity, who would think any man so captious, so ignorant, or so full of sophistry, to draw my words to the form of Christ's Divinity, which I speak most plainly of the form and quantity of his body and humanity, as I have before declared? And although some other might be so far overseen, yet specially you ought not so to take my words. Forasmuch as you said not past sixteen lines before, that my words seem to imply, that I meant of Christ's human body.

And because it may appear how truly and faithfully you report my words, you add this word "all," which is more than I spake, and marreth all the whole matter. And you gather thereof such absurdities as I never spake, but as you sophistically do gather, to make a great matter of nothing.

And where of this word "there," you would conclude repugnance in my doctrine, that where in other places I have written, that Christ is spiritually present in them that receive the sacrament, and not in the sacraments of bread and wine, and now it should seem that I teach contrary, that Christ is spiritually present in the very bread and wine, if you pleased to understand my words rightly, there is no repugnance in my words at all. For by this word "there," I mean not in the sacraments of bread and wine, but in the ministration of the sacrament, as the old authors for the

^s Scotus, iv. sent. dist. 10. q. 1.

most part, when they speak of the presence of Christ in the sacrament, they mean in the ministration of the sacrament. Which my saying varieth from no doctrine that I have taught in any part of my book. Now followeth the tenth comparison.

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III.

“ They say, that the fathers and prophets of the old testament did not eat the body nor drink the blood of Christ. We say, that they did eat his body and drink his blood, although he was not yet born nor incarnated.”

Winchester.

THIS comparison of difference is clerly conceived, as it were of a riddle, wherein, nay and yea, when they be opened, agree and consent. The fathers did eat Christ's body and drink his blood in truth of promise, which was effectual to them of redemption to be wrought, not in truth of presence, as we do, for confirmation of redemption already wrought. They had a certain promise, and we a certain present payment: they did eat Christ spiritually, believing in him that was to come, but they did not eat Christ's body present in the sacrament, sacramentally and spiritually, as we do. Their sacraments were figures of the things, but ours contain the very things. And therefore albeit in a sense to the learned men, it may be verified, that the fathers did eat the body of Christ and drink his blood, yet there is no such form of words in Scripture, and it is more agreeable to the simplicity of Scripture to say, the fathers before Christ's nativity did not eat the body and blood of Christ, which body and blood Christ himself truly took of the body of the Virgin Mary. For although St. Paul in the tenth of the Corinthians be so understood of some, as the fathers should eat the same spiritual meat and drink the same spiritual drink that we do, to which understanding all do not agree, yet following that understanding, we may not so press the words as there should be no difference at all, and this one special difference St. Augustine noteth, how their sacraments contained the promise of that which in our sacraments is given. Thus he saith, and this is evident of itself, how to us in the holy Supper Christ saith, *This is my body that shall be betrayed for you, take, eat*; which was never said to the fathers, although their faith in substance agreed with ours, having all one Christ

A riddle
may con-
tain truth
of nay and
yea, being
in appear-
ance two
contraries.
[1580.]

Augusti-
nus.
A special
difference
in St. Au-
gustine.
[1580.]

BOOK
III.

and mediator, which they looked for to come, and we acknowledge to be already come. "Come," and "to come," as St. Augustine saith, differeth. But Christ is one, by whom all was create, and man's fall repaired, from whom is all feeding corporal and spiritual, and in whom all is restored in heaven and in earth. In this faith of Christ, the fathers were fed with heavenly spiritual food, which was the same with ours in respect of the restitution by Christ, and redemption by them hoped, which is achieved by the mystery of the body and blood of Christ; by reason whereof I deny not, but it may be said in a good sense, how they did eat the body and blood of Christ before he was incarnate, but, as I said before, Scripture speaketh not so, and it is no wholesome fashion of speech at this time, which furthereth in sound to the ears of the rude, the pestilent heresy wherein Jone of Kent obstinately died, that is to say, that Christ took nothing of the Virgin, but brought his body with him from above: being a thing worthy to be noted, how the old heresy, denying the true taking of the flesh of Christ in the Virgin's womb, at the same time to revive, when the true deliverance of Christ's flesh in the holy Supper to be of us eaten is also denied. For as it is a mere truth without figure, and yet an high mystery, God's work in the incarnation of Christ, wherein our flesh was of Christ truly taken of the Virgin's substance: so is it a mere truth, without figure, and yet an high mystery and God's work, in the giving of the same true flesh, truly to be in the Supper eaten. When I exclude figure in the sacrament, I mean not of the visible part, which is called a figure of the celestial invisible part, which is truly there without figure; so as by that figure is not impaired the truth of that presence; which I add to avoid cavillation. And to make an end of this comparison, this I say, that this article declareth wantonness to make a difference in words, where none is in the sense rightly taken, with a novelty of speech not necessary to be uttered now.

Jone of
Kent's ob-
stinacy.
[1580.]

Novelty of
speech.
[1580.]

Canterbury.

Note well here, reader, how the cuttle cometh in with his dark colours.

Where I speak of the substance of the thing that is eaten, you turn it to the manner and circumstances thereof, to blind the simple reader, and that you may make thereof a riddle of yea and nay, as you be wont to make black white,

and white black ; or one thing yea and nay, black and white, at your pleasure.

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III.

But to put away your dark colours, and to make the matter plain, this I say, that the fathers and prophets did eat Christ's body and drink his blood in promise of redemption to be wrought, and we eat and drink the same flesh and blood in confirmation of our faith in the redemption already wrought.

The fathers
did eat
Christ's
flesh and
drink his
blood.

But as the fathers did eat and drink, so did also the Apostles at Christ's supper, in promise of redemption to be wrought, not in confirmation of redemption already wrought. So that if wrought and to be wrought, make the diversity of presence and not presence, then the Apostles did not eat and drink the flesh and blood of Christ really present, because the redemption was not then already wrought, but promised the next day to be wrought. And although before the crucifying of his flesh, and effusion of his blood, our redemption was not actually wrought by Christ, yet was he spiritually and sacramentally present, and spiritually and sacramentally eaten and drunken, not only of the Apostles at his last supper before he suffered his passion, but also of the holy patriarchs and fathers before his incarnation, as well as he is now of us after his ascension.

And although in the manner of signifying there be great difference between their sacraments and ours, yet, as St. Augustine saith¹, both we and they receive one thing in the diversity of sacraments ; and our sacraments contain presently the very things signified, no more than theirs did. For in their sacraments they were by Christ presently regenerated and fed, as we be in ours ; although their sacraments were figures of the death of Christ to come, and ours be figures of his death now past. And as it is all one Christ that was to be born and to die for us, and afterward was born in deed, and died in deed, (whose birth and death be now passed,) so was the same Christ, and the same flesh and blood, eaten and drunken of the faithful fathers before he

The diver-
sity of the
sacraments
of the New
and Old
Testament.

¹ August. in *Joan.* tract. 26.

BOOK
III.

was born or dead, and of his Apostles after he was born and before he was dead, and of faithful Christian people is now daily eaten and drunken after that both his nativity and death be passed. And all is but one Christ, one flesh, and one blood, as concerning the substance; yet that which to the fathers was to come, is to us passed. And nevertheless the eating and drinking is all one, for neither the fathers did, nor we do eat carnally and corporally with our mouths, but both the fathers did, and we do eat spiritually by true and lively faith. The body of Christ was and is all one to the fathers and to us, but corporally and locally he was not yet born unto them, and from us he is gone and ascended up into heaven. So that to neither he was, nor is carnally, substantially, and corporally present, but to them he was, and to us he is spiritually present, and sacramentally also, and of both sacramentally, spiritually, and effectually eaten and drunken to eternal salvation and everlasting life.

The fathers
did eat
Christ's
body and
drink his
blood be-
fore he was
born.
1 Cor. x.

And this is plainly enough declared in the Scripture, to them that have willing minds to understand the truth. For it is written in the Old Testament, Eccclus. xxiv. in the person of Christ thus, *They that eat me shall yet hunger, and they that drink me shall yet be thirsty.* And St. Paul writeth to the Corinthians, saying, *Our fathers did all eat the same spiritual meat; and did all drink the same spiritual drink: and they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them: which Rock was Christ.* These words St. Augustine expounding, saith ^u, “What is to eat the same meat? but that they did eat the same which we do. Whosoever in manna understood Christ, did eat the same spiritual meat that we do, that is to say, that meat which was received with faith, and not with bodies. Therefore to them that understood and believed, it was the same meat and the same drink. So that to such as understood not, the meat was only manna, and the drink only water; but to such as understood, it was the same that is now. For then was Christ to come, who is now come. ‘To come,’

^u August. *De Utilitate Penitentia*. [The genuineness of this tract is doubtful. Cave, *Hist. Liter.*]

“ and ‘is come,’ be divers words, but it is the same Christ.” BOOK
III.
These be St. Augustine’s sayings.

And because you say, that it is more agreeable to the Scripture to say that the fathers before Christ’s nativity did not eat the body and drink the blood of Christ; I pray you show me one Scripture that so saith; and show me also one approved author that disallowed St. Augustine’s mind by me here alleged, because you say that all do not agree to his understanding. And in the seventy-seventh Psalm St. Augustine saith also^x, “The stone was Christ.” Therefore the same was the meat and drink of the fathers in the mystery, which is ours, but in signification the same, not in outward form; for it is one Christ himself that to them was figured in the stone, and to us manifestly appeared in flesh. And St. Augustine saith plainly^y, that both manna and our sacrament signifieth Christ, and that although the sacraments were divers, yet in the thing by them meant and understand they were both like. And so, after the mind of St. Augustine, it is clear that the same things were given to the faithful receivers in the sacraments of the Old Testament that be given in the New; the same to them was circumcision, that to us is baptism; and to them by manna was given the same thing, that now is given to us in the sacramental bread.

And if I would grant for your pleasure, that in their 5 sacraments Christ was promised, and that in ours he is really given, doth it not then follow as well that Christ is given in the sacrament of baptism, as that he is given in the sacrament of his flesh and blood? And St. Augustine *Contra Faustum*^z esteemeth them mad that think diversity between the things signified in the Old and New Testament, because the signs be divers. And expressing the matter plainly, saith^a, that “the flesh and blood of our sacrifice before Christ’s coming was promised by sacrifices of similitudes, in his passion was given in deed, and after his ascension is solemnly put in our memory by the sacrament.”

^x Augustin. *Psalm. 77.*

^y August. *In Joan. tract. 26.*

^z August. *Contra Faustum*, lib. 19. cap. 16.

^a Lib. 20. cap. 21.

BOOK
III.

John i.

And the thing which you say St. Augustine noteth to be given in the sacraments of the New Testament, and to be promised in the sacraments of the Old, St. Augustine expresseth the thing which he meant, that is to say, salvation and eternal life by Christ ^b. And yet in this mortal life we have not eternal life in possession, but in promise, as the Prophets had. But St. Augustine saith, that we have the promise, because we have Christ already come, which by the Prophets was promised before that he should come. And therefore St. John the Baptist was called more than a prophet because he said, here is the Lamb of God already present, which the Prophets taught us to look for until he came.

The effect therefore of St. Augustine's words plainly to be expressed was this, that the Prophets in the Old Testament promised a Saviour to come and redeem the world, (which the sacraments of that time testified until his coming:) but now he is already come, and hath by his death performed that was promised, which our sacraments testify unto us, as St. Augustine declareth more plainly in his book *De Fide ad Petrum*, the sixth chapter^c. So that St. Augustine speaketh of the giving of Christ to death, (which the sacraments of the Old Testament testified to come, and ours testify to be done,) and not of the giving of him in the sacraments.

And forasmuch as St. Augustine spake generally of all the sacraments, therefore if you will by his words prove that Christ is corporally in the sacrament of the holy communion, you may as well prove that he is corporally in baptism; for St. Augustine speaketh no more of the one than of the other. But where St. Augustine speaketh generally of all the sacraments, you restrain the matter particularly to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper only, that the ignorant reader should think that St. Augustine spake of the corporal presence of Christ in the sacraments, and that only in the sacraments of bread and wine; whereas St. Augustine

^b August. *In Psalm. 73.*^c August. *De Fide ad Petrum*, cap. 19. [A spurious work. Cave, *Hist. Lit.*]

himself speaketh only of our salvation by Christ, and of the sacraments in general. BOOK
III.

And nevertheless, as the fathers had the same Christ and mediator that we have, as you here confess, so did they spiritually eat his flesh and drink his blood, as we do, and spiritually feed of him, and by faith he was present with them, as he is with us; although carnally and corporally he was yet to come unto them, and from us is gone up to his Father into heaven.

This, besides St. Augustine, is plainly set out by Bertram about six hundred years passed, whose judgment in this matter of the sacrament, although you allow not, (because it utterly condemneth your doctrine therein;) yet forasmuch as hitherto his teaching was never reproved by none but by you alone; and that he is commended of other as an excellent learned man in holy Scripture, and a notable famous man, as well in living as learning; and that among his excellent works this one is specially praised, which he wrote of the matter of the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord; therefore I shall rehearse his teaching in this point, how the holy fathers and prophets before the coming of Christ did eat Christ's flesh and drink his blood. So that although Bertram's saying be not esteemed with you, yet the indifferent reader may see what was written in this matter before your doctrine was invented. And although his authority be not received of you, yet his words may serve against Smith, who herein more learnedly and with more judgment than you approveth this author. This is Bertram's doctrine: "Saint Paul saith, that all the old fathers did eat the same spiritual meat, and drink the same spiritual drink. But peradventure thou wilt ask, which the same? Even the very same that Christian people do daily eat and drink in the Church. For we may not understand divers things, when it is one and the self same Christ, which in times past did feed with his flesh, and made to drink of his blood, the people that were baptized in the cloud and sea in the wilderness, and which doth now in the Church feed Christian people with the

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III.

“ bread of his body, and giveth them to drink the flood of
 “ his blood. When he had not yet taken man’s nature
 “ upon him, when he had not yet tasted death for the sal-
 “ vation of the world, nor redeemed us with his blood, ne-
 “ vertheless, even then our forefathers by spiritual meat
 “ and invisible drink, did eat his body in the wilderness and
 “ drink his blood, as the Apostle beareth witness, saying,
 “ *The same spiritual meat, the same spiritual drink.* For
 “ he that now in the Church by his omnipotent power doth
 “ spiritually convert bread and wine into the flesh of his
 “ body, and into the flood of his own blood, he did then in-
 “ visibly so work, that manna which came from heaven was
 “ his body, and the water his blood.” Now by the things
 here by me alleged, it evidently appeareth, that this is no
 novelty of speech to say, that the holy fathers and prophets
 did eat Christ’s flesh and drink his blood; for both the
 Scripture and old authors use so to speak, how much soever
 the speech mislike them that like no fashion of speech but
 their own.

Jone of
Kent.

And what doth this further the pestilent heresy of Jone 6
 of Kent? Is this a good argument? The fathers did eat
 Christ’s flesh and drink his blood spiritually before he was
 born, *ergo*, after he was not corporally born of his mother.
 Or because he was corporally born, is he not therefore daily
 eaten spiritually of his faithful people? Because he dwelt in
 the world corporally from his incarnation unto his ascension,
 did he not therefore spiritually dwell in his holy members
 before that time, and hath so done ever sithence, and will do
 to the world’s end? Or if he be eaten in a figure, can you in-
 duce thereof that he was not born without a figure? Do not
 such kind of arguments favour the error of Jone of Kent?
 Yea, do they not manifestly approve her pestiferous heresy,
 if they were to be allowed? What man that meaneth the
 truth, would bring in such manner of reasoning to deface
 the truth? And yet it is not to be denied, but that Christ is
 truly eaten, as he was truly born, but the one corporally and
 without figure, and the other spiritually and with a figure.
 Now followeth my eleventh comparison.

“ They say, that the body of Christ is every day many times made, as often as there be masses said, and that then and there he is made of bread and wine. We say, that Christ’s body was never but once made, and then not of the nature and substance of bread and wine, but of the substance of his blessed mother.”

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III.

The
eleventh
compara-
rison.

Winchester.

THE body of Christ is by God’s omnipotency, who so worketh in his word, made present unto us at such time as the Church prayeth it may please him so to do, which prayer is ordered to be made in the Book of Common Prayer now set forth ^d. Wherein we require of God the creatures of bread and wine to be sanctified, and to be to us the body and blood of Christ, which cannot be, unless God worketh it, and make them so to be. In which mystery it was never taught, as this author willingly misporteth, that Christ’s most precious body is made of the matter of bread, but in that order, exhibited and made present unto us, by conversion of the substance of bread into his precious body; not a new body made of a new matter of bread and wine, but a new presence of the body that is never old, made present there, where the substance of bread and wine was before. So as this comparison of difference is mere wrangling, and so evident as it needeth no further answer but a note. Lo, how they be not ashamed to trifle in so great a matter, and without cause by wrong terms to bring the truth in slander, if it were possible. May not this be accounted as a part of God’s punishment, for men of knowledge to write to the people such matter seriously, as were not tolerable to be by a scoffer devised in a play, to supply when his fellow had forgotten his part.

The Book
of Common
Prayer in
this realm.
[1580.]

Christ’s
body in
the sacra-
ment is not
made of the
matter of
bread.
[1580.]

^d [The book referred to is the first Service Book of Edward VI. in which the following clause occurs in the prayer of consecration: “With thy holy Spirit and word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ.” To avoid such inferences as that which was here and elsewhere drawn by Gardyner, the clause was altered in the second Service Book of Edward VI. to its present form. At the same time, and for the same reason, the words “Take and eat,” &c. were substituted at the delivery of the elements for the old expression, “The body of our Lord,” &c. On the accession of Elizabeth both were united in the form still in use.]

BOOK
III.*Canterbury.*The Book
of Common
Prayer.Prov. xiii.
Rom. i.
1 Cor. i.
2 Cor. ii.
Jac. i.
Isai. viii.
Matth. xxi.
1 Pet. ii.
John xi.

Christ is present whensoever the Church prayeth unto him, and is gathered together in his name; and the bread and wine be made unto us the body and blood of Christ, (as it is in the Book of Common Prayer,) but not by changing the substance of bread and wine into the substance of Christ's natural body and blood, but that in the godly using of them they be unto the receivers Christ's body and blood. As of some the Scripture saith, that their riches is their redemption, and to some it is their damnation: and as God's word to some is life, to some it is death and a snare, as the prophet saith: and Christ himself to some is a stone to stumble at, to some is a raising from death; not by conversion of substances, but by good or evil use, that thing which to the godly is salvation, to the ungodly is damnation: so is the water in baptism, and the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper, to the worthy receivers Christ himself and eternal life, and to the unworthy receivers everlasting death and damnation; not by conversion of one substance into another, but by godly or ungodly use thereof. And therefore in the Book of the holy communion, we do not pray absolutely that the bread and wine may be made the body and blood of Christ, but that unto us in that holy mystery they may be so; that is to say, that we may so worthily receive the same, that we may be partakers of Christ's body and blood, and that therewith in spirit and in truth we may be spiritually nourished. And a like prayer of old time were all the people wont to make at the communion, of all such offerings as at that time all the people used to offer, praying that their offerings might be unto them the body and blood of Christ ^e.

Whether
the body of
Christ be
made of
bread.

And where you say it was never taught as I say, that Christ's body is made of the matter of bread, you knowingly and willingly misreport me. For I say not, of the matter of bread, but of bread, which when you deny that the papists so

^e *Dominic. 3. post Trinit. Secreta.* "Munera tibi, Domine, quibus oblata sanctifica, ut tui nobis Unigeniti corpus et sanguis fiant ad medellam. [1580.]

say, it seemeth you be now ashamed of the doctrine, which the papists have taught this four or five hundred years. For is it not plainly written of all the papists, both lawyers and school authors, that the body of Christ in the sacrament is made of bread, and his blood of wine? and they say not that his body is made present of bread and wine, but is made of bread and wine. Be not their books in print ready to be showed? Do they not say, that the substance of the bread neither remaineth still, nor is turned into nothing but into the body of Christ? And do not yourself also say here in this place, that the substance of bread is converted into Christ's precious body? And what is that else but the body of Christ to be made of bread, and to be made anew of a new matter? For if the bread do not vanish away into
 3 nothing, but be turned into Christ's body, then is Christ's body made of it; and then it must needs follow that Christ's body is made new, and of another substance than it was made of in his mother's womb; for there it was made of her flesh and blood, and here it is made of bread and wine. And the papists say not (as you now would shift off the matter) that Christ's body is made present of bread, but they say plainly without addition that it is made of bread. Can you deny that this is the plain doctrine of the papists, *Ex pane fit corpus Christi, Of bread is made the body of Christ?* and that the substance of bread is turned into the substance thereof? And what reason, sentence, or English, could be in this saying: Christ's body is made present of bread? Mary, to be made present in bread might be some sentence, but that speech will you in no wise admit.

And this your saying here (if the reader mark it well) turneth over quite and clean all the whole papistical doctrine in this matter of the sacrament, as well touching transubstantiation, as also the carnal presence: for their doctrine, with one whole consent and agreement is this, that the substance of bread remaineth not, but is turned into the substance of Christ's body, and so the body of Christ is
 4 made of it. But this is false, say you, and not tolerable to be by a scoffer devised in a play, to supply when his fellow

Pugnat cum
aliis papistis.
[1580.]

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III.

had forgotten his part. And so the whole doctrine of the papists, which they have taught these four or five hundred years, do you condemn with condign reproaches, as a teaching intolerable, not to be devised by a scoffer in a play. Why do you then take upon you to defend the papistical doctrine, if it be so intolerable? Why do you not forsake those scoffers and players, which have juggled with the world so long, and embrace the most certain truth, that Christ's body is not made of bread? And seeing that you embrace it here in this one place, why stand you not constantly therein, but go from it again in all the rest of your book, defending the papistical doctrine clean contrary to yours in this point, in that they teach that Christ's body is made of bread?

And you vary so much from yourself herein, that although you deny the papists' saying in words, that Christ's body is made of bread, yet in effect you grant and maintain the same, which you say is intolerable, and not to be devised by a scoffer in a play. For you say, that Christ calleth bread his body, and that his calling is making; and then if he make bread his body, it must needs follow that he maketh his body of the bread. Moreover you say, that Christ's body is made present by conversion or turning of the substance of bread into the substance of his precious body, whereof must also follow, that his body is made of bread. For whensoever one substance is turned into another substance, then the second is made of the first: as because earth was turned into the body of Adam, we say that Adam was made of earth; and that Eve was made of Adam's rib, and the wine in Galilee made of water, because the water was turned into wine, and the rib of Adam's side into the body of Eve. If the water had been put out of the pots, and wine put in for the water, we might have said that the wine had been made present there, where the water was before; but then we might not have said, that the wine had been made of the water, because the water was emptied out and not turned into the wine. But when Christ turned the water into the wine, then by reason of that turning we say, that the wine was made of the water. So like-

Making
by conver-
sion.

Gen. ii.

John ii.

wise, if the bread be turned into the substance of Christ's body, we must not only say that the body of Christ is present where the bread was before, but also that it is made of the bread, because that the substance of the bread is converted and turned into the substance of his body. Which thing the papists saw must needs follow, and therefore they plainly confessed, that the body of Christ was made of bread, which doctrine, as you truly say in this place, is intolerable, and not to be devised by a scoffer in a play, when his fellow had forgotten his part. And yet you so far forget yourself in this book, that throughout the same, whatsoever you say here, you defend the same intolerable doctrine, not to be devised by a scoffer.

And where Smyth accounteth here my fourth lie, that I Smyth. say that the papists say, that Christ's body is made of bread and wine; here Smith and you agree both together in one lie. For it is truth and no lie, that the papists so say and teach, as Smith in other parts of his book saith, that Christ's body is made of bread, and that priests do make Christ's body. Now my twelfth comparison is this:

“ They say, that the mass is a sacrifice satisfactory for
 “ sin, by the devotion of the priest that offereth, and not by
 “ the thing that is offered. But we say, that their saying is
 “ a most heinous, yea, and detestable error against the glory
 “ of Christ. For the satisfaction for our sins is not the de-
 “ votion nor offering of the priest; but the only host and sa-
 “ tisfaction for all the sins of the world, is the death of
 “ Christ, and the oblation of his body upon the crosst hat
 “ is to say, the oblation that Christ himself offered once
 “ upon the cross, and never but once, nor never none but he.
 “ And therefore that oblation which the priests make daily
 “ in their papistical masses, cannot be a satisfaction for other
 “ men's sins, by the priest's devotion; but it is a mere illu-
 “ sion, and subtle craft of the Devil, whereby Antichrist
 “ hath many years blinded and deceived the world.”

Winchester.

THIS comparison is out of the matter of the presence of Christ's

**BOOK
III.**

Christ is
our satis-
faction.

[1580.]

How Christ
satisfied.

[1580.]

most precious body in the sacrament, which presence, this author in the first part of his comparison, seemeth by implication to grant, when he findeth fault that the priests' devotion should be a sacrifice satisfactory, and not the thing that is offered, which manner of doctrine I never read, and I think it myself it ought to be improved, if any such there be to make the devotion of the priest a satisfaction. For undoubtedly Christ is our satisfaction wholly and fully, who hath paid our whole debt to God the Father, for the appeasing of his just wrath against us, and hath cancelled the bill obligatory (as St. Paul saith,) that was against us. For further opening whereof, if it be asked how he satisfied, we answer, as we be taught by the Scriptures, by the accomplishment of the will of his father, in his innocent suffering, his willing and obedient suffering the miseries of this world without sin, and the violent persecution of the world, even to the death of the cross and shedding of his most precious blood. Wherein was perfected the willing sacrifice that he made of himself to God the Father for us, of whom it was written in the beginning of the book, that he should be the body and perfect accomplishment of all sacrifices, as of whom all other sacrifices before were shadows and figures.

Christ's
will.

[1580.]

And here is to be considered how the obedient will in Christ's sacrifice is specially to be noted, who suffered because he would ; which St. Paul setteth forth in declaration of Christ's humility. And although that willing obedience was ended and perfected on the cross, to the which it continued from the beginning, by reason whereof the oblation is in St. Paul's speech attributed thereunto : yet, as in the sacrifice of Abraham when he offered Isaac, the earnest will of offering was accounted for the offering in deed ; whereupon it is said in Scripture, that Abraham offered Isaac, and the declaration of the will of Abraham is called the offering : so the declaration of Christ's will in his last supper, was an offering of him to God the Father, assuring there his Apostles of his will and determination, and by them all the world, that his body should be betrayed for them and us, and his precious blood shed for remission of sin, which his word he confirmed then with the gift of his precious body to be eaten, and his precious blood to be drunken. In which mystery he declared his body and blood to be the very sacrifice of the world, by him offered to God the Father, by the same will that he said his body should be betrayed for us : and thereby ascertained us that to be in him willing,

that the Jews on the cross seemed to execute by violence and
 5 force against his will. And, therefore, as Christ offered himself
 on the cross in the execution of the work of his will, so he offer-
 ed himself in his supper, in declaration of his will; whereby we
 might be the more assured of the effect of his death, which he
 suffered willingly and determinately for the redemption of the
 world, with a most perfect oblation and satisfaction for the sins of
 the world, exhibited and offered by him to God the Father, for the
 reconciliation of man's nature to God's favour and grace.

6 And this I write because this author speaketh so precisely, how ^{Christ's}
 Christ offered himself never but once. Whereby, if he mean by ^{once offer-}
 once offering, the whole action of our redemption, which was con- ^{ing.}
 summate and perfected upon the cross; all must confess the sub- [1580.]
 stance of that work of redemption, by the oblation of Christ's body
 on the cross, to have been absolutely finished, and so once offered
 7 for all. But there is no Scripture, whereupon we might conclude
 that Christ did in this mortal life but in one particular moment
 of time offer himself to his Father. For St. Paul describeth it to Phil. ii.
 the Philippians under the word of humiliation, to have continued
 the whole time of Christ's conversation here, even to the death,
 8 the death of the cross. And that this obedience to God in humi-
 lity is called offering, appeareth by St. Paul when he exhorted us Rom. xii.
 to offer our bodies, which meaneth a continual obedience in the
 observation of God's will, and he calleth *Oblationem gentium*, to
 bring them to the faith. And Abraham's willing obedience,
 ready at God's commandment to offer Isaac, is called the offering
 of Isaac, and is in very deed a true offering; and each man of-
 fereth himself to God when he yieldeth to God's calling, and pre-
 senteth himself ready to do God's will and commandment; who
 then may be said to offer his service, that is to say, to place
 his service in sight and before him, before whom it should be
 done.

And because our Saviour Christ, by the decree of the whole Tri-
 nity, took man's nature upon him, to suffer death for our redemp-
 tion, which death, in his last supper, he declared plainly he would
 9 suffer: we read in St. Cyprian how Christ offered himself in his
 supper, fulfilling the figure of Melchisedech, who by the offering of
 bread and wine, signified that high mystery of Christ's supper, in
 which Christ under the form of bread and wine, gave his very
 body and blood to be eaten and drunken, and in the giving there-

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III.

of, declared the determination of his glorious passion, and the fruit and effect thereof. Which doing was a sweet and pleasant oblation to God the Father, containing a most perfect obedience to God's will and pleasure. And in the mystery of this Supper was written, made, and sealed, a most perfect testimony, for an effectual memory of Christ's offering of himself to his Father, and of his death and passion, with the fruit thereof. And therefore Christ ordained this Supper, to be observed and continued for a memory to his coming: so as we that saw not with our bodily eyes Christ's death and passion, may in the celebration of the Supper, be most surely ascertained of the truth out of Christ's own mouth. Who still speaketh in the person of the minister of the Church: *This is my body that is betrayed for you: This is my blood that is shed for you in remission of sin:* and therewith maketh his very body truly present, and his precious blood truly present, to be taken of us, eaten and drunken. Whereby we may be assured, that Christ is the same to us, that he was to them, and useth us as familiarly as he did them, offereth himself to his Father for us as well as for them, declareth his will in the fruit of his death to pertain as well to us as to them. Of which death we be assured by his own mouth, that he suffered the same to the effect he spake of; and by the continual feeding in this high mystery of the same very body that suffered, and feeding of it without consumption, being continually exhibit unto us a living body and lively blood, not only our soul is specially and spiritually comforted, and our body thereby reduced to more conformable obedience to the soul, but also we, by the participation of this most precious body and blood, be ascertained of the resurrection and regeneration of our bodies and flesh, to be by God's power made incorruptible and immortal, to live and have fruition in God with our soul for ever.

Truths
linked to-
gether.
[1580.]

Wherefore, having this mystery of Christ's Supper so many truths in it, the Church hath celebrate them all, and knowledged them all of one certainty in truth, not as figures, but really in deed; that is to say, as our body shall be in the general resurrection, regenerate in deed, so we believe we feed here of Christ's body in deed. And as it is true that Christ's body in deed is betrayed for us, so it is true that he giveth us to eat his very body in deed. And as it is true that Christ was in earth and did celebrate this Supper, so it is true that he commanded it to be cele-

brate by us till he come. And as it is true that Christ was very God omnipotent, and very man, so it is true that he could do that he affirmed by his word himself to do. And as he is most sincere truth, so may we be truly assured that he would, and did as he said. And as it is true that he is most just, so it is true that he assisteth the doing of his commandment in the celebration of the holy Supper. And therefore, as he is author of this most holy sacrament of his precious body and blood, so is he the maker of it, and is the invisible priest, who, as Emissene saith, by his secret power, with his word, changeth the visible creatures into the substance of his body and blood. Wherein man, the visible priest and minister by order of the Church, is only a dispenser of the mystery, doing and saying as the Holy Ghost hath taught the Church to be done and said.

Finally, as we be taught by faith all these to be true, so when 1 Cor. iv. wanton reason, faith being asleep, goeth about by curiosity to impair any one of these truths, the chain is broken, the links sparkle abroad, and all is brought in danger to be scattered and scambled at. Truths have been abused, but yet they be true as they were before: for no man can make that is true false, and abuse is man's fault and not the things'. Scripture in speech giveth to man, as God's minister, the name of that action which God specially worketh in that ministry. So it pleaseth God to honour the ministry of man in his Church, by whom it also pleaseth him to work effectually. And Christ said, *They that believe in me shall do the works that I do, and greater.* When all Errors. One offering of Christ, not many. [1580.] this honour is given to man, as spiritually to regenerate, when the minister saith, 'I baptize thee,' and to remit sin to such as fall after, to be also a minister in consecration of Christ's most precious body, with the ministration of other sacraments, benediction, and prayer: if man should then wax proud, and glory as of himself, and extol his own devotion in these ministries, such men should bewray their own naughty hypocrisy, and yet thereby impair not the very dignity of the ministry, ne the very true fruit and effect thereof. And therefore, when the Church by the minister prayeth that the creatures of bread and wine set on the altar, (as the Book of Common Prayer in this realm hath ordered,) may be unto us the body and blood of our Saviour Christ; we require then the celebration of the same supper which Christ made to his Apostles, for to be the continual memory of his

BOOK III. death, with all fruit and effect, such as the same had in the first institution.

Wherefore, when the minister pronounceth Christ's words as spoken of his mouth, it is to be believed that Christ doth now as he did then. And it is to be noted, that although in the sacrament of baptism the minister saith, 'I baptize thee,' yet in the celebration of this Supper, the words be spoken in Christ's person, as saying himself, *This is my body that is broken for you*, which is to us not only a memory, but an effectual memory with the very presence of Christ's body and blood, our very sacrifice; who, ¹¹ doing now as he did then, offereth himself to his Father as he did then, not to renew that offering as though it were imperfect, but continually to refresh us, that daily fall and decay. And, as St.

¹ John. ii. John saith, Christ is our advocate and entreateth for us, or pleadeth for us; not to supply any want on God's behalf, but to relieve our wants in edification, wherein the ministry of the Church travaileth to bring man to perfection in Christ, which Christ himself doth assist and absolutely perform in his Church, his mystical body. Now when we have Christ's body thus present in the celebration of the holy Supper, and by Christ's mouth present unto us, saying, *This is my body which is betrayed for you*; then have we Christ's body recommended unto us as our sacrifice, and a sacrifice propitiatory for all the sins of the world, being the only sacrifice of Christ's Church, the pure and clean sacrifice, whereof

Malac. i. the prophet Malachie spake, and whereof the fathers in Christ's Church have since the beginning continually written; the very true presence whereof, most constantly believed, hath increased from time to time such ceremonies as have been used in the celebration of that Supper, in which, by Christ's own mouth, we be ascertained of his most glorious death and passion; and the selfsame body that suffered, delivered unto us in mystery to be eaten of us, and therefore so to be worshipped and acknowledged of us as our very only sacrifice, in whom, by whom, and for whom, our other private gifts and sacrifices be acceptable, and none otherwise.

Errors. And therefore, as Christ declareth in the Supper himself an ³ offering and sacrifice for our sin, offering himself to his Father as our mediator, and so therewith recommendeth to his Father the Church his body, for which he suffereth: so the Church at the same Supper, in their offering of lauds and thanks, with such other

The whole Church by the minis-

gifts as they have received from God, join themselves with their head Christ, presenting and offering him, as one by whom, for whom, and in whom, all that by God's grace man can do well, is available and acceptable, and without whom nothing by us done can be pleasant in the sight of God. Whereupon this persuasion hath been truly conceived, which is also in the Book of Common Prayer, in the celebration of the holy Supper retained, that it is very profitable at that time, when the memory of Christ's death is solemnized, to remember with prayer all estates of the Church, and to recommend them to God, which St. Paul to Timothy seemeth to require. At which time, as Christ signifieth unto us the certainty of his death, and giveth us to be eaten, as it were in pledge, the same his precious body that suffered; so we, for declaration of our confidence in that death and sacrifice, do kindly remember with thanks his special gifts, and charitably remember the rest of the members of Christ's Church with prayer; and as we are able, should with our bodily goods remember, at that time specially, to relieve such as have need by poverty. And again, as Christ putteth us in remembrance of his great benefit, so we should thoroughly remember him for our part, with the true confession of this mystery, wherein is recapitulate a memorial of all gifts and mysteries that God in Christ hath wrought for us. In the consideration and estimation whereof, as there hath been a fault in the security of such, as so their names were remembered in this holy time of memory, they cared not how much they forgot themselves; so there may be a fault in such, as neglecting it, care not whether they be remembered there at all, and therefore would have it nothing but a plain eating and drinking. How much the remembrance in prayer may avail, no man can prescribe, but that it availeth every Christian man must confess. Man may nothing arrogate to his devotion; but St. James said truly, *Multum valet oratio justi assidua*. It is to be abhorred to have hypocrites that counterfeit devotion, but true devotion is to be wished of God and prayed for, which is God's gift; not to obscure his glory, but to set it forth; not that we should then trust in men's merits and prayers, but laud and glorify God in them, *qui talem potestatem dedit hominibus*, none to be judged able to relieve another with his prayer, referring all to proceed from God, by the mediation of our Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ. I have tarried long in this matter, to declare that for the effect of all celestial or worldly

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ter, the
priest, offereth
Christ present as a
sacrifice propitiatory,
wherein is shewed our
Lord's death.
[1580.]
1 Tim. ii.

James v.

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III.

gifts to be obtained of God in the celebration of Christ's holy Supper, when we call it the communion, is now prayed for to be present, and is present, and with God's favour shall be obtained, if we devoutly, reverently, charitably, and quietly use and frequent the same without other innovations than the order of the Book prescribeth. Now to the last difference.

Canterbury.

How is this comparison out of the matter of the presence of Christ's most precious body in the sacrament, when the papists say, that the mass is not a sacrifice propitiatory, but because of the presence of Christ's most precious body being presently there? And yet if this comparison be out of the matter, as you say it is, why do you then wrestle and wrangle with it so much? And do I seem to grant the presence of Christ's body in the first part of my comparison, when I do nothing there but rehearse what the papists do say? But because all this process (which you bring in here out of tune and time) belongeth to the last book, I will pass it over unto the proper place, only by the way touching shortly some notable words.

Whether
the mass be
satisfactory
by the de-
votion of
the priest.

Although you never read that the oblation of the priest is ² satisfactory by devotion of the priest, yet nevertheless the papists do so teach, and you may find it in their St. Thomas, both in his Sum, and upon the fourth of the Sentences, whose works have been read in the universities almost this three hundred years, and never until this day reproved by any of the papists in this point. He saith, "Quod sacrificium sacerdotis habet vim satisfactivam, sed in satisfactione magis attenditur affectus offerentis, quam quantitas oblationis. Ideo satisfactoria est illis pro quibus offertur, vel etiam offerentibus, secundum quantitatem suæ devotionis, et non pro tota pœna^f."

But here the reader may see in you, that the adversaries ³ of the truth sometime be enforced to say the truth, although sometime they do it unawares, as Cayphas prophesied the truth, and as you do here confess, that Christ is our satisfaction wholly and fully.

^f Tho. part. 3. q. 79. art. 5.

And yet the reader may note your inconstancy; for afterward in the last book you give Christ such a nip, that of that whole satisfaction you pinch half away from him, and ascribe it to the sacrifice of the priest, as I shall more fully declare in my answer to the last book. For you say there, that the sacrifice of Christ giveth us life, and that the sacrifice of the priest continueth our life.

- 4 And here, good reader, thou art to be warned, that this writer in this place goeth about craftily to draw thee from the very work of our full redemption, wrought by our Saviour Christ upon the cross, unto a sacrifice, as they say, made by him the night before at his last supper. And forasmuch as every priest, as the papists say, maketh the same sacrifice in his mass, therefore consequently it followeth by this writer, that we must seek our redemption at the priest's sacrifice. And so Christ's blessed passion, which he most obediently and willingly suffered for our salvation upon the cross, was not the only and sufficient sacrifice for remission of our sins.

The only will, I grant, both in good things and evil, is accepted or rejected before God, and sometime hath the name of the fact, as the will of Abraham to offer his son is called the oblation of his son; and Christ called him an adulterer in his heart, that desireth another man's wife, although there be no fact committed in deed.

The declaration of Christ's will to die, was not a sacrifice propitiatory for sin.
Heb. xi.
Matth. v.
Gen. xxii.

And yet Abraham's will alone was not called the oblation of his son, but his will declared by many facts and circumstances; for he carried his son three days' journey to the place where God had appointed him to slay and offer his son Isaac, whom he most entirely loved. He cut wood to make the fire for that purpose; he laid the wood upon his son's back, and made him to carry the same wood wherewith he should be brent. And Abraham himself, commanding his servants to tarry at the foot of the hill, carried the fire and sword, wherewith he intended, as God had commanded, to kill his own son, whom he so dearly loved. And by the way as they went, his son said unto his father, *Father, see here is fire and wood, but where is the sacrifice that must be*

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III.

killed? How these words of the son pierced the father's heart, every loving father may judge by the affection which he beareth to his own children. For what man would not have been abashed and stayed at these words? thinking thus within himself: Alas! sweet son, thou dost ask me where the sacrifice is; thyself art the same sacrifice that must be slain, and thou, poor innocent, carriest thine own death upon thy back, and the wood wherewith thyself must be brent; thou art he whom I must slay, which art most innocent and never offended. Such thoughts you may be sure pierced through Abraham's heart, no less than the very death of his son should have done. As David lamentably bewailed his son lying in the pangs of death, but after he was dead, he took his death quietly and comfortably enough. But nothing could alter Abraham's heart, or move him to disobey God, but forth on he goeth with his son to the place which God had appointed; and there he made an altar, and laid the wood upon it, and bound his son, and laid him upon the heap of the wood in the altar, and took the sword in his hand, and lifted up his arm to strike and kill his son; and would have done so indeed, if the angel of God had not letted him, commanding him in the stead of his son to take a ram that was fast by the horns in the briars. This obedience of Abraham unto God's commandment, in offering of his son, declared by so many acts and circumstances, is called in the Scripture the offering of his son, and not the will only.

Nor the Scripture calleth not the declaration of Christ's will in his last supper to suffer death, by the name of a sacrifice satisfactory for sin, nor saith not that he was there offered in deed: for the will of a thing is not in deed the thing. And if the declaration of his will to die, had been an oblation and sacrifice propitiatory for sin, then had Christ been offered, not only in his supper, but as often as he declared his will to die. As when he said long before his supper many times that he should be betrayed, scourged, spit upon, and crucified, and that the third day he should rise again. And when he bade them destroy the temple of

Matth. xx.
Mark x.
Luke xviii.
John ii.
John vi.

his body, and he would build it up again within three days. BOOK III.
 And when he said that he would give his flesh for the life John x.
 of the world, and his life for his sheep.

And if these were sacrifices propitiatory or satisfactory for remission of sin, what needed he then after to die, if he had made the propitiatory sacrifice for sin already? For either the other was not available thereto, or else his death was in vain, as St. Paul reasoneth of the priests of the old Heb. viii.
 law and of Christ. And it is not read in any Scripture, that Christ's will, declared at his supper, was effectuous and sufficient for our redemption, but that his most willing death and passion was the oblation sufficient to endure for ever and ever, world without end.

But what slights and shifts this writer doth use to wind the reader into his error, it is wonder to see, by devising to make two sacrifices of one will, the one by declaration, and the other by execution; a device such as was never imagined before of no man, and meet to come out of a fantastical head.

- 6 But I say precisely, that Christ offered himself never but once, because the Scripture so precisely and so many times saith so; and having the same for my warrant, it maketh me the bolder to stand against you, that deny that thing which is so oftentimes repeated in Scripture.
- 7 And where you say, that there is no Scripture whereupon we might conclude that Christ did in this mortal life but in one particular moment of time offer himself to the Father; to what purpose you bring forth this moment of time, I cannot tell, for I made no mention thereof, but of the day of his death; and the Scripture saith plainly, that *as it is ordained for every man to die but once, so Christ was offered but once.* Heb. ix. And saith further, that *sin is not forgiven but by effusion of blood;* and therefore, if Christ had been offered many times, he should have died many times. And of any other offering of Christ's body for sin, the Scripture speaketh not; for although St. Paul to the Philippians speaketh Phil. ii.
 of the humiliation of Christ by his incarnation, and so to
 8 worldly miseries and afflictions, even unto death upon the

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cross ; yet he calleth not every humiliation of Christ a sacrifice and oblation for remission of sin, but only his oblation upon Good Friday ; which, as it was our perfect redemption, so was it our perfect reconciliation, propitiation, and satisfaction for sin. And to what purpose you make here a long process of our sacrifices of obedience unto God's commandments, I cannot devise ; for I declare in my last book, that all our whole obedience unto God's will and commandments is a sacrifice acceptable to God, but not a sacrifice propitiatory ; for that sacrifice Christ only made, and by that his sacrifice all our sacrifices be acceptable to God, and without that none is acceptable to him. And by those sacrifices all Christian people offer themselves to God, but they offer not Christ again for sin, for that did never creature, but Christ himself alone, nor he never but upon Good Friday. For although he did institute the night before a remembrance of his death under the sacraments of bread and wine, yet he made not at that time the sacrifice of our redemption and satisfaction for our sins, but the next day following.

And the declaration of Christ at his last supper, that he would suffer death, was not the cause wherefore Cyprian said, that Christ offered himself in his supper ; for I read not in any place of Cyprian, to my remembrance, any such words, that Christ offered himself in his supper, but he saith that Christ offered the same thing which Melchisedech offered †. And if Cyprian say in any place, that Christ offered himself in his supper, yet he said not that Christ did so for this cause, that in his supper he declared his death. And therefore here you make a deceitful *fallax* in sophistry, pretending to show that thing to be a cause which is not the true cause in deed. For the cause why Cyprian and other old authors say, that Christ made an oblation and offering of himself in his last supper, was not that he declared there, that he would suffer death, for that he had declared many times before ; but the cause was, that there he ordained a perpetual memory of his death, which he would all faithful

† Cyprianus, lib. 2. ep. 3.

Christian people to observe from time to time, remembering his death with thanks for his benefits, until his coming again. And therefore the memorial of the true sacrifice made upon the cross, as St. Augustine saith^h, is called by the name of a sacrifice; as a thing that signifieth another thing is called by the name of the thing which it signifieth, although in very deed it be not the same.

And the long discourse that you make of Christ's true presence, and of the true eating of him, and of his true assisting us in our doing of his commandment, all these be true. For Christ's flesh and blood be in the sacrament truly present, but spiritually and sacramentally, not carnally and corporally. And as he is truly present, so is he truly eaten and drunken, and assisteth us; and he is the same to us, that he was to them that saw him with their bodily eyes. But where you say that he is as familiar with us as he was with them, here I may say the French term which they use for reverence sake, *Save vostre grace*. And he offered not himself then for them upon the cross, and now offereth himself for us daily in the mass; but upon the cross he offered himself both for us and for them. For that his one sacrifice of his body then only offered, is now unto us by faith as available as it was then for them. *For with one sacrifice*, as St. Paul saith, *he hath made perfect for ever them that be sanctified*. Heb. x.

And where you speak of the participation of Christ's flesh and blood, if you mean of the sacramental participation only, that thereby we be ascertained of our regeneration of our bodies, that they shall live and have the fruition of God with our souls for ever, you be in an horrible error. And if you mean a spiritual participation of Christ's body and blood, then all this your process is in vain, and serveth nothing for your purpose, to prove that Christ's flesh and blood be corporally in the sacrament, under the forms of bread and wine, and participated of them that be evil, as you teach, which be no whit thereby the more certain of their salvation, but of their damnation, as St. Paul saith. 1 Cor. xi.

^h August. *Ad Bonifacium*, epist. 23.

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And although the holy Supper of the Lord be not a vain or fantastical supper, wherein things should be promised which be not performed, to them that worthily come thereunto; but Christ's flesh and blood be there truly eaten and drunken in deed, yet that mystical Supper cannot be without mysteries and figures. And although we feed in deed of Christ's body and drink in deed his blood, yet not corporally, quantitatively, and palpably, as we shall be regenerated at the resurrection, and as he was betrayed, walked here in earth, and was very man. And therefore, although the things by you rehearsed be all truly done, yet all be not done after one sort and fashion, but some corporally and visibly, some spiritually and invisibly. And therefore, to all your comparisons or similitudes here by you rehearsed, if there be given to every one his true understanding, they may be so granted all to be true. But if you will link all these together in one sort and fashion, and make a chain thereof, you shall far pass the bonds of wanton reason, making a chain of gold and copper together, confounding and mixing together corporal and spiritual, heavenly and earthly things, and bring all to very madness and impiety, or plain and manifest heresy.

A chain of errors.

And because one single error pleaseth you not, shortly after you link a number of errors together almost in one sentence, as it were to make an whole chain of errors, saying not only, that Christ's body is verily present in the celebration of the holy Supper, meaning of corporal presence, but that it is also our very sacrifice, and sacrifice propitiatory for all the sins of the world, and that it is the only sacrifice of the Church, and that it is the pure and clean sacrifice, whereof Malachy spake, and that Christ doth now in the celebration of this Supper as he did when he gave the same to his Apostles, and that he offereth himself now as he did then, and that the same offering is not now renewed again. This is your chain of errors, wherein is not one link of pure gold, but all be copper, feigned and counterfeit. For neither is Christ's body verily and corporally present in the celebration of his holy Supper, but spiritually. Nor his body is

Malac i.

not the very sacrifice, but the thing whereof the sacrifice was made, and the very sacrifice was the crucifying of his body and the effusion of his blood unto death. Wherefore of his body was not made a sacrifice propitiatory for all the sins of the world at his supper, but the next day after upon the cross. Therefore saith the prophet, that *we were made whole by his wounds, Livore ejus sanati sumus.* BOOK
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Essay. liii.

Nor that sacrifice of Christ in the celebration of the Supper, is not the only sacrifice of the Church, but all the works that Christian people do to the glory of God, be sacrifices of the Church, smelling sweetly before God. And they be also the pure and clean sacrifice whereof the prophet Malachie did speak. For the prophet Malachie spake of no such sacrifices as only priests make, but of such sacrifice as all Christian people make, both day and night, at all times, and in all places.

Nor Christ doth not now as he did at his last supper which he had with his Apostles; for then, as you say, he declared his will, that he would die for us. And if he do now as he did then, then doth he now declare that he will die for us again.

But as for offering himself now as he did then, this speech may have a true sense, being like to that which sometime was used at the admission of unlearned friars and monks unto their degrees in the universities: where the doctor that presented them deposed, that they were meet for the said degrees, as well in learning as in virtue. And yet that deposition in one sense was true, when in deed they were meet neither in the one nor in the other. So likewise in that sense Christ offereth himself now as well as he did in his supper, for in deed he offered himself a sacrifice propitiatory for remission of sin in neither of both, but only upon the cross, making there a sacrifice full and perfect for our redemption, and yet by that sufficient offering made only at that time, he is a daily intercessor for us to his Father for ever. Finally, it is not true that the offering in the celebration of the Supper is not renewed again. For the same offering that is made in one Supper is daily renewed and

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made again in every Supper, and is called the daily sacrifice of the Church.

Thus have I broken your chain and scattered your links, which may be called the very chain of Belzebug, able to draw into hell as many as come within the compass thereof. And how would you require that men should give you credit, who within so few lines knit together so many manifest lies? It is another untruth also which you say after, that Christ declared in the supper himself an offering and sacrifice for sin; for he declared in his Supper, not that he was then a sacrifice, but that a sacrifice should be made of his body, which was done the next day after by the voluntary effusion of his blood. And of any other sacrificing of Christ for sin, the Scripture speaketh not. For although the Scripture saith, that our Saviour Christ is now a continual intercessor for us unto his Father, yet no Scripture calleth that intercession a sacrifice for sin, but only the effusion of his blood, which it seemeth you make him to do still, when you say that he suffereth; and so by your imagination he should now still be crucified, if he now suffer, as you say he doth. But it seemeth, you pass not greatly what you say, so that you may multiply many gallant words to the admiration of the hearers. But forasmuch as you say, that Christ offereth himself in the celebration of the Supper, and also that the Church offereth him, here I would have you declare, how the Church offereth Christ, and how he offereth himself, and wherein those offerings stand, in words, deeds, or thoughts, that we may know what you mean by your daily offering of Christ. Of offering ourselves unto God in all our acts and deeds with lauds and thanksgiving, the Scripture maketh mention in many places: but that Christ himself in the holy communion, or that the priests make any other oblation than all Christian people do, because these be papistical inventions without Scripture, I require nothing but reason of you, that you should so plainly set out these devised offerings, that men might plainly understand what they be, and wherein they rest. Now in this comparison, truth it is, as you say, that you

have spent many words, but utterly in vain, not to declare, but to darken the matter. But if you would have followed the plain words of the Scripture, you needed not in deed to have tarried so long, and yet should you have made the matter more clear a great deal.

Now followeth my last comparison.

“ They say, that Christ is corporally in many places at one time, affirming that his body is corporally and really present in as many places as there be hosts consecrated. We say, that as the sun corporally is ever in heaven, and no where else; and yet by his operation and virtue the sun is here in earth, by whose influence and virtue all things in the world be corporally regenerated, increased, and grow to their perfect state; so likewise our Saviour Christ bodily and corporally is in heaven, sitting at the right hand of his Father, although spiritually he hath promised to be present with us upon earth unto the world’s end. And whensoever two or three be gathered together in his name, he is there in the midst among them, by whose supernal grace all godly men be first by him spiritually regenerated, and after increase and grow to their spiritual perfection in God, spiritually by faith eating his flesh and drinking his blood, although the same corporally be in heaven, far distant from our sight.”

The thirteenth comparison.

Winchester.

1 THE true teaching is, that Christ’s very body is present under the form of bread in as many hosts as be consecrate, in how many places soever the hosts be consecrate, and is there really and substantially, which words really and substantially be implied, when we say, truly present. The word corporally may have an ambiguity and doubleness in respect and relation. One is to the truth of the body present, and so it may be said, Christ is corporally present in the sacrament; but if the word corporally be referred to the manner of the presence, then we should say, Christ’s body were present after a corporal manner, which we say not, but in a spiritual manner, and therefore not locally nor by manner of quantity, but in such a manner as God only knoweth, and yet

Really, substantially, truly, corporally, [1580.]

Manner of presence. [1580.]

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The true simple doctrine of the presence of Christ's body in the sacraments. [1580.]

God's mysteries cannot be thoroughly opened by similitudes. [1580.]

doth us to understand by faith the truth of the very presence, exceeding our capacity to comprehend the manner "how." This is the very true teaching to affirm the truth of the presence of Christ's very body in the sacrament, even of the same body that suffered, in plain, simple, evident terms and words, such as cannot by cavillation be mistaken and construed, so near as possibly man's infirmity permitteth and suffereth.

Now let us consider in what sort the author and his company which he calleth, 'we say,' do understand the sacrament; who go about to express the same by a similitude of the creature of the sun, which sun, this author saith, is ever corporally in heaven, and no where else, and yet by operation and virtue is here in earth: so Christ is corporally in heaven, &c. In this matter of similitudes, it is to be taken for a truth undoubted, that there is no creature by similitude, ne any language of man, able to express God and his mysteries: for and things that be seen or heard, might thoroughly express God's invisible mysteries, the nature whereof is that they cannot thoroughly be expressed, they were no mysteries; and yet it is true, that of things visible, wherein God worketh wonderfully, there may be some resemblances, some shadows, and as it were inductions, to make a man astonied in consideration of things invisible; when he seeth things visible so wonderfully wrought, and to have so marvellous effects. And divers good catholic devout men have by divers natural things gone about to open unto us the mystery of the Trinity, partly by the sun, as this author doth in the sacrament, partly by fire, partly by the soul of man, by the musician's science, the art, the touch with the player's fingers, and the sound of the cord, wherein when wit hath all travailed the matter, yet remaineth dark, ne cannot be thoroughly set forth by any similitude. But to the purpose of this similitude of the sun, which sun this author saith is only corporally in heaven, and no where else, and in the earth the operation and virtue of the sun: so as by this author's supposal, the substance of the sun should not be in earth, but only by operation and virtue: wherein if this author erreth, he doth the reader to understand, that if he err in consideration of natural things, it is no marvel though he err in heavenly things. For because I will not of myself begin the contention with this author of the natural work of the sun, I will bring forth the saying of Martin Bucer now resident at Cambridge, who vehemently,

Bucerus.

and for so much truly, affirmeth the true real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament: for he saith, Christ said not, This is my spirit, This is my virtue, but, *This is my body*: wherefore, he saith, we must believe Christ's body to be there, the same that did hang upon the cross, our Lord himself; which in some part to declare, he useth the similitude of the sun for his purpose, to prove Christ's body present really and substantially in the sacrament, where this author useth the same similitude to prove the body of Christ really absent. I will write in here as Bucer speaketh it in Latin, expounding the xxvith chapter of Matthew, and then I will put the same in English. Bucer's words be these.

“ Ut sol vere uno in loco cœli visibilis circumscriptus est, radiis tamen suis præsens vere et substantialiter exhibetur ubilibet orbis: ita Dominus etiam si circumscribatur uno loco cœli, arcani et divini, id est gloriæ Patris, verbo tamen suo, et sacris symbolis, vere et totus ipse Deus et homo præsens exhibetur in sacra Cœna, eoque substantialiter: quam præsentiam non minus certo agnoscit mens credens verbis his Domini et symbolis, quam oculi vident et habent solem præsentem demonstratum et exhibitum sua corporali luce. Res ista arcana est, et Novi Testamenti, res fidei; non sunt igitur huc admittendæ cogitationes de præsentatione corporis, quæ constat ratione hujus vitæ etiamnum patibilis et fluxæ. Verbo Domini simpliciter inhaerendum est, et debet fides sensuum defectui præbere supplementum.” Which is thus much in English. “ As the sun is truly placed determinately in one place of the visible heaven, and yet is truly and substantially present by means of his beams elsewhere in the world abroad: so our Lord, although he be comprehended in one place of the secret and divine heaven, that is to say, the glory of his Father, yet nevertheless by his word and holy tokens, he is exhibite present truly, whole God and man, and therefore in substance, in his holy Supper, which presence man's mind giving credit to his words and tokens with no less certainty acknowledgeth, than our eyes see and have the sun present exhibite and showed with his corporal light. This is a deep secret matter, and of the New Testament, and a matter of faith, and therefore herein thoughts be not to be received of such a presentation of the body, as consisteth in the manner of this life transitory and subject to suffer. We must simply cleave

BOOK III. "to the word of Christ, and faith must relieve the default of our sensesⁱ."

Thus hath Bucer expressed his mind, whereunto because the similitude of the sun doth not answer in all parts, he noteth wisely in the end how this is a matter of faith, and therefore upon the foundation of faith we must speak of it, thereby to supply where our senses fail. For the presence of Christ, and whole Christ, God and man, is true, although we cannot think of the manner "how." The chief cause why I bring in Bucer is this, to show how in his judgment we have not only in earth the operation and virtue of the sun, but also the substance of the sun, by mean of the sun-beams, which be of the same substance with the sun, and cannot be divided in substance from it, and therefore we have in earth the substantial presence of the sun, not only the operation and virtue. And howsoever the sun above in the distance appeareth unto us of another sort, yet the beams that touch the earth be of the same substance with it, as clerks say, or at the least as Bucer saith, whom I never heard accounted papist, and yet for the real and substantial presence of Christ's very body in the sacrament, writeth pithily and plainly, and here encountereth this author with his similitude of the sun directly; whereby may appear how much soever Bucer is esteemed otherwise, he is not with this author regarded in the truth of the sacrament, which is one of the high mysteries in our religion. And this may suffice for that point of the similitude. Where this author would have Christ none otherwise present in the sacrament, than he promised to be in the assembly of such as be gathered together in his name, it is a plain abolition of the mystery of the sacrament, in the words whereof Christ's human body is exhibite and made present with his very flesh to feed us; and to that singular and special effect which in the other presence of Christ in the assembly made in his name is not spoken of, and it hath no appearance of learning in Scriptures to conclude under one consideration a speciality and a generality. And therefore it was well answered of him that said, 'If I could tell reason, there were no faith^k; if I could show the 'like, it were not singular:' which both be not able in this sacrament, where, condemning all reason, good men both constantly believe that Christ sitteth on the right hand of his Father, very

ⁱ Bucerus, *In Matth.* cap. 26. [See above, p. 54.]

^k August. *Serm. De Tempore.* 159.

God and man, and also without change of place doth nevertheless make himself by his power present, both God and man, under the form of bread and wine, at the prayer of the Church and by the ministry of the same, to give life to such as with faith do according to his institution in his holy Supper worthily receive him, and to the condemnation of such as do unworthily presume to receive him there. For the worthy receiving of whom we must
4 come endued with Christ, and clothed with him seemly in that garment, to receive his most precious body and blood, Christ whole God and man; whereby he then dwelleth in us more abundantly, confirming in us the effects of his passion, and establishing our hope of resurrection, then to enjoy the regeneration of our body with a full redemption of body and soul, to live with God in glory for ever.

Canterbury.

- 1 In this comparison I am glad that at the last we be come
so near together, for you be almost right heartily welcome
home, and I pray you let us shake hands. For we be
agreed, as me seemeth, that Christ's body is present, and the
same body that suffered: and we be agreed also of the
manner of his presence. For you say that the body of
Christ is not present but after a spiritual manner, and so
say I also. And if there be any difference between us two,
it is but a little, and in this point only; that I say that
Christ is but spiritually in the ministration of the sacrament,
and you say, that he is but after a spiritual manner in the
sacrament. And yet you say, that he is corporally in the
sacrament, as who should say that there were a difference
between spiritually, and a spiritual manner: and that it
were not all one to say, that Christ is there only after a spi-
ritual manner, and only spiritually.
- 2 But if the substance of the sun be here corporally present
with us upon earth, then I grant that Christ's body is so
likewise. So that he of us two that erreth in the one, let
him be taken for a vain man, and to err also in the other.
Therefore I am content that the reader judge indifferently
between you and me in the corporal presence of the sun;
and he that is found to err, and to be a fool therein, let

BOOK III. him be judged to err also in the corporal presence of Christ's body.

M. Bucer. But now, Master Bucer, help this man at need: for he that hath ever hitherto cried out against you, now being at a pinch driven to his shifts, crieth for help upon you. And although he was never your friend, yet extend your charity to help him in his necessity. But Master Bucer saith not so much as you do, and yet if you both said, that the beams of the sun be of the same substance with the sun, who would believe either of you both? Is the light of the candle the substance of the candle? or the light of the fire the substance of the fire? or is the beams of the sun any thing but the clear light of the sun? Now as you said even now of me, If you err so far from the true judgment of natural things, that all men may perceive your error, what marvel is it, if you err in heavenly things?

And why should you be offended with this my saying,³ that Christ is spiritually present in the assembly of such as be gathered together in his name? And how can you conclude hereof, that this is a plain abolition of the mystery of the sacrament, because that in the celebration of the sacrament I say, that Christ is spiritually present? Have not you confessed yourself, that Christ is in the sacrament but after a spiritual manner? And after that manner he is also among them that be assembled together in his name. And if they that say so, do abolish the mystery of the sacrament, then do you abolish it yourself, by saying, that Christ is but after a spiritual manner in the sacrament, (after which manner you say also, that he is in them that be gathered together in his name,) as well as I do that say, he is spiritually in both. But he that is disposed to pick quarrels, and to calumniate all things, what can be spoken so plainly or meant so sincerely, but he will wrest it into a wrong sense? I say that Christ is spiritually and by grace in his Supper, as he is when two or three be gathered together in his name, meaning that with both he is spiritually, and with neither corporally. And yet I say not, that there is no difference. For this difference there is, that with the one he is sacra-

mentally, and with the other not sacramentally, except they be gathered together in his name to receive the sacrament. Nevertheless the selfsame Christ is present in both, nourisheth and feedeth both, if the sacrament be rightly received. But that is only spiritually, as I say, and only after a spiritual manner, as you say.

- 4 And you say further, that before we receive the sacrament, we must come endued with Christ, and seemly clothed with him. But whosoever is endued and clothed with Christ, hath Christ present with him after a spiritual manner, and hath received Christ whole, both God and man, or else he could not have everlasting life. And therefore is Christ present as well in baptism as in the Lord's Supper. For in baptism be we endued with Christ, and seemly clothed with him, as well as in his holy Supper we eat and Gal. iii. drink him.

Winchester.

- 1 Thus I have perused these differences, which well considered me think sufficient to take away and appease all such differences as might be moved against the sacrament, the faith whereof hath ever prevailed against such as have impugned it. And I have not read of any that hath written against it, but somewhat hath against his enterprise in his writings appeared, whereby to confirm it, or so evident untruths affirmed, as whereby those that be as indifferent to the truth, as Salomon was in the judgment of the living child, may discern the very true mother from the other, that is to say, who plainly intend the true child to continue alive, and who could be content to have it destroyed by division. God
2 of his infinite mercy have pity on us, and grant the true faith of this holy mystery, uniformly to be conceived in our understandings, and in one form of words to be uttered and preached, which in the Book of Common Prayer is well termed, not distant from the catholic faith in my judgment.

Canterbury.

- 1 You have so perused these differences that you have made more difference than ever was before; for where before there were no more but two parts, the true catholic doctrine and

BOOK
III.

Three
parts made
of two.

the papistical doctrine, now come you in with your new fantastical inventions, agreeing with neither part; but to make a song of three parts, you have devised a new voluntary descant so far out of tune, that it agreeth neither with the tenor nor mean, but maketh such a shameful jar, that godly ears abhor to hear it. For you have taught such a doctrine as never was written before this time, and uttered therein so many untruths and so many strange sayings, that every indifferent reader may easily discern that the true Christian faith in this matter is not to be sought at your hands. And yet in your own writings appeareth something to confirm the truth quite against your own enterprise, which maketh me have some hope, that after mine answer heard, we shall in the principal matter no more strive for the child, seeing that yourself have confessed, that Christ is but after a spiritual manner present with us. And there is good hope that God shall prosper this child to live many years, seeing that now I trust you will help to foster and nourish it up as well as I.

The true
mother of
the child.

And yet if division may show a step-mother, then be not you the true mother of the child, which in the sacrament make so many divisions. For you divide the substances of bread and wine from their proper accidents, the substances also of Christ's flesh and blood from their own accidents, and Christ's very flesh sacramentally from his very blood, although you join them again, *per concomitantiam*; and you divide the sacrament so, that the priest receiveth both the sacrament of Christ's body and of his blood; and the lay people, as you call them, receive no more but the sacrament of his body, as though the sacrament of his blood and of our redemption pertained only to the priests. And the cause of our eternal life and salvation, you divide in such sort between Christ and the priest, that you attribute the beginning thereof to the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, and the continuance thereof you attribute to the sacrifice of the priest in the mass, as you do write plainly in your last book. Oh, wicked step-mothers that so divide Christ, his sacraments, and his people!

After the differences followeth the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth chapters of my book, which you bind as it were altogether in one fardel, and cast them quite away, by the figure which you call *rejection*, not answering one word to any Scripture or old writer, which I have there alleged for the defence of the truth. But because the reader may see the matter plainly before his eyes, I shall here rehearse my words again, and join thereto your answer. My words be these.

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III.

[See vol. ii. p. 358—371. “ Now to return—in one “ nature.”]

Winchester.

THESE differences end in the forty-eighth leaf in the second column. I intend now to touch the further matter of the book, with the manner of the handling of it, and where an evident untruth is, there to join an issue, and where sleight and craft is, there to note it in the whole.

The matter of the book from thence unto the fifty-sixth leaf, touching the being of Christ in heaven and not in earth, is out of purpose superfluous. The article of our Creed, that Christ ascended to heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of his Father, bath been, and is most constantly believed of true Christian men, which the true faith of Christ's real presence in the sacrament doth not touch or impair. Nor Christ being whole God and man in the sacrament, is thereby either out of heaven, or to be said conversant in earth; because the conversation is not earthly, but spiritual and godly, being the ascension of Christ the end of his conversation in earth, and therefore all that reasoning of the author is clearly void, to travail to prove that is not denied, only for a sleight to make it seem as though it were denied.

Christ's
ascension
the end of
his conver-
sation in
earth.
Sleight,
[1580.]

Canterbury.

Here is such a sleight used by you as is worthy to be noted of all men; for I go not only about to prove in this place, only that Christ as concerning his human nature is in heaven, which I know you deny not; but I prove also that he is so in heaven that he is not in earth, which you utterly deny, and it is the chief point in contention between us. But by this craft of appeaching me of sleight, that I

A sleight
to avoid
answering.

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III.

go about to prove that thing which you deny not, (which is untrue,) you have used such a sleight that you pass over eight leaves of my book together, wherein I prove that Christ, as concerning his corporal presence, is not here in earth, and you answer not one word to any of mine arguments. And I pray thee note, good reader, what a strange manner of sleight this is to pass over eight leaves together clearly unanswered; and that in the chief point that is in variance between us, under pretence that I use sleight; where in deed I use none, but prove plainly, that Christ is not bodily in heaven and in earth both at one time. If he had but touched mine arguments glancing by them, it had been somewhat; but utterly to flee away, and not once to touch them, I think thou wilt judge no small sleight and craft therein. And methink, in good reason, the matter ought to be judged against him for default of answer, who being present, answereth nothing at all to the matter whereof he is accused, seeing that the law saith, *Qui tacet, consentire videtur*.

Smyth.

Yet Smyth is to be commended in respect of you, who attempteth at the least to see what shifts he could make to avoid my proofs, and busieth himself rather than he will stand mute, to say something to them: and yet indeed, it had been as good for him to have said nothing at all, as to say that which is nothing to the purpose.

Origene.
Augustin.

First, to the Scriptures, by me alleged particularly, he utterly answereth nothing. To Origene and St. Augustine by name, and to all the other authors by me alleged, he maketh this brief answer in general, that whatsoever those authors say, they mean no more but that Christ is not here in earth visibly, naturally, and by circumscription; and yet nevertheless, he is in the sacrament above nature, invisibly, and without circumscription. This subtle distinction hath Smyth devised, or rather followeth other papists therein, to answer the authors which I have alleged. And yet of Smyth's own distinction, it followeth that Christ is not in the sacrament carnally and corporally; for if Christ be in the sacrament but supernaturally, invisibly, and without cir-

Smyth's
vain dis-
tinction.

cumscription, then he is not there carnally and corporally, as St. Augustine reasoneth *Ad Dardanum*. But yet Smyth only saith, that the authors so meant, and proveth not one word of his saying, supposing that the old holy writers be like to the papists, which write one thing, and when they list not or cannot defend it, they say they mean another.

For those authors make no such distinction as Smyth speaketh of, affirming divers and contrary things to be in one nature of Christ in divers respects, but their distinction is of the two natures in Christ, that is to say, the nature of his Godhead and the nature of his manhood. And they affirm plainly, that the diversity whereof they spake, cannot be in one nature, as you say it is, but must needs argue and prove diversity of natures. And therefore by that diversity and distinction in Christ, they prove against the heretics that Christ hath two natures in him, which were utterly no proof at all, if one nature in divers respects might have that diversity. For the heretics should have had a ready answer at hand, that such diversity proveth not that Christ had two natures; for one nature may have such diversity, if it be true that Smyth saith. And so Smyth, with other papists which saith as he doth, putteth a sword in the heretics' hands to fight against the catholic faith. This, good reader, thou shalt easily perceive, if thou do no more but read the authors which I have in this place alleged.

And yet for thy more ready instruction, I shall make a brief rehearsal of the chief effect of them, as concerning this matter. To answer this question, how it can be said that Christ is a stranger, and gone hence into heaven, and yet is also here with us on earth, Smyth and other papists resolve this matter by divers respects in one nature of Christ; but the old catholic writers, which I have alleged, resolve the matter by two natures in Christ, affirming most certainly that such two divers things cannot have place both in one nature. And therefore say they, that Christ is gone hence, and absent in his humanity, who in his Deity is still here with us. They say also, that as concerning his man's nature, the catholic profession in our Creed teacheth us to be

How both these sayings may be true, that Christ is with us, and also gone from us. The sum of the old authors' writing in this matter.

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lieve, that he hath made it immortal, but not changed the nature of a very man's body ; for his body is in heaven, and in one certain place of heaven, because that so requireth the measure and compass of a very man's body. It is also, say they, visible, and hath all the members of a perfect man's body. And further they say, that if Christ's body were not contained within the compass of a place, it were no body ; insomuch, that if the Godhead were a body, it must needs be in a place, and have quantity, bigness, and circumscription. For all creatures, say they, visible and invisible, be circumscribed and contained within a certain compass, either locally within one place, as corporal and visible things be, or else within the property of their own substance, as angels and invisible creatures be. And this is one strong argument whereby they prove that the Holy Ghost is God, because he is in many places at one time, which no creature can be, as they teach. And yet they say moreover, that Christ did not ascend into heaven but by his humanity, nor is not here on earth but by his Divinity, which hath no compass nor measure. And finally they say, that to go to his Father from us, was to take from us that nature which he received of us ; and therefore when his body was in earth, then surely it was not in heaven, and now when it is in heaven, surely it is not in earth. For one nature cannot have in itself two sundry and contrary things.

All these things here rehearsed be written by the old ancient authors which I have alleged, and they conclude the whole matter in this wise, that this is the faith and catholic confession, which the Apostles taught, the martyrs did corroborate, and faithful people keep unto this day. Whereby it appeareth evidently, that the doctrine of Smyth and the papists at that day was not yet sprung, nor had taken no root.

Wherefore, diligently ponder and weigh, I beseech thee, gentle reader, the sayings of these authors, and see whether they say, that one nature in Christ may be both in heaven and in earth, both here with us, and absent from us at one time ; and whether they resolve this matter of Christ's being

in heaven and in earth, as Smyth doth, to be understand of his manhood in diversity of these respects, visible and invisible. And when thou hast well considered the author's sayings, then give credit to Smyth as thou shalt see cause.

But this allegation of these authors hath made the matter so hot, that the Bishop of Wynchester durst not once touch it; and Smyth, as soon as he had touched it, felt it so scalding hot, that he durst not abide it, but shrank away by and by for fear of burning his fingers. Now hear what followeth further in my book.

[See vol. ii. p. 371—376. "But now seeing"—"grapes
"his blood."]

Winchester.

AFTER this, the author occupieth a great number of leaves, that is to say, from the fifty-seventh leaf unto the seventy-fourth, to prove Christ's words, *This is my body*, to be a figurative speech. Sleight and shift is used in the matter without any effectual consecution to him that is learned.

- 1 First, the author saith, Christ called bread his body, Christ confessed bread his body. To this is answered: Christ's calling is a making, as St. Paul saith, *Vocat ea quæ non sunt, tanquam ea quæ sint, He calleth that be not as they were.* And so his calling, as Chrysostom¹ and the Greek commentaries say, is a making, which also the Catechism teacheth, translate by Justus Jonas in Germany, and after by this author in English.
- 2 Tertullian saith^m, Christ made bread his body; and it is all one speech in Christ being God declaring his ordinances, whether he use the word "call," or "make," for in his mouth to call is to make.

Cyprian saithⁿ, according hereunto, how bread is by God's omnipotency made flesh, whereupon also this speech, "bread is flesh," is as much to say as made flesh; not that bread being bread is flesh, but that was bread is flesh by God's omnipotency; and so this author, entreating this matter as he doth, hath partly opened the faith of transubstantiation. For in deed, bread being bread is

¹ Chrysost. *In Epist. Ad Ro.* cap. 4.

^m Tertullian. *Adversus Marcionem*, lib. iv.

ⁿ Cyprianus, *De Cæna Domini*. [See vol. ii. p. 323, note.]

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not Christ's body, but that was bread is now Christ's body, because bread is made Christ's body, and because Christ called bread his body, which was in Christ to make bread his body. When Christ made water wine, the speech is very proper to say, water is made wine. For after like manner of speech we say, Christ justifieth a wicked man, Christ saveth sinners, and the physician hath made the sick man whole, and such diet will make an whole man sick. All these speeches be proper and plain, so as the construction be not made captious and sophistical, to join that was to that now is, forgetting the mean work.

When Christ said, *This is my body*, there is no necessity that the demonstration "this" should be referred to the outward visible matter, but may be referred to the invisible substance. As in the speech of God the Father upon Christ in baptism, *This is my Son*.

An issue.

And here, when this author taketh his recreation to speak of the feigning of the papists, I shall join this issue in this place, that he understandeth not what he saith, and if his knowledge be no better than is uttered here in the pen, to be in this point clearly condemned of ignorance.

Canterbury.

Another sleight.

Here is another sleight, such as the like hath not lightly been seen. For where I wrote, that when Christ said, *This is my body*, it was bread that he called his body, you turn the matter to make a descant upon these two words, "calling," and "making," that the minds of the readers should be so occupied with the discussion of these two words, that in the meantime they should forget what thing it was that was called and made. Like unto men that dare larks, which hold up an hobby, that the larks' eyes being ever upon the hobby should not see the net that is laid on their heads.

Rom. iv.
Whether
Christ's
calling be
making.

And yet, finally, you grant that which Smyth denieth, that it was bread which Christ called his body, when he said, *This is my body*. And so that which was not his body in deed, he called his body, who calleth things that be not, as they were the things in deed. And if his calling be making, then his calling bread his body, is making bread his body: and so is not only Christ's body made present, but also the bread is made his body, because it is called his body; and so must bread be the thing whereof Christ's body is made;

which before you denied in the eleventh comparison, calling that saying so foolish that it were not tolerable to be devised by a scoffer in a play, to supply when his fellow had forgotten his part. And thus should you conclude yourself, if Christ's calling were making; which in deed is not true, for then should Christ have made himself a vine, when he called himself a vine, and have made St. John the blessed Virgin Mary's son, when he called him her son, and should have made his Apostles vine branches, when he called them so, and should have made Peter a devil, when he called him devil.

BOOK III.

After, when you come to make answer unto the authors cited by me in this place, first you skip over Irenee, the eldest author of them all, because, I think, he is too hard meat for you well to digest, and therefore you will not once taste of him.

Ireneus.

2 In Tertullian and Cyprian you agree again, that when Christ said *This is my body*, it was bread that he called his body. And so when he said *This*, he meant the bread, making demonstration upon it; as before you have said more at large in your book, which you named the Detection of the Devil's Sophistry. And herein you say more truly than the other papists do, which deny that the demonstration was made upon the bread, although you say not true in the other part, that Christ's calling was making.

Tertullian. Cyprian.

Whether bread be called Christ's body.

3 And if his calling be changing of the bread, and making it the body of Christ, yet then it is not true to speak of the bread and to say, that it is the body of Christ. For when one thing is changed into another, the first still remaining, it may be said both that it is made the other thing, and that it is the other thing; (as when cloth is made a gown, we may say this cloth is made a gown, and also this cloth is a gown;) but when the former matter or state remaineth not, it may be said, that it is made the other thing, but not that it is the other thing. As when Christ had turned water into wine, it was true to say water is made wine, but not to say water is wine. And likewise, although we say, a wicked man is made just, a sick man is made whole, or an whole

Conversion two manner of ways.

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III.

man sick, yet it is no true speech to say a wicked man is just, a sick man is whole, or an whole man is sick, because the former state remaineth not. And therefore, although it might in speech be allowed, that the bread is made Christ's body when the bread is gone, yet can it not be a proper and approved speech to say, it is his body, except the bread remain still. For of that thing which is not, it cannot be said that it is Christ's body; for if it be his body, it must needs be, by the rule of logic, *a tertio adjacentē, ad secundum adjacentens*.

Christ's
body
made of
bread.

John ii.

And I marvel how you have overshot yourself in this place, when you teach how, and after what manner, bread is made Christ's body; not that bread, say you, being bread is his body, but that which was bread is now made his body; whereof it followeth necessarily, that his body is made of bread. For as the wine in the Cane of Galilee was made of water, when the substance of water was turned into the substance of wine; so if in the sacrament the substance of bread be turned into the substance of Christ's body, then is his body in the sacrament made of bread, which in the eleventh comparison you affirmed to be so foolish a saying, as were not tolerable to be devised by a scoffer in a play, to supply when his fellow had forgotten his part.

Therefore I have not here partly opened the faith of transubstantiation, as you say of me, but you have here manifestly opened the wisdom of the papistical doctrine, which is more foolish than were to be devised by a scoffer in a play.

But what need I much to contend with you in this place, seeing that you grant the thing for the which I cited all these authors, that is to say, that Christ called bread his body, when he said, *This is my body*.

Whether
Christ call-
ed bread
his body.

And in your Detection of the Devil's Sophistry, as you call it, you say that Christ spake plainly, *This is my body*, making demonstration of the bread, when he said, *This is my body*. But it seemeth, you be sorry that you have granted so much, and that you spake those words unadvisedly, before you knew what the papists had written in

that matter; and now when you perceive how far you vary from them, you would fain call your words back again, and prepare a way for the same, saying thus; When Christ said, *This is my body*, there is no necessity that the demonstration "this" should be referred to the outward visible matter, but may be referred to the invisible substance. In these your words it seemeth you begin to doubt in that thing which before you certainly affirm without all doubt.

5 And when you have confessed the whole matter that I do here prove, (which is only this, that Christ called bread his body and wine his blood, when he said, *This is my body*, *This is my blood*,) yet you conclude your answer with an issue of mine ignorance, that it is so great that I understand not what I say, if my knowledge be no better than is uttered here in my pen. And yet my words be so plain, that the least child, as they say, in the town may understand them; for all my study is to speak plain, that the truth may be known, and not with dark speeches, as you do, to hide the truth. But when I had made a plain issue against all the papists in general, it had been your part to have joined in the said issue, and not to devise new issues.

But because neither you nor Smyth dare join with me in mine issue, I shall repeat mine issue again, and take it for confessed of you both, because neither of you dare say the contrary, and join an issue with me therein. My issue is this: Let all the papists together show any one authority, either of Scripture or of ancient author, either Greek or Latin, that sayeth as they say, that Christ called not bread and wine his body and blood, but *Individuum vagum*, and for my part I shall give them place, and confess that they say true. And if they can show nothing for them of antiquity, but only their own bare words, then it is reason that they give place to the truth, confirmed by so many authorities both of Scripture and of ancient writers, which is, that Christ called very material bread his body, and very wine made of grapes his blood.

Now it shall not be much amiss to examine here the wise device of Mr. Smith, what he can say to this matter, that the

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opinion of divers doctors may be known, as well of Doctor Smyth as of Doctor Gardyner. It is very false, saith Smyth to me, that you do say, that as these words, *This is my body*, do lie, there can be gathered of them none other sense, but that bread is Christ's body, and that Christ's body is bread. For there can no such thing be gathered of those words, but only that Christ gave his disciples his very body to eat, into which he had turned the bread, when he spake those words. First, Smyth useth here a great and manifest falsehood in reciting of my sentence, leaving out those words which should declare the truth of my saying. For I say that by this manner of speech plainly understand without any figure, there can be gathered none other sense, but that bread is Christ's body. In which my sentence he leaveth out these words, "by this manner of speech plainly understand without any figure," which words be so material, that in them resteth the pith and trial of the whole sentence.

Matth. xiv.
Mark vi.
Luke ix.
John vi.

When Christ took the five loaves and two fishes, and looking up into heaven, blessed them, and brake them, and gave them unto his disciples, that they should distribute them unto the people, if he had then said, Eat, this is meat, which shall satisfy your hunger; by this manner of speech plainly understand without any figure, could any other sense have been gathered, but that the bread and fishes which he gave them was meat? And if at the same time he had blessed wine, and commanding them to drink thereof, had said, This is drink, which shall quench your thirst; what could have been gathered of those words plainly understand without any figure, but that he called wine drink? So likewise when he blessed bread and wine, and gave them to his disciples, saying, *Eat, this is my body; Drink, this is my blood*; what can be gathered of this manner of speech plainly understand without any figure, but that he called the bread his body and wine his blood? For Christ spake not one word there of any changing or turning of the substance of the bread, no more than he did when he gave the loaves and fishes. And therefore the manner of speech is all one, and the changing of the substances can no more be proved by

the phrase and fashion of speech to be in the one than in the other, whatsoever you papists dream of your own heads without Scripture, that the substance of the bread is turned into the substance of Christ's body. BOOK
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But Smyth bringeth here news, using such strange and novelty of speech, as other papists use not, which he doth either of ignorance of his grammar, or else that he dissenteth far from other papists in judgment. For he saith, that Christ had turned the bread when he spake these words, *This is my body*. And if Smyth remember his Accidence, the preterpluperfect tense signifieth the time that is more than perfectly past, so that if Christ had turned the bread when he spake those words, then was the turning done before and already past, when he spake those words, which the other papists say was done after, or in the pronounciation of the words. And therefore they use to speak after this sort, that when he had spoken the words, the bread was turned, and not that he had turned the bread when he spake the words.

Another novelty of speech Smyth useth in the same place, saying that Christ called his body bread, because he turned bread into it, it seemeth and appeareth still to be it, it hath the quality and quantity of bread, and because it is the food of the soul as corporal meat is of the body. These be Smythe's words, which if he understand of the outward form of bread, it is a novelty to say, that it is the food of the soul: and if he mean of the very body of Christ, it is a more strange novelty to say, that it hath the quantity and quality of bread. For there was never man, I trow, that used that manner of speech, to say that the body of Christ hath the quantity and quality of bread, although the papists use this speech, that the body of Christ is contained under the form, that is to say, under the quantities and qualities of bread.

Now when Smyth should come to make a direct answer unto the authorities of the old writers, which I have brought forth to prove that Christ called bread his body when he said, *This is my body*; Smith answereth no more but this:

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‘The doctors, which you my lord, allege here for you, prove not your purpose.’ Forsooth, a substantial answer, and well proved, that the doctors by me alleged prove not my purpose, for Smythe saith so. I looked here that Smythe should have brought forth a great number of authors to approve his saying, and to reprove mine; specially seeing that I offered fair play to him, and to all the papists joined with him in one troop.

For after that I had alleged for the proof of my purpose a great many places of old authors, both Greeks and Latins, I provoked the papists to say what they could to the contrary. Let all the papists together, said I, show any one authority for them, either of Scripture or ancient author, either Greek or Latin, and for my part I shall give them place. And if they can show nothing for them of antiquity, then is it reason that they give place to the truth confirmed by so many authorities, both of Scripture and of ancient writers, which is, that Christ called very material bread his body, and very wine made of grapes his blood.

Now I refer to thy judgment, indifferent reader, whether I offered the papists reason or no; and whether they ought not, if they had any thing to show, to have brought it forth here? And forasmuch as they have brought nothing, (being thus provoked with all their counsel,) whether thou oughtest not to judge that they have nothing indeed to show, which if they had, without doubt we should have heard of it in this place. But we hear nothing at all, but these their bare words, ‘Not one of all these doctors saith as ye do, my lord.’ Which I put in thy discretion, indifferent reader, to view the doctors’ words by me alleged, and so to judge.

But they say not that there is only bread in the sacrament, saith Smyth, and not Christ’s body. What then? What is that to purpose here in this place, I pray you? For I go not about in this place to prove that only bread is in the sacrament, and not Christ’s body; but in this place I prove only, that it was very bread which Christ called his body, and very wine which he called his blood, when he said, *This is my body, This is my blood.* Which Smyth

with all the rabblement of the papists deny ; and yet all the old authors affirm it with Doctor Steven Gardiner late Bishop of Wynchester also, who saith that Christ made demonstration upon the bread, when he said, *This is my body*. And as all the old authors be able to countervail the papists, so is the late Bishop able to match Smyth in this matter, so that we have at the least a Rowlande for an Olyver. But shortly to comprehend the answer of Smyth, where I have proved my sayings, a dozen leaves together, by the authority of Scripture and old catholic writers, is this a sufficient answer, only to say, without any proof, that all my travail is lost ? and that all I have alleged is nothing to the purpose ? Judge indifferently, gentle reader, whether I might not by the same reason cast away all Smythe's whole book, and reject it quite and clean, with one word saying, All his labour is lost, and to no purpose. Thus Smythe and Gardiner being answered, I will return again to my book, where it followeth thus :

[See vol. ii. p. 376—378. “ Now this being fully “ proved”——“ born on earth.”]

Winchester.

1 In the sixtieth leaf the author entreateth whether it be a plain speech of Christ to say, *Eat and drink*, speaking of his body and blood. I answer, the speech of itself is proper, commanding them present to eat and drink that is proponed for them ; and yet it is not requisite that the nature of man should with like common effect work, in eating and drinking that heavenly meat and drink, as it doth in earthly and carnal meats. In this mystery man doth as Christ ordained, that is to say, receive with his mouth that is ordered to be received with his mouth, granting it nevertheless of
2 that dignity and estimation that Christ's words affirm ; and whether he so doth or no, Christ's ordinance is as it is in the substance of itself alone, whereof no good man judgeth carnally or grossly, ne discusseth the unfaithful question “ how,” which he cannot conceive, but leaveth the deepness thereof, and doth as he is bidden. This mystery receiveth no man's thoughts. Christ's institution hath a property in it, which cannot be discussed by man's
3 sensual reason ; Christ's words be spirit and life, which this author wresteth with his own gloss, to exclude the truth of the eating of

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Christ's flesh in his Supper : and yet for a shift, if a man would join issue with him, putteth to his speech the words " grossly" and " carnally," which words, in such a rude understanding, be terms meeter to express how dogs devour paunches, than to be inculked in speaking of this high mystery. Wherein I will make
4
An issue. the issue with this author, that no catholic teaching is so framed with such terms as though we should eat Christ's most precious
5
body grossly, carnally, joining those words so together. For else " carnally," alone may have a good signification, as Hilary useth it, but contrarywise speaking in the catholic teaching of the manner of Christ's presence, they call it a spiritual manner of presence, and yet there is present by God's power the very true natural body and blood of Christ, whole God and man, without leaving his place in heaven ; and in the holy Supper men use their mouths
6
and teeth, following Christ's commandment in the receiving of that holy sacrament, being in faith sufficiently instruct, that they cannot ne do not tear, consume, or violate, that most precious body and blood, but unworthily receiving it, are cause of their own judgment and condemnation.

Canterbury.

The eating of Christ's body is not with teeth.

Eating and drinking with the mouth being so plain a matter, that young babes learn it and know it before they can speak, yet the cuttle here with his black colours and dark speeches, goeth about so to cover and hide the matter, that neither young nor old, learned nor unlearned, should understand what he meaneth. But for all his masking, who is so ignorant but he knoweth, that eating in the proper and usual signification is to bite and chew in sunder with the teeth? And who knoweth not also, that Christ is not so eaten? Who can then be ignorant, that here you speak a manifest untruth, when you say, that Christ's body to be eaten, is of itself a proper speech and not figurative? which is by and by confessed by yourself, when you say that we do not eat that heavenly meat as we do other carnal meats, which is by chewing and dividing with the mouth and teeth. And yet we receive with the mouth that is ordained to be received with the mouth, that is to say, the sacramental bread and wine, esteeming them nevertheless unto us when we duly receive them according unto Christ's words and ordinance.

- 2 But where you say, that of the substance of Christ's body no good man judgeth carnally, ne discusseth the unfaithful question "how," you charge yourself very sore in so saying, and seem to make demonstration upon yourself, of whom may be said, *Ex ore tuo te judico*. For you both judge carnally in affirming a carnal presence and a carnal eating, and also you discuss this question, "how," when you say that Christ's body is in the sacrament really, substantially, corporally, carnally, sensibly, and naturally, as he was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered on the cross.
- 3 And as concerning these words of Christ, *The words* John vi. *which I do speak be spirit and life*, I have not wrested them with mine own gloss, as you misreport, but I have cited for me the interpretation of the catholic doctors and holy fathers of the Church, as I refer to the judgment of the reader.
- 4 But you teach such a carnal and gross eating and drinking of Christ's flesh and blood, as is more meet to express how dogs devour paunches, than to set forth the high mystery of Christ's holy Supper. For you say, that Christ's body is present, really, substantially, corporally, and carnally, and so is eaten; and that we eat Christ's body, as eating is taken in common speech: but in common speech it is taken for chewing and gnawing, as dogs do paunches; wherefore of your saying it followeth, that we do so eat Christ's body, as dogs eat paunches, which all Christian ears abhor for to hear.
- 5 But why should I join with you here an issue, in that matter which I never spake? For I never read, nor heard no man that said, saving you alone, that we do eat Christ grossly or carnally, or as eating is taken in common speech without any figure; but all that ever I have heard or read, say quite clean contrary. But you, who affirm that we eat Christ carnally and as eating is taken in common speech, (which is carnally and grossly to chaw with the teeth,) must needs consequently grant, that we eat him grossly and carnally, as dogs eat paunches. And this is a strange thing to hear, that where before you said that Christ is present but after a spiritual manner, now you say that he is eaten carnally.

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III.

Nycolas the
Second.

And where you say, that in the holy Supper men use their mouth and teeth, truth it is that they so do, but to chew the sacrament, not the body of Christ. And if they do not tear that most precious body and blood, why say you then that they eat the body of Christ, as eating is taken in common speech? And wherefore doth that false papistical faith of Pope Nycolas, which you wrongfully call catholic, teach that Christ's body is torn with the teeth of the faithful?

Now follow the particular authorities, which I have alleged for the interpretation of Christ's words, which, if you had well considered, you would not have said, as you do, that I wrested Christ's words with mine own gloss. First I begin with Orygene, saying :

[See vol. ii. p. 378—379. "And Origen"—"in this place."]

Winchester.

Origenes.

Now I will touch shortly what may be said to the particular authorities brought in by this author. Origen is noted, among other writers of the Church, to draw the text to allegories, who doth not thereby mean to destroy the truth of the letter; and therefore, when he speaketh of a figure, saith not there is an only figure, which exclusive "only" being away, (as it is not found by any author catholic taught that the speech of Christ of the eating of his flesh to be only a figure,) this author hath nothing advanced his purpose. As for spiritual understanding meaneth not any destruction of the letter, where the same may stand with the rules of our faith. All Christ's words be life and spirit, containing in the letter many times that is above our capacity, as specially in this place of the eating of his flesh, to discuss the particularities of "how," and yet we must believe to be true that Christ saith, although we cannot tell how: for when we go about to discuss of God's mystery "how," then we fall from faith, and wax carnal men, and would have God's ways like ours.

Canterbury.

Here may every man that readeth the words of Origen plainly see, that you seek in this weighty matter nothing but

° *De Consecr.* dist. 2. "Ego."

shifts and cavillations. For you have nothing answered directly to Origen, although he directly writeth against your doctrine. For you say that the eating of Christ's flesh is taken in the proper signification without a figure: Origene saith there is a figure. And Origen saith further, that it is only a figurative speech, although not adding this word "only," yet adding other words of the same effect. For he saith that we may not understand the words as the letter soundeth: and saith further, that if we understand the words of Christ in this place as the letter soundeth, the letter killeth. Now who knoweth not that to say these words "not as the letter soundeth," and "the letter killeth" be as much to say, as only spiritually, and only otherwise than the letter soundeth? Wherefore you must spit upon your hands, and take better hold, or else you cannot be able to pluck Origen so shortly from me. And I marvel that you be not ashamed thus to trifle with the ancient authors in so serious a matter, and in such places, where the reader only looking upon the author's words, may see your dallying. The next is Chrysostome, whom I cite thus:

[See vol. ii. p. 379. "And St. John Chrysostome"——
"figuratively."]

Winchester.

ST. CHRYSOSTOM declareth himself how mysteries must be considered with inward eyes, which is a spiritual understanding, whereby the truth of the mystery is not as it were by a figurative speech impaired, but with an humility of understanding in a certain faith of the truth marvelled at. And here the author of this book useth a sleight to join figuratively to spiritually, as though they were always all one, which is not so.

Canterbury.

As you have handled Origen before, even so do you handle Chrysostome. Wherefore I only refer the reader to look upon the words of Chrysostome recited in my book, who saith, that to understand the words of eating Christ's flesh simply as they be spoken, is a carnal understanding. And then can it be no proper speech, as you say it is, be-

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cause it cannot be understand as the words be spoken, but must have another understanding spiritually. Then followeth next St. Augustine, of whom I write thus :

[See vol. ii. p. 379—382. “And yet most plainly”——
“then born.”]

Winchester.

Augusti-
nus.

ST. Augustine, according to his rules of a figurative and proper speech, taketh this speech, *Except ye eat, &c.* for a figurative speech, because it seemeth to command in the letter carnally understood, an heinous and wicked thing to eat the flesh of a man, as man's carnal imagination conceiveth it, as appeared by the Capharnaïtes, who murmured at it. And therefore, because only faithful men can by faith understand this mystery of the eating of Christ's flesh in the sacrament, in which we eat not the carnal flesh of a common man, as the letter soundeth, but the very spiritual flesh of Christ, God and man, as faith teacheth : it is in that respect well noted for a figurative speech, for that it hath such a sense in the letter as is hidden from the unfaithful ; so as the same letter being to faithful men spirit and life, who in humility of faith understandeth the same, is to the unfaithful a figure, as containing such a mystery as by the outward bark of the letter they understand not. Upon which consideration it seemeth probable that the other fathers also signifying a great secresy in this mystery of the sacrament, wherein is a work of God ineffable, such as the ethnic ears could not abide, they termed it a figure ; not thereby to diminish the truth of the mystery, as the proper and special name of a figure doth, but by the name of a figure, reverently to cover so great a secresy, apt only to be understood of men believing ; and therefore the said fathers in some part of their works in plain words express and declare the truth of the mystery, and the plain doctrine thereof, according to the catholic faith, and in the other part pass it over with the name of a figure : which consideration in St. Augustin's writings may be evidently gathered ; for in some place no man more plainly openeth the substance of the sacrament than he doth, speaking expressly of the very body and blood of Christ contained in it ; and yet therewith in other places noteth in those words a figure, not thereby to contrary his other plain sayings and doctrine, but meaning by

the word figure to signify a secret deep mystery hidden from carnal understanding. For avoiding and expelling of which carnality, he giveth this doctrine here of this text, *Except ye eat, &c.* which, as I said before, in the bare literal sense, implieth to carnal judgment other carnal circumstances to attain the same flesh to be eaten, which in that carnal sense cannot be but by wickedness. But what is this to the obeying of Christ's commandment in the institution of his Supper? When himself delivereth his body and blood in these mysteries, and biddeth *Eat and drink*, there can be no offence to do as Christ biddeth; and therefore St. Augustin's rule pertaineth not to Christ's Supper, wherein when Christ will-eth us to use our mouth, we ought to dare do as he biddeth; for that is spiritual understanding, to do as is commanded without carnal thought or murmuring in our sensual device, how it can be so. And St. Augustine in the same place, speaking *De communicando passionibus Christi*, declareth plainly he meaneth of the sacrament.

Contrary
[158o.]

Canterbury.

If thou takest not very good heed, reader, thou shalt not perceive where the cuttle becometh: he wrappeth himself so about in darkness, and he cometh not near the net by a mile, for fear he should be taken. But I will draw my net nearer to him, that he shall not escape. I say that the words which Christ spake of the eating of his flesh and drinking of his blood, were spoken by a figure; and he would avoid the matter, by saying that those words have a spiritual mystery in them, which is most true, and nothing contrary to my saying, but confirmeth the same. For the words of eating and drinking be figurative speeches, because they have a secret and hid spiritual mystery in them, and cannot be taken otherwise than in that spiritual mystery, which is a figure. And moreover you plainly here confess, that to eat Christ's flesh and to drink his blood be figurative speeches. But you traverse the cause wherefore they be figurative speeches, which is not material in this place, where my process is only to prove that they be figurative speeches. And forasmuch as you grant here all that I take upon me to prove, which is, that they be figurative speeches, what need-

BOOK
III.

eth all this superfluous multiplication of words, when we agree in the matter which is here in question?

And as for the cause of the figure, you declare it far otherwise than St. Augustine doth, as the words of St. Augustine do plainly show to every indifferent reader. For the cause, say you, is this, that in the sacrament we eat not the carnal flesh of a common man, as the letter soundeth, but the very spiritual flesh of Christ, God and man, and in that respect it is well noted for a figurative speech.

John vi.

In which one sentence be three notable errors or untruths. The first is, that you say the letter soundeth that we eat the carnal flesh of a common man; which your saying the plain words of the Gospel do manifestly reprove. For Christ, separating himself in that speech from all other men, spake only of himself, saying, *My flesh is very meat, and my blood is very drink: He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me and I in him.* The second is, that you call the flesh of Christ a spiritual flesh, as before you said that he is spiritually eaten: and so by your doctrine his flesh is spiritual, and is spiritually eaten, and all is spiritual, which hath need of a favourable interpretation, if it should be counted a sound and catholic teaching. And if all be spiritual, and done spiritually, what meaneth it then that in other places you make so often mention, that he is present and eaten carnally, corporally, and naturally?

The third is, that you say the speech of Christ is noted figurative in respect of the eating of the flesh of a common man, which is utterly untrue. For the authors note not the figurative speech in that respect: but as Christ spake of his own flesh joined unto his Divinity, whereby it giveth life; even so do the authors note a figurative speech in respect of Christ's own flesh, and say thereof, that the letter cannot be true without a figure. For although Christ be both God and man, yet his flesh is a very man's flesh, and his blood is truly man's blood, (as is the flesh and blood of his blessed mother,) and therefore cannot be eaten and drunken properly, but by a figure. For he is not meat and drink of the body, to be eaten corporally with mouth and teeth, and to

be digested in the stomach ; but he is the meat of the soul, to be received spiritually in our hearts and minds, and to be chewed and digested by faith.

- 3 And it is untrue that you here say, that the proper and special name of a figure diminisheth the truth of the mystery ; for then Christ in vain did ordain the figures, if they diminish the mysteries.

And the authors termed here a figure, not thereby to cover the mystery, but to open the mystery, which was in deed in Christ's words by figurative speeches understand. And with the figurative speech were the ethnic and carnal ears offended, not with the mystery which they understood not. And not to the ethnic and carnal, but to the faithful and spiritual ears, the words of Christ be figurative, and to them the truth of the figures be plainly opened and declared by the fathers ; wherein the fathers be worthy much commendation, because they travailed to open plainly unto us the obscure and figurative speeches of Christ. And yet in their said declarations they taught us, that these words of Christ, concerning the eating of his flesh and drinking of his blood, are not to be understand plainly, as the words properly signify, but by a figurative speech.

- 5 Nor St. Augustine never wrote in all his long works as you do, that Christ is in the sacrament corporally, carnally, or naturally, or that he is so eaten ; nor, I dare boldly say, he never thought it. For if he had, he would not have written so plainly, as he doth in the places by me alleged, that we must beware that we take not literally any thing that is spoken figuratively. And specially he would not have expressed by name the words of eating Christ's flesh and drinking his blood, and have said that they be figurative speeches. But St. Augustine doth not only tell how we may not take those words, but also he declareth how we ought to take and understand the eating of Christ's flesh and drinking of his blood, which, as he saith, is this, To keep in our minds to our great comfort and profit, that Christ was crucified, and shed his blood for us, and so to be partakers

BOOK III. of his passion. This, saith St. Augustine, is to eat his flesh and to drink his blood.

And St. Augustine saith not as you do, that Christ's⁶ words be figurative to the unfaithful, for they be figurative rather to the faithful than to the unfaithful; for the unfaithful take them for no figure or mystery at all, but rather carnally, as the Capernaïtes did. And there is in deed no mystery nor figure in eating with the mouth, as you say Christ's flesh is eaten, but in eating with the soul and spirit is the figure and mystery. For the eating and drinking with the mouth is all one to the faithful and unfaithful, to the carnal and spiritual, and both understand in like, what is eating and drinking with the mouth. And therefore in no place do the doctors declare that there is a figure or mystery in eating and drinking of Christ's body with our mouths, or that there is any truth in that mystery, but they say clean contrary, that he is not eaten and drunken with our mouths. And if in any place any old author write that there is a figure or mystery in eating and drinking of Christ with our mouths, show the place, if you will have any credit. St. Augustine specially, whom you do here allege for your purpose, saith directly against you, "Nolite parare fauces, sed cor P;" "Prepare not your mouth or jaws, but your heart." And in another place he saith, "Quid paras ventrem et dentem? Crede, et manducasti⁹;" "Why dost thou prepare thy belly and teeth? Believe, and thou hast eaten."

But to avoid the saying of St. Augustine by me alleged,⁷ you say, that St. Augustine's rule pertaineth not to Christ's Supper; which your saying is so strange, that you be the first that ever excluded the words of Christ from his Supper. And St. Augustine meant as well at the Supper, as at all other times, that the eating of Christ's flesh is not to be understood carnally with our teeth, as the letter signifieth, but spiritually with our minds, as he in the same place de-

P August. *De Verbis Domini*, Serm. 33. 9 August. *In Joan.* tract. 25.

clareth. And how can it be, that St. Augustine's rule pertaineth not to Christ's Supper, when by that rule he expoundeth Christ's words in the sixth of John, which you say Christ spake of his Supper? Did Christ speak of his Supper, and St. Augustine's words expounding the same pertain not to the Supper? You make St. Augustine an expositor like yourself, that commonly use to expound both doctors and Scriptures clean from the purpose, either for that by lack of exercise in the Scriptures and doctors you understand them not, or else that for very frowardness you will not understand any thing that misliketh you. And where you say, that we must do as Christ commanded us, without carnal thought or sensual device; is not this a carnal thought and sensual device which you teach, that we eat Christ corporally with our teeth, and contrary to that which you said before, that Christ's body in the sacrament is a spiritual body, and eaten only spiritually? Now how the teeth can eat a thing spiritually, I pray you tell me.

Now thou seest, good reader, what avail all those glosses, of carnal flesh and spiritual flesh; of the flesh of Christ, and the flesh of a common man; of a figure to the unfaithful, and not to the faithful; that the fathers termed it a figure, because else the ethnic ears could not abide it, and because they would reverently cover the mystery. And when none of these foul shifts will serve, he runneth to his shot anchor, that St. Augustine's rule pertaineth nothing to Christ's Supper. Thus mayest thou see, with what sincerity he handleth the old writers. And yet he might right well have spared all his long talk in this matter, seeing that he agreeth fully with me in the state of the whole cause, that to eat Christ's flesh and to drink his blood, be figurative speeches. For he that declareth the cause, why they be figurative speeches, agreeth in the matter, that they be figurative speeches. And so have I my full purpose in this article. Now hear what followeth in my book.

[See vol. ii. p. 382. "The same authors"—"body
"and blood."

*Winchester.*BOOK
III.

Tertullianus

TERTULLIAN, speaking of the representation of Christ's very body, in which place he termeth it the same body, speaketh catholically in such phrase as St. Hierome speaketh, and then Tertullian saith afterward as this author therein truly bringeth him forth, that Christ made the bread his body, which bread was in the mouth of the Prophet a figure of his body. Wherefore it followeth by Tertullian's confession, when Christ made the bread his body, that Christ ended the figure and made it the truth, making now his body that was before the figure of his body. For if Christ did no more but make it a figure still, then did he not make it his body, as Tertullian himself saith he did. And Tertullian therefore, being read thus, as appeareth to me most probable, that "that is to say" in Tertullian should be only referred to the explication of the first "this," as when Tertullian had alleged Christ's words, saying "This is my body," and putteth to of his own, "that is to say the figure of my body," these words, "that is to say," should serve to declare the demonstration "this," in this wise, "that is to say, this which the Prophet called the figure of my body, is now my body," and so Tertullian said before that Christ had made bread his body, which bread was a figure of his body with the Prophet, and now endeth in the very truth, being made his body by conversion, as Cyprian showeth, of the nature of bread into his body. Tertullian reasoned against the Marcionists, and because a figure in the Prophet signifieth a certain unfeigned truth of that is signified, seeing Christ's body was figured by bread in the Prophet Hieremy, it appeareth Christ had a true body. And that the bread was of Christ approved for a figure, he made it now his very body. And this may be said evidently to Tertullian, who reasoning against heretics useth the commodity of arguing, and giveth no doctrine of the sacrament to further this author's purpose. And what advantage should the heretics have of Tertullian if he should mean that these words, *This is my body*, had only this sense, *This is the figure of my body*, having himself said before, that Christ made bread his body. If so plain speech, to make bread his body, containeth no more certainty in understanding but the figure of a body, why should not they say, that a body in Christ should ever be spoken of a body in a figure, and so no certainty of any true body in Christ by Tertullian's words? This place of Tertullian is no secret point of learning, and hath been of

7 Ecolampadius and other alleged, and by other catholic men answered unto it, whereof this author may not think now as upon a wrangling argument to satisfy a conjecture devised, thereby to confirm a new teaching. Finally, Tertullian termeth it not an only figure, which this author must prove, or else he doth nothing.

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III.

Canterbury.

Oh, what a wrangling and wresting is here made, what crooks be cast, what leaping about is here to avoid a foil. And yet I refer to any indifferent man that shall read the place of Tertullian, to judge whether you have truly expounded him, or in the wrestling with him be quite overthrown, and have a flat fall upon your back. For Tertullian saith not, that the bread was a figure of Christ's body only in the prophet, (as you expound Tertullian) but saith, that bread and wine were figures in the Old Testament, and so taken in the prophets, and now be figures again in the New Testament, and so used of Christ himself in his last supper.

2 And where Tertullian saith, that Christ made bread his body, he expoundeth himself how Christ made bread his body, adding by and by these words, "that is to say, a figure of his body." But if thou canst forbear, good reader, when thou redest the fond handling of Tertullian by this ignorant and subtle lawyer, I pray thee laugh not, for it is no matter to be laughed at, but to be sorrowed, that the most ancient authors of Christ's Church should thus be eluded in so weighty causes. O Lord, what shall these men answer to thee at the last day, when no cavillations shall have place? These be Tertullian's words, "Jesus taking bread, and distributing it among his disciples, made it his body, saying, *This is my body*; that is to say, a figure of "my body." Here Tertullian expoundeth not the saying of the Prophet but the saying of Christ, *This is my body*. And where Tertullian hath but once the word "This," you say "the first this." And so you make a wise speech to say "the first," where is but one. And Tertullian speaketh of "this" in Christ's words, when he said, *This is my body*; and you refer them to the Prophet's words, which be not there, but be spoken of long after. And if you had not for-

gotten your grammar and all kind of speech, or else hurled away all together purposely, to serve your own wilful device, you would have referred the demonstrative to his antecedent before, and not to a thing that in order cometh long after. And bread in the Prophet was but a figurative speech, but in Christ's words was not only a figurative speech, but also a figurative thing; that is to say, very material bread, which by a figurative speech Christ ordained to be a figure and a sacrament of his body. For as the Prophet by this word "bread" figured Christ's body, so did Christ himself institute very material bread to be a figure of his body in the sacrament. But you refer "this" to the bread in the Prophet, which Christ spake, as Tertullian saith, of the bread in the Gospel. And Christ's words must needs be understood of the bread which he gave to his Apostles, in the time of the gospel, after he had ended the supper of the law. And if Christ made the bread in the Prophet his very body, which was no material bread, but this word "bread," then did Christ make this word "bread" his body, and converted this word "bread" into the substance of his body. This is the conclusion of your subtle sophistication of Tertullian's words.

Now as concerning St. Cyprian, whom you here allege, he³ spake of a sacramental, and not of a corporal and carnal conversion, as shall be plainly declared, when I come to the place of Cyprian, and partly I have declared already in mine other book.

And Tertullian proved not in that place the verity of⁴ Christ's body by the figure of the Prophet, but by the figure which Christ ordained of his body in his last supper. For he went not about to prove that Christ should have a body, but that he had then a true body, because he ordained a figure thereof, which could have had no figure, as Tertullian saith, if it had been but a fantastical body, and no true body in deed.

Wherefore this which you say in answering to the plain⁵ words of Tertullian, may be said of them that care not what they say, but it cannot be said evidently, that is spoken so sophistically.

6 But if so plain speech of Tertullian, say you, that Christ made bread his body, contain no more certainty in understanding but the figure of a body, why should not the body of Christ ever be taken for a figure, and so no certainty of any true body to be in Christ? This reason had been more fit to be made by a man that had lost both his wit and reason. For in this place Tertullian must needs be so understand, that by the body of Christ is understand the figure of his body, because Tertullian so expoundeth it himself. And must it be always so, because it is here so? Must ever Christ's body be taken for a figure, because it is here taken for a figure, as Tertullian saith? Have you so forgotten your logic, that you will make a good argument, *a particulari ad universale*? By your own manner of argumentation, because you make a naughty argument here in this place, shall I conclude that you never make none good? Surely this place of Tertullian, as you have handled it, is neither secret nor manifest point, either of learning, wit, or reason, but a mere sophistication, if it be no worse.

7 What other papists have answered to this place of Tertullian, I am not ignorant, nor I am sure you be not so ignorant but you know, that never none answered as you do. But your answer varieth as much from all other papists, as yours and theirs also do vary from the truth.

Here the reader may note by the way, how many foul shifts you make to avoid the saying of Tertullian. First you say, that bread was a figure in the Prophet's mouth, but not in Christ's words. Second, that the thing which the Prophet spake of, was not that which Christ spake of. Third, that other have answered this place of Tertullian before. Fourth, that you call this matter but a wrangling argument. Fifth, that if Tertullian call bread a figure, yet he termeth it not an only figure. These be your shifts. Now let the reader look upon Tertullian's plain words, which I have rehearsed in my book, and then let him judge whether you mean to declare Tertullian's mind truly or no.

8 And it is not requisite for my purpose, to prove that bread is only a figure, for I take upon me there to prove no more,

BOOK III. but that the bread is a figure, representing Christ's body, and the wine his blood. And if bread be a figure, and not only a figure, then must you make bread both the figure and the truth of the figure. Now hear what other authors I do here allege.

[See vol. ii. p. 382—384. "And St. Cyprian"—
"flesh and blood."]

Winchester.

Cyprianus. CYPRIAN shall be touched after, when we speak of him again. 1
Chrysostom. Chrysostome shall open himself hereafter plainly.
Hieronym. St. Hierome speaketh here very pithily, using the word "represent," which signifieth a true real exhibition; for St. Hierome speaketh of the representation of the truth of Christ's body, which truth excludeth an only figure. For howsoever the visible matter of the sacrament be a figure, the invisible part is a truth; which St. Hierome saith is here represented, that is to say, made present, which only signification doth not.

Ambrosius. St. Ambrose shall after declare himself, and it is not denied 3 but that authors, in speaking of the sacrament, used these words, sign, figure, similitude, token; but those speeches exclude not the verity and truth of the body and blood of Christ, for no approved author hath this exclusive, to say an only sign, an only token, an only similitude, or an only signification, which is the issue with 4 this author.

No author saith, "an only figure."

Canterbury.

Here you shift off St. Cyprian and Chrysostom with fair promise to make answer to them hereafter, who approve plainly my saying, that the bread representeth Christ's body and the wine his blood, and so you answer here only to St. Hierom. In answering to whom you were loth, I see well, to leave behind any thing that might have any colour to make for you, that expound this word "represent" in St. Hierom, to signify real exhibition. Here appeareth that you can, when you list, change the signification of words, that can make *vocare* to signify *facere*, and *facere* to signify *sacrificare*, as you do in your last book. And why should you not then in other words, when it will serve for like pur-

Hieronymus.
Represent.

poses, have the like liberty to change the signification of words when you list? And if this word “represent” in St. Hierom’s words signify real exhibition, then did Melchisedech really exhibit Christ’s flesh and blood, who, as the same St. Hierom saith, did represent his flesh and blood by offering bread and wine. BOOK
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2 And yet in the Lord’s Supper rightly used is Christ’s body exhibited in deed spiritually, and so really, if you take really to signify only a spiritual and not a corporal and carnal exhibition. But this real and spiritual exhibition is to the receivers of the sacrament, and not to the bread and wine.

3 And mine issue in this place is no more, but to prove that these sayings of Christ, *This is my body*, *This is my blood*, be figurative speeches, signifying that the bread representeth Christ’s body, and the wine his blood, which forasmuch as you confess, there needed no great contention in this point, but that you would seem in words to vary, where we agree in the substance of the matter, and so take occasion to make a long book, where a short would have served.

4 And as for the exclusive “only,” many of the authors, as I proved before, have the same exclusive, or other words equivalent thereto. And as for the sacramental signs, they be only figures. And of the presence of Christ’s body, yourself hath this exclusive, that Christ is but after a spiritual manner present, and I say he is but spiritually present. Now followeth St. Augustine.

[See vol. ii. p. 384—388. “And yet St. Augustine”
——“mystical signification.”

Winchester.

As for St. Augustine *Ad Bonifacium*, the author shall perceive his fault at Martyn Bucer’s hand, who in his Epistle Dedicatory of Bucerus. his Ennarrations of the Gospels, rehearseth his mind of St. Augustine in this wise: “Est, scribit divus Augustinus, secundum quemdam modum sacramentum corporis Christi, corpus Christi, sacramentum sanguinis Christi, sanguis Christi; at secundum quem modum? Ut significet tantum corpus et sanguinem Domini ab-

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III.

“sentia? Absit, honorari enim et percipi in symbolis visibilibus corpus et sanguinem Domini, idem passim scribit.” These words of Bucer may be thus Englished. “St. Augustine writeth, the sacrament of the body of Christ is after a certain manner the body of Christ, the sacrament of the blood of Christ, the blood of Christ. But after what manner? that it should signify only the body and blood absent? Absit, In no wise; for the same St. Augustine writeth in many places, the body and blood of Christ to be honoured and to be received in those visible tokens.” Thus saith Bucer, who understandeth not St. Augustine to say the sacrament of Christ’s body to be Christ’s body after a certain manner of speech, as this author doth; nor St. Augustine hath no such words, but only “secundum quendam modum,” “after a certain manner,” whereunto to put “of speech,” is an addition more than truth required of necessity. In these words of Bucer may appear his whole judgment concerning St. Augustine, who affirmeth the very true presence of the thing signified in the sacrament; which truth established in the matter, the calling it a sign, or a token, a figure, a similitude, or a showing, maketh no matter when we understand the thing really present that is signified. Which, and it were not in deed in the sacrament, why should it after Bucer’s true understanding of St. Augustine be honoured there? Arguing upon men’s speeches may be without end and the authors upon diverse respects speak of one thing diversely. Therefore we should resort to the pith and knot of the matter, and see what they say in expounding the special place, without contention, and not what they utter in the heat of their disputation, ne to search their dark and ambiguous places, wherewith to confound that they speak openly and plainly.

Canterbury.

What need you to bring Martyn Bucer to make me answer, if you could answer yourself? But because you be ashamed of the matter, you would thrust Martyn Bucer in your place, to receive the rebuke for you. But in this place he easeth you nothing at all, for he saith no more, but that the body and blood of Christ be exhibited unto the worthy receivers of the sacrament, which is true, but yet spiritually, not corporally.

And I never said that Christ is utterly absent, but I ever affirmed, that he is truly and spiritually present, and truly

Authors for doctrine should be read, where they expound the matter without contention. [1580.] M. Bucer.

The true presence of Christ.

and spiritually exhibited unto the godly receivers: but corporally is he neither in the receivers, nor in or under the forms of bread and wine, as you do teach clearly without the consent of Master Bucer, who writeth no such thing.

3 And where I allege of St. Augustine, that the sacrament of Christ's body is called Christ's body, after a certain manner of speech, and you deny that St. Augustine meant of a certain manner of speech, but saith only, after a certain manner: read the place of St. Augustine who will, and he shall find that he speaketh of the manner of speech, and that of such a manner of speech, as calleth one thing by the name of another, where it is not the very thing in deed. For of the manner of speech is all the process there, as appeareth by these his words: "A day or two before Good-Friday, we use in common speech to say, To-morrow, or this day two days, Christ suffered, &c. Likewise upon Easter day we say, This day Christ rose." And "Why do no men reprove us as liars when we speak in this sort?" And, "We call those days so by a similitude," &c. And "So it is called that day, which is not that day in deed." And "Sacraments commonly have the name of the things whereof they be sacraments. Therefore, as after a certain manner the sacrament of Christ's body is Christ's body; so likewise the sacrament of faith is faith. And likewise saith St. Paul, that in baptism we be buried; he saith not, that we signify burial, but he saith plainly that we be buried: so that the sacrament of so great a thing is called by the name of the thing." All these be St. Augustine's words, showing how in the common use of speech one thing may have the name of another. Wherefore, when Doctor Gardyner saith, that St. Augustine spake not of the manner of speech, thou mayest believe him hereafter as thou shalt see cause, but if thou trust his words too much, thou shalt soon be deceived.

4 As for the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, I grant Really that he is really present, after such sort as you expound really in this place, that is to say, in deed, and yet but spiritually; for you say yourself that he is but after a spiritual

BOOK III. manner there, and so is he spiritually honoured, as St. Augustine saith.

Really. But as concerning heat of disputation, mark well the words of St. Augustine, good reader, cited in my book, and thou shalt see clearly, that all this multiplication of words is rather a juggling than a direct answer; for St. Augustine writeth not in heat of disputation, but temperately and gravely, to a learned bishop his dear friend, who demanded a question of him. And if St. Augustine had answered in heat of disputation, or for any other respect, otherwise than the truth, he had not done the part of a friend, nor of a learned and godly bishop. And whosoever judgeth so of St. Augustine, hath small estimation of him, and showeth himself to have little knowledge of St. Augustine.

Albertus Pighius.

But in this your answer to St. Augustine, you utter where you learned a good part of your divinity, that is, of Albertus Pighius, who is the father of this shift, and with this sleight eludeth St. Augustine, when he could none otherwise answer: as you do now shake off the same St. Augustine, resembling as it were in that point the lively countenance of your father Pighius. Next in my book followeth Theodorete.

[See vol. ii. p. 388—395. “And to this purpose”—
“This is my blood.”]

Winchester.

Theodorete.

THE author bringeth in Theodorete, a Greek, whom to discuss particularly, were long and tedious: one notable place there is in him which toucheth the point of the matter; which place Peter Martyr allegeth in Greek and then translateth it into Latin; not exactly as other have done, to the truth, but as he hath done, I will write in here. And then will I write the same translate into English, by one that hath translate Peter Martyr's book, and then will I add the translation of this author, and finally the very truth of the Latin, as I will abide by, and join an issue with this author in it, whereby thou, reader, shall perceive with what sincerity things be handled.

P. Martyr. Peter Martyr hath of Theodorete this in Latin, which the same

Theodorete, in a disputation with an heretic, maketh the catholic man to say. "Captus es iis quæ tetenderas retibus. Neque enim post sanctificationem, mystica symbola illa propria sua natura egrediuntur, manent enim priori sua substantia, et figura, et specie, adeoque, et videntur, et palpantur, quemadmodum et antea. Intelliguntur autem quæ facta sunt, et creduntur, et adorantur, tanquam ea existentia, quæ creduntur." He that translated Peter Martyr in English doth express these words thus : "Lo, thou art now caught in the same net which thou hadst set to catch me in. For those same mystical signs do not depart away out of their own proper nature, after the hallowing of them. For they remain still in their former substance, and their former shape, and their former kind, and are even as well seen and felt as they were afore. But the things that are done are understood, and are believed and are worshipped, even as though they were in very deed the things that are believed." This is the common translation into English in Peter Martyr's book translated, which this author doth translate after his fashion thus : "Thou art taken with thine own net, for the sacramental signs go not from their own nature after the sanctification, but continue in their former substance, form, and figure, and be seen and touched as well as before. Yet in our minds we do consider what they be made, and do repute and esteem them, and have them in reverence according to the same things that they be taken for."

This is the translation of this author. Mine English of this Latin is thus. "Thou art taken with the same nets thou didst lay forth. For the mystical tokens after the sanctification go not away out of their proper nature; for they abide in their former substance, shape, and form, and so far forth that they may be seen and felt as they might before. But they be understood that they be made, and are believed and are worshipped as being the same things which be believed." This is my translation, who in the first sentence mean not to vary from the other translations, touching the remain of substance, shape, form, or figure. I will use all those names. But in the second part, where Theodorete speaketh of our belief what the tokens be made, and where he saith those tokens be worshipped as being the same things which be believed, thou mayest see, reader, how this author flyeth the words "believe" and "worship," which the common trans-

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lation in English doth plainly and truly express, howsoever that translator swerved by colour of the word *tanquam*, which there, after the Greek, signifieth the truth, and not the similitude only; like as in St. Paul, *Vocat ea quæ non sunt, tanquam sint*, which is to make to be in deed, not as though they were. And the Greek is there *ὡς ὄντα*, as it is here *ὡς περ ἐκείνα ὄντα*. And it were an absurdity to believe things otherwise than they be, as though they were, and very idolatry to worship wittingly that is not, as though it were in deed. And therefore in these two words that they be believed that they be made and be worshipped, is declared by Theodorete his faith of the very true real presence of Christ's glorious flesh, whereunto the Deity is united; which flesh, St. Augustine consonantly to this Theodorete said, must be worshipped before it be received. The word "worshipping" put here in English is to express the word *adorantur* put by Peter in Latin, signifying adoring, being the verb in Greek of such signification, as is used to express godly worship with bowing of the knee. Now, reader, what should I say by this author, that conveyeth these two words, of believing and worshipping; and instead of them, cometh in with reverence, taking, reputed, and esteeming, whereof thou mayest esteem how this place of Theodorete pinched this author, who could not but see that adoring of the sacrament signifieth the presence of the body of Christ to be adored, which else were an absurdity, and therefore the author took pain to ease it with other words of calling, believing, reputed, and esteeming, and for adoration, reverence. Consider what praise this author giveth Theodorete, which praise condemneth this author sore. For Theodorete in his doctrine would have us believe the mystery, and adore the sacrament, where this author after in his doctrine professeth there is nothing to be worshipped at all. If one should now say to me, Yea sir, but this Theodorete seemeth to condemn transubstantiation, because he speaketh so of the bread: thereunto shall be answered when I speak of transubstantiation, which shall be after the third and fourth book discussed. For before the truth of the presence of the substance of Christ's body may appear, what should we talk of transubstantiation? I will travail no more in Theodorete^r, but leave it to thy judgment, reader, what credit this author ought to have that handleth the matter after this sort.

Adoration
of the sa-
crament.
[1580.]

^r [The degree, in which the believers in transubstantiation were embarrassed by this passage in Theodorete, may be estimated by the means

Canterbury.

This bladder is so puffed up with wind, that it is marvel it bursteth not. But be patient a while, good reader, and suffer until the blast of wind be past, and thou shalt see a great calm, the bladder broken, and nothing in it, but all vanity:

There is no difference between your translation and mine, saving that mine is more plain, and giveth less occasion of error: and yours, as all your doings be, is dark and obscure, and containeth in it no little provocation to idolatry. For the words of Theodoret, after your interpretation, contain both a plain untruth, and also manifest idolatry: for the signs and tokens which he speaketh of, be the very forms and substances of bread and wine. For the nominative case to the verb of adoring in Theodoret, is not the body and blood of Christ, but the mystical tokens, by your own translation, which mystical tokens if you will have to be the very body and blood of Christ, what can be spoken more untrue or more foolish? And if you will have them to be worshipped with godly worship, what can be greater idolatry? Wherefore I, to eschew such occasions of error, have translated the words of Theodoretus faithfully and truly, as his mind was, and yet have avoided all occasions of evil; for *tanquam*, or ὡσπερ ἐκεῖνα ὄντα, signifieth not the truth, as you say, but is an adverb of similitude, as it is likewise in this place of St. Paul: *Vocat ea quæ non sunt, tanquam sint.*

to which they resorted for evading it. Among others, as Ridley states, they did not scruple to maintain that "Theodoret understandeth by the "word 'substance,' accidents, and not substance in deed:" a shift which he justly compares to the gloss of a lawyer on a decree that was against him, beginning with the word 'statuimus.' "Statuimus," saith he, "id est, abrogamus." Ridley, *Declaration of the Lord's Supper*, p. 25.

Another mode of disposing of this inconvenient testimony is related by Jewell. "One John Clement, an Englishman, rent and burnt some "leaves of Theodoret, a most ancient father and a Greek bishop, in the "presence of several persons of good worth and credit, believing that "another copy of that book was no where to be found, because this "father had perspicuously and clearly taught, that the nature of the "bread was not abolished in the Eucharist." Jewell, *Apology*. See also *Defence of the Apology*.]

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For St. Paul saith, *As though they were*; which in deed were not, as he said the next word before; *non sunt, they be not*. And nevertheless, unto God all things be present, and those things which in their nature be not yet present, unto God were ever present; in whom be not these successions of time, before and after, for Christ the Lamb in his present was slain before the world began, and a thousand year to his eyes be but as it were yesterday, and one day before him is as it were a thousand year, and a thousand year as one day.

Apoc. xiii.
Ps. lxxxiii.
2 Pet. iii.

And if you had read and considered a saying of St. Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, lib. iii. cap. 9. you might have understood this place of Theodoret better than you do. "He serveth under a sign," saith St. Augustine, "who worketh or worshippeth any sign, not knowing what it signifieth. But he that worketh or worshippeth a profitable sign ordained of God, the strength and signification whereof he understandeth, he worshippeth not that which is seen and is transitory, but rather that thing whereto all such signs ought to be referred." And anon after he saith further. "At this time when our Lord Jesus Christ is risen, we have a most manifest argument of our freedom, and be not burdened with the heavy yoke of signs, which we understand not, but the Lord and the teaching of his Apostles hath given to us a few signs for many, and those most easy to be done, most excellent in understanding, and in performing most pure; as the sacrament of baptism, and the celebration of the body and blood of our Lord, which every man when he receiveth, knoweth whereunto they be referred, being taught, that he worship not them with a carnal bondage, but rather with a spiritual freedom. And as it is a vile bondage to follow the letter, and to take the signs for the things signified by them, so to interpret the signs to no profit, is an error that shrewdly spreadeth abroad." These words of St. Augustine being conferred with the words of Theodoret, may declare plainly what Theodorete's meaning was. For where he saith that we may not worship with a carnal bon-

dage the visible signs, (meaning of water in baptism, and of bread and wine in the holy communion,) when we receive the same, but rather ought to worship the things whereunto they be referred, he meant that, although those signs or sacraments, of water, bread, and wine, ought highly to be esteemed, and not to be taken as other common water, baker's bread, or wine in the tavern, but as signs dedicated, consecrated, and referred to an holy use, and by those earthly things to represent things celestial; yet the very true honour and worship ought to be given to the celestial things, which by the visible signs be understood, and not to the visible signs themselves. And nevertheless both St. Augustine and Theodorete count it a certain kind of worshipping the signs, the reverent esteeming of them above other common and profane things, and yet the same principally to be referred to the celestial things represented by the signs: and therefore saith St. Augustine, "potius," "rather." And this worship is as well in the sacrament of baptism, as in the sacrament of Christ's body and blood. And therefore, although whosoever is baptized unto Christ, or eateth his flesh and drinketh his blood in his holy Supper, do first honour him, yet is he corporally and carnally neither in the Supper nor in baptism, but spiritually and effectually.

3 Now where you leave the judgment of Theodorete to the reader, even so do I also, not doubting but the indifferent reader shall soon espy how little cause you have so to boast and blow out your vainglorious words as you do. But hear now what followeth next in my book.

[See vol. ii. p. 395—399. "And marvel not"——
"every man."]

Winchester.

As for the use of figurative speeches to be accustomed in Scripture is not denied. But Philip Melancthon, in an epistle to Melancthon. *Ceciliampadius* of the sacrament, giveth one good note of observation in difference between the speeches in God's ordinances and commandments, and otherwise. For if in the understanding of God's ordinances and commandments figures may be often received,

BOOK III. truth shall by allegories be shortly subverted, and all our religion reduced to significations. There is no speech so plain and simple,

The speech in Scripture, where God commandeth or ordereth, is spiritually to be considered. Figurative speech by custom made proper. [158o.]

but it hath some piece of a figurative speech, but such as expresseth the common plain understanding, and then the common use of the figure causeth it to be taken as a common proper speech. As these speeches, Drink up this cup, or Eat this dish, is in deed a figurative speech, but by custom made so common that it is reputed the plain speech, because it hath but one only understanding commonly received. And when Christ said, *This cup is the new testament*, the proper speech thereof in letter hath an absurdity in reason and faith also. But when Christ said, *This is my body*, although the truth of the literal sense hath an absurdity in carnal reason, yet hath it no absurdity in humility of faith, nor repugneth not to any other truth of Scripture. And seeing it is a singular miracle of Christ whereby to exercise us in the faith, understood as the plain words signify in their proper sense, there can no reasoning be made of other figurative speeches to make this to be their fellow and like unto them. No man denieth the use of figurative speeches in Christ's supper, but such as be equal with plain proper speech, or be expounded by other Evangelists in plain speech.

Canterbury.

I see well you would take a dung fork to fight with, rather than you would lack a weapon. For how highly you have esteemed Melancthon in times past, it is not unknown. But whatsoever Melancthon sayeth, or howsoever you understand Melancthon, where is so convenient a place to use figurative speeches as when figures and sacraments be instituted? And St. Augustine giveth a plain rule how we may know when God's commandments be given in figurative speeches, and yet shall neither the truth be subverted, nor our religion reduced to significations. And how can it be, but that in the understanding of God's ordinances and commandments, figures must needs be often received, (contrary to Melancthon's saying,) if it be true that you say, that there is no speech so plain and simple but it hath some piece of a figurative speech. But now be all speeches figurative, when it pleaseth you. What need I then to travail any more to prove that Christ in his supper used figurative

speeches, seeing that all that he spake was spoken in figures, by your saying ?

- 2 And these words, *This is my body*, spoken of the bread, and, *This is my blood*, spoken of the cup, express no plain common understanding, whereby the common use of these figures should be equal with plain proper speeches, or cause them to be taken as common proper speeches, for you say yourself that these speeches in letter have an absurdity in reason. And as they have absurdity in reason, so have they absurdity in faith. For neither is there any reason, faith, miracle, nor truth, to say that material bread is Christ's body. For then it must be true that his body is material bread, a *conversa ad convertentem*, for of the material bread spake Christ those words by your own confession. And why have not these words of Christ, *This is my body*, an absurdity both in faith and reason, as well as these words, *This cup is the new testament*, seeing that these words were spoken by Christ, as well as the other, and the credit of him is all one, whatsoever he sayeth ?

But if you will needs understand these words of Christ, *This is my body*, as the plain words signify in their proper sense, as in the end you seem to do, repugning therein to your own former saying, you shall see how far you go, not only from reason, but also from the true profession of the Christian faith. Christ spake of bread, say you, *This is my body*, appointing by this word, *this*, the bread: whereof followeth, as I said before, if bread be his body, that his body is bread; and if his body be bread, it is a creature without sense and reason, having neither life nor soul; which is horrible of any Christian man to be heard or spoken. Hear now what followeth further in my book.

[See vol. ii. p. 399—401. "Now forasmuch"——
"answered unto."]

Winchester.

IN the 74th leaf this author goeth about to give a general solution to all that may be said of Christ's being in earth, in heaven, or in the sacrament, and giveth instructions how these words of

BOOK III. Christ's divine nature, figuratively, spiritually, really, carnally, corporally, may be placed; and thus he saith: Christ in his divine nature may be said to be in the earth, figuratively in the sacrament, spiritually in the man that receiveth, but really, carnally, corporally, only in heaven. Let us consider the placing of these terms. When we say, Christ is in his divine nature every where,

Really.
[1580.]

is he not really also every where, according to the true essence of his Godhead, in deed every where? that is to say, not in phantasy nor imagination, but verily, truly, and therefore really, as we believe, so in deed every where? And when Christ is spiritually in good men by grace, is not Christ in them really by grace, but in phantasy and imagination? And therefore whatsoever this author saith, the word really may not have such restraint, to be referred only to heaven, unless the author would deny the substance of the Godhead, which, as it comprehendeth all, being incomprehensible, and is every where without limitation of place, so as it is, truly it is, in deed is, and therefore really is: and therefore of Christ must be said, wheresoever he is in his divine nature by power or grace, he is there really, whether we speak of heaven or earth.

Carnally.
Corporally.
[1580.]

As for the terms carnally and corporally, as this author seemeth to use them in other places of this book, to express the manner of presence of the human nature in Christ, I marvel by what Scripture he will prove that Christ's body is so carnally and corporally in heaven. We be assured by faith, grounded upon the Scriptures, of the truth of the being of Christ's flesh and body there, and the same to be a true flesh and a true body; but yet in such sense as this author useth the terms carnal and corporal against the sacrament, to imply a grossness, he cannot so attribute those terms to Christ's body in heaven. St. Augustine, after the gross sense of carnally, saith, "Christ reigneth not carnally in heaven^t." And Gregory Nazianzen saith, "Although Christ shall come in the last day to judge, so as he shall be seen: yet there is in him no grossness^u," he saith, and referreth the manner of his being to his knowledge only. And our resurrection, St. Augustine saith, although it shall be of our true flesh, yet it shall not be carnally. And when this author hath defamed, as it were, the terms carnally and corporally, as terms of

^t August. *De Civitat. Dei.*

^u Gregor. Nazianzen. *De Baptismo.*

grossness, to whom he used always to put as an adversative the term spiritually, as though carnally and spiritually might not agree in one: now for all that he would place them both in heaven, where is no carnality, but all the manner of being spiritual; where is no grossness at all, the secrecy of the manner of which life is hidden from us, and such as eye hath not seen, or ear heard, or ascended into the heart and thought of man.

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I know these terms, carnally and corporally, may have a good understanding out of the mouth of him that had not defamed them with grossness, or made them adversaries to spiritual; and a man may say Christ is corporally in heaven, because the truth of his body is there, and carnally in heaven, because his flesh is truly there; but in this understanding, both the words carnally and corporally may be coupled with the word spiritually, which is against this author's teaching, who appointeth the word spiritually to be spoken of Christ's presence in the man that received the sacrament worthily, which speech I do not disallow: but as Christ is spiritually in the man that doth receive the sacrament worthily; so is he in him spiritually before he receive, or else he cannot receive worthily, as I have before said. And by this appeareth, how this author, to frame his general solution, hath used neither of the terms, really, carnally, corporally, or spiritually, in a convenient order, but hath in his distribution misused them notably. For Christ in his divine nature is really every where, and in his human nature is carnally and corporally, as these words signify substance of flesh and body, continually in heaven to the day of judgment, and nevertheless after that signification present in the sacrament also. And in those terms in that signification the fathers have spoken of the sacrament, as in the particular solutions to the authors hereafter shall appear. Mary, as touching the use of the word figuratively, to say that Christ is figuratively in the bread and wine, is a saying which this author hath not proved at all, but is a doctrine before this divers times reprov'd, and now by this author in England renewed.

How Christ may be said to be corporally and carnally in heaven. [1580.]

Christ is present in the sacrament as he is in heaven. [1580.]

Canterbury.

Although my chief study be to speak so plainly that all men may understand every thing what I say, yet nothing is plain to him that will find knots in a rush. For when I say, that all sentences which declare Christ to be here in

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earth, and to be eaten and drunken of Christian people, are to be understood either of his divine nature, (whereby he is every where,) or else they must be understood figuratively or spiritually: (for figuratively he is in the bread and wine, and spiritually he is in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine, but really, carnally, and corporally he is only in heaven :) you have termed these my words as it liketh you, but far otherwise than I either wrote or meant, or than any indifferent reader would have imagined. For what indifferent reader would have gathered of my words, that Christ in his divine nature is not really in heaven? For I make a disjunctive, wherein I declare a plain distinction between his divine nature and his human nature: and of his divine nature I say, in the first member of my division, which is in the beginning of my aforesaid words, that by that nature he is every where; and all the rest that followeth is spoken of his human nature, whereby he is carnally and corporally only in heaven.

Really.

And as for this word “really,” in such a sense as you expound it, that is to say, not in phantasy nor imagination, but verily and truly, so I grant that Christ is really, not only in them that duly receive the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, but also in them that duly receive the sacrament of baptism, and in all other true Christian people at other times when they receive no sacrament. For all they be the members of Christ’s body, and temples in whom he truly inhabiteth, although corporally and really, (as the papists take that word really,) he be only in heaven and not in the sacrament. And although in them that duly receive the sacrament, he is truly and in deed, and not by fancy and imagination, and so really, (as you understand really,) yet is he not in them corporally, but spiritually, as I say, and only after a spiritual manner, as you say.

Carnally
and corporally.

And as for these words, “carnally” and “corporally,” I defame them not, for I mean by carnally and corporally none otherwise, than after the form and fashion of a man’s body, as we shall be after our resurrection; that is to say, visible, palpable, and circumscribed, having a very quantity, with due

proportion and distinction of members, in place and order one from another. And if you will deny Christ so to be in heaven, I have so plain and manifest Scriptures against you, that I will take you for no Christian man, except that you revoke that error. For sure I am, that Christ's natural body hath such a grossness, or stature and quantity, if you will so call it, because the word "grossness," grossly taken, as you understand it, soundeth not well in an incorruptible and immortal body. Marry, as for any other grossness, as of eating, drinking, and gross avoiding of the same, with such other like corruptible grossness, it is for gross heads to imagine or think, either of Christ, or of any body glorified.

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III.

Grossly.

And although St. Augustine may say, that Christ reigneth not carnally in heaven, yet he saith plainly, that his body is of such sort, that it is circumscribed and contained in one place.

Augusti-
nus.

And Gregory Nazianzene meant, that Christ should not come at the last judgment in a corruptible and mortal flesh, as he had before his resurrection, and as we have in this mortal life, (for such grossness is not to be attributed to bodies glorified) but yet shall he come with such a body, as he hath since his resurrection, absolute and perfect in all parts and members of a man's body, having hands, feet, head, mouth, side, and wounds, and all other parts of a man visible and sensible, like as we shall appear before him at the same last day, with this same flesh in substance that we now have, and with these same eyes shall we see God our Saviour. Marry, to what fineness and pureness our bodies shall be then changed, no man knoweth in the peregrination of this world, saving that St. Paul saith, that *he shall change this vile body, that he may make it like unto his glorious body.* But that we shall have diversity of all members, and a due proportion of men's natural bodies, the Scripture manifestly declareth, whatsoever you can by a sinister gloss gather of Nazianzene to the contrary, that glorified bodies have no flesh nor grossness.

Nazianze-
nus.

Phil. iii.

But see you not how much this saying of St. Augustine

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“that our resurrection shall not be carnally” maketh against yourself? For if we shall not rise carnally, then is not Christ risen carnally, nor is not in heaven carnally; and if he be not in heaven carnally, how can he be in the sacrament carnally, and eaten and drunken carnally with our mouths, as you say he is? And therefore, as for the terms “carnally” and “corporally,” it is you that defame them by your gross taking of them, and not I, that speak of none other grossness, but of distinction of the natural and substantial parts, without the which no man’s body can be perfect.

Whether
Christ be
in heaven
but after a
spiritual
manner.
An issue.

And whereas here in this process you attribute unto² Christ none other presence in heaven, but spiritual, without all manner of grossness or carnality; so that all the manner of being is spiritual, and none otherwise than he is in the sacrament; here I join an issue with you for a joint, and for the price of a faggot. I wondered all this while that you were so ready to grant, that Christ is but after a spiritual manner in the sacrament, and now I wonder no more at that, seeing that you say he is but after a spiritual manner in heaven. And by this means we may say, that he hath but a spiritual manhood, as you say that he hath in the sacrament but a spiritual body. And yet some carnal thing and grossness he hath in him, for he hath flesh and bones, which spirits lack, except that to all this impiety you will add, that his flesh and bones also be spiritual things and not carnal. And it is not without some strange prognostication, that you be now waxed altogether so spiritual.

Figura-
tively.

Now as concerning the word “figuratively,” what need this any proof that Christ is in the sacraments figuratively?³ which is no more to say but sacramentally. And you grant yourself, fol. 28^v, that Christ, under the figures of visible creatures, gave invisibly his precious body. And fol. 80, you say, that Christ said, *This is my body*, using the outward signs of the visible creatures. And this doctrine was never reprov’d of any catholic man, but hath at all times and of all men been allowed without contradiction, saving now of you alone. Now followeth my answer to the au-

^v [See p. 138.]

thors particularly; and first to St. Clement. My words be these. BOOK
III

[See vol. ii. p. 401—402. “They allege St. Clement”
——“according to the same.”]

Winchester.

LET us now consider what particular answers this author deviseth to make to the fathers of the Church, and first what he saith to St. Clement's Epistle, his handling whereof is worthy to be noted.

First, he saith, the Epistle is not Clement's, but feigned, as he saith many other things be for their purpose, he saith; which solution is short and may be soon learned of naughty men, and naughtily applied further, as they list; but this I may say, if this Epistle were feigned of the papists, then do they show themselves fools, that could feign no better but so as this author might of their feigned Epistle gather three notes against them. This author's notes be these. First, that the bread in the sacrament is called the Lord's body, and that the broken bread be called the pieces and fragments of the Lord's body. Mark well, reader, this note that speaketh so much of bread, where the words of the Epistle, in the part here alleged, name no bread at all. If this author hath read so much mention of bread in any other part of the Epistle, why bringeth he not that forth to fortify his note? I have read after in the same Epistle *panes sanctuarii*, but they would not help this author's note, and yet for the other matter joined with them, they would slander another way. And therefore, seeing this author hath left them out, I will go no further than is here alleged.

3 The calling of bread by enunciation for a name is not material, because it signifieth that was, but in that is here alleged is no mention of bread to prove the note, and to faithful men the words of the Epistle reverently express the remain of the mysteries; in which, when many hosts be offered in the altar, according to the multitude that should communicate, those many hosts after consecration be not many bodies of Christ, but of many breads one body of Christ. And yet as we teach in England now, in the Book of Common Prayer, in every part of that is broken is the whole body of our Saviour Christ. Man's words cannot suffice to express God's mysteries, nor cannot utter them so as froward reason shall not find matter to wrangle. And yet, to stay reason may suffice, that as in one loaf of bread broken every piece broken is

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a piece of that bread, and every piece of the bread broken is in itself a whole piece of bread, and so whole bread, for every piece hath an whole substance of bread in it : so we truly speak of the host consecrate, to avoid the phantasy of multiplication of Christ's ⁴ body, which in all the hosts, and all parts of the hosts, is but one, not broken, nor distribute by pieces ; and yet in a speech to tell and signify that is broken, called in name the leaving pieces of the body, portion of the body, residue of the body, in which nevertheless each one piece is Christ's whole body. So as this speech having a figure, hath it of necessity, to avoid the absurdity, whereby to signify a multitude of bodies, which is not so, and the sound of the speech Christian ears do abhor. But this I ask, where is the matter of this author's note, that bread is called Christ's body ? where there is no word of bread in the words alleged, and if there were, as there is not, it were worthy no note at all. For that name is not abhorred, and the catholic faith teacheth that the fraction is in the outward sign, and not in the body of Christ invisibly present, and signified so to be present by that visible sign.

The second note of this author is touching reserving, which Clement might seem to deny, because he ordered the remain ⁵ to be received of the clerks, thinking so best ; not declaring expressly that nothing might be reserved to the use of them that be absent. The contrary whereof appeareth by Justine the Martyr ^x, who testifieth a reservation to be sent to them that were sick, who, and they dwell far from the church, as they do in some places, it may by chance in the way, or trouble in the sick man, tarry till the morning or it be received. And Cyrill writeth ⁶ expressly ^y, that in case it so doth, the mystical benediction (by which terms he calleth the sacrament) remaineth still in force. When this author findeth fault at hanging up of the sacrament, he blameth only his own country and the isles hereabout, which fault Linnehod ^z, after he had travelled other countries, found here, being the manner of custody in reservation otherwise used than in other parts. But one thing this author should have noted of ⁷ Clement's words, when he speaketh of fearing and trembling, which, and the bread were never the holier, as this author teacheth, and but only a signification, why should any man fear or tremble

^x Justin. *Apol.* 2.

^y Cyrillus, *Ad Calosyrium.*

^z Linnehod wrote a comment of the constitutions provincial of England. [1580.]

8 more in their presence than he doth when he heareth of Christ's supper, the gospel read, or himself or another saying his Creed, which in words signify as much as the bread doth, if it be but a signification? And Peter Martyr saith, that words signify more clearly than these signs do, and saith further in his Disputation with Chedsay^a, that we receive the body of Christ no less by words than by the sacramental signs; which teaching, if it were true, why should this sacrament be trembled at?

Peter
Martyr.A marvel-
lous speech
of Peter
Martyr,
unless he
be a sacra-
mentary,
and then
he speaketh
like him-
self.

[1580.]

But because this author noteth the Epistle of Clement to be feigned, I will not make with him any foundation of it, but note to the reader the third note, gathered by this author of Clement's words; which is, that priests ought not to receive alone, which the words of the Epistle prove not. It showeth in deed what was done, and how the feast is in deed prepared for the people, as well as the priest. And I never read any thing of order in law or ceremony, forbidding the people to communicate with the priest, but all the old prayers and ceremonies sounded as the people did communicate with the priest. And when the people is prepared for, and then come not, but fearing and trembling forbear to come, that then the priest might not receive his part alone, the words of this Epistle show not. And Clement, in that he speaketh so of leavings, seemeth to think of that case of disappointment of the people that should come, providing in that case the clerks to receive the residue; whereby should appear, if there were no store of clerks, but only one clerk, as some poor churches have no more, then a man might rather make a note of Clement's mind, that in that case one priest might receive all alone, and so upon a chance keep the feast alone. But whatsoever we may gather, that note of this author remaineth unproved, that the priest ought not to receive alone.

11 And here I dare therefore join an issue with this author, that none of his three feigned notes is grounded of any words of this that he noteth a feigned Epistle, taking the only words that he al-
12 legeth here. This author, upon occasion of this Epistle, which he calleth feigned, speaketh more reverently of the sacrament than he

An issue.

^a [This Disputation was held before Royal Commissioners at Oxford in 1549, and was published by Martyr at the request of Cramer, under the title of *Disputatio de Eucharistia Sacramento habita in celeberrima Universitate Oxon.* Foxe gives an abstract of it. The whole will be found in a volume of Peter Martyr's writings on the Eucharist, printed at Zurich in 1562.]

BOOK
III.Acts xvi.
1 Cor. x.

doth in other places, which me think worthy to be noted of me. Here he saith that very Christ himself is not only represented, but also spiritually given unto us in this table, for so I understand the word "wherein." And then if very Christ himself be represented and given in the table, the author meaneth not the material table, but by the word "table" the meat upon the table, as the word *mensa*, a table, doth signify in the sixteenth of the Acts, and the tenth to the Corinthians. Now if very Christ himself be given in the meat, then is he present in the meat to be given. So as by this teaching very Christ himself is not only figuratively in the table, that is to say, the meat of the table, which this author now calleth representing, but is also spiritually given in the table, as these words sound to me. But whether this author will say very Christ himself is given spiritually in the meat, or by the meat, or with the meat, what Scripture hath he to prove that he saith, if the words of Christ be only a figurative speech, and the bread only signify Christ's body? For if the words of the institution be ¹³ but in figure, man cannot add of his device any other substance or effect than the words of Christ purport; and so this Supper, after this author's teaching in other places of his book, where he would have it but a signification, shall be a bare memory of Christ's death, and signify only such communication of Christ as we have otherwise by faith in that benefit of his passion, without any special communication of the substance of his flesh in this sacrament, being the same only a figure, if it were true that this author would persuade in the conclusion of this book; although by the way he saith otherwise, for fear percase and trembling that he conceiveth even of an Epistle, which himself saith is feigned.

Canterbury.

It is no marvel though this Epistle feigned by the papists many years passed, do vary from the papists in these latter days. For the papistical Church at the beginning was not ¹ so corrupt as it was after, but from time to time increased in errors and corruption more and more, and still doth, according to St. Paul's saying, *Evil men and deceivers wax ever worse, both leading other into error, and erring themselves.* For at the first beginning they had no private masses, no pardons in purgatory, no reservation of the bread: they knew no masses of *Scala cæli*, no Lady Psalters, no transub-

2 Tim. iii.

stantiation : but of later days all these and an infinite number of errors besides, were invented and devised without any authority of God's word. As yourself have newly invented a great sort of new devices, contrary to the papists before your time ; as, that Christ is in the sacrament carnally and naturally ; that the demonstration was made upon the bread when Christ said, *This is my body* ; that the word "satisfactory" signifieth no more but the priest to do his duty ; with many other things, which here for shortness of time I will omit at this present, purposing to speak of them more hereafter. And the Epistles of Clement were feigned before the papists had run so far in errors as they be now. For yet at that time was not invented, as I said, the error of transubstantiation, nor the reservation of the sacrament, nor the priests did not communicate alone without the people. But that the said Epistle of Clement was feigned, be many most certain arguments^b. For there be five Epistles of Clement so knit together, and referring one to another, that if one be feigned, all must needs be feigned. Now neither Eusebius in *Ecclesiastica Historia*, nor St. Hierome, nor Gennadius, nor any other old writer, maketh any mention of those Epistles ; which authors, in rehearsing what works Clement wrote, not leaving out so much as one Epistle of his, would surely have made some mention of the five Epistles which the papists long before our time feigned in his name, if there had been any such in their time.

Clement's
Epistles
feigned.

Moreover those Epistles make mention, that Clement, at James' request, wrote unto him the manner of Peter's death ; but how could that be, seeing that James was dead seven years before Peter ? for James died the seventh year, and Peter the fourteenth year of Nero the emperor.

Thirdly, it is contained in the same Epistles, that Peter

^b [The reader may see an attempt to confute "Canterbury's objections against St. Clement's Epistles," in Martyn's Tract *On the Marriage of Priests*, London, 1554, Sign. F. ii. But Martyn's defence of these Epistles has not succeeded in averting sentence of condemnation. "De Clementis *Liturgia et Epistolis Decretalibus*," says Cave, "utpote ab omnibus jure rejectis et damnatis, nihil nos agere, semel jam monuisse sufficet." Cave, *Hist. Liter.*]

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made Clement his successor; which could not be true, forasmuch as next to Peter succeeded Linus, as all the histories tell.

Fourthly, the author of those Epistles saith, that he made the book, called *Itinerarium Clementis*, which was but feigned in Clement's name, as it is declared Dist. 15. "Sancta." And then it followeth likewise of the other Epistles.

Fifthly, the author of those Epistles taketh upon him to instruct St. James in the sacraments, and in all manner and fashion how he should use himself in his vocation; as who should say, that James, who learned of Christ himself, knew not how to use himself in the necessary points of Christ's religion, except Clement must teach him.

Sixthly, there be few things in those Epistles that either be observed at this day, or were at any time observed sithence Christ's religion first began.

Seventhly, a great number of Scriptures in those Epistles be so far wrested from the true sense thereof, that they have an evil opinion of Clement that think that he would do such injury to God's word.

Eighthly, those Epistles spake of palls, and archdeacons, and other inferior orders, which is not like that those things began so soon, but, as the histories tell, were invented many years after Peter's time.

And finally, in one of those Epistles is contained a most pernicious heresy, that all things ought to be common, and wives also, which could not be the doctrine of Clement, being the most pestilent error of the Nicholaites, whom the Holy Ghost doth hate, as he testifieth in the Apocalypse.

Apoc. ii.

Now all these things considered, who, having either wit or good opinion of the Apostles and their disciples, can think that they should write any such Epistles?

Clement
spake of
bread.

But the Epistle of St. Clement, say you, speaketh not of bread; what was it then I pray you that he meant, when he spake of the broken pieces in the Lord's supper? If it were not bread, it must be some other thing which Christ did eat at that supper. Peradventure you will say, (as some stick not to say now-a-days,) that Christ had some other meat at

that supper than bread ; as if he fared daintily, which we never read. You might imagine he had capon, partridge, or pheasant ; or if he fared hardly, at the least you would say, he had cheese to eat with his bread, because you will defend that he did not eat dry bread alone. Such vain phantasies men may have, that will speak without God's word, which maketh mention in that holy supper of nothing but of bread and wine. But let it be that Christ had as many dishes as you can devise, yet I trust you will not say that he called all those his body, but only the bread. And so St. Clement, speaking of the broken pieces of the Lord's body, of the residue and fragments of the Lord's body, of the portion and leaving of the Lord's body, must needs speak all this of bread. And thus is it manifest false that you say, that the Epistle of Clement speaketh nothing of bread.

And then forasmuch as he calleth the leavings of the same the broken pieces of the Lord's body, and the fragments and portion thereof he calleth the fragments and portion of the Lord's body ; he showeth that the bread remaineth, and that the calling thereof the Lord's body is a figurative speech. The body of Christ hath no fragments nor broken pieces, and therefore the calling here is so material, that it proveth fully the matter, that to call bread Christ's body is a figurative speech. And although to avoid the matter you devise subtle cavillations, saying that calling is not material, because it signifieth that was ; yet they that have understanding, may soon discern what a vain shift this is, imagined only to blind the ignorant reader's eyes. But if that which is bread before the consecration, be after no bread ; and if it be against the Christian faith to think that it is still bread, what occasion of error should this be, to call it still bread after consecration ? Is not this a great occasion of error to call it bread still, if it be not bread still ?

And yet in this place of Clement the calling can in no wise signify that was before consecration, but must needs signify that is after consecration. For this place speaketh of fragments, broken pieces, and leavings, which can have no true understanding before consecration, at what time there

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be yet no broken pieces, fragments, nor leavings, but be all done after consecration.

But you wrangle so much in this matter to avoid absurdities, that you snarl yourself into so many and heinous absurdities as you shall never be able to wind yourself out. For you say that Christ's body (which in all the hosts, and in all the parts of the hosts is but one, not broken, nor distributed) is called the leaving pieces of the body, portion of the body, residue of the body, and yet every piece is Christ's whole body, which things, to be spoken of Christ's body, Christian ears abhor for to hear. And if you will say that your book is false, that you meant all these leaving pieces, portion, and residue, to be understand of the hosts and not of Christ's body, then you confess the hosts which be broken to be called by name the leavings or pieces of Christ's body, the portion of his body, the residue of his body, by a figurative speech, which is as much as I speak in my first note. And so appeareth how vainly you have travailed for the confutation of my first note.

Of reservation.

Now as touching the second note, Clement declareth expressly that nothing might be reserved. For where he saith, that if any thing remain, it must not be kept until the morning, but be spent and consumed of the clerks, how could he declare more plainly that nothing might be reserved, than by those words?

And as for Justine, he speaketh not one word of sick persons, as you report of him.

And concerning Cyrill^c, *Ad Calosyrium*, would to God that work of Cyrill might come abroad, for I doubt not but it would clearly discuss this matter; but I fear that some papists will suppress it, that it shall never come to light. And where you say, that Lynnehode found fault with this his own country of England, and blamed this realm, because

^c [This treatise against the Anthropomorphites first "came abroad" in 1605, with a Latin version by Bonavent. Vulcanius. Walch. *Biblioth. Patrist.* p. 446. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græca*, Harles. lib. v. c. 22. vol. viii. p. 570. Gardyner has cited it correctly. See *Authorities* in the Appendix.]

they hanged up the sacrament, contrary to the use of other countries: you have well excused me, that I am not the first finder of this fault, but many years ago that fault was found, and that it was not the use of other countries to hang it up. And yet the use of other countries was fond enough, even as they had charge and commandment from Innocentius the Third and Honorius the Third.

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7 And as for the receiving of the sacrament with fear and trembling, ought not they that be baptized in their old age, or in years of discretion, come to the water of baptism with fear and trembling, as well as to the Lord's Supper? Think you that Symon Magus was not in as great damnation for the unworthy receiving of baptism, as Judas was for the unworthy receiving of the Lord's Supper? And yet you will not say, that Christ is really and corporally in the water, but that the washing in the water is an outward signification and figure, declaring what God worketh inwardly in them that truly be baptized. And likewise speaketh this Epistle of the holy communion. For every good Christian man ought to come to Christ's sacraments with great fear, humility, faith, love, and charity.

Receiving
with fear
and trem-
bling.

8 And St. Augustine saith, that the Gospel is to be received or heard with no less fear and reverence than the body of Christ, whose words be these. "Interrogo vos, fratres et sorores, dicite mihi, Quid vobis plus esse videtur, verbum Dei an corpus Christi? Si vere vultis respondere, hoc utique dicere debetis, quod non sit minus verbum Dei quam corpus Christi. Et ideo quanta solitudine observamus, quando nobis corpus Christi ministratur, ut nihil ex ipso de nostris manibus in terram cadat, tanta solitudine observemus, ne verbum Dei quod nobis erogatur, dum aliud quid aut cogitamus aut loquimur, de corde nostro pereat, quia non minus reus erit qui verbum Dei negligenter audierit, quam ille qui corpus Christi in terram cadere sua negligentia permiserit." "I ask this question of you, brethren and sistern," saith St. Augustine, "answer me, whether you think greater, the word of God, or the body of

P August. 50. *Homiliarum*, hom. 26.

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“ Christ? If you will answer the truth, verily you ought to say thus, that the word of God is no less than the body of Christ. And therefore with what carefulness we take heed, when the body of Christ is ministered unto us, that no part thereof fall out of our hands on the earth, with as great carefulness let us take heed, that the word of God which is ministered unto us, when we think or speak of vain matters, perish not out of our hearts. For he that heareth the word of God negligently, shall be guilty of no less fault, than he that suffereth the body of Christ to fall upon the ground through his negligence.” This is the mind of St. Augustine. And as much we have in Scripture for the reverent hearing and reading of God his holy word, or the neglecting thereof, as we have for the sacraments.

The causes
of fear and
trembling.

But it seemeth by your pen and utterance of this matter, that you understand not the ground and cause whereupon should arise the great fear and trembling in their hearts, that come to receive the sacraments, for you show another consideration thereof than the Scripture doth. For you seem to drive all the cause of fear to the dignity of the body of Christ, there corporally present and received; but the Scripture declareth the fear to rise of the indignity and unworthiness of the receivers. *He that eateth and drinketh unworthily*, threatneth God's word, *eateth and drinketh his own damnation*.

Matth. viii. And Centurio, considering his own unworthiness, was abashed to receive Christ into his house, saying, *Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under the covering of my house*. And the same thing made Peter afraid to be near unto Christ, and to say, *Go from me, O Lord, for I am a sinner*. And all Christian men ought not to fear and tremble only when they receive the sacraments, but whensoever they hear God's word, and threatnings pronounced against sinners.

The people
received
with the
priests.

Now as concerning the third note, thou shalt see plainly, good reader, that there is nothing here answered directly, but mere cavillations sought, and shift to avoid. For if all the old prayers and ceremonies sound as the people did

communicate with the priest, (as you say they do, and so they do in deed, and that as well in the communion of drinking as eating) then either the people did communicate with them in deed, and received the sacrament under both the kinds, or else the prayers had been false, and the ceremonies frustrate and in vain. And is it like, that the priests in that time would have used unto God such untrue prayers as should declare that the people did communicate with them, if indeed none did communicate with them? as it should have been by your imagined chances and cases.

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But it appeareth by the words of the Epistle, that the whole multitude of the people that was present did communicate at those days, so that the priest could not communicate alone, except he would communicate when no man was in the church. But by the answer of this sophister here in
10 this place, thou mayest see an experience, good reader, whether he is as ready to see those things that make against him, as he is painful and studious to draw as it were by force all things to his purpose, to make them at the least to seem to make for him, although they be never so much against him. As appeareth by all these his suppositions, that all the people which were prepared for, should in those days withdraw themselves from the communion, and not one of them come unto it; that the clerks should receive all that was provided for the people; that one clerk should receive that which many clerks ought to have received; and so in conclusion by only his feigned suppositions he would persuade that the priest should receive all alone.

By such pretty cases, of the people disappointing the priests, and of lack of store of clerks, you might dally and find cavillations with all godly ordinances. For whereas God ordained the paschal lamb to be eaten up clean in every house, and where there were not enough in one house to eat up the lamb, they should call of their neighbours so many as should suffice to eat up the whole lamb, so that nothing should remain: here you might bring in your "upon a chance" that they that lacked company to eat up a whole lamb, dwelt alone far from other houses, and could not come

The pas-
chal lamb.
[1580.]

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together, or could not get any such lamb as was appointed for the feast, or if their neighbours lacked company also: and what if they had no spit to roast the lamb? and whereas it was commanded, that they should be shoed, what if perchance they had no shoes? and if perchance a man's wife were not at home, and all his servants fallen sick of the sweat or plague, and no man durst come to his house, then must he turn the spit himself, and eat the lamb all alone? such chances you purposely devise, to establish your private mass, that the priest may eat all alone. But by such a like reason as you make here, a man might prove that the priest should preach or say matins to himself alone, in case (as you say) that the people which should come would disappoint him. For what if the people disappoint the priest, say you, and come not to the communion? What if the people disappoint the priest, say I, and come not to matins nor sermon? shall he therefore say matins and preach, when no man is present but himself alone? But your imagined case hath such an absurdity in it, as is not tolerable to be thought to have been in Christian people in that time when Clement's Epistles were written, that when all the people should receive the communion with the priest, yet not one would come, but all would disappoint him. And yet in that case I doubt not but the priest would have abstained from ministration unto more opportunity and more access of Christian people, as he would have done likewise in saying of matins and preaching. Wherefore in your case I might well answer you, as St. Hierome answered the argument made in the name of the heretic Jovinian^e, which might be brought against the commendation of virginity: What if all men would live virgins, and no man marry, how should then the world be maintained? What if heaven fall? said St. Hierome. What if no man will come to the Church? is your argument; for all that came in those days received the communion. What if heaven fall? say I: for I have not so evil opinion of the holy Church in those days, to

^e Hieron. *Adversus Jovinianum*, lib. 1.

think that any such thing could chance among them, that no one would come, when all ought to have come. BOOK
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11 Now when you come to your issue, you make your case too strait for me to join an issue with you, binding me to the bare and only words of Clement, and refusing utterly his mind: but take the words and the mind together, and I dare adventure an issue to pass by any indifferent readers, that I have proved all my three notes. Mine issue.
[1580.]

12 And where you say, that upon occasion of this Epistle, I speak more reverently of the sacrament than I do in other places; if you were not given altogether to calumniate and deprave my words, you should perceive in all my book through, even from the beginning to the end thereof, a constant and perpetual reverence given unto the sacraments of Christ, such as of duty all Christian men ought to give.

13 Nevertheless you interpret this word "wherein" far from my meaning. For I mean not that Christ is spiritually either in the table, or in the bread and wine that be set upon the table, but I mean that he is present in the ministration and receiving of that holy Supper, according to his own institution and ordinance. Like as in baptism Christ and the Holy Ghost be not in the water, or font, but be given in the ministration, or to them that be duly baptized in the water.

And although the sacramental tokens be only significations and figures, yet doth Almighty God effectually work in them that duly receive his sacraments, those divine and celestial operations, which he hath promised, and by the sacraments be signified. For else they were vain and unfruitful sacraments, as well to the godly as to the ungodly. And therefore I never said of the whole Supper, that it is but a signification or a bare memory of Christ's death, but I teach that it is a spiritual refreshing, wherein our souls be fed and nourished with Christ's very flesh and blood to eternal life. And therefore bring you forth some place in my book, where I say, that the Lord's Supper is but a bare signification without any effect or operation of God in the same, or else eat your words again, and knowledge that you

BOOK untruly report me. But hear what followeth further in my
III. book.

[See vol. ii. p. 402. "Here I pass over"—"ought to
"be."]

Winchester.

Ignatius.
Irenæus.

THIS author saith he passeth over Ignatius and Irenæus; and why? Because they make nothing, he saith, for the papists' purpose. With the word "papist" the author playeth at his pleasure. But it shall be evident that Irene doth plainly confound this author's purpose in the denial of the true presence of Christ's very flesh in the sacrament: who although he use not the words real and substantial, yet he doth effectually comprehend in his speech of the sacrament the virtue and strength of those words. And for the truth of the sacrament is Irenæus specially alleged; insomuch

Philip Melanct.

as Melancton, when he writeth to Œcolampadius, that he will allege none but such as speak plainly, he allegeth Irenæus for one, as appeareth by his said Epistle to Œcolampadius. And Œcolampadius himself is not troubled so much with answering any other to shape any manner of evasion, as to answer Irenæus, in whom he notably stumbleth. And Peter Martyr in his work granteth Irene to be specially alleged: to whom, when he goeth about to answer, a man may evidently see how he masketh himself. And this author bringeth in Clement's Epistle, of which no great count is made, although it be not contemned; and passeth over Irenæus, that speaketh evidently in the matter, and was as old as Clement, or not much younger. And because Ignatius was of that age, and is alleged by Theodorete to have written in his Epistle *Ad Smyrnenses*, whereof may appear his faith of the mystery of the sacrament, it shall serve to good purpose to write in the words of the same Ignatius here, upon the credit of the said Theodorete^f, whom this author so much commendeth. The words of Ignatius be these: "Eucharistias et oblationes non admittunt, quod non confiteantur Eucharistiam esse carnem Servatoris nostri Jesu Christi, quæ pro peccatis nostris passa est, quam Pater sua benignitate suscitavit." Which words be thus much in English: "They do not admit *Eucharistias* and oblations because they do not confess *Eucharistiam* to be the flesh of our Saviour Jesu Christ: which flesh suffered for our sins, which flesh the Father by his benignity hath stirred up." These be Ignatius' words,

^f Theodorete, *Dialogo*. 3.

which I have not thoroughly Englished, because the word *Eucharistia* cannot be well Englished, being a word of mystery, and signifying, as Ireneus openeth, both the parts of the sacrament, heavenly and earthly, visible and invisible. But in that Ignatius openeth his faith thus, as he taketh *Eucharistia* to be the flesh of our Saviour Christ that suffered for us, he declareth the sense of Christ's words, *This is my body*, not to be figurative only, but to express the truth of the very flesh there given; and therefore, Ignatius saith, *Eucharistia* is the flesh of our Saviour Christ, the same that suffered and the same that rose again. Which words of Ignatius so pithily open the matter, as they declare therewith the faith also of Theodoret that doth allege him: so as if this author would make so absolute a work, as to peruse all the 5 fathers' sayings, he should not thus leap over Ignatius, nor Irene neither, as I have before declared. But this is a colour of rhetoric called "rejection" of that is hard to answer, and is here a pretty shift or sleight, whereby thou, reader, mayest consider Sleight. [1580.] how this matter is handled.

Canterbury.

- 1 It shall not need to make any further answer to you here as concerning Ireneus, but only to note one thing, that if any place of Ireneus had served for your purpose, you would not have failed here to allege it. But because you have nothing that maketh for you in deed, therefore you allege nothing in especial, (least in the answer it should evidently appear to be nothing,) and so slide you from the matter, as though all men should believe you, because you say it is so.
- 2 And as for the place of Irene alleged by Melancthon in Irene. an Epistle, Œcolampadius, without any such troubling of himself as you imagine, maketh a plain and easy answer thereto, although Melancthon wrote not his said Epistle to Œcolampadius, (as you negligently looking upon their works be deceived,) but to Fridericus Myconius. And the words of Irene alleged by Melancthon mean in effect no more but to prove, that our bodies shall rise again, and be joined unto our souls, and reign with them in the eternal life to come. For he wrote against Valentine, Martion, and other heretics, which denied the resurrection of our bodies;

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from whom it seemeth you do not much dissent, when you say that our bodies shall rise spiritual, if you mean that they shall rise without the form and fashion of men's bodies, without distinction and proportion of members. For those shall be marvellous bodies, that shall have no shape nor fashion of bodies, as you say Christ's body is in the sacrament, to whose body ours shall be like after the resurrection.

Why bread
is called
Christ's
body, and
wine his
blood.

But to return to answer Irene clearly and at large, his meaning was this, that as the water in baptism is called *aqua regenerans*, "the water that doth regenerate," and yet it doth not regenerate in deed, but is the sacrament of regeneration wrought by the Holy Ghost, and called so to make it to be esteemed above other common waters: so Christ confessed the creatures of bread and wine joined unto his words in his holy Supper, and there truly ministered, to be his body and blood; meaning thereby, that they ought not to be taken as common bread, or as baker's bread, and wine drunken in the tavern, (as Smyth untruly jesteth of me throughout his book,) but that they ought to be taken for bread and wine, wherein we give thanks to God, and therefore be called *Eucharistia corporis et sanguinis Domini*, "the thanking of Christ's body and blood," as Irene termeth them; or *Mysteria corporis et sanguinis Domini*, "the mysteries of his flesh and blood," as Dionysius calleth them; or *Sacramenta corporis et sanguinis Domini*, the "sacraments of Christ's flesh and blood," as divers other authors use to call them. And when Christ called bread and wine his body and blood, why do the old authors change in many places that speech of Christ, and call them *Eucharistia, mysteria, et sacramenta corporis et sanguinis Domini*? "the thanksgiving, the mysteries, and the sacraments of his flesh and blood," but because they would clearly expound the meaning of Christ's speech, that when he called the bread and wine his flesh and blood, he meant to ordain them to be the sacraments of his flesh and blood? According to such a speech as Saint Augustine expresseth, how the sacraments of Christ's flesh and blood be called his flesh and blood, and yet in deed they be not his flesh and blood,

Smyth.

but the sacraments thereof, signifying unto the godly receivers, that, as they corporally feed of bread and wine, (which comfort their hearts, and continue this corruptible life for a season,) so spiritually they feed of Christ's very flesh, and drink his very blood. And we be in such sort united unto him, that his flesh is made our flesh, his holy Spirit uniting him and us so together, that we be flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones, and make all one mystical body, whereof he is the head, and we the members. And as feeding, nourishing, and life cometh from the head, and runneth into all parts of the body, so doth eternal nourishment and life come from Christ unto us completely and fully, as well into our bodies as souls. And therefore if Christ our head be risen again, then shall we that be the members of his body surely rise also, forasmuch as the members cannot be separated from the head; but seeing that as he is our head and eternal food, we must needs by him live with him for ever. This is the argument of Irene against those heretics which denied the resurrection of our bodies. And these things the sacraments of bread and wine declare unto us, but neither the carnal presence nor the carnal eating of Christ's flesh maketh the things so to be, nor Irene meant no such thing; for then should all manner of persons that receive the sacraments, have everlasting life, and none but they.

Ephes. v.
Ephes. i.
and iv.
Coloss. i.
1 Cor. xv.

3 Thus have I answered to Irene plainly and shortly, and Æcolampadius needed not to trouble himself greatly with answering this matter. For by the corporal eating and drinking of Christ's flesh and blood, Irene could never have proved the resurrection of our bodies to eternal life.

And Peter Martyr maketh the matter so plain^h, that he^{Peter Mar-} concludeth Ireneus' words to make directly against the doc-^{tyr.}trine of the papists.

4 The answer also is easily made to the place which you allege out of Ignatius, where he calleth *Eucharistia* the Ignatius flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ. For he meaneth no more but that it is the sacrament of his flesh, or the mystery of

^h [Peter Martyr, *Tractatio de Eucharist.* p. 94. Tigur. 1557.]

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III.

his flesh, or, as Irene said, *Eucharistia* of his flesh, as even now I declared in mine answer to Irene. And your long process here may have a short answer, gathered of your own words. This word *Eucharistia*, say you, cannot be well Englished, but the body of Christ is good and plain English; and then if *Eucharistia* be such a thing as cannot be well Englished, it cannot be called the body of Christ, but by a figurative speech. And how can you then conclude of Ignatius' words, that *This is my body*, is no figurative speech? It seemeth rather that the clean contrary may be concluded. For if these two speeches be like and of one sense, "*Eucharistia* is Christ's body," and "*This is my body*," and the first be a declaration of the second, is this a good argument? the first is a figure, *ergo*, the second is none. Is it not rather to be gathered upon the other side thus? the first is a declaration of the second, and yet the first is a figure; *ergo*, the second is also a figure: and that rather than the first, because the declaration should be a more plain speech than that which is declared by it.

And as for your colour of rhetoric which you call "rejection," it is so familiar with yourself, that you use it commonly in your book, when I allege any author or speak any thing that you cannot answer unto.

And yet one thing is necessary to admonish the reader, that Ignatius in this Epistle entreateth not of the manner of the presence of Christ in the sacrament, but of the manner of his very body, as he was born of his mother, crucified, and rose again, appeared unto his Apostles, and ascended into heaven. Which things divers heretics said were not done verily in deed, but apparently to men's sights, and that indeed he had no such carnal and corporal body as he appeared to have. And against such errors speaketh that Epistle, and not of the real and corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament, although *Eucharistia* or the sacrament be ordained for a remembrance of that very body, and so hath the name of it, as sacraments have the names of the things which they signify. But by this so manifest writhing of the mind of Ignatius from the true sense and purpose

that was meant, to another sense and purpose that was not meant, may appear the truth of the papists, who wrest and misconstrue all old ancient writers and holy doctors to their wicked and ungodly purposes. Next in my book followeth mine answer to Dionysius. BOOK
III.

[See vol. ii. p. 402—403. “Dionysius also”——“priest
“alone.”]

Winchester.

1 As touching Dionysius, a wise reader may, without any note of Dionysius. mine, see how this author is troubled in him, and calleth for aid the help of him that made the Greek commentaries upon Dionysius, and pleadeth therewith the form of the words really, corporally, sensibly, and naturally; whereof two, that is to say, really and sensibly, the old authors in syllables used not, for so much as I have read, but corporally and naturally they used, speaking of this sacrament. This Dionyse spake of this mystery after the 4 dignity of it; not contending with any other for the truth of it, as we do now, but extolling it as a marvellous high mystery, which, if the bread be never the holier, and were only a signification, as this author teacheth, were no high mystery at all. As for the things of the sacrament to be in heaven, the Church teacheth so, and yet the same things be in deed present in the sacrament also; which is a mystery so deep and dark from man's natural capacity, as is only to be believed supernaturally, without asking of the question “how;” whereof St. Chrysostom maketh an exclamation in this wise.

“O great benevolence of God towards us! he that sitteth above
“with the Father, at the same hour is holden here with the
“hands of all men, and giveth himself to them that will clasp
5 “and embrace him¹.” Thus saith Chrysostome, confessing to be above and here the same things at once, not only in men's breasts, but hands also, to declare the inward work of God, in the
6 substance of the visible sacrament, whereby Christ is present in

¹ Chrysostomus, *De Sacerdot.* lib. iii.

[The clause in Chrysostom which immediately follows this extract, overturns Gardyner's argument; and is accordingly cited on the other side by Cranmer in his Disputation at Oxford. It is this: *αυτου ειδη τουτο παντες δια των οφθαλμων της ψυχης.* See *Disputation at Oxford with Chedsey*, vol. iv. and *Authorities* in the Appendix.]

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the midst of our senses, and so may be called sensibly present, although man's senses cannot comprehend and feel, or taste of him in their proper nature. But as for this Dionyse doth without argument declare his faith in the adoration he maketh of this sacrament, which is openly testified in his works, so as we need not doubt what his faith was. As for this author's notes be descant voluntary, without the tenor part, being belike ashamed to allege the text itself, lest his three notes might seem feigned without ground, as before in St. Clement's Epistle, and therefore I will not trouble the reader with them.

Canterbury.

I ask no more of the reader, but to read my book, and then to judge how much I am troubled with this author. And why may not I cite the Greek commentaries for testimony of the truth? Is this to be termed a calling for aid? Why is not then the allegation of all authors a calling for aid? Is not your doing rather a calling for aid, when you be fain to fly for succour to Martin Luther, Bucer, Melancthon, Epinus, Jonas, Peter Martyr, and such other, whom all the world knoweth you never favoured, but ever abhorred their names? May not this be termed a calling for aid, when you be driven to such a strait and need, that you be glad to cry to such men for help, whom ever you have hindered and defamed as much as lay in you to do?

And as for pleading of those words, really, corporally, sensibly, and naturally, they be your own terms, and the terms wherein resteth the whole contention between you and me: and should you be offended because I speak of those terms? It appeareth now that you be loth to hear of those words, and would very gladly have them put in silence, and so should the variance between you and me be clearly ended. For if you will confess, that the body of Christ is not in the sacrament really, corporally, sensibly, and naturally, then you and I shall shake hands, and be both earnest friends to the truth.

Really and sensibly be not found in any old author.

And yet one thing you do here confess, (which is worthy to be noted and had in memory,) that you read not in any old author that the body of Christ is really and sensibly in

the sacrament. And hereunto I add, that none of them say, that he is in the bread and wine corporally nor naturally. No, never no papist said that Christ's body is in the sacrament naturally nor carnally, but you alone, (who be the first author of this gross error, which Smith himself condemneth and denieth that ever any Christian man so taught,) although some say that it is there really, some substantially, and some sensibly.

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4 Now as concerning the high mystery which St. Denys speaketh of, he declareth the same to be in the marvellous and secret working of God in his reasonable creatures, (being made after his image, and being his lively temples, and Christ's mystical body,) and not in the unreasonable and unsensible and unlively creatures of bread and wine, wherein you say the deep and dark mystery standeth. But notwithstanding any holiness or godliness wrought in the receivers of them, yet they be not the more holy or godly in themselves, but be only tokens, significations, and sacraments of that holiness, which Almighty God by his omnipotent power worketh in us. And for their holy significations they have the name of holiness, as the water in baptism is called *aqua sanctificans, unda regenerans*, "hallowing" or "regenerating water," because it is the sacrament of regeneration and sanctification.

Holiness in
the sacra-
ments.

5 Now as concerning Chrysostome's saying, that Christ is in our hands, Chrysostome saith, as I have rehearsed in my book, not only that he is in our hands, but also that we see him with our eyes, touch him, feel him, and grope him, fix our teeth in his flesh, taste it, break it, eat it, and digest it, make red our tongues, and die them with his blood, &c. which things cannot be understand of the body and blood of Christ, but by a figurative speech, as I have more at large declared in my fourth book, the eighth chapter. And therefore St. Augustine, *De Verbis Domini Sermone xxxiii.* saith clean contrary to Chrysostome, that we touch not Christ with our hands: "Non tangimus Dominum," saith he. This speech therefore of Chrysostome declareth not the inward work of God in the substance of the visible sacra-

Christ in
our hands.

BOOK III. ment, but signifieth what God worketh inwardly in true believers.

And whereas you say that my notes be descant voluntary without the tenor part, I have named both the book and chapter where St. Dionyse telleth how the priest when he cometh to the receiving of the sacraments, he divideth the bread in pieces, and distributeth the same to all that be present; which one sentence containeth sufficiently all my three notes. So that if you be disposed to call my notes descant, there you may find the plain song or tenor part of them. And it is no marvel that you cannot judge well of my descant, when you see not or will not see the plain song, whereupon the descant was made.

Now followeth Tertullian, of whom I write thus.

[See vol. ii. p. 403—404. “ Furthermore they do al-
“ lege”——“ of my body.”]

Winchester.

Tertullian. OF Tertullian I have spoken before, and so hath this author also, and forgotten here one notable thing in Tertullian; where Tertullian saith, that Christ made the bread his body, (not only called it so,) as may appear by Tertullian's words reported by 1 this author before. This note that I make now of Tertullian, maketh against this author's purpose, but yet it maketh with the 2 truth, which this author should not impugn. The second note gathered of Tertullian by this author is not true; for 3 Christ called it his body, and made it his body, as Tertullian saith. And the third note of this author is in controversy of 4 reading, and must be so understood, as may agree with the rest of Tertullian's sayings, which, after my reading, doth evidently 5 prove, and at the least doth not improve the catholic doctrine of Christ's Church universally received, although it improveth that which this author calleth here our catholic doctrine, most impudently and untruly reporting the same.

Canterbury.

I desire no more but that the reader will look upon the place of Tertullian before mentioned, and see what you

1 speak there, and what is mine answer thereto, and so confer them together and judge.

2 And that the reader will note also, that here covertly you have granted my first note, that Christ called bread his body ; but so slyly, that the reader should not by your
3 will perceive it. And where you deny my second note upon Tertullian, that Christ called it his body, because it representeth his body ; the words of Tertullian be these, that “ Christ reproveth not bread, wherein he representeth
4 “ his own body.” As for my third note, yet once again, reader, I beseech thee turn back and look upon the place, how this lawyer hath expounded Tertullian, if thou canst with patience abide to hear of so foolish a gloss.

5 And where he saith, that this author Tertullian must be so understand, as may agree with the rest of his sayings, would to God you would so do, not only in Tertullian, but also in all other authors, for then our controversy should
6 be soon at a point. And it is a most shameless impudency of you to affirm that the catholic Church universally teacheth that Christ is really, sensibly, corporally, naturally, carnally, and substantially present in the visible forms of bread and wine, seeing that you cannot prove any one of these your sayings, either by Scripture or by the consent of the catholic Church, but only by the papistical Church which now many years hath borne the whole swing. Now followeth Origen, to whom I answer thus.

[See vol. ii. p. 404. “ Moreover they allege” — “ understanding.”]

Winchester.

ORIGEN'S words be very plain, and meaning also, which speak
1 of manifestation and exhibition ; which be two things to be verified three ways in our religion, that is to say, in the word, and regeneration, and the sacrament of bread and wine, as this author termeth it ; which Origene speaketh not so, but thus : “ the flesh of
2 “ the word of God ;” not meaning in every of these after one sort,
3 but after the truth of Scripture in each of them. Christ in his word is manifested and exhibited unto us, and by faith, that is of

BOOK III. hearing, dwelleth in us spiritually, for so we have his spirit. Of baptism St. Paul saith, *As many as be baptized, be clad in Christ.* ²

Now in the sacrament of bread and wine, by Origen's rule, Christ should be manifested and exhibited unto us after the Scriptures; so as the sacrament of bread and wine should not only signify Christ, that is to say, preach him, but also exhibit him sensibly, as Origen's words be reported here to be. So as Christ's words *this is my body*, should be words not of figure and showing, but ³ of exhibiting Christ's body unto us, and sensibly, as this author allegeth him, which should signify to be received with our mouth, as Christ commanded when he said, *Take eat, &c.* diversely from the other two ways, in which by Christ's spirit we be made ⁴ participant of the benefit of his passion wrought in his manhood. But in this sacrament we be made participant of his Godhead, by his humanity exhibit unto us for food, and so in this mystery we receive him man and God; and in the other, by mean of his Godhead, be participant of the effect of his passion suffered in his manhood.

In this sacrament Christ's manhood is represented and truly present, whereunto the Godhead is most certainly united, whereby we receive a pledge of the regeneration of our flesh, to be in the ⁵ general resurrection spiritual with our soul, as we have been in baptism made spiritual by regeneration of the soul, which in the full redemption of our bodies shall be made perfect. And therefore this author may not compare baptism with the sacrament thoroughly; in which baptism Christ's manhood is not really ⁶ present, although the virtue and effect of his most precious blood be there; but the truth of the mystery of this sacrament is to have Christ's body, his flesh and blood, exhibited, whereunto eating and drinking is by Christ in his supper appropriate. In which supper, Christ said, *This is my body*, which Bucer noteth, and that Christ said not, *This is my spirit, This is my virtue.* Wherefore, after Origen's teaching, if Christ be not only manifested, but also exhibited sensibly in the sacrament, then is he in ⁷ the sacrament indeed, that is to say, really; and then is he there substantially, because the substance of the body is there; and is there corporally also, because the very body is there; and naturally, because the natural body is there; nor understanding corporally and naturally in the manner of presence, nor sensibly neither; for then were the manner of presence within man's

Origen hath
"facie ad
faciem,"
but I take
this author
as he alle-
geth
Origen.
Errors.
When I say
"by his
manhood,"
I mean
"corporal-
ly" as Cyril
speaketh.
[158o.]

Sensibly.
Really.
Substanti-
ally. Cor-
porally.
Naturally.
[158o.]

8 capacity, and that is false; and therefore the catholic teaching is, that the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament is spiritual and supernatural, not corporal, not carnal, not natural, not sensible, not perceptible, but only spiritual, the "how" and manner whereof God knoweth, and we, assured by his word, know only the truth to be so, that it is there indeed and therefore really, to be also received with our hands and mouths, and so sensibly there, the body that suffered, and therefore his natural body there, the body of very flesh, and therefore his carnal body, the body truly, and therefore his corporal body there. But as for the manner of presence, that is only spiritual, as I said before; and here in the inculcation of these words, I am tedious to a learned reader, but yet this author enforceth me thereunto, who with these words, carnally, corporally, grossly, sensibly, naturally, applying them to the manner of presence, doth craftily carry away the reader from the simplicity of his faith, and by such absurdities as these words grossly understood import, astonieth the simple reader in consideration of the matter, and useth these words as dust afore their eyes, which to wipe away, I am enforced to repeat the understanding of these words oftener than else were necessary. These things well considered, no man doth more plainly confound this author than this saying of Origene, as he allegeth it, whatsoever other sentences he would pick out of Origene, when he
9 useth liberty of allegories, to make him seem to say otherwise. And as I have declared afore, to understand Christ's words spiritually, is to understand them as the Spirit of God hath taught the Church, and to esteem God's mysteries most true in the substance of the thing so to be, although the manner exceedeth our capacities, which is a spiritual understanding of the same. And here also this author putteth in for "spiritually," "figuratively," to deceive the reader.

Canterbury.

1 You observe my words here concerning Origen so capriciously, as though I had gone about scrupulously to translate his sayings word by word, which I did not: but because they were very long, I went about only to rehearse the effect of his mind briefly and plainly, which I have

BOOK
III.

done faithfully and truly, although you captiously carp and reprehend the same.

And whereas craftily to alter the sayings of Origene, you go about to put a diversity of the exhibition of Christ in these three things, in his word, in baptism, and in his holy Supper, as though in his word and in baptism he were exhibited spiritually, and in his holy Supper sensibly to be eaten with our mouths: this distinction you have dreamed in your sleep, or imagined of purpose. For Christ after one sort is exhibited in all these three, in his word, in baptism, and in the Lord's Supper, that is to say, spiritually, and for so much in one sort, as before you have confessed yourself. And Origene putteth no such diversity as you here imagine, but declareth one manner of giving of Christ unto us, in his word, in baptism, and in the Lord's Supper, that is to say, in all these three, *secundum speciem*: that as unto the Jews Christ was given in figures, so to us he is given *in specie*, that is to say, *in rei veritate*, in his very nature: meaning nothing else, but that unto the Jews he was promised in figures, and to us after his incarnation he is married and joined in his proper kind, and in his words and sacraments as it were sensibly given.

But howsoever I report Origene, you captiously and very untruly do report me. For whereas I say, that in God's word, and in the sacraments of baptism and of the Lord's Supper, Christ is manifested and exhibited unto us as it were face to face, and sensibly, you, leaving out these words
As it were. "as it were," make a quarrel to this word "sensibly," or rather you make that word "sensibly" the foundation of all your weak building, as though there were no difference between "sensibly," and "as it were sensibly;" and as it were all one thing, a man to lie sleeping, and as he were sleeping; or dead, and as he were dead. Do not I write thus in my first book, that the washing in the water of baptism is as it were a showing of Christ before our eyes, and a sensible touching, feeling, and groping of him? And do these words import, that we see him and grope him indeed? And further I say, that the eating and drinking of the

sacramental bread and wine, is as it were a showing of Christ before our eyes, a smelling of him with our noses, and a feeling and groping of him with our hands. And do we therefore see him indeed with our corporal eyes, smell him with our noses, and put our hands in his side and feel his wounds? If it were so indeed, I would not add these words, "as it were." For what speech were this, of a thing that is in deed, to say, "as it were?" For these words "as it were," signify that it is not so in deed. So now likewise in this place of Origen, where it is said that Christ in his words and sacraments is manifested and exhibited unto us as it were face to face, and sensibly, it is not meant that Christ is so exhibited in deed face to face, and sensibly, but the sense is clean contrary, that he is not there given sensibly, nor face to face. Thus it appeareth, how uprightly you handle this matter, and how truly you report my words. But the further you proceed in your answer, the more you show crafty juggling, legerdemain, 4 pass a God's name, to blind men's eyes, strange speeches, new inventions, not without much impiety as the words sound, but what the meaning is, no man can tell but the maker himself. But as the words be placed, it seemeth you mean, that in the Lord's Supper we be not made by Christ's Spirit participant of the benefit of his passion; nor by baptism or God's word, we be not made participant of his Godhead by his humanity. And furthermore by this distinction, (which you feign without any ground of Origen,) we receive not man and God in baptism; nor in the Lord's Supper, we be not by means of his Godhead made participant of the effect of his passion. In baptism also by your distinction we receive not a pledge of the regeneration of our flesh, but in the Lord's Supper: nor Christ is not truly present in baptism. Which your said differences do not only derogate and diminish the effect and dignity of Christ's sacraments, but be also blasphemous against the ineffable unity of Christ's person, separating his Divinity from his humanity. Here may all men of judgment see by experience how divinity is handled, when it cometh to the dis-

BOOK
III.Three is-
sues for my
part.

[1580.]

An issue.

cussion of ignorant lawyers. And in all these your sayings, if 5
you mean as the words be, I make an issue with you for
the price of a fagot. And where you say that our flesh in
the general resurrection shall be spiritual; here I offer a like
issue; except you understand a spiritual body to be a sen-
sible and palpable body, that hath all perfect members
distinct, which thing in sundry places of your book you
seem utterly to deny.

The third
issue.

[1580.]

And where you make this difference between baptism 6
and this sacrament, that in baptism Christ is not really pre-
sent, expounding "really present" to signify no more but to
be in deed present, yet after a spiritual manner: if you
deny that presence to be in baptism, yet the third fagot
I will adventure with you, for your strange and ungodly
doctrine within twenty lines together; who may in equality
of error contend with the Valentines, Arrians, or Anabap-
tists.

Adverbs in
ty. [1580.]

But when you come here to your "lies," declaring the 7
words, sensibly, really, substantially, corporally, and natu-
rally, you speak so fondly, unlearnedly, and ignorantly,
as they that know you not, might think that you under-
stood neither grammar, English, nor reason. For who is
so ignorant but he knoweth that adverbs that end in "ly"
be adverbs of quality, and being added to the verb, they
express the manner, form, and fashion how a thing is, and
not the substance of it. As speaking wisely, learnedly, and
plainly, is to speak after such a form and manner as wise
men, learned, and plain men do speak. And to do wisely
and godly, is to do in such sort and fashion as wise and
godly men do. And sometime the adverb "ly" signifieth
the manner of a thing that is in deed, and sometime the
manner of a thing that is not. As when a man speaketh
wisely, that is wise indeed. And yet sometime we say
fools speak wisely, which, although they be not wise, yet
they utter some speeches in such sort, as though they were
wise. The king we say useth himself princely in all his
doings, (who is a prince in deed,) but we say also of an
arrogant, wilful, and proud man, that he useth himself

princely and imperiously, although he be neither prince nor emperor : and yet we use so to speak of him, because of the manner, form, and fashion of using himself. And if you answer foolishly and unlearnedly, be you therefore a fool and unlearned ? Nay, but then your answers be made in such wise, manner, sort, and fashion, as you were neither learned nor wise. Or if you send to Rome, or receive private letters from thence, be you therefore a papist ? God is judge thereof ; but yet do you popishly, that is to say, use such manner and fashion as the papists do. But where the form and manner lacketh, there the adverbs of quality in “ly” have no place, although the thing be there in deed. As when a wise man speaketh not in such a sort, in such a fashion and wise, as a wise man should speak ; notwithstanding that he is wise in deed, yet we say not that he speaketh wisely, but foolishly. And the godly king David ^{2 Reg. xi.} did ungodly when he took Bersabe, and slew Urye her husband, because that manner of doing was not godly. So do all Englishmen understand by these words, sensibly, substantially, corporally, naturally, carnally, spiritually, and such like, the manner and form of being, and not the thing itself without the said forms and manners. For when Christ was born, and rose from death, and wrought miracles, we say not that he did these things naturally, because the mean and manner was not after a natural sort, although it was the selfsame Christ in nature ; but we say that he did eat, drink, sleep, labour, and sweat, talk, and speak naturally, not because only of his nature, but because the manner and fashion of doing was such as we use to do. Likewise when Jesus passed through the people, and they ^{Luke iv.} saw him not, he was not then sensibly and visibly among them, their eyes being letted in such sort that they could not see and perceive him. And so in all the rest of your adverbs, the speech admitteth not to say that Christ is there substantially, corporally, carnally, and sensibly, where he is not after a substantial, corporal, carnal, and sensual form and manner. This the husbandman at his plough, and his wife at her rock is able to judge, and to condemn you

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III.

in this point, and so can the boys in the grammar school, that you speak neither according to the English tongue, grammar, nor reason, when you say that these words and adverbs, sensibly, corporally, and naturally, do not signify a corporal, sensible, and natural manner. I have been here somewhat long and tedious, but the reader must pardon me, for this subtle and evil device of your own brain, without ground or authority, containeth such absurdities, and may cast such mists before men's eyes to blind them that they should not see, that I am constrained to speak thus much in this matter, and yet more shall do, if this suffice not. But this one thing I wonder much at, that you being so much used and accustomed to lie, do not yet know what "ly" meaneth.

But at length in this matter, when you see none other shift, you be fain to fly to the Church for your shot anchor. And yet it is but the Romish Church, for the old and first Church of Christ is clearly against you. And Origen saith not as you do, that to understand the said words of Christ spiritually, is to understand them as the Spirit of God hath taught the Church; but to understand them spiritually, is to understand them otherwise than the words sound; for he that understandeth them after the letter, saith Origen, understandeth them carnally, and that understanding hurteth and destroyeth. For in plain understanding of eating and drinking without trope or figure, Christ's flesh cannot be eaten nor his blood drunken. Next followeth in order St. Cyprian, of whom I write thus.

[See vol. ii. p. 404, 405. "And likewise meant"—"of St. Cyprian."]

Winchester.

Cyprianus. As touching Cyprian, this author maketh an exposition of his own device, which he would have taken for an answer unto him. Whereas Cyprian of all other, like as he is ancient, within two hundred and fifty years of Christ, so did he write very openly in the matter, and therefore Melancthon, in his Epistle to Œco-

Melancthon.

lampadius, did choose him for one, whose words in the affirmation of Christ's true presence in the sacrament had no ambiguity. And like judgment doth Hippinus, in his book before alleged, give of Cyprianus' faith in the sacrament, which two I allege to countervail the judgment of this author, who speaketh of his own head, as it liketh him, playing with the words gross and carnal, and using the word "represent," as though it expressed a figure only. Hippinus in the said book allegeth Cyprian to say, ³ Lib. 3. *Ad Quirinum*, that the body of our Lord is our sacrifice in flesh, meaning, as Hippinus saith, *Eucharistiam*, wherein St. Augustine, as Hippinus saith further, in the prayer for his mother, speaking of the bread and wine of *Eucharistia*, saith, that in it is dispensed the holy host and sacrifice, whereby was cancelled the bill obligatory that was against us: and further Hippinus saith, that "the old men called the bread and wine of our Lord's Supper " a sacrifice, an host, and oblation, for that specially, because they " be believed and taught the true body of Christ and his true blood to " be distribute in the bread and wine of *Eucharistia*, and as St. ^{Augustinus.} Augustine saith, *Ad Januarium*, to enter in and be received with " the mouth of them that eat." These be Hippinus' very words, who because he is I think in this author's opinion taken for no papist, I rather speak in his words than in mine own, whom in another part of this work, this author doth as it were for charity by name slander to be a papist; wherefore the said Hippinus' words shall be as I think more weighty to oppress this author's talk than mine be; and therefore howsoever this author handleth before the words of St. Cyprian, *De Unctione Chrismatis*, and the word "showing," out of his epistles, yet the same Cyprian's faith appeareth so certain otherwise, as those places shall need no further answer of me here, having brought forth the judgment of Hippinus and Melancthon, how they understand St. Cyprian's faith, which thou, reader, oughtest to regard more than the assertion of this author, specially when thou hast read how he hath handled Hilarie, Cyrill, Theophylact, and Damascene, as I shall hereafter touch.

Canterbury.

1 Whether I make an exposition of Cyprian by mine own device, I leave to the judgment of the indifferent reader. And if I so do, why do not you prove the same substan-

BOOK
III.

Melan-
thon.
Epinus.

tially against me? For your own bare words without any proof, I trust the indifferent reader will not allow, having such experience of you as he hath. And if Cyprian of all other had written most plainly against me, (as you say ² without proof,) who thinketh that you would have omitted here Cyprian's words, and have fled to Melancthon and Epinus for succour?

And why do you allege their authority for you, which in no wise you admit when they be brought against you? But it seemeth that you be faint-hearted in this matter, and begin to shrink, and like one that refuseth the combat, and findeth the shift to put another in his place, even so it seemeth you would draw back yourself from the danger, and set me to fight with other men, that in the mean time you might be an idle looker on. And if you, as grand captain, take them but as mean soldiers to fight in your quarrel, you shall have little aid at their hands: for their writings declare openly that they be against you more than me, although in this place you bring them for your part, and report them to say more and otherwise than they say in deed.

And as for Cyprian and St. Augustine here by you ³ alleged, they serve nothing for your purpose, nor speak nothing against me, by Epinus' own judgment. For Epinus saith, that *Eucharistia* is called a sacrifice, because it is a remembrance of the true sacrifice, which was offered upon the cross, and that in it is dispensed the very body and blood, yea, the very death of Christ, (as he allegeth of St. Augustine in that place,) the holy sacrifice whereby he blotted out and cancelled the obligation of death which was against us, nailing it upon the cross, and in his own person wan the victory, and triumphed against the princes and powers of darkness. This passion, death, and victory of Christ is dispensed and distributed in the Lord's holy Supper, and daily among Christ's holy people. And yet all this requireth no corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament, nor the words of Cyprian *Ad Quirinum* neither. For if they did, then was Christ's flesh corporally present

in the sacrifice of the old testament 1500 years before he was born: for of those sacrifices speaketh that text alleged by Cyprian *Ad Quirinum*^b, whereof Epinus and you gather these words, that the body of our Lord is our sacrifice in flesh. And howsoever you wrest Melancthon or Epinus, they condemn clearly your doctrine, that Christ's body is corporally contained under the forms or accidences of bread and wine. Next in my book is Hilarius.

[See vol. ii. p. 405—407. “But Hilarius”——“plainly and shortly.”]

Winchester.

THIS answer to Hilarie in the seventy-eighth leaf requireth a plain precise issue, worthy to be tried and apparent at hand. The allegation of Hilarie toucheth specially me, who do say and maintain that I cited Hilarie truly, (as the copy did serve,) and did translate him truly in English after the same words in Latin^c. This is one issue, which I qualify with a copy, because I have Hilarie now better correct, which better correction setteth forth more lively the truth than the other did, and therefore that I did translate was not so much to the advantage of that I alleged Hilarie for, as is that in the book that I have now better correct. Hilarie's words in the book newly corrected be these: “Si enim vere Verbum caro factum est, et nos vere Verbum car-
nem cibo Dominico sumimus, quomodo non naturaliter manere
in nobis existimandus est? qui et naturam carnis nostræ jam
inseparabilem sibi homo natus assumpsit, et naturam carnis
sue ad naturam æternitatis sub sacramento nobis communi-
candæ carnis admiscuit. Ita enim omnes unum sumus, quia
et in Christo Pater est, et Christus in nobis est¹. Quisquis
ergo naturaliter Patrem in Christo negabit, neget prius non na-
turaliter vel se in² Christo, vel Christum sibi inesse, quia in
Christo Pater, et Christus in nobis unum in iis esse nos faciunt.
Si vere igitur carnem corporis nostri Christus assumpsit, et

^b Cyprian. *Ad Quirinum*, cap. 94.

^c [See Gardyner's *Detection of the Devil's Sophistry*, where this passage from Hilary is cited. The readings then admitted by him, which he now corrected, are subjoined.] ¹ [Est, omitted.] ² [In, omitted.]

BOOK
III.

“ vere homo ille qui ex Maria natus fuit Christus est, nosque vere³
 “ sub mysterio carnem corporis sui sumimus, et per hoc unum
 “ erimus, quia Pater in eo est, et ille in nobis, quomodo volunta-
 “ tis unitas asseritur⁴, cum naturalis per Sacramentum proprietas
 “ perfectæ⁵ sacramentum sit unitatis?” My translation is this.
 “ If the Word was made verily flesh, and we verily receive the
 “ Word being flesh in our Lord’s meat, how shall not Christ be
 “ thought to dwell naturally in us, who being born man, hath
 “ taken unto him the nature of our flesh that cannot be severed,
 “ and hath put together the nature of his flesh to the nature of
 “ his eternity, under the sacrament of the communion of his
 “ flesh unto us, for so we be all one, because the Father is
 “ in Christ, and Christ in us. Wherefore, whosoever will deny
 “ the Father to be naturally in Christ, must deny first either
 “ himself to be naturally in Christ, or Christ not to be naturally
 “ in him, for the being of the Father in Christ, and the being
 “ of Christ in us, maketh us to be one in them. And therefore,
 “ if Christ hath taken verily the flesh of our body, and the man
 “ that was born of the virgin Mary is verily Christ, and also we
 “ verily receive under a mystery the flesh of his body, by means
 “ whereof we shall be one, for the Father is in Christ, and
 “ Christ in us: how shall that be called the unity of will, when
 “ the natural propriety brought to pass by the sacrament is the
 “ sacrament of perfect unity?”

This translation differeth from mine other whereat this author findeth fault; but wherein? The word “vero” was in the other copy an adjective, and I joined it with “mysterio,” and therefore said the true mystery, which word “mystery” needed no such adjective “true,” for every mystery is true of itself. But to say, as Hilarie truly correct saith, that we receive under the mystery “truly” the flesh of Christ’s body, that word “truly,” so placed,³ setteth forth lively the real presence and substantial presence of that is received, and repeateth again the same that was before said, to the more vehemency of it. So as this correction is better than my first copy, and according to this correction is Hilarius alleged by Melancthon to Œcolampadius, for the same purpose I allege him. Another alteration in the translation thou seest,⁴ reader, in the word “perfectæ,” which in my copy was “perfecta,”

³ [Vero.]

⁴ [Asseretur.]

⁵ [Perfecta.]

and so was joined to "proprietas," which now in the genitive case joined to "unitatis," giveth an excellent sense to the dignity of the sacrament, how the natural propriety by the sacrament, is a sacrament of perfect unity, so as the perfect unity of us with Christ, is to have his flesh in us, and to have Christ bodily and naturally dwelling in us by his manhood, as he dwelleth in us spiritually by his Godhead; and now I speak in such phrase as Hilarie and Cyrill speak, and use the words as they use them, whatsoever this author saith; as I will justify by their plain words.

6 And so I join now with this author an issue, that I have not per-
versely used the allegation of Hilarie, but alleged him as one that speaketh most clearly of this matter; which Hilarie in his eighth
7 book *De Trinitate* entreateth how many divers ways we be one in
8 Christ, among which he accounteth faith for one. Then he com-
eth to the unity in baptism, where he handleth the matter above
some capacities, and because there is but one baptism, and all
that be baptized be so regenerate in one dispensation, and do
the same thing, and be one in one, they that be one by the same
thing, be, as he saith, in nature one. From that unity in baptism
he cometh to declare our unity with Christ in flesh, which he call-
eth the sacrament of perfect unity, declaring how it is, when
Christ, who took truly our flesh mortal in the Virgin's womb, de-
livereth us the same flesh glorified truly to be communicate with our
flesh, whereby, as we be naturally in Christ, so Christ is naturally
in us, and when this is brought to pass, then is the unity between
Christ and us perfected; for as Christ is naturally in the Father
of the same essence, by the divine nature, and God the Fa-
ther naturally in Christ his Son, very God of the same essence
in the divine nature: so we be naturally in Christ by our
natural flesh, which he took in the Virgin's womb, and he
naturally in us, by the same flesh in him glorified, and given
to us, and received of us in the sacrament. For Hilarie saith
in plain words, how Christ's very flesh, and Christ's very blood,
received and drunken "*accepta et hausta*" bring this to pass.
And it is notable, how Hilarie compareth together the "truly" in
Christ's taking of our flesh in the Virgin's womb, with the "truly"
of our taking of his flesh "*in cibo Dominico*" "in our Lord's meat;"
by which words he expresseth the sacrament, and after reproveth
those that said we were only united by obedience and will of re-
ligion to Christ, and by him so to the Father, as though by the
sacrament of flesh and blood no propriety of natural communion

BOOK
III.

An issue.

Unity in
faith.Unity in
baptism.
[1580.]Unity in
flesh.
[1580.]

Hilarius.

BOOK III. were given unto us ; whereas both by the honour given unto us, we be the sons of God, and by the Son dwelling carnally in us ; and we being corporally and inseparably unite in him, the mystery of true and natural unity is to be preached. These be Hilarie's words, for this latter part ; where thou hearest, reader, the Son of God to dwell carnally in us, not after man's gross imagination, for we may not so think of godly mysteries, but "carnally" is referred to the truth of Christ's flesh given to us in this sacrament, and so is "naturally" to be understood, that we receive Christ's natural flesh, for the truth of it, as Christ received our natural flesh of the Virgin, although we receive Christ's flesh glorified, incorruptible, very spiritual, and in a spiritual manner delivered unto us. Here is mention made of the word "corporal," but I shall speak of that in the discussion of Cyrill. This Hilarie was before St. Augustine, and was known both of him and St. Hierome, who called him *tubam Latini eloquii*, against the Arrians. 9 Never man found fault at this notable place of Hilarie.

Carnally.
[1583.]

Naturally.
[1580.]

Now let us consider how the author of this book forgetteth himself, 10 to call Christ in us naturally by his Godhead, which were then to make us all gods by nature, which is over great an absurdity, and Christ in his divine nature dwelleth only in his Father naturally, and in us by grace. But as we receive him in the sacrament of 11 his flesh and blood, if we receive him worthily, so dwelleth he in us naturally, for the natural communication of our nature and his. And therefore, where this author reporteth Hilarie to make no difference between our union to Christ in baptism and in the 12 Supper, let him trust him no more that told him so, or if this author will take upon him as of his own knowledge, then I would say, if he were another, an answer in French, that I will not express. And hereupon will I join the issue, that in Hilarie the matter is so plain otherwise than this author rehearseth, as it hath no colour of defence to the contrary. And what Hilarie speaketh of baptism and our unity therein, I have before touched, and this unity in flesh is after treated apart. What shall I say to this so manifest untruth ? but that it confirmeth that I have in other observed, how there was never one of them that I have read writing against the sacrament, but hath in his writings said somewhat so evidently in the matter or out of the matter discrepant from truth, as might be a certain mark to judge the quality of his spirit.

An issue.

*Canterbury.*BOOK
III.

1 Here you confess that you cited Hilary^d untruly, but you impute the fault to your copy. What copy you had I know not; but as well the citation of Melancthon, as all the print books that ever I saw, have otherwise than you have written, and therefore it seemeth that you never read any printed book of Hilarius. Marry it might be that you had from Smith a false copy written, who informed me, that Smyth. you had of him all the authorities that be in your book. And having all the authorities that he had with great travail gathered, by and by you made your book, and stole from him all his thank and glory, like unto Esop's chough, which plumed himself with other birds' feathers. But where-soever you had your copy, all the books set forth by public faith have otherwise than you have cited. And although the false allegation of Hilary toucheth you somewhat, yet chiefly it toucheth Smith, who hath erred much worse in his translation^e than you have done; albeit neither of you both handle the matter sincerely and faithfully, nor agree the one with the other.

2 But I trow it be your chance to light upon false books. For whereas in this sentence, "Quisquis ergo naturaliter Patrem in Christo negabit, neget prius naturaliter vel in Christo, vel Christum sibi inesse," one false print for "naturaliter^f" hath "non naturaliter," it seemeth that you

^d [It is singular that Cranmer, though he complained of the inaccuracy with which Hilary was cited, yet left an error in his own translation of the passage, which subjected him afterwards to a charge of corrupting it. See *Defence*, vol. ii. p. 406. and *Disputation at Oxford with Chedsey*.]

^e [In his *Assertion of the Sacrament of the Altar*. See an extract from his translation, which fully bears out Cranmer's charge of unfaithfulness, in the *Disputation at Oxford with Chedsey*.]

^f [Cranmer's strictures are not supported by the authority of the Benedictine editors, who read with Gardyner "non naturaliter." He is however clearly right in the interpretation which he gives of Hilary's words. But Gardyner probably intended to convey the same meaning, though he has confused his sentence by adopting, like Hilary, the Greek idiom of a double negative. He was far too acute a disputant, to "overthrow himself," according to Cranmer's taunt, "quite and clean" by his own translation." No heavier charge therefore can be brought against him here, than that of writing bad English: and even this, perhaps, if we consider the frequent occurrence of the double negative in

BOOK III. chanced upon that false print. For if you have found Hilary truly corrected, as you say you have, your fault is the more, that out of a true copy would pick out an untrue translation. And if you have so done, then by putting in a little pretty "not" where none ought to be, with that little pretty trip you have clean overthrown yourself. For if it be an error to deny that Christ is not naturally in us, (as it is here rehearsed for an error,) then must it be an error to affirm that Christ is naturally in us. For it is all one thing, to deny that he is not, and to affirm that he is naturally in us. And so by your own translation you overthrow yourself quite and clean, in that you say in many places of your book, that Christ is naturally in us, and ground your saying upon Hilarie. Whereas now by your own translation, Hilarie rejecteth that clearly as an heinous error.

Truly. And as concerning this word "truly," it setteth not lively³ forth a real and substantial presence, as you say it doth, for Christ is truly in all his faithful people, and they truly eat his flesh and drink his blood, and yet not by a real and corporal, but by a spiritual and effectual presence.

Perfecta. And as concerning the word "perfecta" or "perfectæ," in⁴ the print which I have of your book, is neither of both, but be left quite out. Nevertheless that fault I impute to no untruth in you, but rather to the negligence either of your pen, or of the printer.

But for the perfectness of the unity between Christ and⁵ us, you declare here the perfect unity to be that, which is but the one half of it. For the perfect unity of us with Christ, is not only to have Christ corporally and naturally dwelling in us, but likewise we to dwell corporally and naturally in him. And Hilary declareth the second part to pertain to our unity with Christ, as well as the first, which of sleight and policy you leave out purposely, because it declareth the meaning of the first part, which is not that

the writers of that period, can scarcely be sustained. Respecting the general drift of Hilary's argument, the passages which precede and follow the present extract should be consulted. They were added from Cranmer's manuscript to the Embden edition of the *Defence*, and have been copied from thence with corrections, vol. ii. p. 407, &c.]

Christ is in them that receive the sacrament, and when they receive the sacrament only, but that he naturally tarrieth and dwelleth in all them that pertain to him, whether they receive the sacrament or no. And as he dwelleth naturally in them, so do they in him.

- 6 And although you have excused your perversity by your false copy, yet here I will join an issue with you, that you did neither allege Hilarie's words before truly, nor yet now do truly declare them. As for the first part you have confessed yourself, that you were deceived by a false copy. And therefore in this part, I plead that you be guilty by your own confession. And as concerning the second part, Hilary speaketh not of the unity of Christ with the sacrament, nor of the unity of Christ with us only when we receive the sacrament, nor of the unity of us with Christ only, but also with his Father, by which unity we dwell in Christ, and Christ in us, and also we dwell in the Father, and the Father in us. For as Christ being in his Father, and his Father in him, hath life of his Father, so he being in us, and we in him, giveth unto us the nature of his eternity, which he received of his Father; that is to say, immortality and life everlasting, which is the nature of his Godhead. And so have we the Father and the Son dwelling in us naturally, and we in them, forasmuch as he giveth to us the nature of his eternity, which he had of his Father, and honoureth us with that honour which he had of his Father. But Christ giveth not this nature of eternity to the sacrament, except you will say, that the sacrament shall have everlasting life, as you must needs say, if Christ dwell naturally in it, after Hilarie's manner of reasoning. For by the saying of Hilarie, where Christ dwelleth, there dwelleth his Father, and giveth eternal life by his Son.

And so be you a goodly saviour, that can bring to everlasting life both bread and drink, which never had life. But as this nature of eternity is not given to the sacrament, so is it not given to them that unworthily receive the sacrament, which eat and drink their own damnation. Nor it is not given to the lively members of Christ, only when they

Mine issue.

[1580.]

John xiv.

John v.

John vi.

Naturally.

BOOK
III.

receive the sacrament, but so long as they spiritually feed upon Christ, eating his flesh and drinking his blood, either in this life, or in the life to come; for so long have they Christ naturally dwelling in them, and they in him. And as the Father naturally dwelleth in Christ, so by Christ doth he naturally dwell in us.

And this is Hilarie's mind, to tell how Christ and his Father dwell naturally in his faithful members, and what unity we have with them, (that is to say, an unity of nature, and not of will only,) and not to tell how Christ dwelleth in the sacrament, or in them that unworthily receive the sacrament: or if they worthily receive it, that he dwelleth in them at that time only, when they receive the sacrament. And yet he saith, that this unity of faithful people unto God is by faith, taught by the sacrament of baptism and of the Lord's table, but wrought by Christ by the sacrament and mystery of his incarnation and redemption, whereby he humbled himself unto the lowliness of our feeble nature, that he might exalt us to the dignity of his godly nature, and join us unto his Father in the nature of his eternity.

Thus is plainly declared Hilarie's mind, who meant nothing less than, as you say, to entreat how many divers ways we be one in Christ, but only to entreat and prove, that we be naturally in Christ and Christ in us. And this one thing he proveth by our faith, and by the sacrament of baptism, and of the Lord's Supper, and still he saith as well that we be naturally and corporally in him, as that he is naturally in us.

And where you speak of the unity in baptism, and say that Hilarius handleth that matter above some capacities; howsoever Hilary handleth the matter, you handle it in such sort as I think passeth all men's capacities, unless yourself make a large commentary thereto. For what these your words mean, "because there is but one baptism, and "all that be baptized be so regenerate in one dispensation, "and do the same thing, and be one in one, they that be "one by the same thing, be, as he saith, in nature one," and

what that one thing is which they do that be baptized, I think no man can tell, except you read the riddle yourself. BOOK
III.

And now to your issue. If you can show of the words of Hilarie in this place, that Christ is naturally in the sacraments of bread and wine, or in wicked persons, or in godly persons only when they receive the sacrament, then will I confess the issue to pass upon your side, that you have declared this author truly, and that he maketh most clearly for you against me. And if you cannot show this by Hilarie's words, then must you hold up your hand, and say, Guilty.

And yet furthermore, when Hilary saith that we be naturally in Christ, he meaneth not that our bodies be contained within the compass of his body, but that we receive his natural eternity. And so likewise, when he saith that Christ dwelleth naturally and carnally in us, he meaneth not that his body is contained corporally within the compass of our mouths or bodies, (which you must prove by his plain words, if you will justify your issue that he speaketh most clearly for you,) but he meaneth that Christ communicateth and giveth unto us the nature of his eternity or everlasting life. And he dwelleth in us by his incarnation, as St. John sayeth: *Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis, The Word was made flesh, and dwelled in us.* And as he may be said to dwell in us by receiving of our mortal nature, so may we be said to dwell in him by receiving the nature of his immortality. And never man found fault (as you truly say) at this notable place of Hilary: nor again never learned man hitherto expounded him as you do.

10 And when I said that Christ is in us naturally by his Godhead, I forgot not what I said, as you say of me; for I plainly expounded what I meant by "naturally," that is to say, not by natural substance to make us gods, but by natural condition giving unto us immortality and everlasting life, which he had of his Father, and so making us partakers of his godly nature, and uniting us to his Father.

BOOK
III.

2 Pet. i.

And if we attain to the unity of his Father, why not unto the unity of the Godhead, not by natural substance, but by natural propriety? As Cyrill saith that we be made the children of God and heavenly men by participation of the divine nature, as St. Peter also teacheth. And so be we one in the Father, in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost.

And where you say, that we receive Christ in the sacrament of his flesh and blood, if we receive him worthily; ¹¹ here you have given good evidence against yourself, that we receive him not, and that he dwelleth not in us naturally, except we receive him worthily. And therefore where you say, that there is none that writeth against the truth in the sacrament, but he hath in his writings somewhat discrepant from truth that might be a certain mark to judge his spirit, this is so true, that yourself differ not only from the truth in a number of places, but also from your own sayings.

And where you bid me trust him no more that told me, ¹² that Hilary maketh no difference between our union in Christ in baptism, and in his holy Supper, it was very Hilary himself of whom I learned it, who saith that in both the sacraments the union is natural, and not in will only.

Mine issue. And if you will say the contrary, I must tell you the French answer that you would tell me. And herein I will not refuse your issue. Now come we to Cyrill, of whom I write as followeth.

[See vol. ii. p. 408—412. “And this answer”——“as
“of Hilarius.”]

Winchester.

Cyril. THE author saith, such answer as he made to Hilary will serve ¹ for Cyrill, and in deed to say truth it is made after the same sort, and hath even such an error as the other had, saving it may be excused by ignorance. For where the author travaileth here to expound the word “corporally,” which is a sore word in Cyrill ² against this author, and therefore taketh labour to temper it with the word “corporaliter” in St. Paul applied to the dwelling of the Divinity in Christ, and yet not content therewith, maketh further search, and would gladly have somewhat to confirm his fancy

out of Cyrill himself, and seeketh in Cyrill where it is not to be found, and seeketh not where it is to be found; for Cyrill telleth himself plainly, what he meaneth by the word “corporally;” which place and this author had found, he might have spared a great many of words uttered by divination, but then the truth of that place hindereth and qualet in manner all the book: I will at my peril bring forth Cyrill’s own words truly upon the seventh chapter of St. John: “Corporaliter Filius per benedictionem “mysticam nobis ut homo unitur, spiritualiter autem ut Deus.” Which be in English thus much to say: “The Son is united as “man corporally to us by the mystical benediction, spiritually as “God.” These be Cyrill’s words, who nameth the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ the mystical benediction, and showeth in this sentence how himself understandeth the words “corporally” and “spiritually;” that is to say, when Christ uniteth himself to us as man, which he doth giving his body in this sacrament to such as worthily receive it, then he dwelleth in them corporally; which Christ was before in them spiritually, or else they could not worthily receive him to the effect of that unity corporal, and corporal dwelling; by which word “corporal” is understood no grossness at all, which the nature of a mystery excludeth, and yet keepeth truth still, being the understanding only attained by faith. But where the author of the book allegeth Cyrill in words to deny the eating of a man, and to affirm the receiving in this sacrament to be only by faith, it shall appear, I doubt not, upon further discussion, that Cyrill saith not so; and the translations of Cyrill into Latin after the print of Basil, in a book called *Antidotum*, and of whole Cyrill’s works printed at Colen, have not in that place such sentence. So as following the testimony of those books set forth by public faith in two sundry places, I should call the allegation of Cyrill made by this author in this point untrue, as it is in deed in the matter untrue.

And yet because the original error proceedeth from *Œcolampadius*, it shall serve to good purpose to direct the original fault to him, as he well deserveth to be, as he is noted guilty of it, whose reputation deceived many in the matter of the sacrament; and being well noted how the same *Œcolampadius* corrupteth Cyrill, it may percase somewhat work with this author to consider how he hath in this place been deceived by him. I will

‡ Lege Cyrillum *In Joan.* lib. xi. cap. 27. [1580.]

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write here the very words of Cyrill in Greek, as they be of *Æcolampadius* brought forth and published in his name; whereby the reader that understandeth the Greek (as many do at this time) may judge of *Æcolampadius*' conscience in handling this matter. The words of Cyrill be alleged of *Æcolampadius* to be these in Greek; 'Αρ' οὖν ὡς ἑτερόν τινα υἱὸν καὶ Χριστὸν παρὰ τὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ Θεὸν λόγον τὸν φαινόμενον εἶναι διαβεβαιούνται, ᾧ καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀποστολῆς προσενέμηται χρῆμα, οὐκ ἀνθρωποφαγίαν ἡμῶν ἀποφαίνει τὸ μυστήριον, παριστῶν ἀνοσίως εἰς ἐξιτήλους ἔννοιας τῶν πιστευόντων νοῦν, καὶ λογισμοῖς ἀνθρωπίνους ἐπιχειρῶν, ἃ μόνη καὶ ψιλῆ καὶ ἀζητήτη πίστει λαμβάνεται^h. These words be by *Æcolampadius* translated in this wise: "Nonne igitur eum qui videtur Filium et Christum alium a Deo " verbo qui ex Deo esse affirmant, cui apostolatus functio tributa " sit? Non enim sacramentum nostrum hominis manducationem " asserit, mentes credentium ad crassas cogitationes irreligiose in- " trotrudens, et humanis cogitationibus subjicere enitens, ea quæ " sola, et pura, et inexquisita fide capiuntur." This is *Æcolampadius*' translation of the Greek, as the same is by *Æcolampadius* alleged. Which compared with the Greek, and the congruity and phrase of the Greek tongue considered, doth plainly open a corruption in the Greek text. First in the word *διαβεβαιούνται*, which should be a participle in the singular number *διαβεβαιῶν*, as *παριστῶν* and *ἐπιχειρῶν*; all which participles depend of the third person reprov'd of Cyrill, and nominative case to the verb *ἀποφαίνει*, which hath the noun *μυστήριον* his accusative case; for congruity will not suffer *μυστήριον* to be the nominative case, as *Æcolampadius* maketh it; because *παριστῶν* and *ἐπιχειρῶν* should then depend on it, which be the masculine gender, and *μυστήριον* the neuter; and besides that, the sense hath so no good reason, to attribute assertion to the mystery by the way of declaration: the mystery of nature secret hath need of declaration, and maketh none, but hideth rather; and the mystery cannot declare properly, that should lead or subdue men to vain imagination. But Cyrill, intending to reprove the conclusion of him that attributeth to that is seen in Christ, (the nature of his humanity,) the office of the apostle, and so thereby seemeth to make in Christ

^h [See among the *Authorities* in the Appendix the passage as read in Aubert's edition of Cyril: whence it will appear that Gardyner is as unsuccessful in his conjecture of *ἀνθρωποφαγίαν*, as he is successful in his exposure of *Æcolampadius*'s mistranslation.]

two several persons, esteeming that is seen another son from the second person, showeth how that man so concludingⁱ doth affirm an absurdity; that is to say, declareth that mystery of our^k “humanam commixtionem,” for so hath the public translation, and not *ἀνθρωποφαγίαν*, which should signify eating of a man, as *Œcolampadius* would have it, and cannot with this construction to make *μυστήριον* the accusative case have any sense; and then that man so concluding, may be said therewith leading^l the mind of them that believe, into slender and dark imaginations or thoughts, and so going about^m to bring under man’s reasonings such things as be taken or understoodⁿ by an only simple, bare, and no curious faith. And this is uttered by *Cyrril* by interrogation, *Ἄρ’ οὖν*, which continueth unto the last word of all that is here written in Greek, ending in the word *λαμβάνεται*. But *Œcolampadius*, to frame these words to his purpose, corrupteth the participle *διαβεβαιῶν*, and maketh it *διαβεβαιούνται*, whereby he might cut off the interrogative; and then is he yet fain to add evidently that is not in the Greek, a copulative causal “enim;” and then, when *μυστήριον* is by the cutting off the interrogation and the addition of “enim” made the nominative case, then cannot *πιστῶν* and *ἐπιχειρῶν* depend of it, because of the gender; and *τὸ μυστήριον*, because of the article, determineth the principal mystery in Christ’s person; and after the public translation it should seem the Greek word was not *ἀνθρωποφαγίαν*, but *ἀνθρωπομιγίαν*, which in the public translation is expressed with these two words, “humanam commixtionem.”

This one place, and there were no mo like, may show with what conscience *Œcolampadius* handled the matter of the sacrament; who was learned in the Greek tongue, much exercised in translations, and had once written a grammar of the Greek, and yet in this place abuseth himself and the reader in perverting *Cyrril* against all congruities of the speech, against the proper signification of the words, against the convenient connexion of the matter, with depravation of the phrase, and corruption of certain words, all against the common and public translation; and when he hath done all this, concludeth in the end that he hath translate the Greek faithfully, when there is by him used no good faith at all, but credit and estimation of learning by him abused, to deceive well meaning simplicity, and serveth for some defence to such as

ⁱ διαβεβαιῶν.
m ἐπιχειρῶν.

^k ἀποφαίνει τὸ μυστήριον ἡμῶν.
n λαμβάνεται.

^l πιστῶν.

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be bold to use and follow his authority in this matter: as the author of the book seemeth to have followed him herein, for else the public authentic translations which be abroad, as I said, of the prints of Basill and Colen, have no such matter, and therefore the fault of the author is to leave public truth, and search matter whispered in corners. But this much must be granted, though in the principal matter, that in the mystery of the sacrament we must exclude all grossness, and yet for the truth of God's secret work in the sacrament, that in such as receive the sacrament worthily, Christ dwelleth in them corporally, as Cyrill saith, and naturally and carnally, as Hilary saith. And with this true understanding, after the simplicity of a Christian faith, which was in these fathers, Hilary and Cyrill, the contention of these three envious words, in gross capacities grossly taken, "natural," "carnal," and "corporal," which carnality hath engendered, might soon be much assuaged; and this author also considering with himself how much he hath been overseen in the understanding of them, and the speciality in this place of himself and *Œcolampadius*, might take occasion to repent and call home himself who wonderfully wandereth in this matter of the sacrament, and having lost his right way, breaketh up hedges and leapeth over ditches, with a wondrous travail to go whither he would, not being, not yet, as appeareth, determined where he would rest, by the variety of his own doctrine, as may appear in sundry places, if they be compared together.

Canterbury.

I said very truly, when I said that such answer as I made to Hilary will serve for Cyrill, for so will it do in deed, although you wrangle and strive therein never so much. For Cyrill and Hilary entreat both of one matter, that we be united together and with Christ, not only in will but also in nature; and be made one, not only in consent of godly religion, but also that Christ, taking our corporal nature upon him, hath made us partakers of his godly nature, knitting us together with him unto his Father and to his Holy Spirit. Now let the indifferent reader judge, whether you or I be in error, and whether of us both hath most need to excuse himself of ignorance. Would God you were as ready, humbly to yield in those manifest errors which be proved against you, as you be stout to take upon you a knowledge in those

things wherein ye be most ignorant. But *φιλαντία* is a perious witch.

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2 Now whereas I have truly expounded this word “corporally” in Cyrill, when he saith that Christ dwelleth corporally in us, and have declared how that word “corporally,” as Cyrill understandeth it, maketh nothing for your purpose, that Christ’s flesh should be corporally contained (as you understand the matter) under the form of bread; for he neither saith that Christ dwelleth corporally in the bread, nor that he dwelleth in them corporally that be not lively members of his body, nor that he dwelleth in his lively members at such time only as they receive the sacrament, nor that he dwelleth in us corporally, and not we in him; but he saith as well that we dwell in him, as that he dwelleth in us: and when I have also declared that Cyrill’s meaning was this, that as the vine and branches be both of one nature, so the Son of God taking unto him our human nature, and making us partakers of his divine nature, giving unto us immortality and everlasting life, doth so dwell naturally and corporally in us, and maketh us to dwell naturally and corporally in him: and whereas I have proved this by Cyrill’s own words, as well in that place in his tenth book upon St. John’s Gospel, the thirteenth chapter, as in his fourth book, the seventeenth chapter: you answer no more to all this, but say that I seek in Cyrill where it is not to be found, and seek not where it is to be found. A substantial answer, be you sure, and a learned. For you do here like a keeper which I knew once, required to follow a suit with his hound, after one that had stolen a deer; and when his hound was in his right suit, and had his game fresh before him, and came near to the house and place where the deer was indeed, after he had a little inkling that it was a special friend of his that killed the deer, and then being loth to find the suit, he plucked back his hound, being in the right way, and appointed him to hunt in another place, where the game was not, and so deceived all them that followed him, as you would here do to as many as will follow you. For you promise to bring the reader to a place where he shall find the meaning

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of this word "corporally," and when he cometh to the place where you appoint, the word is spoken of there, but the meaning thereof is not declared, neither by you nor by Cyrill, in that place: and so the reader by your fair promise is brought from the place, where the game is truly in deed, and brought to another place where he is utterly disappointed of that he sought for.

For where you send the reader to this place of Cyrill, "the 3
"Son is united as man corporally unto us by the mystical benediction, spiritually as God;" here indeed in this sentence Cyrill nameth this word "corporally," but he telleth not the meaning thereof, which you promised the reader that he should find here.

Nevertheless Cyrill meaneth no more by these words but that Christ is united unto us two manner of ways, by his body, and by his spirit: and he is also a band and knot to bind and join us to his Father, being knit in nature unto both; to us as a natural man, and to his Father as natural God, and himself knitting us and God his Father together.

And although Cyrill say that Christ is united unto us corporally by the mystical benediction, yet in that place the mystical benediction may well be understand of his incarnationⁱ, which as Cyrill and Hilary both call an high mystery, so was it to us a marvellous benediction, that he that was immortal God would become for us a mortal man; which mystery St. Paul saith was without controversy great, and was hid from the world, and at the last opened, that Gentiles should be made partakers of the promises in Christ, which by his flesh came down unto us.

1 Tim. iii.
Eph. iii.

But to give you all the advantage that may be, I will grant, for your pleasure, that by the mystical benediction Cyrill understood the sacrament of Christ's flesh and blood, as you say, and that Christ is thereby united corporally unto us. Yet saith not Cyril that this unity is only when we re-

ⁱ Cyril, *In Joan.* lib. ix. cap. ult. "Ita ego naturaliter præsunt, quia ex ipso natus, vos autem ex me, et ego in vobis etiam naturaliter, ea ratione qua homo factus sum." [1580.]

ceive the sacrament, nor extendeth to all that receive the sacrament, but unto them that being renewed to a new life, be made partakers of the divine nature, which nature Cyrill himself, upon the sixth chapter of John, declareth to be life. But he speaketh not one word of the corporal presence of Christ in the forms of bread and wine, nor no more doth Hilary. And therefore I may well approve that I said, that the answer made unto Hilary will very well also serve for Cyrill. And yet neither of them both hath one word that serveth for your purpose, that Christ's flesh and blood should be in the sacrament under the forms of bread and wine.

4 And where you say that Christ uniteth himself to us as man, when he giveth his body in the sacrament to such as worthily receive it, if you will speak as Cyrill and other old authors use to do, Christ did unite himself to us as man at his incarnation. And here again you give evidence against your own issue, affirming our unity unto Christ no further than we receive the sacrament worthily. And then they that receive it unworthily, be not united corporally unto Christ, nor eat his flesh, nor drink his blood, which is the plain mind both of Hilary and also of Cyrill, and directly with the state of my fourth book, and against your answer to the same.

5 And here you, pretending to declare again what is meant by this word "corporal," do tell the negative, that there is no grossness meant thereby, but the affirmative, what is meant thereby, you declare not as you promised. But if you mean plainly, speak plainly, whether Christ's body being in the sacrament under the forms of bread and wine, have head, feet, arms, legs, back, and belly, eyes, ears, and mouth, distinct, and in due order and proportion: which if he lack, the simplest man or woman knoweth that it cannot be a perfect corporal man's body, but rather an imaginative or phantastical body, as Marcion and Valentine taught it to be. Express here fully and plainly what manner of body you call this corporal body of Christ.

6 And where you say that I allege Cyrill to deny in words

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the eating of a man, and to affirm the receiving in this sacrament to be only by faith, and yet it shall appear by further discussion, say you, that Cyril saith not so; if you had not rubbed shame out of your forehead, you would not have said that he saith not so, and be taken with so manifest an untruth. For although you, like a grammarian, ruffle in your cases, genders, numbers, and persons, and in matters of no learning trouble the reader to show yourself learned, corrupting the Greek, Latin, and English, to draw them to your purpose, yet shall you never prove that Cyril speaketh of any other eating of Christ, but by faith.

And to make the matter plain, which it seemeth you yet understand not, I shall shortly rehearse, as well the argument of Nestorius as the answer of Cyril. Nestorius the heretic said, that Christ was but a pure man, and not God, and that he had but a common body such as other men have, whereunto the Godhead was only assistant, as it is to other men. And to prove the same, he alleged Christ's own words, when he said, *He that eateth my flesh, &c.* and, *He that eateth me,* and, *As the living Father sent me.* And forasmuch as Christ said, that he had flesh, and was eaten, and sent, and God cannot be eaten nor sent, said Nestorius, therefore concluded he that Christ was not God, but man, whose flesh might be eaten and sent: whose gross argumentation Cyril confuting saith, that by his rude reasoning of eating, he draweth men's minds wickedly to fancy of the eating of man's flesh, meaning of the eating thereof with tooth and mouth, and so to imagine carnally and grossly such things of Christ as be understand to be done with an only and pure faith. And as Nestorius made his argument of the eating of man's flesh, even so did Cyril make his answer of the eating of the same, and not of the commixtion thereof. For unto what purpose should commixtion serve in that place, and whereunto should Christ's body be commixed? Or why should Cyril charge Nestorius with commixtion in Christ, seeing that he was charged with the clean contrary, as you say, that he separated the natures in Christ, and did not confound and commix them? And further-

Nestorius.

John vi.

more, if Nestorius had made his argument of the eating, and Cyril had made his answer of the commixtion, they had foughten *Andabatarum more*, as the proverb saith, like two blind men, that when the one striketh in one place, the other holdeth up his buckler to defend in another place. Therefore may all men judge, that have any judgment at all, how unjustly you judge and condemn that godly and excellent learned man, Œcolampadius, for this word *ἀνθρωποφαγίαν*, which you say would be *ἀνθρωπομυγίαν*, which word in Greek I think was never read, nor hath in that place neither sense nor reason. And what an heady and intolerable arrogance is this of you, of your own vain conjecturing, to alter the Greek text without any Greek copy to ground yourself upon, altering *ἀνθρωποφαγίαν* into *ἀνθρωπομυγίαν*, and *διαβεβαιοῦνται* into *διεβεβαιῶν*, contrary to the translations of Œcolampadius and Musculus, not whispered in corners, as you with your railing words would defame the matter, but published abroad to the world. And at the end you conclude altogether with interrogation, contrary to the two translations which yourself do allege, being printed the one at Basil, and the other at Colen. And you using such a license to alter and change all things at your pleasure, are offended with Œcolampadius for changing of any case, gender, number, verb, or participle, yea for one tittle or prick of interrogation; which liberty hath ever been suffered in all interpreters, so they went not from the true sense. But you can spy a little mote in another man's eye, that cannot see a great block in your own.

Nevertheless if I should divine without the book, as you do, I would rather think that *διαβεβαιοῦνται* should be *διαβεβαιοῦται*^k, for such small errors in one letter be easily committed in the printing, and then concluding with an interrogation, as you would have it, the sense of the Greek should be this in English. “Doth not Nestorius affirm, that he

^k [In the original edition of 1551, *διαβιβαιόνται* is read here, and *πάριστος*, *ἰσχυρίων*, *ἰσικιζῶν*, are read below, p. 268. The two last words were obviously errors of the press, and were corrected as such in the edition of 1580. The same seems also to have been the case with the two former, and they have now been altered accordingly.]

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“ who was seen and sent, is another son and Christ beside
“ the Word, which is God of God? Doth not he say, that
“ our sacrament is the eating of a man, unreverently leading
“ faithful minds unto vain and gross imaginations, and
“ going about to compass with man’s phantasy those things
“ which be received only with a pure and simple faith?”
Where Cyril in these words reproveth Nestorius, in that he
said that our sacrament is the eating of a man, doth not
he himself affirm the contrary, that our sacrament is not the
eating of a man? as I said in my book. For else why should
he reprehend Nestorius for saying the contrary? And doth
not Cyril say also, that this sacrament is received only with
a pure and simple faith? And yet you find fault with me,
because I say that Cyril affirmeth the receiving in this sa-
crament to be only by faith; which your saying, being so
manifest contrary to Cyril’s words, I refer me to the judg-
ment of all indifferent readers what trust is to be given to
you in this matter. And as for *Œcolampadius*, if the printer,
in the stead of *παριστὰν*¹ made *παριστῶν*, and for *ἐπιχειροῦν*¹
printed *ἐπιχειρῶν*¹, which may soon chance in printing, then
may *μυστήριον* be the nominative case, notwithstanding all
your vehement inveighing and vain babbling against *Œco-*
lampadius.

Yet after your scurrility and railing against *Œcolampa-*
dus, you temper yourself somewhat, saying that in such as
receive the sacrament worthily, Christ dwelleth corporally,
as Cyrill saith, and naturally and carnally, as Hilary saith.
This is the third evidence which you give against yourself,
signifying that Christ is not corporally in them that receive
not the sacrament worthily. And here you begin to smack
of some true understanding, when you say, that Christ
dwelleth in them that worthily receive the sacrament, so
that you would add thereto, that he dwelleth not only in
them when they receive the sacrament, but whensoever by
a lively faith they spiritually eat his flesh and drink his
blood.

And where you say, that by the variety of my doctrine it is

[¹ See note, p. 267.]

appeareth that I am not yet determined whither to go, you keep still your old conditions, and show yourself to be always one man in this point, to charge other men with your own faults. For whereas my doctrine is thoroughly uniform and constant, yours is so variable and uncertain, that you agree with no man, nor with yourself neither, as I intend by God's grace particularly to set out in the end of my book.

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And in these two authors, Hilary and Cyrill, you vary three times from your answer unto my fourth book. For here you say no more but that Christ is corporally in them that receive the sacrament worthily, and in the answer to my fourth book you say, that he is corporally in all them that receive the sacrament, whether it be worthily or unworthily. Now followeth thus in my book.

[See vol. ii. p. 412. "And here"—"mouth and
"teeth."]

Winchester.

As for Basill, Gregory Nyssen, and Gregory Nazianzen, this author saith they speak little of this matter, and indeed they speak not so much as other do, but that they speak is not discrepant, nor contrarieth not that other afore them had written. For in the old Church the truth of this mystery was never impugned openly and directly that we read of before Berengarius, 500 years past, and secretly by one Bertrame before that, but only by the Messalians, who said the corporal eating did neither good nor hurt. The Anthropomorphites also, who said the virtue of the mystical benediction endured not to the next day, of whom Cyrill speaketh, and the Nestorians by consecution of their learning, that divided Christ's flesh from the deity.

2 And where this author would have taken for a true supposal that Basill, Gregorie Nazianzene, and Nyssene, should take the sacrament to be figurative only, that is to be denied. And likewise it is not true that this author teacheth, that of the figure may be spoken the same thing that may be spoken of the thing itself. And that I will declare thus. Of the thing itself, that is, Christ's very body being present indeed, it may be said, Adore it, worship it there, which may not be said of

Basilius.
Gregor.
Nyssenus.
Gregor.
Nazianzenus.
Messaliani
heretici.

Anthropomorphitæ.
Nestoriani.

Only.
[1580.]

BOOK the figure. It may be said of the very thing being present ⁴
^{III.} there, that it is a high miracle to be there, it is above nature
 to be there, it is an high secret mystery to be there. But none
 of these speeches can be conveniently said of the only figure, that
 it is such a miracle, so above nature, so high a mystery, to be a
 figure. And therefore it is no true doctrine to teach, that we may ⁵
 say the same of the figure that may be said of the thing itself.
 And where this author speaketh of spiritual eating and corporal
 eating, he remaineth in his ignorance what the word "corporal"
 meaneth, which I have opened in discussing of his answer to Cyril.
 Faith is required in him that shall eat spiritually, and the corporal
 eating institute in Christ's supper ^m requireth the reverent use of ⁶
 man's mouth to receive our Lord's meat, and drink his own very
 flesh and blood, by his omnipotency prepared in that supper, which
 not spiritually, that is to say, not innocently (as St. Augustin in
 one place expoundeth spirituallyⁿ) received, bringeth judgment and
 condemnation according to St. Paul's words.

Canterbury.

Where you say that in the old Church the truth of this
 mystery was never impugned openly, you say herein very
 truly, for the truth which I have set forth was openly re-
 ceived and taught of all that were catholic, without contradic-
 tion, until the papists devised a contrary doctrine. And I
 say further, that the untruth which you teach was not at
 that time improved of no man, neither openly nor privily ;
 for how could your doctrine be impugned in the old Church,
 which was then neither taught nor known ?

Bertrame. And as concerning Bertrame he did not write secretly, for
 he was required by King Charles to write in this matter, and
 wrote therein as the doctrine of the Church was at that time,
 or else some man would have reprehended him, which never
 none did before you, but make mention of his works unto
Messaliani. his great praise and commendation. And the Massalians ^o
 [1580.]

^m Of corporal manducation, lege Roffeum, et Ecolampadium, lib. iii.
 cap. 13. [1580.]

ⁿ August. *In Joan.* tract. xxvi.

^o De iis habetur in *Hist. Tripl.* lib. vii. et xi. et in Theodoret. lib. iv.
 cap. 11. [1580.]

were not reprov'd for saying, that corporal eating doth neither good nor hurt, neither of Epiphanius, nor of St. Augustine, nor Theodoret, nor of any other ancient author that I have read. Mary that the sacraments do neither good nor hurt, and namely baptism, is laid unto the Massalians' charge, and yet the corporal receiving without the spiritual availeth nothing, but rather hurteth very much, as appeared in Judas and Simon Magus. And as for the three heresies of the Massalians, Anthropomorphites, and Nestorians, I allow none of them, although you report them otherwise than either Epiphanius or St. Augustine doth.

- 2 And where you say that I would have taken for a supposal, that Basill, Nazianzene, and Nyssene, should take the sacrament to be figurative only, still you charge me untruly with that I neither say nor think. For I knowlege, as all good Christian men do, that Almighty God worketh effectually with his sacraments.
- 3 And where you report me to say another untruth, that of a figure may be spoken the same thing that may be spoken of the thing itself; that I say true therein, witnesseth plainly St. Augustine and Cyprian. And yet I speak not universally, nor these examples that you bring, make any thing against my sayings. For the first example may be said of the figure, if Doctor Smith say true. And because you two Smyth. write both against my book, and agree so evil one with another, as it is hard for untrue sayers to agree in one tale, therefore in this point I commit you together, to see which 4 of you is most valiant champion. And as for your other three examples, it is not true of the thing itself that Christ's body is present in the sacrament by miracle or above nature, although by miracle and above nature he is in the ministration of his holy Supper, among them that godly be fed thereat. And thus be your frivolous cavillations answered.
- 5 And where you say that I am ignorant what this word Corporal. "corporal" meaneth, surely then I have a very gross wit, that am ignorant in that thing which every ploughman knoweth. But you make so fine a construction of this word "corporal," that neither can you tell what you mean your-

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self, nor no man can understand you, as I have opened before in the discussing of Cyrill's mind.

And as for the reverent use of man's mouth in the Lord's⁶ holy Supper, the bread and wine outwardly must be reverently received with the mouth, because of the things thereby represented, which by faith be received inwardly in our hearts and minds, and not eaten with our mouths, as you untruly allege St. Paul to say; whose words be of the eating of the sacramental bread and not of the body of Christ. Now followeth next mine answer to Eusebius Emissenus, who is as it were your chief trust and shot anchor.

[See vol. ii. p. 412—413. "Likewise Eusebius"—
"transubstantiation."]

Winchester.

Emissen.

THIS author saith that Emissen is shortly answered unto, and so is he, if a man care not what he saith, as Hilarie was answered and Cyrill. But else, there cannot short or long answer confound the true plain testimony of Emissen for the common true faith of the Church in the sacrament; which Emissen hath this sentence:² that "the invisible priest, by the secret power with his word "turneth the visible creatures into the substance of his body and "blood, saying thus: *This is my body*; and again repeating the "same sanctification, *This is my blood*. Wherefore as at the beck "of him commanding, the height of heavens, the deepness of the "floods, and largeness of lands were founded of nothing, by like "power in spiritual sacraments, where virtue commandeth, the "effect of the truth serveth." These be Emissen's words, declaring his faith plainly of the sacrament, in such terms as cannot be wrested or writhed, who speaketh of a turning and conversion of the visible creatures into the substance of Christ's body and blood: he saith not into the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, nor figure of Christ's body and blood, whereby he should mean only sacramental conversion, as this author would have it; but he saith, into the substance of Christ's body and blood to be in the sacrament. For the words, "substance" and "truth" be of one strength, and show a difference from a figure, wherein the truth is not in deed present, but signified to be absent. And because it is a work supernatural and a great miracle, this Emissen re-

presseth man's carnal reason, and succoureth the weak faith, with remembrance of like power of God in the creation of the world, which were brought forth out of time by Emissen, if Christ's
4 body were not in substance present, as Emissen's words be, but in figure only, as this author teacheth.

5 And where this author coupleth together the two sacraments, Only. of baptism, and of the body and blood of Christ, as though there were no difference in the presence of Christ in either, he putteth himself in danger to be reprov'd of malice or ignorance. For although these mysteries be both great, and man's regeneration in baptism is also a mystery and the secret work of God, and hath a great marvel in that effect, yet it differeth from the mystery of the sacrament, touching the manner of Christ's presence, and the working of the effect also. For in baptism our union with Christ
6 is wrought without the real presence of Christ's humanity, only in the virtue and effect of Christ's blood, the whole Trinity there working as author, in whose name the sacrament is expressly ministered, where our soul is regenerate and made spiritual, but not our body in deed, but in hope only, that for the Spirit of Christ dwelling in us, our mortal bodies shall be resuscitate, and as we have in baptism been buried with Christ, so we be assured to be partakers of his resurrection. And so in this sacrament we be unite to Christ's manhood by this Divinity. But in the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, we be in nature united to Christ as man, and by his glorified flesh made partakers also of his Divinity; which mystical union representeth unto us the high estate of our glorification, wherein body and soul shall in the general resurrection, by a marvellous regeneration of the body, be made both spiritual, the special pledge whereof we receive in this sacrament; and therefore it is the sacrament, as Hilary saith, of perfect unity. And albeit the soul of man be more precious than the body, and the nature of the Godhead in Christ more excellent than the nature of man in him glorified, and in baptism man's soul is regenerate in the virtue and effect of Christ's passion and blood, Christ's Godhead present there without the real presence of his humanity, although for these respects the excellency of baptism is great; yet because the mystery of the sacrament of the altar, where Christ is present both man and God, in the effectual unity that is wrought between our bodies, our souls, and Christ's in the use of this sacrament, signifieth the perfect redemption of

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our bodies in the general resurrection, which shall be the end and consummation of all our felicity; this sacrament of perfect unity is the mystery of our perfect estate, when body and soul shall be all spiritual, and hath so a degree of excellency, for the dignity that is esteemed in every end and perfection; wherefore the word

Spiritual.
Spiritual
manner.
Spiritually.
[1580.]

“spiritual” is a necessary word in this sacrament, to call it a spiritual food, as it is in deed, for it is to work in our bodies a spiritual effect, not only in our souls, and Christ’s body and flesh is a spiritual body and flesh, and yet a true body and very flesh. And it is present in this sacrament after a spiritual manner, granted and taught of all true teachers, which we should receive also spiritually, which is by having Christ before spiritually in us to receive it so worthily. Wherefore, like as in the invisible substance of the sacrament there is nothing carnal but all spiritual, taking the word carnal as it signifieth grossly in man’s carnal judgment: so where the receivers of that food bring carnal lusts or desires, carnal fancies or imaginations with them, they receive the same precious food unworthily to their judgment and condemnation. For they judge not truly after the simplicity of a true Christian faith, of the very presence of Christ’s body. And this sufficeth to wipe out that this author hath spoken of Emissen against the truth.

Canterbury.

I have so plainly answered unto Emissene in my former book, partly in this place, and partly in the second part of my book, that he that readeth over those two places shall see most clearly, that you have spent a great many of words here in vain, and need no further answer at all. And I had then such a care what I said, that I said nothing but according to Emissenus’ own mind, and which I proved by his own words. But if you find but one word that in speech soundeth to your purpose, you stick to that word tooth and nail, caring nothing what the author’s meaning is.

A sleight.

And here is one great token of sleight and untruth to be noted in you, that you write diligently every word, so long as they seem to make with you. And when you come to the very place where Emissene declareth the meaning of his words, there you leave all the rest out of your book, which cannot be without a great untruth and fraud, to deceive the

simple reader. For when you have recited these words of Emissen, that “the invisible priest by the secret power with BOOK
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“his word turneth the visible creatures into the substance of
“his body and blood,” and so further as serveth to your affection, when you come even to the very place, where Emissen declareth these words, there you leave and cut off your writing.

But because the reader may know what you have cut off, and thereby know Emissene’s meaning, I shall here rehearse Emissene’s words, which you have left out. “If thou wilt know,” saith Emissene, “how it ought not to seem to thee a thing new and impossible, that earthly and corruptible things be turned into the substance of Christ, look upon thyself which art made new in baptism. When thou wast far from life, and banished as a stranger from mercy and from the way of salvation, and inwardly wast dead, yet suddenly thou beganst another new life in Christ, and wast made new by wholesome mysteries, and wast turned into the body of the Church, not by seeing, but by believing, and of the child of damnation, by a secret pureness thou wast made the son of God. Thou visibly didst remain in the same measure that thou hadst before, but invisibly thou wast made greater, without any increase of thy body. Thou wast the selfsame person, and yet by increase of faith thou wast made another man. Outwardly nothing was added, but all the change was inwardly. And so was man made the son of Christ, and Christ formed in the mind of man. Therefore as thou, putting away thy former vileness, didst receive a new dignity, not feeling any change in thy body, and as the curing of thy disease, the putting away of thine infection, the wiping away of thy filthiness, be not seen with thine eyes, but believed in thy mind: so likewise when thou dost go up to the reverend altar to feed upon spiritual meat, in thy faith look upon the body and blood of him that is thy God, honour him, touch him with thy mind, take him in the hand of thy heart, and chiefly drink him with the draught of thy inward man.” These be Emissen’s own words. Upon

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which words I gather his meaning in his former words by you alleged. For where you bring in these words, that “Christ by his secret power with his word turneth the visible creatures into the substance of his body and blood,” straightways in these words by me now rehearsed, he showeth what manner of turning that is, and after what manner the earthly and corruptible things be turned into the substance of Christ, even so (saith he) as it is in baptism, wherein is no transubstantiation. So that I gather his meaning of his own plain words, and you gather his meaning of your own imagination, devising such phantastical things, as neither Emissen saith, nor yet be catholic.

Truth. And this word “truth” you have put unto the words of Emissen of your own head, which is no true dealing. For so you may prove what you list, if you may add to the authors what words you please. And yet if Emissen had used both the words, “substance” and “truth,” what should that help you? for Christ is in substance and truth present in baptism as well as he is in the Lord’s Supper, and yet is he not there carnally, corporally, and naturally.

Only. I will pass over here to aggravate the matter, how untruly you add to my words this word “only” in an hundred places, where I say not so: what true and sincere dealing this is, let all men judge.

Now as concerning my coupling together of the two sacraments, of baptism, and of the body and blood of Christ; Emissene himself coupleth them both together in this place, and saith, that the one is like the other, without putting any difference, even as I truly recited him. So that there appeareth neither malice nor ignorance in me; but in you, adding at your pleasure such things as Emissene saith not, to deceive the simple reader, and adding such your own inventions, as be neither true nor catholic, appeareth much shift and craft joined with untruth and infidelity.

Errors. For what Christian man would say, as you do, that Christ is not in deed (which you call really) in baptism? Or that we be not regenerated both body and soul, as well in baptism, as in the sacrament of the body and blood of

Christ? Or that in baptism we be not united to Christ's Divinity by his manhood? Or that baptism representeth not to us the high state of our glorification and the perfect redemption of our bodies in the general resurrection? In which things you make difference between baptism and the sacrament, as you call it, of the altar. Or what man that were learned in God's word would affirm, that in the general resurrection our bodies and souls shall be all spiritual? I know that St. Paul saith, that in the resurrection our bodies shall be spiritual, meaning in the respect of such vileness, filthiness, sin, and corruption, as we be subject unto in this miserable world. Yet he saith not that our bodies shall be all spiritual. For notwithstanding such spiritualness as St. Paul speaketh of, we shall have all such substantial parts and members, as pertain to a very natural man's body. So that in this part our bodies shall be carnal, corporal, real, and natural bodies, lacking nothing that belongeth to perfect men's bodies. And in that respect is the body of Christ also carnal, and not spiritual. And yet we bring none other carnal imaginations of Christ's body, nor mean none other, but that Christ's body is carnal in this respect; that it hath the same flesh and natural substance which was born of the Virgin Mary, and wherein he suffered and rose again, and now sitteth at the right hand of his Father in glory; and that the same his natural body now glorified hath all the natural parts of a man's body in order, proportion, and place distinct, as our bodies shall be in these respects carnal after our resurrection. Which manner of carnalness and diversity of parts and members, if you take away now from Christ in heaven, and from us after our resurrection, you make Christ now to have no true man's body, but a phantastical body, as Marcion and Valentine did: and as concerning our bodies, you run into the error of Origen, which fancied and imagined, that at the resurrection all things should be so spiritual, that women should be turned into men, and bodies into souls.

And yet it is to be noted by the way, that in your

BOOK answer here to Emissene, you make spiritually, and a spi-
 III. ritual manner all one.

Now followeth mine answer to St. Ambrose in this wise.

[See vol. ii. p. 413, 414. "And now I will come"—
 "corporal presence."]

Winchester.

Ambrosius. As touching St. Ambrose, this author taketh a great enterprise 1
 to wrestle with him, whose plain and evident words must needs
 be a rule to try his other words by, if any might be writhed.
 What can be more plainly spoken than St. Ambrose speaketh,
 when he saith these words: "It is bread before consecration, but 2
 "after it is Christ's body." By the word "consecration," is sig-
 Consecra- "after it is Christ's body." By the word "consecration," is sig-
 tion. nified, as it is here placed, God's omnipotent work. Wherefore
 [1580.] in this place, it comprehendeth as much as Emissen said in these
 words, "he converteth by the secret power of his word:" God is the
 worker, and so consecration signifieth the whole action of his
 omnipotency in working the substance of this high mystery, and 3
 therefore the definition of the word "consecration," as it is ge-
 nerally taken, cannot be a rule to the understanding of it in this
 high mystery, where it is used to express a singular work, as the
 circumstance of St. Ambrose writing doth declare. For as Philip
 Melancthon writeth to Ecolampadius, "St. Ambrose would never 4
 "have travailed to accumulate so many miracles as he doth, speak-
 "ing of this matter to declare God's omnipotency, and he had not
 "thought the nature of bread to be changed in this mystery."
 These be Melancthon's very words. 5

Now to answer the question as it were at the word change, this
 author shall come with a sacramental change, which is a device in
 terms to blind the rude reader. St. Ambrose doth express plainly
 what the change is, when he writeth the words before rehearsed.
 Sacramen- "It is bread before the consecration, but after it is the body of
 tal change. "Christ." Can a change be more plainly declared? The nearer way 6
 [1580.] for this author had been to have joined Ambrose with Clement,
 and called him feigned by the papists, rather than after the effect
 of consecration so opened by St. Ambrose himself, to travail to
 prove what it may signify, if it were in another matter; and
 then to admonish the reader how the bread and wine have no
 holiness; which form of speech not understood of the people, 7

engendereth some scruple that needeth not, being no sound form of doctrine; for St. Paul speaketh and teacheth thus, that the creatures be sanctified by the word of God and prayer: and St. BOOK
III. Tim. iv.

8 Augustine [¶] writeth of sanctified bread to be given to them that be catechised before they be baptized. And this author himself expoundeth St. Cyprian in the thirty-fifth leaf^r of his book, how the Divinity is poured into the bread sacramentally, which is a strange phrase not expressing there Cyprian's mind, and far discrepant from the doctrine here.

And in another place this author saith, that as hot and burning iron is iron still, and yet hath the force of fire; so the bread and wine be turned into the virtue of Christ's flesh and blood; by which similitude bread may conceive virtue, as iron conceiveth fire; and then as we call iron burning and fiery, so we may call
10 bread virtuous and holy, unless the author would again resemble bread to a whetstone, that may make sharp and have no sharpness in it at all. Which matter I declare thus to show, that as this author dissenteth from truth in other, so he dissenteth from that he uttereth for truth himself, and walketh in a maze, impugning the very truth in this sacrament, and would have that taken for a catholic doctrine that is not one and the same doctrine through his whole book, so far off is it from the whole of Christian teaching. But now let us consider what speeches of St. Ambrose this author bringeth forth, wherewith to alter the truth of the very plain proper speech of St. Ambrose' saying: "It is bread before the consecration, but after it is Christ's body."

St. Ambrose, as this author saith in another place, saith thus: "Before the benediction of the heavenly words, it is called another kind of thing; but after the consecration is signified the body and blood of Christ." And another speech thus: "Before the consecration it is called another thing, but after the consecration it is named the blood of Christ." And yet a third speech, where the word "call" is used before and after both, as thou, reader, mayest see in this author's book in the eighty-third leaf^r. Now, good reader, was there ever man so overseen as this author is, who seeth not St. Ambrose in these three latter speeches to speak as plainly as in the first. For in the last speech

[¶] *De Peccat. Merit. et Remiss.* lib. ii. cap. 26. ^r [See vol. ii. p. 340.]
^s [See vol. ii. p. 414.]

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III.

St. Ambrose saith, it is called bread before the consecration, and called the body of Christ after the consecration. And I would demand of this author, doth not this word "call" signify the truth, that is, bread in deed before the consecration; which if it be so, why shall not the same word "call" signify also the very truth, added to the words of the body of Christ after the consecration? And likewise when he saith, speaking of the body of Christ, the word "signified" or "named," which is as much as "call," the body of Christ is signified there, for Christ said, *This is my body*, &c. using the outward signs of the visible creatures to signify the body and blood present, and not absent. Was not Christ the true Son of God, because the angel said, he shall be called the Son of God? But in these places of St. Ambrose, to express plainly what he meant by "calling," he putteth that word "call" to the bread before the consecration, as well as to the body of Christ after the consecration, thereby to declare how in his understanding the word "call" signifieth as much truth in the thing whereunto it is added after consecration as before, and therefore as it is by St. Ambrose called bread before consecration, signifying it was so in deed, so it is called, signified, or named, (which three thus placed be all one in effect,) the body of Christ after the consecration, and is so in deed, agreeable to the plain speech of St. Ambrose, where he saith it is bread before consecration, and it is the body of Christ after consecration. As touching the spirituality of the meat of Christ's body, I have spoken before: but where this author addeth it requireth no corporal presence, he speaketh in his dream, being oppressed with sleep of ignorance, and cannot tell what "corporal" meaneth, as I have opened before by the authority of Cyrill. Now let us see what this author sayeth to Chrysostome.

Canterbury.

It is not I that wrestle with St. Ambrose, but you, who take great pain to wrest his words clean contrary to his intent and meaning. But where you ask this question, what can be more plain than these words of St. Ambrose, "It is bread before consecration, and after it is Christ's body:" these words of St. Ambrose be not fully so plain as you pretend, but clean contrary. For what can be spoken either more unplain or untrue, than to say of bread after

Whether
bread be
Christ's
body.

consecration, that it is the body of Christ, unless the same be understand in a figurative speech? For although Christ's body, as you say, be there after consecration, yet the bread is not his body, nor his body is not made of it by your confession. And therefore the saying of St. Ambrose, that it is Christ's body, cannot be true in plain speech. And therefore St. Ambrose in the same place, where he calleth it the body and blood of Christ, he saith it is a figure of his body and blood. For these be his words; "Quod est "figura corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi."

3 And as for the word "consecration," I have declared the signification thereof, according to the mind of the old authors, as I will justify.

4 And for the writing of Melancthon to Œcolampadius, you remain still in your old error, taking Myconius for Œcolampadius. And yet the change of bread and wine

5 in this sacrament, which Melancthon speaketh of, is a sacramental change, as the nature of a sacrament requireth, signifying how wonderfully Almighty God by his omnipotency worketh in us his lively members, and not in the dead creatures of bread and wine. And the change is in the use, and not in the elements kept and reserved, wherein is not the perfection of a sacrament. Therefore as water in the font or vessel hath not the reason and nature of a sacrament, but when it is put to the use of christening, and then it is changed into the proper nature and kind of a sacrament, to signify the wonderful change which Almighty God by his omnipotency worketh really in them that be baptized therewith, such is the change of the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper. And therefore the bread is called Christ's body after consecration, as St. Ambrose saith, and yet it is not so really, but sacramentally. For it is neither Christ's mystical body, for that is the congregation of the faithful dispersed abroad in the world; nor his natural body, for that is in heaven; but it is the sacrament both of his true natural body, and also of his mystical body, and for that consideration hath the name of his body, as a sacra-

A sacra-
mental
change.

BOOK III. ment or sign may bear the name of the very thing that is signified and represented thereby.

And as for the foresaid books entitled to St. Ambrose, 6 if I joined Ambrose with Clement, and should say that the said books entitled in the name of St. Ambrose *De Sacramentis*, and *De Mysteriis Initiandis*, were none of his, I should say but as I think, and as they do think that be men of most excellent learning and judgment, as I declared in my second book, which speaketh of transubstantiation. And so doth judge not only Erasmus, but also Melancthon, whom you allege for authority when he maketh for your purpose, suspecteth the same. And yet I plainly deny not these books to be his for your pleasure to give you as much advantage as you can ask, and yet it availeth you nothing at all.

But here I cannot pass over, that you be offended, be-7 Holy bread. cause I say, that bread and wine be called holy when they be put to an holy use, not that they have any holiness in them, or be partakers of any holiness or godliness. I would fain learn of Smith and you, when the bread and wine be holy. For before they be hallowed or consecrated, they be not holy by your teaching, but be common baker's bread, and wine of the tavern. And after the consecration, there is neither bread nor wine, as you teach. At what time then should the bread and wine be holy? But the creatures of bread and wine be much bound unto you, and can no less do than take you for their saviour. For if you can make them holy and godly, then shall you glorify them, and so bring them to eternal bliss. And then may you as well save the true labouring bullocks and innocent sheep and lambs, and so understand the Prophet,

Psal. xxxv. *Homines et jumenta salvabis Domine.*

But to admonish the reader, say you, how the bread and wine have no holiness: this form of speech not understand of the people, engendereth some scruple that needeth not. By which your saying I cannot tell what the people may understand, but that you have a great scruple that you

have lost your holy bread. And yet St. Paul speaketh not of your holy bread, as you imagine, being utterly ignorant, as appeareth, in the Scripture, but he speaketh generally of all manner of meats which Christian people receive with thanksgiving unto God, whether it be bread, wine, or water, fish, flesh, white meat, herbs, or what manner of meat and drink so ever it be.

And the sanctified bread, which St. Augustine writeth^t to be given to them that be catechised, was not holy in
8 itself, but was called holy for the use and signification.

And I express St. Cyprian's mind truly, and not a whit
Cyprianus. discrepant from my doctrine here, when I say, that the Divinity may be said to be poured or put sacramentally into the bread, as the Spirit of God is said to be in the water of baptism, when it is truly ministered, or in his word, when it is sincerely preached with the Holy Spirit working mightily in the hearts of the hearers. And yet the water in itself is but a visible element, nor the preacher's word of itself is but a sound in the air, which as soon as it is heard, vanisheth away, and hath in itself no holiness at all, although for the use and ministry thereof, it may be called holy. And so likewise may be said of the sacraments, which, as St. Augustine saith, be as it were God's visible word.

9 And whereas you rehearse out of my words in another
Holy bread. place, that as hot and burning iron is iron still, and yet hath the force of fire, so the bread and wine be turned into the virtue of Christ's flesh and blood: you neither report my words truly, nor understand them truly. For I declare in my book virtue to be in them that godly receive bread and wine, and not in the bread and wine. And I take virtue there to signify might and strength, or force, as I name it, which in the Greek is called *δύναμις*, after which sense we say that there is virtue in herbs, in words, and in stones, and not to signify virtue in holiness, which in Greek is called *ἀρετή*, whereof a person is called virtuous, whose faith and conversation is godly. But you sophistically and fraudulently do of purpose abuse the word "virtue," to an-

^t August. *De Peccatorum Meritis et Remiss.* lib. ii. cap. 26.

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other signification than I meant, to approve by my words your own vain error, that bread should be virtuous and holy, making in your argument a *fullax* or craft, called equivocation. For where my meaning is, that the death of Christ and the effusion of his blood have effect and strength in them that truly receive the sacrament of his flesh and blood, you turn the matter quite, as though I should say, that the bread were godly and virtuous, which is a very frantic and ungodly opinion, and nothing pertaining to mine application of the similitude of iron. But this is the mother of many errors, both in interpretation of Scriptures, and also in understanding of old ancient writers, when the mind and intent of him that maketh a similitude is not considered; but the similitude is applied unto other matters than the meaning was: which fault may be justly noted in you here, when you reason by the similitude of hot burning iron, that bread may conceive such virtue as it may be called virtuous and holy. For my only purpose was by that similitude to teach, that iron, remaining in his proper nature and substance, by conceiving of fire, may work another thing than is the nature of iron. And so likewise bread remaining in his proper nature and substance in the ministration of the sacrament hath another use than to feed the body. For it is a memorial of Christ's death, that by exercise of our faith our souls may receive the more heavenly food. But this is a strange manner of speech, which neither Scripture nor approved author ever used before you, to call the sacramental bread virtuous as you do. But into such absurdities men do commonly fall, when they will of purpose impugn the evident truth.

But was there ever any man so overseen, say you, as this author is, who seeth not St. Ambrose in these three latter speeches to speak as plainly as in the first? Was there ever any man so destitute of reason, say I, but that he understandeth this, that when bread is called bread, it is called by the proper name as it is in deed: and when bread is called the body of Christ, it taketh the name of a thing which it is not in deed, but is so called by a figurative speech.

"Bread is bread," is a plain speech.
"Bread is Christ's body," is a figurative speech.

And calling, say you, in the words of Christ, signifieth making, which if it signified when bread is called bread, then were calling of bread a making of bread : and thus is answered your demand, why this word “call” in the one signifieth the truth, and in the other not, because that the one is a plain speech, and the other a figurative. For else by your reasoning out of reason, when the cup which Christ used in his last supper was called a cup, and when it was called Christ’s blood, all was one calling, and was of like truth without figure : so that the cup was Christ’s blood in deed. And likewise when the stone that flowed out water was called a stone, and when it was called Christ ; and the ark also when it was called the ark, and when it was called God : all these must be one speech and of like truth, if it be true which you here say. But as the ark was an ark, the stone a stone, and bread very bread, and the cup a cup, plainly without figurative speech ; so when they be called God, Christ, the body and blood of Christ, this cannot be a like calling, but must needs be understand by a figurative speech. For as Christ in the Scripture is called a lamb for his innocency and meekness, a lion for his might and power, a door and way whereby we enter into his Father’s house, wheat and corn for the property of dying before they rise up and bring increase, so is he called bread, and bread is called his body, and wine his blood, for the property of feeding and nourishing. So that these and all like speeches, whereas one substance is called by the name of another substance diverse and distinct in nature, must needs be understand figuratively by some similitude or propriety of one substance unto another, and can in no wise be understand properly and plainly without a figure. And therefore, when Christ is called the Son of God, or bread is called bread, it is a most plain and proper speech, but when Christ is called bread, or bread is called Christ, these can in no wise be formal and proper speeches, the substances and natures of them being so diverse, but must needs have an understanding in figure, signification, or similitude, (as the very nature of all sacraments require,) as all the old writers do plainly

John i.
Apoc. per
totum.
Gen. xlix.
Apoc. v.
Jo. x. 14.
John xii.

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teach. And therefore the bread after consecration is not called Christ's body because it is so in deed, for then it were no figurative speech, as all the old authors say it is.

Corporal.

And as for this word "corporal," you openly confessed your own ignorance in the open audience of all the people at Lambheth, when I asked you what corporal body Christ hath in the sacrament, and whether he had distinction of members or no, your answer was in effect that you could not tell. And yet was that a wiser saying than you spake before in Cyrill, where you said that Christ hath only a spiritual body and a spiritual presence, and now you say he hath a corporal presence; and so you confound corporal and spiritual, as if you knew not what either of them meant, or wist not or cared not what you said. But now I will return to my book, and rehearse mine answer unto St. John Chrysostome, which is this.

[See vol. ii. p. 415. "Now let us examine"—"transubstantiation."]

Winchester.

Chrysostom.

THIS author noteth in Chrysostome two places, and bringeth them forth, and in handling the first place, declareth himself to trifle in so great a matter, evidently to his own reproof. For where in the second book of his work, entreating transubstantiation, he would the same words of Chrysostom by this form of speech in the negative should not deny precisely: and when Chrysostom saith, "Do not think that you by man receive the body of God," but that we should not consider man in the receiving of it; here this author doth allege those words, and reasoneth of them as though they were terms of mere denial. But I would ask of this author this question. If Chrysostom's faith had been, that we receive not the body of God in the sacrament verily, why should he use words idly, to entreat of whom we receive the body of God, which after this author's doctrine we receive not at all but in figure; and no body at all which is of Christ's humanity, being Christ, as this author teacheth, spiritually, that is, by his divine nature in him only that worthily receiveth, and in the very sacrament, as he concludeth in this book, only figuratively. Turn back,

reader, to the thirty-sixth leaf in the author's book^u, and read it with this, and so consider upon what principle here is made an *Ergo*. I will answer that place when I speak of transubstantiation, which 3 shall be after answer to the third and fourth book, as the natural order of the matter requireth.

The second place of Chrysostom that this author bringeth forth, he granteth it soundeth much against him, and favoureth his adversaries, but with conferring and considering he trusteth to alter it from the true understanding. And not to expound but confound the matter, he joineth in speech the sacrament of baptism with this sacrament, (which shift this author used untruly in Hilary,) and would now bear in hand that the presence of Christ were none otherwise in this sacrament than in baptism; which is 4 not so, for in this sacrament Christ's humanity and Godhead is really present, and in baptism his Godhead with the effectual virtue of his blood, in which we be washed, not requiring by Scripture any real presence thereof for dispensation of that mystery, as I have before touched discussing the answer to Emissen; whereas Chrysostome^x speaking of this sacrament whereof I have before spoken, and Melancthon alleging it to Æcolampadius, saith thus: 5 "The great miracle and great benevolence of Christ is, that he "sitteth above with his Father, and is the same hour in our "hands here to be embraced of us." And therefore where this author would note the wonder of God's work in the sacrament to be wonderful for the work and effect in man, this is one piece of truth; but in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, the old fathers wonder at the work in the sacrament, how bread is changed into the body of Christ, how Christ sitting in heaven God and man, is also man and God in the sacrament, and being worthily received, dwelleth in such, carnally and naturally, as Hilary saith, and corporally, as Cyrill saith. How this can be, no man can tell, no faithful man should ask, and yet it is the true catholic faith, to be truly so wrought. For as Emissene saith: "He 6 "that is the author of it, he is the witness of it." And therefore I will make it an issue with this author, that the old fathers, speaking of the wonderful operation of God in this sacrament, refer it not only to the virtue and effect of this sacrament, nor to the virtue specially, but chiefly to the operation of God in the substance of this sacrament, and the sacrament self: for such a difference

^u [See vol. ii. p. 341.]

^x Chrysost. *De Sacerdot.* lib. iii.

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St. Augustine maketh, saying: "Aliud est sacramentum, aliud virtus sacramenti," "The sacrament is one, the virtue of the sacrament is another." Finally, in answering to Chrysostome, this author doth nothing but spend words in vain, to the more plain declaration of his own ignorance, or worse.

Canterbury.

As concerning Chrysostome you have spent so many taunting and scornful words in waste without cause, that I need to waste no words here at all to make you answer, but refer the reader to my book the 25th leaf and 36th leaf, and to the 32nd, 33rd, and 34th leaf, where the reader shall find all that is here spoken fully answered unto ².

Christ is
verily and
truly pre-
sent and re-
ceived.

But always you be like yourself, proceeding in the amplification of an argument against me, which you have forged yourself, and charge me therewith untruly. For I use not this speech, that we receive not the body of God at all, that we receive it but in a figure. For it is my constant faith and belief, that we receive Christ in the sacrament verily and truly, and this is plainly taught and set forth in my book.

Verily.

But that "verily," as I with Chrysostome and all the old authors take it, is not of such a sort as you would have it. For your understanding of "verily" is so Capernaical, so gross, and so dull, in the perceiving of this mystery, that you think a man cannot receive the body of Christ verily, unless he take him corporally in his corporal mouth, flesh, blood, and bones, as he was born of the Virgin Mary. But it is certain, that Chrysostome meant not that we receive Christ's body verily after such a sort, when he saith, "Do not think that you receive by a man the body of God." And yet because I deny only this gross understanding, you misreport my doctrine, that I should say we receive not Christ at all but in a figure, and no body at all: wherein you untruly and slanderously report me, as my whole book and doctrine can witness against you. For my doctrine is, that the very body of Christ which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered for our sins, giving us life by his death,

¹ In Joan. tract. 26.

² [See vol. ii. pp. 324. 346. 336, 337, 338.]

the same Jesus, as concerning his corporal presence, is taken from us, and sitteth at the right hand of his Father, and yet is he by faith spiritually present with us, and is our spiritual food and nourishment, and sitteth in the midst of all them that be gathered together in his name. And this feeding is a spiritual feeding and an heavenly feeding, far passing all corporal and carnal feeding, and therefore there is a true presence and a true feeding in deed, and not in a figure only, or not at all, as you most untruly report my saying to be. This is the true understanding of the true presence, receiving and feeding upon the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, and not as you deprave the meaning and true sense thereof, that the receiving of Christ truly and verily, is the receiving corporally with the corporal mouth, or that the spiritual receiving is to receive Christ only by his divine nature, which thing I never said nor meant. Turn, I pray thee, gentle reader, to the 36th leaf of my book ^z, and note these words there, which I alleage out of Chrysostom. "Do not think," saith he, "that you receive by "a man the body of God." Then turn over the leaf, and in the 20th line note again my saying, that in the holy communion, Christ himself is spiritually eaten and drunken, and nourisheth the right believers. Then compare those sayings with this place of this ignorant lawyer, and thou shalt evidently perceive, that either he will not, or cannot, or at the least he doth not understand, what is meant in the Book of Common Prayer, and in my book also, by the receiving and feeding upon Christ spiritually.

But it is no marvel that Nicodemus and the Capernaïtes understand not Christ, before they be born anew, and forsaking their papistical leaven, have learned another lesson of the Spirit of God, than flesh and blood can teach them. Much talk the papists make about this belief, that we must believe and have a steadfast faith, that Christ's body is corporally there, where the visible forms of bread and wine be: of which belief is no mention made in the whole Scripture, which teacheth us to believe and profess, that Christ (as

^z [See vol. ii. p. 341.]

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concerning his bodily presence) hath forsaken the world, and is ascended into heaven, and shall not come again until the restitution of all things that be spoken of by Prophets. But whereas in the feeding upon Christ's body and drinking of his blood, there is no mouth and teeth can serve, but only the inward and spiritual mouth of faith, there the papists keep silence like monks, and speak very little. And the cause why, is flesh and blood, which so blindeth all the Nicodemes and Capernaïtes, that they cannot understand what is spiritual nativity, spiritual circumcision, spiritual hunger and thirst, and spiritual eating and drinking of the flesh and blood of our Saviour Christ, but they hang altogether so in the letter, that they cannot enter into the kingdom of the Spirit; which knowledge, if that you had, you should soon perceive upon what principle my *Ergo* were made.

The order
of the
books.

And where you pervert the order of the books, setting the cart before the horse, that is to say, the third and fourth book before the second, saying that the natural order of the matter so requireth, here the reader may note an evident mark of all subtle papists, which is, under the pretence and colour of order, to break that order whereby the falsehood of their doctrine should best be detected, and the truth brought to light. For when they perceive a window open, whereby the light may shine in and the truth appear, then they busily go about to shut that window, and to draw the reader from that place to some mystical and obscure matter where more darkness is, and less light can be seen. And when besides the darkness of the matter, they have by their subtle sophistry cast such a mist over the reader's eyes, that he is become blind: then dare they make him judge, be the matter never so untrue. And no marvel, for he is now become so blindfold, and subject unto them, that he must say whatsoever they bid him, be it never so much repugnant to the evident truth. In such sort it is in the matter of the sacrament. For the papists perceiving that their error should easily be espied if the matter of transubstantiation were first determined, the plain words of the Scrip-

ture, the consent of ancient writers, the articles of our faith, the nature of a sacrament, reason and all senses making so evidently against it, therefore none of the subtle papists will be glad to talk of transubstantiation, but they will always bear men in hand, that other matters must first be examined, as the late Bishop doth here in this place.

Now in the second place of Chrysostome, where you say that in this sacrament Christ's humanity and Godhead is ⁴ really present, and in baptism his Godhead with the effectual virtue of his blood in which we be washed, not requiring by Scripture any real presence thereof for the dispensation of that mystery, in this matter I have joined an issue with you before in the answer unto Origen, which shall suffice for answer here also.

⁵ And where St. John Chrysostom speaketh of the great miracle of Christ, that he sitteth above with his Father, and is the same hour here with us in our hands, truth it is, that Christ sitteth above with his Father in his natural body triumphant in glory, and yet is the same hour in our hands sacramentally, and present in our hearts by grace and spiritual nourishment. But that we should not think that he is corporally here with us, St. Augustine giveth a rule in his Epistle *Ad Dardanum*, saying: "Cavendum est ne ita divinitatem astruamus hominis, ut veritatem corporis auferamus," "We must foresee that we do not so affirm the divinity of him that is man, that we should thereby take away the truth of his body." And forasmuch as it is against the nature and truth of a natural body to be in two places at one time, therefore you seem to speak against the truth of Christ's natural body, when you teach that his body is in heaven naturally, and also naturally in the sacrament. For whosoever affirmeth that Christ's body is in sundry places, as his Godhead is, seemeth to deify Christ's body by St. Augustine's rule ^a. But like as it is not to be thought, that "quicquid est in Deo, est putandum ubique ut Deus," that "whatsoever is in God, is every where as God is," so must we not think that his body may be at one time every

^a August. *Ad Dard.*

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where, where his Godhead is. But Christ is, saith St. Augustine, “ubique per id quod est Deus, in cœlo autem per id quod est homo,” “every where, in that he is God, but “in heaven, in that he is man.” Wherefore his presence here of his body must be a sacramental presence, and the presence of his Divinity, of his grace, of his truth, of his majesty and power, is real and effectual in many places, according to his word.

Wherein is
the miracle.

Now as concerning your issue, I refuse it not, but say, 6 that the great miracle whereat the Jews wondered, and which our Saviour Christ meant, and the old fathers speak of, is of the eating of Christ’s flesh and drinking of his blood, and how by flesh and blood we have everlasting life. Now if you can bring good testimony for you, that the sacrament eateth Christ’s flesh and drinketh his blood, and that it shall live for ever, (which never had life,) and that God’s operation and work is more in dumb creatures than in man, then I must needs and will confess the issue to pass with you. And when I hear your testimonies, I shall make answer; but before I hear them, I should do nothing else but spend words in vain, and beat the wind to no purpose. Now hear what I have answered to Theophilus Alexandrinus.

[See vol. ii. p. 417—419. “Yet furthermore”——
“comfortable.”]

Winchester.

Theophylact.

Now followeth, as it is entitled, Theophylact, being the words indeed not of Theophylacte as he writeth upon Mark, and therefore they were not alleged as his words, but as the words of Theophilus Alexandrinus, wherein this author traverseth a falsehood on the allegor’s part to wrong-name the author. In which allegation I say if there be a fault, as I know none, it is no lie, but a probable error, for a man to believe another better learned than himself; and as I found it alleged I reported it again; so as having mine author learned whom I followed, I am discharged of malice, being the author such, whom I followed, as might possibly have had such a work of Theophilus containing those words as they be alleged; the negative whereof how this author should prove I cannot tell,

because of the common saying, "Bernardus non vidit omnia;" and therefore there may be a Theophilus Alexandrinus, having these words alleged in their form for any demonstration this author can make to the contrary. Whether there be or no any such to be showed, it is not material, being so many testimonies besides. As for Theophylact's words, I grant they be not, for he wrote his mind more plainly in another place of his works, as I shall hereafter show, and by the way make an issue with this author, that no catholic writer among the Greeks hath more plainly set forth the truth of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament than Theophylact hath; as shall appear by and by, after I have noted to the reader this, how Ecolampadius of Germany^b, about a two years before he impugned the truth of Christ's presence in the sacrament, he translated out of Greek into Latin the works of the said Theophylact, and gave the Latin Church thereby some weapon wherewith to destroy his wicked folly afterward; not unlike the chance in this author, translating into English, two years by past, the Catechism of Germany; and as Ecolampadius hath since his folly or madness against the sacrament, confessed, as appeareth, that he did translate Theophylact, so as we need not doubt of it, so this author hath now in this work confessed the translation of the Catechism, which one in communication would needs have made me believe had been his man's doing and not his.

Hear now, reader, how plainly Theophylact speaketh upon the Gospel of St. John, expounding the sixth chapter. "Take heed that the bread which is eaten of us in the mysteries, is not only a certain figuration of the flesh of our Lord, but the flesh itself of our Lord; for he said not, The bread which I shall give is the figure of my flesh, but, It is my flesh. For that bread by the mystical benediction, is transformed by mystical words and presence of the Holy Ghost into the flesh of our Lord. And it should trouble no man that the bread is to be believed flesh, for whilst our Lord walked in flesh and received nourishment of bread, that bread he did eat was changed into his body,

^b [Melancthon wrote thus on this subject in 1550: "Multis libris novæ et nothæ sententiæ apertæ sunt. Id in Theophylacto accidisse certum est. Nam quod Ecolampadius in suo codice vertit, (cum quidem rem non probaret,) sed vertit tamen: id in nostro codice prorsus deerat." Melancth. *Epist.* lib. iii. 41. The variations in the manuscripts of Theophylact are very considerable, and a correct text seems to be still a desideratum. See Fabricius, *Bibl. Græc.* Harles.]

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“ and was made like to his holy flesh, and, as it is customably in
 “ man's feeding, served to the sustentation and increase of it ;
 “ therefore the bread now also is changed into the flesh of our
 “ Lord. And how is it then that it appeareth not flesh but bread ?
 “ that we should not loth the eating of it : for if flesh did appear,
 “ we should be unpleasantly disposed to the communion of it.
 “ Now our Lord condescending to our infirmity, the mystical
 “ meat appeareth such to us, as those we have been accustomed
 “ unto.” Hitherto I have faithfully expressed Theophylact's
 words out of Latin of *Œcolampadius'* translation, without terming
 the substantial points otherwise than the words purport in Latin ;
 by which may appear what was Theophylact's meaning, what doctrine
 he giveth of the sacrament, and how his own words upon
 St. Mark be to be understood, when he saith, “ *Speciem qui-*
 “ *dem panis et vini servat, in virtutem autem carnis et sanguinis*
 “ *transelementat;*” in corrupting of which words this author maketh
 a great matter when they were not alleged for his ; but as they be
 his, “ *servare speciem*” may be well translated, “ form and appear-
 “ ance,” because upon St. John before alleged, he saith of the bread, 6
 “ it appeareth.” And as for these words, “ the virtue of Christ's
 “ flesh and blood,” must be understood to agree with the plain 7
 place of Theophylact upon St. John, and upon St. Mark also, to
 signify not only virtue, but verity of the flesh and blood of Christ.
 For if Theophylact by that speech meant the virtue of the body of
 Christ, and not the verity of the very body, (as this author saith he
 did) why should Theophylact, both upon St. Mark and also upon
 St. John, ask this question, Why doth not the flesh appear ? if
 himself by those words should teach there were only present the
 virtue of his flesh ; who, and he had meant so, would not have
 asked the question ; or if he had, would have answered it thus,
 accordingly, there is no flesh in deed, but the virtue of the flesh ; 9
 and that had been a plain answer, and such as he would have
 made. This author will ask then, why doth Theophylact use this
 phrase to say, “ changed into the virtue of the body of Christ ?”
 Hereunto I answer, that this word “ virtue,” in phrase of speech
 many times only filleth the speech, and is comprehended in the
 signification of his genitive following ; and therefore as Luke, in
 the twenty-second chapter, saith, “ *a dextris virtutis Dei ;*” so in
 the Acts in the same sentence is spoken “ *a dextris Dei ;*” both 8
 out of one pen : and “ *a dextris virtutis Dei*” is no more to say than

“a dextris Dei;” and so is “virtutem carnis et sanguinis” no more to say but “in carnem et sanguinem;” which sentence, the same Theophylact hath upon St. John before alleged, in this saying, “The bread is changed into flesh,” and in Mark in this phrase, “in-
to “to the virtue of flesh,” being like these speeches, “a dextris Dei” and “a dextris virtutis Dei.” Which and it had liked this author to have considered, he should have taken Theophylact’s speech as Theophylact understandeth himself, and said the words alleged in the name of Theophilus Alexandrinus, were not Theophylact’s
10 words, and then he had said for so much true, which would do well among, and the words be not indeed Theophylact’s words, nor were not alleged for his. Now when this author saith, they were not Theophilus Alexandrinus’ words, that is a large negative, and will be hardly proved otherwise than by addition of the author’s knowledge, for any thing that he can find, and so there shall be no absurdity to grant it.

And thus I return to mine issue with this author, that Theophylact himself hath no such meaning expressed in words as this author attributed unto him, but an evident contrary meaning, saving herein I will agree with this author, that Theophylact meant not grossly, sensibly, and carnally, as these words sound in carnal men’s judgments. For we may not so think of God’s mysteries, the work whereof is not carnal, nor corporal, for the manner of it, but the manner spiritual; and yet in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, because Christ is in his very true flesh present, he may be said so carnally present, and naturally, after Hilary, and corporally, after Cyrill, understanding the words of the truth of that is present Christ’s very body and flesh, and not of the manner of the presence, which is only spiritual, supernatural, and above man’s capacity; and therefore a high mystery, a great miracle, a wonderful work, which it is wholesome to believe simply with a sincere faith, and dangerous to search and examine with a curious imagination, such as idleness and arrogancy would tempt a man unto, and by devising of a figure or metaphor, bring it within the compass of our busy reason.

Carnally,
naturally,
corporally,
manner,
only spiri-
tual.
[1580.]

Canterbury.

1 This is a pretty sleight of you to pass over the author’s name, saying that you found it so alleged in an author, and tell not in what author. There is surely some hid mystery

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in this matter, that you would not have his name known. For if you had found my approved author, who had fathered these words upon Theophilus Alexandrinus, I doubt not but I should have heard him here named, it should have served so much for your purpose. For to what purpose should you conceal his name, if you had any such author? But shall I open the mystery of this matter? Shall I by conjectures tell the author which you followed, as you by conjecture gathered of him the name of Theophilus? Thomas de Aquino, in his *Catena Aurea*, citeth the words by you alleged in these letters, "Theoph." which letters be indifferent as well to Theophilus as to Theophylactus; so that you might have christened the child whether you would, by the name of Theophilus or of Theophylactus. And because Theophilus was a more ancient author, and of more learning and estimation than was Theophylacte, therefore that name pleased you better, to give more credit to your sayings, and so of Theoph. you made the whole name Theophilus. And because one Theophilus was a bishop of Alexandry, you added as it were his surname, calling him Theophilus Alexandrinus. And if Thomas was not the author which you followed in this matter, peradventure it might be Doctor Fisher, sometime Bishop of Rochester, who, writing in the same matter that you do, was or would be deceived as you be. But what author soever you followed, you shall not honestly shake off this matter, except you tell his name; for else I will say that you be fain to bring in for you feigned authors whispered in corners. And yet that Theophilus wrote not the words alleged upon Mark, this is no small proof that Theophylact hath the same sentences word by word, and that neither St. Hierome, Gennadius, Eusebius, Tritemius, nor any other that ever wrote hitherto, made ever any mention that Theophilus wrote upon the Gospel of St. Mark.

Thomas.

Fisher.

And as concerning your issue, thus much I grant without issue, that no catholic writer among the Greeks hath more plainly spoken for you than Theophylacte hath, and yet when that shall be well examined, it is nothing at all, as I

have plainly declared, showing your untruth as well in allegation of the author's words, as in falsifying his name.

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3 And as for the Catechism of Germany by me translated into English, to this I have answered before; and truth it is, that either you understand not the phrase of the old authors of the Church, or else of purpose you will not understand me. But hereunto you shall have a more full answer, when I come to the proper place thereof in the fourth part of my book.

The Cate-
chism.

4 And as concerning the words of Theophylact upon the Gospel of John, he speaketh to one effect, and useth much like terms upon the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and John; whereunto I have sufficiently answered in my former book. And because the answer may be the more present, I shall rehearse some of my words here again. "Although," said I, "Theophylactus spake of the eating of the very body of Christ, and the drinking of his very blood, and not only of the figures of them, and of the conversion of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, yet he meaneth not of a gross, carnal, corporal, and sensible conversion of the bread and wine, nor of a like eating and drinking of his flesh and blood (for so not only our stomachs would yearn, and our hearts abhor to eat his flesh and to drink his blood, but also such eating and drinking could nothing profit and avail us) but he spake of the celestial and spiritual eating of Christ, and of a sacramental conversion of the bread, calling the bread not only a figure, but also the body of Christ, giving us by those words to understand, that in the sacrament we do not only eat corporally the bread, which is a sacrament and figure of Christ's body, but spiritually we eat also his very body and drink his very blood. And this doctrine of Theophylactus is both true, godly, and comfortable." This I wrote in my former book, which is sufficient to answer unto all that you have here spoken.

5 And as concerning the bread that Christ did eat and feed upon, it was naturally eaten, as other men eat, naturally changed, and caused a natural nourishment; and yet the very matter of the bread remained, although in another

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form; but in them that duly receive and eat the Lord's holy Supper, all is spiritual, as well the eating as the change and nourishment, which is none impediment to the nature of bread, but that it may still remain.

Species for
appear-
ance.

And where you come to the translation of this word ⁶ "species" to signify appearance, this is a wonderful kind of translation, to translate "specie," "in appearance," because "apparet" is truly translated "appareth;" with like reason "aurum" might be translated "meat," because "edere" signifieth "to eat."

Verity for
virtue.

And your other translation is no less wonderful, where ⁷ you turn the virtue of Christ's body into the verity. And yet to cloke your folly therein, and to cast a mist before the reader's eyes, that he should not see your untruth therein, you say that by "virtue" in that place must be understood "verity." First, whatsoever be understood by the word "virtue," your faith in translation is broken. For the sense being ambiguous, you ought in translation to have kept the word as it is, leaving the sense to be expended by the indifferent reader, and not by altering the word, to make such a sense as please you, which is so foul a fault in a translator, that if *Œcolampadius* had so done, he should have been called a man faulty and guilty, a corrupter, a deceiver, an abuser of other men, a perverter, a depraver, and a man without faith. As he might be called that would translate "*Verbum caro factum est*," "The second person became man," which, although it be true in meaning, yet it is not true in translation, nor declareth the faith of the translator.

But now as your translation is untrue, so is the meaning also untrue and inexcusable. For what man is so far destitute of all his senses, that he knoweth not a difference between the verity of Christ's body, and the virtue thereof? Who can pretend ignorance in so manifest a thing? Doth not all men know, that of every thing the virtue is one, and the substance another? Except in God only, who is of that simplicity without multiplication of any thing in him, or diversity, that his virtue, his power, his wisdom, his justice, and all that is said to be in him, be neither qualities nor

accidents, but all one thing with his very substance. And neither the right hand of God, nor the virtue of God (which you bring for an example, and serveth to no purpose but to blind the ignorant reader) be any thing else but the very substance of God, although in diversity of respects and considerations they have diversity of names, except you will divide the most single substance of God into corporal parts and members, following the error of the Anthropomorphites. But the like is not in the body of Christ, which hath distinction of integral parts, and the virtue also and qualities distinct from the substance.

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- 8 And yet if the example were like, he should be an evil translator, or rather a corrupter, that for "a dextris virtutis Dei" would translate "a dextris Dei," or contrary wise. And therefore all translators in those places follow the words as they be, and be not so arrogant to alter one tittle in them, thereby to make them one in words, although the thing in substance be one. For words had not their signification of the substances or of things only, but of the qualities, manners, respects, and considerations; and so may one word signify divers things, and one thing be signified by divers words. And therefore he that should for one word take another, because they be both referred to one substance, as you have done in this place, should make a goodly piece of work of it, not much unlike to him that should burn his house, and say he made it, because the making and burning was both in one matter and substance.

A dextris
Dei. A
dextris vir-
tutis Dei.

It is much pity that you have not bestowed your time in translation of good authors, that can skill so well of translation, to make "*speciem*" to signify "appearance," and that take virtue sometime for verity, and sometime for nothing; and "a dextris virtutis Dei," to signify no more but "a dextris Dei," and "*virtutem carnis*" to signify no more but "carnem," and "*virtutem sanguinis*," "*sanguinem*." And why not? seeing that such words signify *ad placitum*, that is to say, as please you to translate them.

And it seemeth to me a strange thing, that you have so quick an eye to espy other men's faults, and cannot see in

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Theophylact his plain answer, but take upon you to teach him to answer. For when he asketh the question, why doth not the flesh appear? he should have answered, say you, that the flesh is not there in deed, but the virtue of the flesh. I pray you doth not he answer plainly the same in effect? Is not his answer to that question this, as you confess yourself, that the forms of bread and wine be changed into the virtue of the body of Christ. And what would you require more? Is not this as much to say, as the virtue of the flesh is there, but not the substance corporally and carnally?

And yet another third error is committed in the same sentence, because one sentence should not be without three errors at the least in your translation. For whereas Theophylact hath but one accusative case, you put thereto other two mo of your own head. And as you once taught Barnes^c, so now you would make Theophylact your scholar, to say what you would have him. But that the truth may appear what Theophylact said, I shall rehearse his own words in Greek: “συγκαταβαλῶν ἡμῖν ὁ φιλόθρωπος, τὸ μὲν εἶδος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου φυλάττει, εἰς δύναμιν δὲ σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος μεταστοιχειῶι,” which words, translated into Latin, be these: “*Condenscens nobis benignus Deus, speciem quidem panis et vini servat, in potestatem autem carnis et sanguinis transelementat.*” And in English they be thus much to say: “The merciful God, condescending to our infirmity, conserveth still the kind of bread and wine, but turneth them into the virtue of his flesh and blood.” To this sentence you do add of your own authority these words, “the bread and wine,” which words Theophylact hath not; which is an untrue part of him that pretendeth to be a true interpreter. And by adding those words, you alter clearly the author’s meaning; for where the author’s meaning was, that we should abhor to eat Christ’s flesh and drink his blood in their proper form and kind, yet Almighty God

^c [This is an allusion to Barnes’s recantation of some opinions on justification, made at the instance of Gardyner. See Burnet, *Ref.* vol. i. p. 592; Foxe, *Acts*, &c. vol. i. 525.]

hath ordained that in his holy Supper we should receive the forms and kinds of bread and wine, and that those kinds should be turned, unto them that worthily receive the same, into the virtue and effect of Christ's very flesh and blood, although they remain still in the same kind and form of bread and wine. And so by him the nature and kind of bread and wine remain; and yet the same be turned into the virtue of flesh and blood. So that the word "forms" is the accusative case, as well to the verb "turneth" as to the verb "conserveth;" but you, to make Theophylact serve your purpose, add of your own head two other accusative cases, that is to say, "bread and wine," besides Theophylact's words; wherein all men may consider how little you regard the truth; that, to maintain your untrue doctrine once devised by yourselves, care not what untruth you use besides, to corrupt all doctors, making so many faults in translation of one sentence.

- 10 And if the words alleged upon Mark were not Theophylact's words, but the words of Theophilus Alexandrinus, as you say, at the least Theophylact must borrow them of Theophilus, because the words be all one sixteen lines together, saving this word "verity," which Theophylact turneth into virtue. And then it is to be thought, that he would not alter that word, wherein all the contention standeth, without some consideration. And specially when Theophilus speaketh of the verity of Christ's body, as you say, if Theophylact had thought the body had been there, would he have refused the word, and changed verity into virtue, bringing his own faith into suspicion, and giving occasion of error unto other?

And where, to excuse your error in translation, you say that the words by you alleged in the name of Theophilus Alexandrinus, be not Theophylact's words, and I deny that they be Theophilus' words, so then be they nobody's words; which is no detriment to my cause at all, because I took him for none of my witness; but it is in a manner a clear overthrow of your cause, which take him for your chief and principal witness, saying that no catholic writer among the

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Greeks hath more plainly set forth the truth of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament than Theophylactus hath ; and hereupon you make your issue.

And yet have I a good cause to call them Theophylact's words, forasmuch as I find them in his works printed abroad, saving one word, which you have untruly corrupted, because that word pleaseth you not. And yet am I not bound to admit that your witness is named Theophilus, except you have better proofs thereof than this, that one saith he hath him in a corner, and so allegeth him. It is your part to prove your own witness, and not my part, that stand herein only at defence. And yet to every indifferent man I have showed sufficient matter to reject him. Hear now my answer to St. Hierome.

[See vol. ii. p. 419, 420. " Besides this"——" into heaven."]

Winchester.

Hieronym. THIS author travaileth to answer St. Hierom; and to make him the easier for him to deal with, he cutteth off that followeth in the same St. Hierome, which should make the matter open and manifest how effectually St. Hierome speaketh of the sacrament of Christ's body and blood. " There is," saith St. Hierome, " as
" great difference between the loaves called *Panes propositionis*
" and the body of Christ, as there is between the shadow of a
" body and the body itself; and as there is between an image and
" the true thing itself; and between an example of things to come,
" and the things that be prefigured by them. Therefore as meek-
" ness, patience, sobriety, moderation, abstinence of gain, hospi-
" tality also, and liberality should be chiefly in a bishop, and
" among all lay men an excellency in them; so there should he
" in him a special chastity, and as I should say chastity that is
" priestly, that he should not only abstain from unclean work,
" but also from the cast of his eye, and his mind free from error
" of thought, that should make the body of Christ." These be
St. Hierome's words in this place. By the latter part whereof appeareth plainly how St. Hierome meaneth of Christ's body in the sacrament, of which the loaves that were *Panes propositionis* were a shadow, as St. Hierome saith, that bread being the image, and this

the truth ; that the example, and this that was prefigured. So as if Christ's body in the sacrament should be there but figuratively, as this author teacheth, then were the bread of proposition, figure of a figure, and shadow of a shadow, which is over great an absurdity in our religion. Therefore there cannot be a more plain proof to show, that, by St. Hierome's mind, Christ's body is verily in the sacrament, and not figuratively only, than when he noteth *Panes propositionis* to be the figure and the shadow of Christ's body in the sacrament. For as Tertullian saith^d, "Figura non esset, nisi veritatis esset corpus," "The other were not to be called a figure, if that, that answered unto it, were not of truth;" which is the sense of Tertullian's words. And therefore St. Hierome could with no other words have expressed his mind so certainly and plainly, as with these, to confess the truth of Christ's body in the sacrament. And therefore regard not, reader, what this author saith ; for St. Hierome affirmeth plainly Christ's true body to be in the sacrament ; the consecration whereof, although St. Hierome attributeth to the minister, yet we must understand him that he taketh God for the author and worker, notwithstanding by reason of the ministry in the Church the doing is ascribed to man as minister, because Christ said *Hoc facite* ; after which speech, salvation, remission of sin, and the work in other sacraments, is attribute to the minister, being nevertheless the proper and special works of God. And this I add, because some be unjustly offended, to hear that man should make the body of Christ. And this author findeth fault before at the word making, which, religiously heard and reverently spoken, should offend no man, for man is but a minister, wherein he should not glory. And Christ maketh not himself of the matter of bread, nor maketh himself so oft of bread a new body ; but, sitting in heaven, doth, as our invisible priest, work in the ministry of the visible priesthood of his Church, and maketh present by his omnipotency his glorious body and blood in this high mystery, by conversion of the visible creatures of bread and wine, as Emisene saith, into the same. This author of this book, as thou, reader, mayest perceive, applieth the figure of the breads called *Panes propositionis*, to the body of Christ to come ; whereas St. Hierome calleth them the figure of Christ's body in the sacrament, and therefore doth fashion his argument in this sense. If those breads that were but a figure, required so

^d Tertullianus, *Adversus Marcionem*, lib. iv.

much cleanness in them that should eat them, that they might not eat of them, which a day or two before had lain with their wives, what cleanness is required in him that should make the body of Christ? Whereby thou mayest see how this author hath reserved this notable place of St. Hierome to the latter end, that thou shouldest in the end as well as in the midst see him evidently snarled, for thy better remembrance.

Canterbury.

To these words of St. Hierome I have sufficiently answered in my former book. And now to add something thereunto, I say that he meaneth not that *Panes propositionis* be figures of the sacrament, but of Christ's very body. And yet the same body is not only in the sacrament figuratively, but it is also in the true ministration thereof spiritually present and spiritually eaten, as in my book I have plainly declared. But how is it possible that Caius, Ulpian, or Scevola, Batholus, Baldus, or Curtius, should have knowledge what is meant by the spiritual presence of Christ in the sacrament, and of the spiritual eating of his flesh and blood, if they be void of a lively faith, feeding and comforting their souls with their own works and not with the breaking of the body and shedding of the blood of our Saviour Christ.

The meat that the papists live by, is indulgences and pardons, and such other remission of sin, as cometh all from the Pope, which giveth no life, but infecteth and poisoneth; but the meat that the true Christian man liveth by, is Christ himself, who is eaten only by faith, and so eaten is life and spirit, giving that life that endureth and continueth for ever. God grant that we may learn this heavenly knowledge of the spiritual presence, that we may spiritually taste and feed of this heavenly food.

Now where you say that there cannot be a more plain proof to show that Christ's body is verily in the sacrament, and not figuratively only, than when St. Hierome noteth *Panes propositionis* to be the figure and shadow of Christ's body in the sacrament; for, as Tertullian saith, "the other were not to be called a figure, if that which answereth to

“ it were not of truth.” Here your “ for ” is a plain *fallax a non causa ad causam*, and a wondrous subtlety is used therein. For where Tertullian proveth that Christ had here in earth a very body, (which Marcion denied,) because that bread was instituted to be a figure thereof, and there can be no figure of a thing that is not, you allege Tertullian’s words, as though he should say, that Christ’s body is in the sacrament under the form of bread, whereof neither Tertulliane entreated in that place, nor it is not required that the body should be corporally where the figure is, but rather it should be in vain to have a figure when the thing itself is present. And therefore you untruly report both of St. Hierome and Tertullian ; for neither of them both do say, as you would gather of their words, that Christ’s body is in the sacrament really and corporally.

- 3 And where you say that Christ maketh not himself of the matter of bread, either you be very ignorant in the doctrine of the sacrament, as it hath been taught these five hundred years, or else you dissemble the matter. Hath not this been the teaching of the school divines, yea, of Innocent himself, that the matter of this sacrament is bread of wheat, and wine of grapes ? Do they not say, that the substance of bread is turned into the substance of Christ’s flesh, and that his flesh is made of bread ? And who worketh this, but Christ himself ? And have you not confessed all this in your book of the Devil’s Sophistry ? Why do you then deny here, that which you taught before, and which hath been the common approved doctrine of the papists so many years ? And because it should have the more authority, was not this put into the Mass Books, and read every year, “ Dogma datur Christianis, quod in carnem “ transit panis, et vinum in sanguinem ? ” Now seeing that you have taught so many years, that the matter and substance of bread is not consumed to nothing, but is changed and turned into the body of Christ, so that the body of Christ is made of it ; what mean you now to deny that Christ is made of the matter of bread ? When water was

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Whether
the body of
Christ be
made of the
matter of
bread.

John ii.

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Exod. vii.
Gen. ii.

turned into wine, was not the wine made of the water? And when the rod was turned into a serpent, and water into blood, the earth into a man, and his rib into a woman, were not the woman, man, blood, and serpent made of the matter of the rib, the earth, the water, and the rod? And is not every thing made of that which is turned into it? as bread is made of corn, wine of grapes, beer of water, hops, and malt, and so of all things like. And when you have confessed yourselves so many years passed, that Christ is made of bread in the sacrament, what moveth you now to say, that Christ maketh not himself of the matter of bread? except that either you will say that the priest doth it, and not Christ, which were an intolerable blasphemy; or that the truth is of such a nature, that even the very adversaries thereof sometime unawares acknowledge it; or else that force of arguments constraineth you to confess the truth against your will, when you see none other shift to escape. But if you take upon you to defend the received doctrine of the papists, you must affirm that doctrine which they affirm, and say that bread in the sacrament is the matter whereof Christ's body is made; whereof must then needs follow, *ex consequenti*, that he hath from time to time a new body, made of new bread, besides the body which was incarnated and never but once made, nor of none other substance but of his mother. So that it is but a vain cavillation, only to elude simple people, or to shift off the matter, to say, as you do, that Christ is not made of the bread, but is made to be present there. For then should he have said, *There is my body*, and not *This is my body*. And to be present, requireth no new making: but to be present by conversion, requireth a new making. As the wine that was bought at the marriage in the Cane of Galilee (if there were any such) was present without conversion, and so without new making: but the wine that was made of water, was present by conversion, which could not be without new making. And so must Christ's body be newly made, if it be present by corporal conversion of the substance of bread

into the substance of it. And now I refer to every indifferent reader to judge between us both, which of us is most BOOK III. snarled.

Now let us examine the other authors following in my book.

[See vol. ii. p. 420. "And the same"—"book."]

Winchester.

BECAUSE this author, who hitherto hath answered none substantially, would nevertheless be seen to answer all, he windeth up six of them in one fardel, St. Augustine, Sedulius, Leo, Fulgentius, Cassiodorus, and Gregorius, and dispatcheth them all with an *ut supra*; and among them I think he would have knit up all the rest of the learned men of all ages, amongst whom I know none that write as this author doth of the sacrament, or impugneth the catholic faith as this author doth by the envious name of papists. Since Christ's time there is no memory more than of six, that hath affirmed that doctrine which this author would have called now the catholic doctrine, and yet not written by them of one sort, neither received in belief in public profession; but secretly, when it happened, begun by conspiracy, and in the end ever hitherto extinct and quenched. First was Bertrame, then Berengarius, then Wycleffe, and in our time, Æcolampadius, Zwinglius, and Joachimus Vadianus. I will not reckon Peter Martyr, because such as know him, saith he is not learned: nor this author, because he doth but as it were translate Peter Martyr, saving he roveth at solutions, as liketh his fancy, as I have before declared; which matter being thus, it is a strange title of this book, to call it the true catholic doctrine.

Canterbury.

All that you have these many years gathered together for your purpose, or that can be gathered, may be well trussed up in a very small fardel, and very easily borne and carried away, for any weight that is therein. For your doings be like to him that would fain seem to have something, and, having nothing else, filleth a great mail full of straw, that men should think he carried some thing, where

BOOK III. in deed a little budget had been sufficient for so much in value.

And as for your own doctrine, it is so strange, that neither it agreeth with the Scripture, nor with the old catholic Church, nor yet with the later Church or congregation of the papists; but you stand post alone, after the fall of the papistical doctrine, as sometime an old post standeth, when the building is overthrown.

And where you say, that since Christ's time, there is no mo but six that have affirmed the doctrine that I have taught, all that have been learned, and have read the old authors of the catholic Church, may evidently see the contrary, that sithence Christ's time the doctrine of my book was ever the catholic and public received faith of the Church, until Nicolas the Second's time, who compelled Berengarius to make such a devilish recantation, that the papists themselves be now ashamed of it. And since that time, have many thousands been cruelly persecuted, only for the profession of the true faith. For no man might speak one word against the Bishop of Rome's determination herein, but he was taken for an heretic, and so condemned, as Wyclieffe, Husse, and an infinite number mo.

Nicolas the
Second.
Berengarius.

Bertram.

And as for Bertram, he was never before this time detected of any error that ever I read, but only now by you. For all other that have written of him, have spoken much to his commendation and praise. But I know what the matter is; he hath written against your mind, which is a fault and error great enough.

Peter Martyr.

As for Doctor Peter Martyr, he is of age to answer for himself; but concerning him that told you that he was not learned, I would wish you to leave this old rooted fault in you, to be light of credit. For I suppose, that if his learning, that told you that lie, and yours also, were set both together, you should be far behind Master Peter Martyr. Mary in words I think that you alone would overlay two Peter Martyrs, he is so sober a man, and delighteth not in wasting of words in vain. And none do say that he is not learned, but such as know him not, or be not learned them-

selves, or else be so malicious or envious, that they wittingly speak against their own conscience. And no doubt that man bringeth himself out of the estimation of a learned man, which hath heard him reason and read, and saith that he is not learned. And whosoever misreporteth him, and hath never heard him, may not be called so well *Momus*, as *Sycophanta*, whose property is to misreport them whom they neither see nor know. Now resteth only Damascene, of whom I write thus.

[See vol. ii. p. 420—424. “But here John Damascene”
——“of his blood.”]

Winchester.

- 1 LAST of all, the author busieth himself with Damascene, and Damascene goeth about to answer him by making of a sum, which sum is so wrong accounted, that every man that readeth Damascene, may be auditor to control it. And this will I say, Damascene writeth so evidently in the matter, that Peter Martyr for a shift is fain to find fault in his judgment and age, and yet he is eight hundred years old at the least; and I say at the least, because he is reckoned of some, half as old again. And whatsoever his judgment were, he writeth, as Melancthon saith, his testimony of the faith of the sacrament, as it was in his time. I would write in here Damascene's words, to compare them with the sum collected by this author, whereby to disprove his particulars plainly, but the words of Damascene be to be read translate already abroad.
- 2 As for the four substances, which this author by account numbereth of Christ, might have been left unreckoned by tale, because among them that be faithful and understand truly, wheresoever the substance of Christ's very body is, there is also understood by concomitance to be present the substance of his soul as very man, and also of the Godhead as very God. And in the matter of the sacrament therefore, contending with him that would have the substance of bread there, it may be said there is in the sacrament the only substance of Christ's body, because the word “only” thus placed, excludeth other strange substances, and not the substances which without contention be known and confessed unite with Christ's body. And so a man may be said to be alone in his house, when he hath no strangers, although he hath a number

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of his own men. And Erasmus noteth how the Evangelist writeth Christ to have prayed alone, and yet certain of his disciples were there. And if in a contention raised, whether the father and son were both killed in such a field or no, I defended the father to have been only killed there, and thereupon a wager laid; should I lose, if by proof it appeared, that not only the father, but also three or four of the father's servants were slain, but the son escaped? And as in this speech the word "only" served to exclude that was in contention, and not to reduce the number to one, no more is it in the speech that this author would reprove, and therefore needed not to have occupied himself in the matter, wherein I heard him once say in a good audience himself was satisfied. In which mind I would he had continued, and having so slender stuff as this is, and the truth so evident against him, not to have resuscitate this so often reproved untruth, wherein never hitherto any one could prevail.

Canterbury.

As for Damascene needeth no further answer than I have made in my former book. But I pray the reader, that he will diligently examine that place, and so to be an indifferent auditor betwixt us two.

Now when you be called to account for the number of substances in the sacrament, I perceive by your wrangling, that you be somewhat moved with this audit, for because you be called to account. And I cannot blame you, though it somewhat grieve you, for it toucheth the very quick. And although I myself can right well understand your numbers, that when you name but one, you mean four, yet you should have considered beforehand to whom your book was written. You wrote to plain simple people in the English tongue, which understand no further but one to be one, and four to be four. And therefore when you say there is but one, and mean four, you attemper not your speech to the capacities of them to whom you write.

Now have I answered to all your frivolous cavillations against my third book, and fortified it so strongly, that you have spent all your shot and powder in vain. And I trust I have either broken your pieces or pegged them, that you

shall be able to shoot no more. Or if you shoot, the shot shall be so faint, that it shall not be able to pierce through a paper leaf. And the like I trust to do, to all the munition and ordnance laid against my fourth book. **BOOK III.**

The Confutation of the Fourth Book.

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THUS having perused the effect of the third book, I will likewise peruse the fourth, and then shall follow in direct course to speak of the matter of transubstantiation. In this fourth book the author entreateth the eating and drinking of Christ's body and blood: and in the first part thereof travaileth to confirm his purpose; and in the second part, answereth as he can to his adversaries, and so taketh occasion to speak of adoration.

His chief purpose is to prove that evil men receive not the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, which, after this author's doctrine, is a very superfluous matter. For if the sacrament be only a figure, and the body and blood of Christ be there only figuratively, whereto should this author dispute of evil men's eating, when good men cannot eat Christ in the sacrament, because he is not there. For by the effect of this author's doctrine, the sacrament is but a visible preaching by the tokens and signs of bread and wine, that in believing and remembering Christ's benefits, with revolving them in our mind, we should in faith feed upon Christ spiritually, believing that as the bread and wine feedeth and nourisheth our bodies, so Christ feedeth and nourisheth our souls: which be good words, but such as the words in Christ's supper do not learn us, and yet may be well gathered, not to limit the mystery of the supper, but to be spoken and taught touching the believing and remembering Christ's benefits, with the revolving of them in our mind, thereby to learn us how to feed upon Christ continually without the use of the visible sacrament, being that called of St. Augustine^e the invisible sacrament, wherein by faith we be nourished with the word of God, and the virtue of Christ's body and blood, which the true teaching of the Church calleth spiritual manducation only, without which no

^e August. In *Sermone Domini in monte*, lib. iii. [See p. 318. It will be seen by reference to the *Authorities* in the Appendix, that Gardyner's reasoning is founded on a corrupt reading: the majority of MSS. having "sacratum visibilem," instead of "sacramentum visibilem."]

man is to be accounted a true member of the mystical body of Christ. And therefore whoso feedeth upon Christ thus spiritually must needs be a good man, for only good men be true members of Christ's mystical body; which spiritual eating is so good a fruit, as it declareth the tree necessarily to be good, and therefore it must be and is a certain conclusion, that only good men do eat and drink the body and blood of Christ spiritually, that is to say, effectually to life. So as this author shall have of me no adversary therein. And if this author had proved that to be the true doctrine, that Christ's very body and blood is not present in the visible sacrament, then might he have left this fourth book unwritten. For after his doctrine, as I said before, good men do not eat Christ's body in the sacrament under the visible signs, for because it is not there; and then much less should evil men reach it.

6 In the catholic teaching, all the doctrine of eating of Christ is concluded in two manner of eatings, one in the visible sacrament sacramental, another spiritual without the sacrament. And because in the eating of the visible sacrament St. Paul speaketh of unworthy, the same true teaching, to open the matter more clearly according to Scripture, noteth unto us three manner of eatings: one spiritual only, which only good men do, feeding in faith without the visible sacrament. Another is both spiritual and sacramental, which also good men only do, receiving the visible sacrament, with a true sincere charitable faith. The third manner of eating is sacramental only, which after St. Paul, evil men do unworthily, and therefore have judgment and condemnation, and be guilty of our Lord's body, not esteeming our Lord's body there. And here ariseth the knot of contention with this author, who sayeth evil men eat but the sacramental bread; whereunto I reply, no more do good men neither, if this author's doctrine of the sacrament be true, seeing he will have it but a figure. If this author will say the effect is other in good men than in evil men, I will not strive therein. But to discuss this matter evidently, we must rightly open the truth, and then must consider the visible sacraments as they be of God's ordinance, who directeth us where to seek for his gifts and how, whose working, albeit it be not restrained by his sacraments, and therefore God may and doth invisibly sanctify and save as it pleaseth him, yet he teacheth us of his ordinary working in the visible sacraments, and ordereth us to seek his

- BOOK IV. gifts of health and life there : whereupon St. Augustin ^f noteth how baptism among the Christian men of Aphrike was very well called health, and the sacrament of Christ's body called life, as in which God giveth health and life, if we worthily use them.
- James i. The ordinance of these sacraments is God's work, the very author of them, who as he is in himself uniform, as St. James saith, without alteration, so, as David saith, his works be true, which is as much as uniform, for truth and uniform answereth together.
- The substance of God's work. [1580.] As God is all goodness, so all his works be good. So as considering the substance of God's works and ordinances as they be in themselves, they be alway uniform, certain, and true, in their substance, as God ordered them. Among men for whom they be wrought and ordered there is variety, good men, evil men, worthy, unworthy ; but as St. Paul sayeth, there is but one Lord, one faith, one baptism. And the parable of the sower, which Christ declared himself, showeth a diversity of the grounds where the seed did fall, but the seed was all one that did fall in the good ground, and that did fall in the naughty ground, but it fructified only in the good ground ; which seed Christ calleth his word : and in the sixth of St. John saith, his word is spirit and life, so as by the teaching of Christ, spirit and life may fall upon naughty men, although for their malice it tarieth not, nor fructifieth not in them. And St. Augustine ^g according hereunto noteth how Christ's words be spirit and life, although thou dost carnally understand them, and hast no fruit of them, yet so they be spirit and life, but not to thee ; whereby appeareth the substance of God's ordinance to be one, though we in the using of it vary.
- Ephes. iv. Matth. xiii. The promises of God cannot be disappointed by man's infidelity, as St. Paul saith ; which place Luther allegeth, to show the unity in the substance of baptism, whether it be ministered to good or evil. But St. Paul to the Corinthians declareth it notably in these words : *We be the good savour of Christ in them that be saved, and them that perish.* Here St. Paul noteth the savour good, and one to diverse men, but after the diversity in men, of diverse effects in them, that is to say, the savour of life and the savour of death ; which saying of St. Paul the Greek scholies, gathered by Œcumenius, open and declare with similitudes in nature very aptly. The dove, they say, and the beetle, shall feed both upon one ointment,
- John vi. Rom. iii. 2 Cor. ii. Œcumenius.

^f August. *De Merit. et Remis. Peccat.* lib. i. cap. 24.

^g August. *In Joan.* tract. 27.

and the beetle die of it, and the dove strengthened by it: the diversity in the effect, following of the diversity of them that eat, and not of that is eaten, which is alway one. According hereunto St. Augustine against the Donatists giveth for a rule the sacraments to be one in all, although they be not one that receive and use them. And therefore to knit up this matter for the purpose, I intend and write it: for we must consider the substance of the
 10 visible sacrament of Christ's body and blood to be always as of itself it is by Christ's ordinance; in the understanding whereof this author maketh variance, and would have it by Christ's ordinance but a figure, which he hath not proved; but and he had proved it, then is it in substance but a figure, and but a figure to good men. For it must be in substance one to good and bad, and so neither to good nor bad this sacrament is otherwise dispensed than it is truly taught to be by preaching.

Wherefore if it be more than a figure, as it is in deed, and if by Christ's ordinance it hath present under the form of those visible signs of bread and wine, the very body and blood of Christ, as hath been truly taught hitherto, then is the substance of the sacrament one always, as the ointment was, whether doves eat of it or beetles. And this issue I join with this author, that he shall not
 An issue. be able by any learning to make any diversity in the substance of this sacrament, whatsoever diversity follow in the effect; for the diversity of the effect is occasioned in them that receive, as before is proved. And then to answer this author, I say that only good men eat and drink the body and blood of Christ spiritually, as I have declared, but all, good and evil, receive the visible sacrament of that substance God hath ordained it, which in it hath no variance, but is all one to good and evil.

Canterbury.

In this book, because you agree with me almost in the whole, I shall not need much to travail in the answer, but leaving all your pretty taunts against me, and glorious boasting of yourself, which neither beseemeth our persons, nor hindereth the truth, nor furthereth your part, but by pompous words to win a vainglory and fame of them that be unlearned and have more regard to words than judgment of the matter, I shall only touch here and there such things as we vary in, or that be necessary for the defence of the truth.

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First, after the sum of my fourth book collected as pleaseth you, at the first dash you begin with an untrue report, joined to a subtle deceit or *fallax*, saying that my chief purpose is, to prove that evil men receive not the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament. And hereupon you conclude, that my fourth book is superfluous. But of a false antecedent, all that be learned do know that nothing can be rightly concluded. Now mine intent and purpose in my fourth book, is not to prove that evil men receive not the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, (although that be true;) but my chief purpose is to prove, that evil men eat not Christ's flesh nor drink not his blood, neither in the sacrament nor out of the sacrament; as on the other side good men eat and drink them, both in the sacrament and out of the sacrament.

The word
sacrament.

And in the word "sacrament," which is of your addition, is a subtle *fallax*, called double understanding. For when the sacrament is called only a figure, as you rehearse, wherein the body and blood of Christ be only figuratively, there the word "sacrament" is taken for the outward signs of bread and wine. And after when you rehearse that the sacrament is a visible preaching by the tokens and signs of bread and wine, in believing and remembering Christ's benefits, there the word "sacrament" is taken for the whole ceremony and ministration of the sacrament. And so when you go about by equivocation of the word to deceive other men, you fall into your own snare, and be deceived yourself in that you think you convey the matter so craftily, that no man can espy you.

But to utter the matter plainly without *fallax* or cavillation, I teach that no man can eat Christ's flesh and drink his blood but spiritually, which, forasmuch as evil men do not, although they eat the sacramental bread until their bellies be full, and drink the wine until they be drunken, yet eat they neither Christ's flesh, nor drink his blood, neither in the sacrament nor without the sacrament, because they cannot be eaten and drunken but by spirit and faith, whereof ungodly men be destitute, being nothing but world and flesh.

This therefore is the sum of my teaching in this fourth book, that in the true ministration of the sacrament Christ is present spiritually, and so spiritually eaten of them that be godly and spiritual. And as for the ungodly and carnal, they may eat the bread and drink the wine, but with Christ himself they have no communion or company, and therefore neither eat his flesh nor drink his blood, which whosoever eateth, hath (as Christ saith himself) life by him, as Christ hath life by his Father. And to eat Christ's body or drink his blood, saith St. Augustine^h, is to have life. For whether Christ be in the sacrament corporally, as you say, or spiritually in them that rightly believe in him and duly receive the sacrament, as I say, yet certain it is, that there he is not eaten corporally, but spiritually. For corporal eating with the mouth, is to chew and tear in pieces with the teeth, after which manner Christ's body is of no man eaten, although Nicholas the Second made such an article of the faith, and compelled Berengarius so to profess. And therefore although Christ were corporally in the sacrament, yet seeing that he cannot be corporally eaten, this book cometh in good place and is very necessary, to know that Christ's body cannot be eaten but spiritually, by believing and remembering Christ's benefits, and revolving them in our mind, believing that as the bread and wine feed and nourish our bodies, so Christ feedeth and nourisheth our souls.

1 Cor. vi.

John vi.

Nicolaus
Secundus.

- 2 And ought this to come out of a Christian man's mouth, that "these be good words, but such as the words of Christ's supper do not learn us?" Do not the words of Christ's supper learn us to eat the bread and drink the wine in the remembrance of his death? Is not the breaking and eating of the bread, after such sort as Christ ordained, a communication of Christ's body unto us? Is not the cup likewise a communication of his blood unto us? Should not then Christian people according hereunto, in faith feed upon Christ spiritually, believing that as the bread and wine feed and nourish their bodies, so doth Christ their souls with his own

Luke xxii.
1 Cor. xi.
1 Cor. x.

^h August. *In Joan. tract. 26. et De verbis Apost. Serm. 2.*

BOOK IV. flesh and blood? And shall any Christian man now say that
 “ these be good words, but such as the words in Christ’s
 “ supper do not learn us ?”

And yet these said words limit not the mystery of the ³
 Supper, forasmuch as that mystery of eating Christ’s flesh
 and drinking his blood extendeth further than the Supper,
 and continueth so long as we be lively members of Christ’s
 body. For none feed nor be nourished by him, but that be
 lively members of his body, and so long and no longer feed
 they of him, than they be his true members, and receive life
 from him ; for feeding of him is to receive life.

But this is not that invisible sacrament which you say St. ⁴
 Augustine speaketh of *In Sermone Domini in Monte*, the
 third book. For he calleth there the daily bread, which we
 continually pray for, either corporal bread and meat, which
 is our daily sustenance for the body, or else the visible sacra-
 ment of bread and wine, or the invisible sacrament of God’s
 word and commandments ; of the which sacraments God’s
 word is daily heard, and the other is daily seen. And if by
 the invisible sacrament of God’s word St. Augustine meant
 our nourishment by Christ’s flesh and blood, then be we
 nourished with them as well by God’s word as by the sacra-
 ment of the Lord’s Supper.

But yet whosoever told you that St. Augustine wrote this
 in the third book *De Sermone Domini in Monte* ⁱ, trust him
 not much hereafter, for he did utterly deceive you. For St.
 Augustine wrote no more but two books *De Sermone Domini
 in Monte*, and if you can make three of two, as you do here,
 and one of four as you did before in the substances of Christ,
 you be a marvellous auditor, and then had all men need to
 beware of your accounts, least you deceive them. And you
 cannot lay the fault here in the printer, for I have seen it
 written so both by your own hand and by the hand of your
 secretary.

Now when you have wrangled in this matter as much as ⁵
 you can, at length you confess the truth, that “ whoso feedeth
 “ upon Christ spiritually must needs be a good man, for only
 “ good men be members of Christ’s mystical body which spi-

“ ritual eating is so good a fruit, as it declareth the tree neces-
 “ sarily to be good, and therefore it must be and is a cer-
 “ tain conclusion, that only good men do eat and drink the
 “ body and blood of Christ spiritually, that is to say, effec-
 “ tually to life.” This you write in conclusion, and this is the
 very doctrine that I teach, and in the same terms: Marry,
 I add thereto, that the eating of Christ’s body is a spiritual
 eating, and the drinking of his blood is a spiritual drinking,
 and therefore no evil man can eat his flesh, nor drink his
 blood, as this my fourth book teacheth, and is necessary to
 be written. For although neither good nor evil men eat
 Christ’s body in the sacrament under the visible signs, in the
 which he is not but sacramentally, yet the good feed of him
 spiritually, being and inhabiting spiritually within them, al-
 though corporally he be absent and in heaven; but the evil
 men neither feed upon him corporally nor spiritually, (from
 whom he is both the said ways absent) although corporally
 they eat and drink with their mouths the sacraments of his
 body and blood.

- 6 Now where you note here three manner of eatings, and yet Three man-
ner of eat-
ings. but two manner of eatings of Christ, this your noting is very
 true, if it be truly understand. For there be in deed three
 manner of eatings, one spiritual only, another spiritual and
 sacramental both together, and the third sacramental only,
 and yet Christ himself is eaten but in the first two manner
 of ways, as you truly teach. And for to set out this distinc-
 tion somewhat more plainly, that plain men may understand
 it, it may thus be termed; that there is a spiritual eating
 only when Christ by a true faith is eaten without the sacra-
 ment. Also there is another eating both spiritual and sacra-
 mental, when the visible sacrament is eaten with the mouth,
 and Christ himself is eaten with a true faith; the third eat-
 ing is sacramental only, when the sacrament is eaten, and not
 Christ himself. So that in the first is Christ eaten without
 the sacrament, in the second he is eaten with the sacrament,
 and in the third the sacrament is eaten without him, and
 therefore it is called sacramental eating only, because only
 the sacrament is eaten, and not Christ himself. After the

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IV.

two first manner of ways, godly men do eat who feed and live by Christ, the third manner of ways the wicked do eat, and therefore, as St. Augustine saith, they neither eat Christ's flesh nor drink his blood, although every day they eat the sacrament thereof, to the condemnation of their presumption. And for this cause also St. Paul saith not, He that eateth Christ's body and drinketh his blood unworthily shall have condemnation, and be guilty of the Lord's body; but he saith, *He that eateth this bread, and drinketh the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the Lord's body, and eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he esteemeth not the Lord's body.*

1 Cor. xi.

And here you commit two foul faults. One is, that you declare St. Paul to speak of the body and blood of Christ, when he spake of the bread and wine. The other fault is, that you add to St. Paul's words this word "there," and so build your work upon a foundation made by your own self.

And where you say, that if my doctrine be true, neither good men nor evil eat but the sacramental bread, it can be none other but very frowardness and mere wilfulness, that you will not understand that thing which I have spoken so plainly, and repeated so many times. For I say, that good men eat the Lord's body spiritually to their eternal nourishment, whereas evil men eat but the bread carnally to their eternal punishment. And as you note of St. Augustine^k, that baptism is very well called health, and the sacrament of Christ's body called life, as in which God giveth health and life, if we worthily use them; so is the sacramental bread very well called Christ's body, and the wine his blood, as in the ministration whereof Christ giveth us his flesh and blood, if we worthily receive them.

And where you teach how the works of God in themselves
be always true and uniform in all men without diversity in
good and evil, in worthy and unworthy, you bring in this
mystical matter here clearly without purpose or reason, far
passing the capacity of simple readers, only to blind their

The works
of God uni-
form.

^k August. *De Meritis et Remiss. Peccator.* lib. i. cap. 24.

eyes withal. By which kind of teaching it is all one work of God to save and to damn, to kill and to give life, to hate and to love, to elect and to reject ; and to be short, by this kind of doctrine God and all his works be one, without diversity either of one work from another, or of his works from his substance: and by this means it is all one work of God in baptism and in the Lord's Supper. But all this is spoken quite besides the matter, and serveth for nothing but to cast a mist before men's eyes, as it seemeth you seek nothing else through your whole book.

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8 And this your doctrine hath a very evil smack, that spirit and life should fall upon naughty men, although for their malice it tarry not. For by this doctrine you join together in one man Christ and Beliall, the spirit of God and the spirit of the Devil, life and death, and all at one time, which doctrine I will not name what it is, for all faithful men know the name right well and detest the same. And what ignorance can be showed more in him that accounteth himself learned, than to gather of Christ's words, (where he saith, his words be spirit and life,) that spirit and life should be in evil men, because they hear his words. For the words which you recite by and by of St. Augustine¹, show how vain your argument is, when he saith, "The words be spirit and life, "but not to thee that dost carnally understand them." What estimation of learning or of truth would you have men to conceive of you, that bring such unlearned arguments, whereof the invalidity appeareth within six lines after? which must needs declare in you either much untruth and unsincere proceeding, or much ignorance, or at the least an exceeding forgetfulness, to say any thing, reproved again within six lines after. And if the promises of God, as you say, be not disappointed by our infidelity, then if evil men eat the very body of Christ and drink his blood, they must needs dwell in Christ, and have Christ dwelling in them, and by him have everlasting life, because of these promises of Christ, *Qui manducat meam carnem et bibit meum sanguinem, in me manet et ego in eo. Et, Qui manducat*

Spirit and
life to fall
upon evil
men.

2 Cor. vi.

John vi.

John vi.

¹ August. In Joan. tract. 27.

BOOK *meam carnem et bibit meum sanguinem, habet vitam*
IV. *eternam, He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood,*
hath everlasting life. And, He that eateth my flesh and
drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me and I in him. And yet

John vi. *the third promise, Qui manducat me, et ipse vivet propter*
me, He that eateth me, he shall also live by me. These be
three promises of God, which if they cannot be disappointed
by our infidelity, then if evil men eat the very body of
Christ and drink his blood, as you say they do in the sacra-
ment, then must it needs follow, that they shall have ever-
lasting life, and that they dwell in Christ and Christ in
them, because our infidelity, say you, cannot disappoint
God's promises.

The pro-
mises of
God under
condition.
 And how agreeth this your saying with that doctrine
 which you were wont earnestly to teach both by mouth and
 pen, that all the promises of God to us be made under con-
 dition, if our infidelity cannot disappoint God's promises?
 For then the promises of God must needs have place, whe-
 ther we observe the condition or not.

One sub-
stance to
good and
bad.
 But here you have fetched a great compass and circuit ¹⁰
 utterly in vain, to reprove that thing which I never denied,
 but ever affirmed, which is, that the substance of the visible
 sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, (which I say is
 bread and wine in that sacrament, as water is in baptism,) is
 all one substance to good and to bad, and to both a figure.
 But that under the form of bread and wine is corporally
 present by Christ's ordinance his very body and blood, ei-
 ther to good or to ill, that you neither have nor can prove,
 and yet thereupon would you bring in your conclusion here,
 wherein you commit that folly in reasoning, which is called
petitio principii.

The issue. What need you to make herein any issue, when we agree
 in the matter? For in the substance I make no diversity,
 but I say that the substance of Christ's body and blood is
 corporally present neither in the good eater nor in the evil.
 And as for the substance of bread and wine, I say they be
 all one, whether the good or evil eat and drink them. As the
 water of baptism is all one, whether Symon Peter or Symon

Magus be christened therein, and it is one word that to the evil is a savour of death, and to the good is a savour of life: and as it is one sun that shineth upon the good and the bad, that melteth butter, and maketh the earth hard, one flower whereof the bee sucketh honey, and the spider poison, and one ointment, as Æcumenius saith, that killeth the beetle and strengtheneth the dove. Nevertheless as all that be washed in the water be not washed with the Holy Spirit, so all that eat the sacramental bread, eat not the very body of Christ. And thus you see that your issue is to no purpose, except you would fight with your own shadow.

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IV.

² Cor. ii.
Matth. v.

Æcume-
nius.

Now forasmuch as after all this vain and frivolous consuming of words you begin to make answer unto my proofs, I shall here rehearse my proofs and arguments, to the intent that the reader seeing both my proofs and your confutations before his eyes, may the better consider and give his judgment therein. My fourth book beginneth thus.

[See vol. ii. p. 425—436. “The gross error”——“holpen thereby.”]

Thus hast thou heard, gentle reader, the grounds and proofs which moved me to write the matter of this fourth book, that good men only eat Christ’s flesh and drink his blood. Now shalt thou hear the late bishop’s confutation of the same.

Winchester.

AND as for the Scriptures and doctors which this author allegeth to prove that only good men receive the body and blood of Christ, I grant it without contention, speaking of spiritual manducation and with lively faith without the sacrament. But in the visible sacrament evil men receive the same that good men do, for the substance of the sacrament is by God’s ordinance all one. And if this author would use for a proof, that in the sacrament Christ’s very body is not present, because evil men receive it, that shall be no argument, for the good seed when it was sown did fall in the evil ground; and although Christ dwelleth not in the evil man, yet he may be received of the evil man to his condemnation, because he receiveth him not to glorify him as God, as St.

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Paul saith, *Non dijudicans corpus Domini, not esteeming our Lord's body.* And to all that ever this author bringeth to prove that evil men eat not the body of Christ, may be said shortly, that spiritually they eat it not besides the sacrament, and in the sacrament they eat it not effectually to life, but condemnation. And that is and may be called a not eating. As they be said not to hear the word of God, that hear it not profitably. And because the body of Christ of itself is ordained to be eaten for life, those that unworthily eat to condemnation, although they eat in deed, may be said not to eat, because they eat unworthily; as a thing not well done, may be in speech called not done, in respect of the good effect wherefore it was chiefly ordered to be done. And by this rule, thou, reader, mayest discuss all that this author bringeth forth for his purpose, either out of Scriptures or doctors. For evil men eat not the body of Christ to have any fruit by it, as evil men be said not to hear God's word to have any fruit by it; and yet as they hear the word of spirit and life, and nevertheless perish, so evil men eat in the visible sacrament the body of Christ and yet perish. And, as I said, thus answereth the Scripture with the particular sayings of Cyprian, Athanase, Basyl, Hierome, and Am-
brose.

As for St. Augustine, which this author allegeth *De Civitate Dei*, 6 the same St. Augustine doth plainly say there in the place alleged, how the good and evil receive the same sacrament; and addeth, "but notwithstanding like profit," which words this author suppresseth, and therefore dealeth not sincerely. As for St. Augustine shall be hereafter more plainly declared. Finally, he that receiveth worthily the body and blood of Christ, hath everlasting life, dwelleth in Christ and Christ in him; he that receiveth unworthily, which can be only in the sacrament, receiveth not life, but condemnation.

Canterbury.

If you grant without contention that which I do prove, then you must grant absolutely and frankly without any addition, that only good men eat and drink the body and blood of Christ. For so say all the Scriptures and authors plainly, which I have alleged, without your addition of spiritual manducation; and not one of them all say as you do, that in the visible sacrament evil men receive the same that good men do.

- 2 But I make no such vain proofs as you feign in my name, that in the sacrament Christ's very body is not present, because evil men receive it. But this argument were good, although I make no such. Evil men eat and drink the sacrament, and yet they eat and drink not Christ's flesh and blood: *Ergo* his flesh and blood be not really and corporally in the sacrament.
- 3 And when you say that Christ may be received of the evil man to his condemnation, is this the glory that you give unto Christ, that his whole presence in a man, both with flesh, blood, soul, and spirit, shall make him never the better? and that Christ shall be in him that is a member of the Devil? And if an evil man have Christ in him for a time, why may he not then have him still dwelling in him? For if he may be in him a quarter of an hour, he may be also an whole hour, and so a whole day and an whole year, and so shall God and the Devil dwell together in one house. And this is the crop that groweth of your sowing, if Christ fall in evil men, as good seed falleth in evil ground.
- 4 And where you say that all that ever I bring, to prove that evil men eat not the body of Christ, may be shortly answered; truth it is, as you said in one place of me, that all that I have brought may be shortly answered, if a man care not what he answer; as it seemeth you pass not much what you answer, so that you may lay on load of words. For whereas I have fully proved, as well by authority of Scripture as by the testimony of many old writers, that although evil men eat the sacramental bread and drink the wine, (which have the names of his flesh and blood) yet they eat not Christ's very flesh nor drink his blood: your short and whole answer is this, that evil men may be said not to eat Christ's flesh and drink his blood, because they do it not fruitfully, as they ought to do; and that may be called a not eating, as they may be said not to hear God's word, that hear it not profitably, and a thing not well done, may be in speech called not done, in the respect of the good effect. I grant such speeches be sometime used, but very rarely; and when the very truth cometh in discussion, then

That may
be said not
done that
is not well
done.

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IV.

such paradoxes are not to be used. As, if it come in question, whether a house be builded that is not well builded, then the definition of the matter must not be, that it is not builded, but that it is builded, although the carpenters and other workmen have failed in their covenant and bargain, and not builded the house in such sort as they ought to have done. So our Saviour Christ teacheth that all heard the word, whether the seed fell in the highway, or upon the stones, or among the thorns, or in the good ground. Wherefore when this matter cometh in discussion among the old writers, whether evil men eat Christ's body or no, if the truth had been that evil men eat it, the old writers would not so precisely have defined the contrary, that they eat not, but would have said they eat it, but not effectually, not fruitfully, not profitably. But now the authors which I have alleged, define plainly and absolutely, that evil men eat not Christ's body, without any other addition. But after this sort that you do use, it shall be an easy matter for every man to say what liketh him, and to defend it well enough, if he may add to the Scriptures and doctors words at his pleasure, and make the sense after his own phantasy. The Scriptures and doctors which I allege do say in plain words, as I do say, that evil men do not eat the body of Christ nor drink his blood, but only they that have life thereby.

Now come you in with your addition and gloss, made of your own head, putting thereto this word "effectually." If I should say that Christ was never conceived nor born, could not I avoid all the Scriptures that you can bring to the contrary, by adding this word "apparently," and defend my saying stoutly? And might not the Valentinians, Marcianists, and other that said that Christ died not for us, defend their error with addition, as they did, of this word "putative" to all the Scriptures that were brought against them? And what heresy can be reproved, if the heretics may have that liberty that you do use, to add of their own heads to the words of Scripture? contrary unto God's word directly, who commandeth us to add nothing to his word, nor to take any thing away.

Deut. xii.

And yet moreover, the authorities which I have brought to approve my doctrine, do clearly cast away your addition, adding the cause why evil men cannot eat Christ's flesh nor drink his blood. And you have taught almost in the beginning of your book, that Christ's body is but a spiritual body, and after a spiritual manner eaten by faith. And now you have confessed, that whoso feedeth upon Christ spiritually, must needs be a good man. How can you then defend now, that evil men eat the body of Christ? except you will now deny that which you granted in the beginning, and now have forgotten it, that Christ's body cannot be eaten but after a spiritual manner by faith. Wherein it is marvel, that you having so good a memory, should forget the common proverb, *Mendacem memorem esse oportet*.

And it had been more convenient for you to have answered fully to Cyprian, Athanasius, Basyll, Hierom, and 5 Ambrose, than when you cannot answer, to wipe your hands of them with this slender answer, saying that you have answered. And whether you have or no, I refer to the judgment of the reader.

6 And as concerning St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*^m, he saith, that evil men receive the sacrament of Christ's body, although it availeth them not. But yet he saith in plain words, that we ought not to say that any man eateth the body of Christ, that is not in the body. And if the reader ever saw any mere cavillation in all his lifetime, let him read the chapter of St. Augustine, and compare it to your answer, and I dare say he never saw the like.

And as for the other places of St. Augustine by me alleged, with Origen and Cyrill, for the more ease you pass them over with silence, and dare eat no such meat, it is so hard for you to digest. And thus have you with post haste run over all my Scriptures and doctors, as it were playing at the post, with still passing and giving over every game. And yet shall you never be able for your part to bring any Scripture that serveth for your purpose, except you may be suffered to add thereto such words as you please.

^m August. *De Civit. Dei*, lib. xxii. cap. 2.

Then come you to my questions, wherein I write thus.

[See vol. ii. p. 436, 437. "And now for corroboration"
——"everlasting life."]

Winchester.

BUT to encounter directly with this author, where he opposeth by interrogation, and would be answered, whether an unrepentant sinner that receiveth the sacrament hath Christ's body within him or no. Mark, reader, this question, which declareth that this author talketh of the sacrament, not as himself teacheth, but as the true teaching is, although he mean otherwise; for else how could an unrepentant sinner receive Christ's body, but only in the sacrament unworthily? and how could he receive it unworthily, and it were not there? But to answer to this question, I answer, No: for it followeth not, he received him, *ergo*, he hath him in him; for the vessel being not meet, he departed from him, because he was a sinner, in whom he dwelleth not. And where this author, now become a questionist, maketh two questions of Christ's body and his spirit, as though Christ's body might be divided from his spirit, he supposeth other to be as ignorant as himself. For the learned man will answer, that an evil man by force of God's ordinance, in the substance of the sacrament, received in deed Christ's very body there present, whole Christ God and man, but he tarried not, nor dwelled not, nor fructified not in him, nor Christ's spirit entered not into that man's soul, because of the malice and unworthiness of him that received. For Christ will not dwell with Beliall nor abide with sinners. And what hath this author won now by his forked question? wherein he seemeth to glory, as though he had embraced an absurdity that he hunted for, wherein he showeth only his ignorance, who putteth no difference between the entering of Christ into an evil man by God's ordinance in the sacrament, and the dwelling of Christ's spirit in an evil man, which by Scripture cannot be, ne is by any catholic man affirmed. For St. Paul saith, *In him that receiveth unworthily remaineth judgment and condemnation.* And yet St. Paul's words plainly import, that those did eat the very body of Christ which did eat unworthily, and therefore were guilty of the body and blood of Christ. Now, reader, consider what is before written, and thou shalt easily see, what a fond conclusion this author gathereth in the 97th leafⁿ, as though the teaching were, that the

2 Cor. vi.

ⁿ [See vol. ii. p. 437.]

4 same man should be both the temple of God and the temple of the Devil ; with other terms, wherewith it liketh this author to refresh himself, and feigneth an adversary such as he would have, but hath none, for no catholic man teacheth so, nor it is not all one to receive Christ, and to have Christ dwelling in him. And
5 a figure thereof was in Christ's conversation upon earth, who tarried not with all that received him in outward appearance : and there is noted a difference that some believed in Christ, and yet Christ committed not himself to them. And the Gospel
6 praiseth them that hear the word of God and keep it, signifying many to have the word of God, and not to keep it, as they that receive Christ by his ordinance in the sacrament ; and yet because they receive him not, according to the intent of his ordinance worthily, they are so much the worse thereby through their own malice. And therefore to conclude this place with the author, *Who-soever eateth Christ's flesh and drinketh his blood, hath everlasting life*, with St. Paul's exposition, if he doth it worthily : or else by
7 the same St. Paul, he hath condemnation.

Canterbury.

Here the reader shall evidently see your accustomed manner, that when you be destitute of answer, and have none other shift, then fall you to scoffing and scolding out the matter, as sophisters sometimes do at their problems. But as ignorant as I am, you shall not so escape me. First you bid the reader mark that I talk of the sacrament, not as I teach myself ; but I would have the reader here mark, that you report my words as you list yourself, not as I speak them. For you report my question as I should say, that an unrepentant sinner should receive Christ's body, whereas I speak of the receiving of the sacrament of the body, and not of the very body itself.

Moreover I make my question of the being of Christ's body in an unpenitent sinner, and you turn " being " into " abiding " because " being " biteth you so sore. First you confess that an unrepentant sinner, receiving the sacrament, hath not Christ's body within him, and then may I say that he eateth not Christ's body, except he eat it without him. And although it followeth not, he received Christ, *ergo* he

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hath him in him ; yet it followeth necessarily, he receiveth him, *ergo* he hath him within him for the time of the receipt : as a bottomless vessel, although it keep no liquor, yet for the time of the receiving it hath the liquor in it. And how can Christ depart from an unpenitent sinner, as you say he doth, if he have him not at all? And because of mine ignorance, I would fain learn of you, that take upon you to be a man of knowledge, how an evil man receiving Christ's very body, and whole Christ God and man, as you say an evil man doth, and Christ's body being such as it cannot be divided from his spirit, as you say also, how this evil man receiving Christ's spirit, should be an evil man, for the time that he hath Christ's spirit within him. Or how can he receive Christ's body and spirit, according to your saying, and have them not in him for the time he receiveth them? Or how can Christ enter into an evil man, as you confess, and be not in him into whom he entereth at that present time? These be matters of your knowledge, as you pretend, which if you can teach me, I must confess mine ignorance. And if you cannot, for so much as you have spoken them, you must confess the ignorance to be upon your own part.

And St. Paul saith not, as you untruly recite him, that *3*
in him that receiveth unworthily, remaineth judgment and
condemnation, but that *he eateth and drinketh condemna-*
tion. And where you say that St. Paul's words plainly im-
1 Cor. xi. port, that those did eat the very body of Christ which did eat unworthily, ever still you take for a supposition the thing which you should prove. For St. Paul speaketh plainly of the eating of the bread and drinking of the cup, and not one word of eating of the body and drinking of the blood of Christ. And let any indifferent reader look upon my questions, and he shall see, that there is not one word answered here directly unto them, except mocking and scorning be taken for answer.

And where you deny, that of your doctrine it should fol-
4
low that one man should be both the temple of God and the temple of the Devil, you cannot deny but that your own teaching is, that Christ entereth into evil men when

they receive the sacrament. And if they be his temple into whom he entereth, then must evil men be his temple for the time they receive the sacrament, although he tarry not long with them. And for the same time they be evil men, as you say, and so must needs be the temple of the Devil. And so it followeth of your doctrine and teaching, that at one time a man shall be the temple of God and the temple
5 of the Devil. And in your figure of Christ upon earth, although he tarried not long with every man that received
6 him, yet for a time he tarried with them. And the word of God tarrieth for the time with many, which after forget it, and keep it not. And then so must it be by these examples in evil men receiving the sacrament, that for a time Christ must tarry in them, although that time be very short. And yet for that time by your doctrine those evil men must be both the temples of God and of Belial.

7 And where you pretend to conclude this matter by the authority of St. Paul, it is no small contumely and injury ² Cor. vi. to St. Paul to ascribe your feigned and untrue gloss unto ¹ Cor. xi. him, that taught nothing but the truth, as he learned the same of Christ. For he maketh mention of eating and drinking of the bread and cup, but not one word of the eating and drinking of Christ's body and blood. Now followeth in my book my answer to the papists in this wise.

[See vol. ii. p. 437, 438. "But lest they should seem"
—"of that table."

Winchester.

1 In the ninety-seventh leaf and the second column, the author beginneth to traverse the words of St. Paul to the Corinthians, and would distinct unworthy eating in the substance of the sacrament received, which cannot be: for our unworthiness cannot alter the substance of God's sacrament, that is evermore all one, howsoever we swerve from worthiness to unworthiness. And this
2 I would ask of this author, why should it be a fault in the unworthy not to esteem the Lord's body, when he is taught, if this author's doctrine be true, that it is not there at all? If the bread,

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after this author's teaching, be but a figure of Christ's body, it is 3 then but as manna was, the eating whereof unworthily and unfaithfully was no guilt of Christ's body. Erasmus ° noteth these words of St. Paul, "to be guilty of our Lord's body," to prove the presence of Christ's body there, who compareth such an offender to the Jews, that did shed Christ's blood maliciously, as those do profane it unprofitably, in which sense the Greek commentaries do also expound it. And where this author bringeth in the words of St. Paul, as it were, to point out the matter: *Let a man examine himself, and so eat of the bread and drink of the cup, for he that eateth unworthily, &c.* these words of examining and so 4 eating declare the thing to be one, ordered to be eaten, and all the care to be used on our side to eat worthily, or else St. Paul had not said, *and so eat.* And when St. Paul saith, *eat judgment,* and this author will remember himself, he must call judgment the effect of that is eaten, and not the thing eaten, for judgment is neither spiritual meat nor corporal, but the effect of the eating of Christ in evil men, who is salvation to good, and judgment to evil. And therefore as good men eating Christ have salvation, so evil men eating Christ have condemnation; and so for the diversity of the eaters of Christ's body, followeth, as they be worthy and unworthy, the effect of condemnation or life; Christ's sacrament and his work also in the substance of that sacrament being always one. And whatsoever this author talketh otherwise in this matter is mere trifles.

To eat.
[1580.]

Canterbury.

As touching mine answer here to the words of St. Paul, you would fain have them hid with darkness of speech, that 1 no man should see what I mean. For, as Christ said, *Qui male agit, odit lucem;* and therefore that which I have spoken in plain speech, you darken so with your obscure terms, that my meaning cannot be understand. For I speak in such plain terms as all men understand, that when St. 1 Paul said, *he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation;* in that place he spake of 1 the eating of the bread and drinking of the cup, and not of the corporal eating and drinking of Christ's flesh and blood. These my plain words you do wrap up in these dark terms,

° In his Epistle Dedicatory of Alger. [1580.]

that I “ would distinct the unworthy eating in the substance “ of the sacrament received.” Which your words vary so far from mine, that no man can understand by them my meaning, except you put a large comment thereto. For I distinct the unworthy eating none otherwise than that I say, that when St. Paul speaketh of unworthy eating, he maketh mention of the unworthy eating of the bread, and not of the body of Christ.

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2 And where you ask me this question, why it should be a fault in the unworthy not to esteem the Lord’s body, when it is not there at all: there is in my book a full and plain answer unto your question already made, as there is also to your whole book. So that in making of my book I did foresee all things that you could object against it: insomuch that here is not one thing in all your book, but I can show you a sufficient answer thereto in one place or other of my former book. And in this your question here moved, I refer the reader to the words of my book in the same place.

Unworthy
eating.

3 And where you say, that if the bread be but a figure, it is like manna: as concerning the material bread, truly it is like manna, but as concerning Christ himself, he said of himself; *Not as your fathers did eat manna and are dead: he that eateth this bread shall live for ever.* And as concerning Erasmus, and the Greek commentaries, neither of

Manna.

4 them saith upon the place of St. Paul as you allege them to say. And whatsoever it pleaseth you to gather of these words, *examining and so eating*, yet St. Paul’s words be very plain, that he spake not of the eating of the very body of Christ, but of the eating of the material bread in the sacrament, which is all one, whether the good or evil eat of it. And all the care is on our side, to take heed that we eat not that bread unworthily. For as the eating of the bread unworthily, (not of Christ himself, who cannot be eaten unworthily,) hath the effect of judgment and damnation; so eating of the same bread worthily hath the effect of Christ’s death and salvation. And as he that eateth the bread worthily, may be well said to eat Christ and life; so he that eateth it unworthily, may be said to eat the Devil and

John vi.

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death, as Judas did, into whom with the bread entered Satan. For unto such it may be called *mensa dæmoniorum*, non *mensa Domini*, not God's board, but the Devil's. And so in the eaters of the bread worthily or unworthily, followeth the effect of everlasting life or everlasting death. But in the eating of Christ himself is no diversity, but whosoever eateth him hath everlasting life. Forasmuch as the eating of him can be to none damnation, but salvation, because he is life itself. And whatsoever you babble to the contrary is but mere fables, devised without God's word or any sufficient ground. Now followeth mine answer unto such authors as the papists wrest to their purpose.

[See vol. ii. p. 438—440. “But here may not—
“flesh and blood.”]

Winchester.

AND yet he goeth about, because he will make all things clear, to answer such authors as the papists, he saith, bring for their purpose. And first he beginneth with St. Augustine, who writeth as plainly against this author's mind as I would have devised it, if I had no conscience of truth more than I see some have, and might with a secret wish have altered St. Augustine as I had list.

Augustinus. And therefore here I make a plain issue with this author, that in the searching of St. Augustine he hath trusted his man or his friend over negligently in so great a matter, or he hath willingly gone about to deceive the reader. For in the place of St. Augustine against the Donatists alleged here by this author, which he would with the rest assoil °, St. Augustine hath these formal words in Latin: “*Corpus Domini et sanguis Domini nihilominus erat etiam illis quibus dicebat Apostolus, Qui manducat indigne, iudicium sibi manducat et bibit;*” which words be thus much in English: “It was nevertheless the body of our Lord and the blood of our Lord also unto them to whom the Apostle said, *He that eateth unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment to himself.*” These be St. Augustine's words, who writeth notably and evidently, that it was nevertheless the body and blood of Christ to them that received unworthily, declaring that their unworthiness doth not alter the substance of that sacrament, and doth us to understand

Issue. The body of Christ to them that

° August. *De Bapt.* lib. v. cap. 8.

therewith the substance of the sacrament to be the body and
 3 blood of Christ, and nevertheless so, though the receivers be un-
 worthy: wherein this author is so overseen, as I think there was
 4 never learned man before that durst in a commonwealth where
 learned men be, publish such an untruth as this is, to be answered
 in a tongue that all men know. Yet Peter Martyr wrote in Latin,
 5 and rejoiceth not, I think, to have his lies in English.

I will bring in here another place of St. Augustin ^p to this pur-
 6 pose: " *Illud etiam, quod ait, Qui manducat carnem meam et*
" bibit sanguinem meum, in me manet et ego in illo, quo modo
" intellecturi sumus? Nunquid etiam illos sic poterimus accipere,
" de quibus dixit Apostolus, quod iudicium sibi manducet et
" bibant, quum ipsam carnem manducet et ipsum sanguinem
" bibant? Nunquid et Judas Magistri venditor et traditor impius,
" quamvis primum ipsum manibus ejus confectum sacramentum
" carnis et sanguinis ejus cum ceteris discipulis, sicut apertius
" Lucas Evangelista declarat, manducaret et biberet, mansit in
" Christo, aut Christus in eo? Multi denique, qui vel corde ficto
" carnem illam manducant et sanguinem bibunt, vel quum man-
" ducaverint et biberint, apostatæ fiunt, nunquid manent in
" Christo, aut Christus in eis? Sed profecto est quidam modus
" manducandi illam carnem et bibendi illum sanguinem, quomodo
" qui manducaverit et biberit, in Christo manet et Christus in eo.
" Non ergo quocunque modo quisque manducaverit carnem
" Christi et biberit sanguinem Christi, manet in Christo, et in illo
" Christus, sed certo quodam modo, quem modum utique ipse
" videbat quando ista dicebat." The English of these words is
 this. " That same that he also saith: *Who eateth my flesh and*
" drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me and I in him, how shall we
 understand it? May we understand also them of whom the Apo-
 stle spake, that they did eat to themselves and drink judgment,
 when they did eat the same flesh and drink the same blood, the
 flesh itself, the blood itself? Did not Judas, the wicked seller and
 betrayer of his Master, when he did eat and drink, as Lucas the
 Evangelist declareth, the first sacrament of the flesh and blood
 of Christ made with his own hands, dwell in Christ, or Christ in
 him? Finally, many that with a feigned heart eat that flesh and
 drink the blood, or when they have eaten and drunken become
 apostates, do not they dwell in Christ, or Christ in them? But

^p Augustin. *De Verb. Domin.* Sermo. xi.

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receive un-
 worthily.
 [1580.]

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“ undoubtedly there is a certain manner of eating that flesh and drinking that blood, after which manner whosoever eateth and drinketh, dwelleth in Christ and Christ in him. Therefore, not in whatsoever manner any man eateth the flesh of Christ and drinketh the blood of Christ, he dwelleth in Christ and Christ in him, but after a certain manner, which manner he saw when he said these words.” This is the sense of St. Augustine’s saying in Latin, whereby appeareth the faith of St. Augustine to be in the sacrament to be eaten and drunken the very body and blood of Christ, which for the substance of the sacrament evil men receive as good men do, that is to say, as St. Augustine doth point it out by his words, the same flesh and the same blood of Christ, with such an expression of speech, as he would exclude all difference that device of figure might imagine, and therefore saith “ ipsam carnem, ipsum sanguinem,” which signifieth the selfsame in deed, not by name only, as the author of the book would have St. Augustine understood; and when that appeareth, as it is most manifest, that Judas received the same being wicked that good men do, how the same is before the receipt by God’s omnipotency present in the visible sacrament, and so not received by the only instrument of faith, which in evil men is not lively, but by the instrument of the mouth, wherein it entereth with the visible element, and yet, as St. Augustine saith, dwelleth not in him that so unworthily receiveth, because the effect of dwelling of Christ is not in him that receiveth by such a manner of eating as wicked men use. Whereby St. Augustine teacheth the diverse effect to ensue of the diversity of the eating, and not of any diversity of that which is eaten, whether the good man or evil man receive the sacrament.

If I would here encumber the reader, I could bring forth many mo places of St. Augustine to the confusion and reproof of this author’s purpose; and yet notwithstanding to take away that he might say of me, that I weigh not St. Augustine, I think good to allege and bring forth the judgment of Martin Bucer, touching St. Augustine, who understandeth St. Augustine clear contrary to this author, as may plainly appear by that the said Bucer writeth in few words in his Epistle Dedicatory of the great work he sent abroad of his Enarrations of the Gospels, where his judgment of St. Augustine in this point he uttereth thus: “ Quoties scribit etiam Judam ipsum corpus et sanguinem Domini sumpsisse? Nemo itaque auctoritate S. Patrum dicit Christum in sacra

Bucerus.

“ Cœna absentem esse :” the sense in English is this : “ How often writeth he (speaking of St. Augustine) Judas also to have received the self body and blood of our Lord ? No man therefore by the authority of the fathers can say Christ to be absent in the holy Supper.” Thus saith Bucer, who understandeth St. Augustine as I have before alleged him, and gathereth thereof a conclusion, that no man can by the fathers’ sayings prove Christ to be absent in the holy Supper. And therefore, by Bucer’s judgment, the doctrine of this author can be in no wise catholic, as dissenting from that hath been before taught and believed. Whether Bucer will still continue in that he hath so solemnly published to the world, and by me here alleged, I cannot tell ; and whether he do or no, it maketh no matter : but thus he hath taught in his latter judgment, with a great protestation that he speaketh without respect other than to the truth ; wherein, because he seemed to dissent from his friends, he saith, *φίλος μὲν Σωκράτης, ἀλλὰ φιλατὴ ἡ ἀλήθεια, τιμιωτάτη ἡ ἐκκλησία* : which words have an imitation of an older saying, and be thus much to say : “ Socrates is my friend, truth is my best beloved, and the Church most regarded.” And with this Bucer closeth his doctrine of the sacrament, after he knew all that Zuinglius and Ecolampadius could say in the matter.

And here I will leave to speak of Bucer, and bring forth Theodoretus⁹, a man most extolled by this author, who saith plainly in his Commentaries upon St. Paul, how Christ delivered to Judas his precious body and blood, and declareth further therewith in that sacrament to be the truth. So as this author can have no foundation upon either to maintain his figurative speech, or the matter of this fourth book, which his words plainly impugn. St. Hierome, in his Commentaries upon the Prophet Malachie, hath first this sentence : “ Polluimus panem, id est corpus Christi, quando indigne accedimus ad altare, et sordidi mundum sanguinem bibimus ;” “ We defile the bread, that is to say, the body of Christ, when we come unworthy to the altar, and being filthy drink the clean blood.” Thus saith St. Hierome, who saith, men filthy drink the clean blood : and in another place after the same, St. Hierome saith : “ Polluit Christi mysteria indigne accipiens corpus ejus et sanguinem,” “ He that unworthily receiveth the body and blood of Christ, defileth the mysteries.” Can any words

⁹ Theodoretus, in Ep. 2 Cor. xi.

BOOK be more manifest and evident to declare St. Hierome's mind, how
IV. in the visible sacrament men receive unworthily, which be evil
 men, the body and blood of Christ.

Canterbury.

An issue. In this point I will join a plain issue with you, that I neither willingly go about to deceive the reader in the searching of St. Augustine, as you use to do in every place, nor I have not trusted my man or friend herein, as it seemeth you have done overmuch, but I have diligently expended and made the matter myself. For although in such weighty matters of Scripture and ancient authors you must needs trust your men, (without whom I know you can do very little, being brought up from your tender age in other kinds of study,) yet I, having exercised myself in the study of Scripture and divinity from my youth, whereof I give most hearty lauds and thanks to God, have learned now to go alone, and do examine, judge, and write all such weighty matters myself, although I thank God I am neither so arrogant nor so wilful, that I will refuse the good advice, counsel, and admonition of any man, be he man or master, friend or foe.

But as concerning the place alleged by you out of St. Augustine, let the reader diligently expend mine whole answer to St. Augustine, and he shall, I trust, be fully satisfied. For St. Augustine, in his book *De Baptismo contra Donatistas*^r, as I have declared in my book, speaketh of the morsel of bread and sacrament, which Judas also did eat, as St. Augustine saith. And in this speech he considered, as he writeth *Contra Maximinum*, not what it is, but what it signifieth, and therefore he expresseth the matter by Judas more plainly in another place, saying, that he did eat the bread of the Lord, not the bread being the Lord, as the other apostles did, signifying thereby that the evil eat the bread, but not the Lord himself. As St. Paul saith that they eat and drink *panem et calicem Domini, the bread and*

^r August. *De Bapt. con. Don.* lib. v. cap. 8.

^s August. *In Joan.* tract. 59.

the cup of the Lord, and not that they eat the Lord himself. And St. Augustine saith, not as you feign of him, that the substance of this sacrament is the body and blood of Christ, but the substance of this sacrament is bread and wine, as water is in the sacrament of baptism, and the same be all one, not altered by the unworthiness of the receivers. And although St. Augustine in the words by you recited, call the sacrament of Christ's body and blood his body and blood; yet is the sacrament no more but the sacrament thereof, and yet is it called the body and blood of Christ; as sacraments have the names of the things whereof they be sacraments, as the same St. Augustine teacheth most plainly, *Ad Bonifacium*.

4 And I have not so far overshot myself or been overseen, that I would have attempted to publish this matter, if I had not beforehand excused the whole truth therein from the bottom. But because I myself am certain of the truth, which hath been hid these many years, and persecuted by the papists with fire and fagot, (and should be so yet still if you might have your own will,) and because also I am desirous that all my countrymen of England, unto whom I have no small cure and charge to tell the truth, should no longer be kept from the same truth, therefore have I published the truth which I know in the English tongue, to the intent that I may edify all by that tongue, which all do perfectly know and understand. Which my doing it seemeth you take in very evil part, and be not a little grieved thereat, because you would rather have the light of truth hid still under the bushel, than openly to be set abroad that all men may see it. And I think that it so little grieveth

5 M. Peter Martyr, that his book is in English, that he would wish it to be translated likewise into all other languages.

6 Now where you gather of the words of St. Augustine, *De verbis Domini*¹, that both the evil and good eat one body of Christ, the selfsame in substance, excluding all difference that device of figure might imagine; to this I answer, that although you express the body of Christ with

The selfsame flesh that was crucified and is sensible, is eaten of Christ's people.

¹ August. *De verbis Domini*, Serm. 11.

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IV.

what terms you can devise, calling it, as you do in deed, the flesh that was born of the Virgin Mary, the same flesh, the flesh itself, yet I confess that it is eaten in the sacrament. And to express it yet more plainly than peradventure you would have me, I say, that the same visible and palpable flesh that was for us crucified, and appeared after his resurrection, and was seen, felt, and groped, and ascended into heaven, and there sitteth at his Father's right hand, and at the last day shall come to judge the quick and the dead; that selfsame body, having all the parts of a man's body, in good order and proportion, and being visible and tangible, I say is eaten of Christian people at his holy Supper. What will you now require more of me concerning the truth of the body? I suppose you be sorry that I grant you so much, and yet what doth this help you? For the diversity is not in the body, but in the eating thereof; no man eating it carnally, but the good eating it both sacramentally and spiritually, and the evil only sacramentally, that is to say, figuratively. And therefore hath St. Augustine these words, "certo quodam modo," "after a certain manner," because that the evil eat the sacrament, which after a certain manner is called the very body of Christ, which manner St. Augustine himself declareth most truly and plainly in an epistle *Ad Bonifacium*^u, saying: "If sacraments had not some similitude or likeness of those things whereof they be sacraments, they could in no wise be sacraments. And for their similitude and likeness, they have commonly the name of the things whereof they be sacraments. Therefore after a certain manner the sacrament of Christ's body is Christ's body, the sacrament of Christ's blood is Christ's blood." This epistle is set out in my book, the sixty-fourth leaf^x, which I pray the reader to look upon for a more full answer unto this place. And after that manner Judas and such like did eat the morsel of the Lord's bread, but not the bread that is the Lord, but a sacrament thereof which is called the Lord, as St. Augustine saith. So that with the bread entered not Christ with his spirit into Judas, as you say he doth

^u August. *Ad Bonifacium*, Ep. 23.

^x [See vol. ii. p. 385.]

into the wicked, but Satan entered into him, as the Gospel testifieth. And if Christ entered then into Judas with the bread, as you write, then the Devil and Christ entered into Judas both at once. BOOK
IV.

John xiii.

7 As concerning M. Bucer, what mean you to use his authority, whose authority you never esteemed heretofore? Master Bu-
cer.

And yet Bucer varieth much from your error, for he denieth utterly that Christ is really and substantially present in the bread, either by conversion or inclusion; but in the ministration he affirmeth Christ to be present, and so do I also, but not to be eaten and drunken of them that be wicked and members of the Devil, whom Christ neither feedeth, nor hath any communion with them. And to conclude in few words the doctrine of M. Bucer, in the place by you alleged, he dissenteth in nothing from Œcolampadius and Zuinglius. Wherefore it seemeth to me somewhat strange, that you should allege him for the confirmation of your untrue doctrine, being so clearly repugnant unto his doctrine.

8 The words of Theodoretus, if they were his, be so far from your report, that you be ashamed to rehearse his words as they be written, which when you shall do, you shall be answered. Theodore-
tus.

But in his Dialogues he declareth in plain terms not only the figurative speech of Christ in this matter, but also wherefore Christ used those figurative speeches, as the reader may find in my book the 67th, 68th, 69th, and 70th leaves^v. By which manner of speech it may be said, that Christ delivered to Judas his body and blood, when he delivered it him in a figure thereof.

9 And as concerning St. Hierome, he calleth the mysteries or mystical bread and wine, Christ's flesh and blood, as Christ called them himself; and the eating of them, he calleth Hierony-
mus.

the eating of Christ's flesh and blood, because they be sacraments and figures which represent unto us his very flesh and blood. And all that do eat the said sacraments, be said to eat the body of Christ, because they eat the thing which is a representation thereof. But St. Hierome meant not,

^v [See vol. ii. p. 388—393.]

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that evil men do in deed eat the very body of Christ, for then he would not have written upon Esaie, Hieremie, and Osee the contrary, saying, that heretics and evil men neither eat his flesh nor drink his blood, which whosoever eateth and drinketh, hath everlasting life. “ Non comedunt carnem Jesu,” saith he upon Esai, “ neque bibunt sanguinem ejus, de quo ipse loquitur : *Qui comedit carnem meam et bibit meum sanguinem, habet vitam aeternam*.”^z And yet he that cometh defiled unto the visible sacraments, defileth not only the sacraments, but the contumely thereof pertaineth also unto Christ himself, who is the author of the sacraments. And, as the same St. Hierom saith, “ Dum sacramenta violantur, ipse cujus sunt sacramenta violatur.” “ When the sacraments,” saith he, “ be violated, then is he violated also to whom the sacraments appertain.”^a

Now hear what followeth in the order of my book.

[See vol. ii. p. 440, 441. “ And as before”——“ for
“ their party.”]

Winchester.

AND yet these plain places of authority, dissembled of purpose, or by ignorance passed over, this author, as though all things were by him clearly discussed to his intent, would by many conceits furnish and further his matters, and therefore playeth with our Lady's smiling, rocking her child, and many good mowes so unseemly for his person, as it maketh me almost forget him and myself also. But with such matter he filleth his leaves, and forgetting himself, maketh mention of the Catechism by him to translate, the original whereof confuteth these two parts of this book in few words, being printed in Germany, wherein, besides the matter written, is set forth in picture the manner of the ministering of this sacrament ; where is the altar with candle light set forth, the priest apparelled after the old sort, and the man to receive, kneeling, bare head, and holding up his hands, whilst the priest ministereth the host to his mouth, a matter as clear contrary to the matter of this book, as is light and darkness, which now this author would colour with speeches of authors in a book written to instruct rude children, which is as slender an ex-

^z Hieron. *In Esaïam*, cap. 66.

^a Hieron. *In Malachiam*, cap. 1.

cuse as ever was heard, and none at all, when the original is looked on. BOOK
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3 Emissene, to stir up men's devotion coming to receive this sacrament, requireth the root and foundation thereof in the mind of man as it ought to be, and therefore exhorteth men to take the sacrament with the hand of the heart, and drink with the draught of the inward man, which men must needs do that will worthily repair to this feast. And as Emissene speaketh these devout words of the inward office of the receiver, so doth he in declaration of the mystery show, how the invisible priest with his secret power by his word doth convert the visible creatures into the substance of his body and blood, whereof I have before entreated. This author upon these words devoutly spoken by Emissen, saith, there is required no corporal presence of Christ's precious body in the sacrament, continuing in his ignorance what the
4 word "corporal" meaneth. But to speak of Emissene, if by his faith the very body and blood of Christ were not present upon the altar, why doth he call it a reverend altar? why to be fed there with spiritual meats? and why should faith be required to look upon the body and blood of Christ, that is not there on the altar, but, as this author teacheth, only in heaven? and why should he that cometh to be fed, honour these mysteries there? and why should Emissene allude to the hand of the heart and draught of the inward man, if the hand of the body and draught of the outward man had none office there? All this were vain eloquence and a mere abuse and illusion, if the sacramental tokens were only a figure. And if there were no presence but in figure, why should not Emissene rather have followed the plain speech of the angel to the women that sought Christ, *Jesum quæritis—non est hic, Ye seek Jesus—he is not here*, and say as this author doth, This is only a figure, do no worship here, go up to heaven, and
5 down with the altar for fear of illusion; which Emissene did not, but called it a reverend altar, and inviteth him that should receive, to honour that food, with such good words as before, so far discrepant from this author's teaching, as may be; and yet from him he taketh occasion to speak against adoration.

Canterbury.

1 Here, for lack of good matter to answer, you fall again to your accustomed manner, trifling away the matter with

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mocking and mowing. But if you thought your doctrine good, and mine erroneous, and had a zeal to the truth, and to quiet men's consciences, you should have made a substantial and learned answer unto my words. For dallying and playing, scolding and mowing, make no quietness in men's consciences. And all men that know your conditions, know right well, that if you had good matter to answer, you would not have hid it, and passed over the matter with such trifles as you use in this place. And St. John Chrysostome you skip over, either as you saw him not, or as you cared not how slenderly you left the matter.

The Catechism.

And as concerning the Catechism, I have sufficiently answered in my former book. But in this place may appear to them that have any judgment, what pithy arguments you make, and what dexterity you have in gathering of authors' minds, that would gather my mind and make an argument here, of a picture, neither put in my book, nor by me devised, but invented by some fond painter or carver, which paint and grave whatsoever their idle heads can fancy. You should rather have gathered your argument upon the other side, that I mislike the matter, because I left out of my book the picture that was in the original before^b. And I marvel you be not ashamed to allege so vain a matter against me, which in deed is not in my book, and if it were, yet were it nothing to the purpose. And in that Catechism I teach not, as you do, that the body and blood of Christ is contained in the sacrament being reserved, but that in the ministration thereof we receive the body and blood of Christ, whereunto if it may please you to add or understand this word, "spiritually," then is the doctrine of my Catechism sound and good in all men's ears, which know the true doctrine of the sacraments.

Emissene.

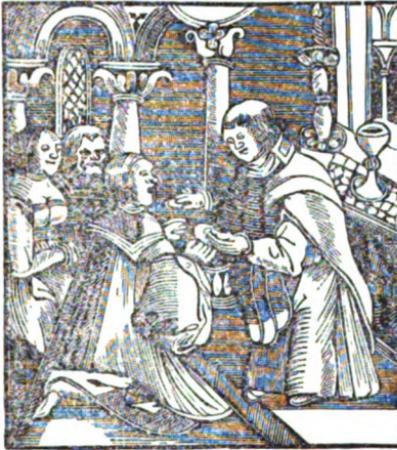
As for Emissene, you agree here with me, that he speaketh not of any receiving of Christ's body and blood with our mouths, but only with our hearts. And where you say,

^b [Fac-similes, both of the engraving which appeared in the original Latin Catechism, and of that which was substituted for it in the English translation, are subjoined. Few persons will see transubstantiation

that you have entreated before, how the invisible priest with his secret power doth convert the visible creatures into the substance of his body and blood ; I have in that same place made answer to those words of Emissene, but most plainly

in either ; but not even Gardyner's ingenuity could extract an argument in its favour from the latter. The plates are the same which were used in the reprint of Cranmer's Catechism at Oxford, 1829. See *Preface* to that edition, p. xx.]

[*Fac-simile of the Engraving prefixed to the Exposition of the Lord's Supper in the original Latin Catechism of Justus Jonas.*]



[*Fac-simile of the Engraving which was substituted for the above in the English translation.*]



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of all in my former book, the twenty-fifth leaf^c. And Emisene saith not that Christ is corporally present in the sacrament, and thereof you be not ignorant, although you do pretend the contrary, which is somewhat worse than ignorance.

Corporal. And what this word "corporal" meaneth, I am not ignorant; Mary what you mean by "corporal" I know not; and the opening thereof shall discuss the whole matter. Tell therefore plainly without dissimulation or coloured words, what manner of body it is that Christ hath in the sacrament; whether it be a very and perfect man's body, with all the members thereof, distinct one from another, or no; for that understand I to be a man's corporal body, that hath all such parts, without which may be a body, but no perfect man's body. So that the lack of a finger maketh a lack in the perfection of a man's body. Mary if you will make Christ such a body as bread and cheese is, wherein every part is bread and cheese without form and distinction of one part from another, I confess mine ignorance, that I know no such body to be a man's body. Now have I showed mine ignorance; declare now your wit and learning. For sure I am, that Christ hath all those parts in heaven, and if he lack them in the sacrament, then lacketh he not a little of his perfection. And then it cannot be one body, that hath parts and hath no parts.

Reverend altar.

And as concerning the words of Emisene, calling the altar a reverend altar, those words prove no more the real presence of Christ in the altar, than the calling of the font of baptism a reverend font, or the calling of marriage reverend matrimony, should conclude that Christ were corporally present in the water of baptism, or in the celebration of matrimony. And yet is not Christ clearly absent in the godly administration of his holy Supper, nor present only in a figure (as ever you untruly report me to say) but by his omnipotent power he is effectually present by spiritual nourishment and feeding, as in baptism he is likewise present by spiritual renewing and regenerating. Therefore

^c [See vol. ii. p. 323.]

where you would prove the corporal presence of Christ, by the reverence that is to be used at the altar, as Emissene teacheth; with no less reverence ought he that is baptized to come to the font, than he that receiveth the communion cometh to the altar. And yet is that no proof that Christ is corporally in the font. And whatsoever you have here said of the coming to the altar, the like may be said of coming to the font. For although Christ be not corporally there, yet, as St. Hierom saith, if the sacraments be violated, then is he violated whose sacraments they be. Now followeth after in my book, the manner of adoration in the sacrament.

[See vol. ii. p. 441—443. “Now it is requisite”——
“nothing there at all.”]

Winchester.

As touching the adoration of Christ's flesh in the sacrament, (which adoration is a true confession of the whole man, soul and body, if there be opportunity, of the truth of God in his work,) is in my judgment well set forth in the Book of Common Prayer, where the priest is ordered to kneel and make a prayer in his own and the name of all that shall communicate, confessing therein that is prepared there; at which time nevertheless that is not adored that the bodily eye seeth, but that which faith knoweth to be there invisibly present, which, and there be nothing, as this author now teacheth, it were not well. I will not answer this author's eloquence, but his matter, where it might hurt.

Canterbury.

Whereas I have showed what idolatry was committed by means of the papistical doctrine, concerning adoration of the sacrament, because that answer to my reasons you cannot, and confess the truth you will not, therefore you run to your usual shift, passing it over with a toy and scoff, saying that you will not answer mine eloquence, but the matter, and yet in deed you answer neither of both, but under pretence of mine eloquence you shift off the matter also. And yet other eloquence I used not, but the accustomed speech of the homely people, as such a matter requireth.

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And where you say, that it were not well to worship Christ in the sacrament, if nothing be there, (as you say I teach) ² if you mean that Christ cannot be worshipped but where he is corporally present, as you must needs mean, if your reason should be to purpose, then it followeth of your saying, that we may not worship Christ in baptism, in the fields, in private houses, nor in no place else, where Christ is not corporally and naturally present. But the true teaching of the holy catholic Church is, that although Christ, as concerning his corporal presence, be continually resident in heaven, yet he is to be worshipped not only there, but here in earth also, of all faithful people, at all times, in all places, and in all their works. Hear now what followeth further in my book.

[See vol. ii. p. 443, 444. "But the papists"—"consecrated bread."]

Winchester.

Augustinus.

As in the wrong report of St. Augustine, who speaking of the adoration of Christ's flesh given to be eaten, doth so fashion his speech, as it cannot with any violence be drawn to such an understanding, as though St. Augustine should mean of the adoring of Christ's flesh in heaven, as this author would have it. St. Augustine speaketh of the giving of Christ's flesh to us to eat, and declareth after, that he meaneth in the visible sacrament, which ² must be invisibly understood and spiritually, not as the Capernautes did understand Christ's words, carnally to eat that body cut in pieces, and therefore there may be no such imaginations to eat Christ's body after the manner he walked here, nor drink his blood as it was shed upon the cross, but it is a mystery and sacrament that is godly of God's work supernatural above man's understanding, and therefore spiritually understood shall give life, which life carnal understanding must needs exclude. And by these my words, I think I declare truly St. Augustine's meaning of the truth of this sacrament, wherein Christ giveth truly his flesh to be eaten, the flesh he spake of before, taken of the Virgin. For the spiritual understanding that St. Augustine speaketh of, is not to exclude the truth of God's work in the sacrament, but to exclude carnal imagination from musing of the manner of the work,

which is in mystery such as a carnal man cannot comprehend. In which matter, if St. Augustine had had such a faith of the visible sacrament, as this author saith himself hath now of late, and calleth it catholic, St. Augustine would have uttered it as an expositor plainly in this place, and said, 'There is but a figure of Christ's
3 ' body, Christ's body and flesh is in heaven, and not in this visible ' sacrament; Christ's speech, that was esteemed so hard, was but ' a figurative speech; and where Christ said, *This is my body*, he ' meant only of the figure of his body;' which manner of sayings St. Augustine useth not in this place, and yet he could speak plainly, and so doth he, declaring us first the truth of the flesh that Christ giveth to be eaten, that is to say, the same flesh that he took of the Virgin. And yet because Christ giveth it not in a visible man-
4 ner, nor such a manner as the Capernaïtes thought on, nor such a manner as any carnal man can conceive, being also the flesh in the sacrament given, not a common flesh, but a lively, godly, and spiritual flesh: therefore St. Augustine useth words and speech, whereby he denieth the gift of that body of Christ which we did see, and of the blood that was shed, so as by affirmation and denial so near together of the same to be given, and the same not to be given, the mystery should be thus far opened, that for the truth of the thing given, it is the same, and touching the manner of the giving, and the quality of the flesh given, it is not the same. And because it is the same, St. Augustine saith before, we must worship it, and yet because it is now an hidden godly mystery, we may not have carnal imaginations of the same, but godly, spiritually, and invisibly understand it.

Canterbury.

1 As concerning the words of St. Augustine, which you say I do wrong report, let every indifferent reader judge who maketh a wrong report of St. Augustine, you or I. For I have reported his words as they be, and so have not you. For St.
2 Augustine saith not^d, that Christ's body is eaten in the visible sacrament, as you report, but that Christ hath given us a sacrament of the eating of his body, which must be understand invisibly and spiritually, as you say truly in that point. But to the spiritual eating, is not required any local

^d August. *In Psal.* 98.

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or corporal presence in the sacrament, nor St. Augustine saith not so, as you in that point unjustly report him. And although the work of God in his sacraments be effectual and true, yet the working of God in the sacraments is not his working by grace in the water, bread, and wine, but in them that duly receive the same; which work is such as no carnal man can comprehend.

And where you say, that if St. Augustine had meant as I do, he would in this place have declared a figure, and have said, that here is but a figure, and we eat only a figure, but Christ himself is gone up into heaven and is not here; it is too much arrogance of you, to appoint St. Augustine his words, what he should say in this place, as you would lead an hound in a line where you list, or draw a bear to the stake. And here still you cease not untruly to report me. For I say not that in the Lord's Supper is but a figure, or that Christ is eaten only figuratively, but I say that there is a figure and figurative eating. And doth not St. Augustine sufficiently declare a figure in Christ's words, when he saith, that they must be understand spiritually? And what man can devise to express more plainly, both that in Christ's speech is a figure, and that his body is not corporally present and corporally eaten, than St. Augustine doth in a thousand places; but specially in his Epistle *Ad Bonifacium*, *Ad Dardanum*, *Ad Januarium*, *De doctrina Christiana*, *De Catechisandis rudibus*, *In quest. super Levit.*, *De Civitate Dei*, *Contra Adamantium*, *Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum*, *In Epistolam et Evangelium Johannis*, *In Sermone ad infantes*, et *De verbis apostoli*. The flesh of Christ is a true flesh, and was born of a woman, died, rose again, ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of his Father, but yet is he eaten of us spiritually; and in the manner of the eating there is the mystery and secret, and yet the true work of God.

And where you understand the invisible mystery, which St. Augustine speaketh of, to be in the diversity of the body of Christ seen or not seen, you be far deceived. For St. Augustine speaketh of the mystery that is in the eating of

the body, and not in the diversity of the body, which in substance is ever one without diversity. The meaning therefore of St. Augustine was this, that when Christ said, *Except you eat the flesh of the Son of man, you shall not have life in you*, he meant of spiritual and not carnal eating of his body. For if he had intended to have described the diversity of the manner of Christ's body visible and invisible, he would not have said "this body which you see," but 'this body in such manner as you see it,' or in such like terms, 'you shall not eat.' But to eat Christ's flesh, saith St. Augustine, is fruitfully to remember that the same flesh was crucified for us. And this is spiritually to eat his flesh and to drink his blood^c.

Winchester.

1 AND because St. Hierome who was of St. Augustine's time, writeth in his Commentaries upon St. Paul, *Ad Ephesios*, that may serve for the better opening hereof, I will write it in here. The words be these, "The blood and flesh of Christ is two ways understood; either the spiritual and godly, of which himself said, *My flesh is verily meat, and my blood is verily drink*; and, *Unless ye eat my flesh and drink my blood, ye shall not have everlasting life*: or the flesh which was crucified, and blood which was shed with the spear. According to this division, the diversity of flesh and blood is taken in Christ's saints; that there is one flesh that shall see the salvation of God, another flesh and blood that cannot possess the kingdom of heaven." These be St. Hierome's words. In which thou, reader, seest a denial of that flesh of Christ to be given to be eaten that was crucified, but the flesh given to be eaten, to be a godly and spiritual flesh, and a distinction made between them, as is in our flesh, of which it may be said, that the flesh we walk in here shall not see God, that is to say, as it is corruptible, according to the text of St. Paul, *flesh and blood shall not possess heaven*, and yet we must believe and hope with Job truly, that the same our flesh shall see God in heaven; after which division likewise we receive not in the sacrament

3 Christ's flesh that was crucified, being so a visible and mortal flesh,

^c August. *De Doctr. Christ.* lib. iii. cap. 4. [1580.]

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but Christ's flesh glorified, incorruptible, and impassible, a godly and spiritual flesh. And so, that is but one in substance and always so, the same one is nevertheless for the alteration in the manner of the being of it divided, and so called not the same, wherein St. Hierome and St. Augustine used both one manner of speaking; and St. Hierome resembling the division that he rehearseth of Christ's flesh, to the division of our flesh in the resurrection, doth more plainly open how the same may be called not the same, because we believe certainly the resurrection of the same flesh we walk in, and yet it shall be by the garment of incorruptibility not the same in quality, and so be verified the Scriptures, that *flesh shall not possess heaven, and I shall see God in my flesh*. And here I will note to the reader by the way, St. Hierome writeth this distinction of Christ's flesh as a matter agreed on and then in catholic doctrine received, not of his invention, but in the catholic faith as a principle established, which declareth the belief to have been of that very godly and spiritual flesh given really in the sacrament; for else to eat only in faith, is specially to remember Christ's flesh as it was visibly crucified, wherein was accomplished the oblation for our sins: and St. Paul willeth us in the Supper to show forth and profess the death of Christ, for so Christ would have his death continually expressed till his coming; and if St. Hierome with other, should have meant of the eating of Christ as he sitteth in heaven reigning, this distinction of Christ's flesh were an idle matter, and out of purpose, to compare the distinction in it to be like the distinction of our flesh, to enter into heaven and not to enter into heaven, the same and not the same. And thus I say that this place of St. Hierome showeth so evidently both his and St. Augustine's faith, that wrote at the same time, as there cannot be desired a more evident matter.

Canterbury.

To what purpose you should bring in here this place of St. Hierome (making much against you and nothing for you) I cannot conceive. For he declareth no more in this place, but that as all men in this world have passible bodies, subject to much filthiness, corruption, and death, and yet after our resurrection we shall be delivered from corruption, vileness, weakness, and death, and be made incorruptible, glorious, mighty, and spiritual; so Christ's body in earth was

Spiritual
body.

subject unto our infirmities, his flesh being crucified, and his blood being shed with a spear, which now, as you truly say, is glorified, impassible, incorruptible, and a spiritual body, but yet not so spiritual, that his humanity is turned into his Divinity, and his body into his soul, as some heretics phantasy, nor that the diversity of his members be taken away, and so left without arms and legs, head and feet, eyes and ears, and turned into the form and fashion of a bowl, as the papists imagine. The sun and the moon, the fire and the air be bodies, but no man's bodies, because they lack heart and lungs, head and feet, flesh and blood, veins and sinews, to knit them together. When Christ was trans-
 figured, his face shined like the sun, and with his mouth he spake to Moyses and Helias. And after his resurrection we
 read of his flesh and bones, his hands and feet, his side and
 wounds, visible and palpable; and with mouth, tongue, and teeth he did eat and speak, and so like a man he was in
 all proportions and members of man, that Mary Magdalene could not discern him from a gardener. And take away
 flesh and skin, sinews and bones, blood and veins, and then remaineth no man's body. For take away distinction and
 diversity of parts and members, how shall Peter be Peter, and Paul be Paul? How shall a man be a man, and a woman a woman? And how shall we see with our eyes, and hear with our ears, grope with our hands, and go with our feet? For either we shall do no such things at all, or see with every part of our bodies, and likewise hear, speak, and go, if there be no diversity of members. This I have spoken for this purpose, to declare that St. Hierome, speaking of Christ's divine and spiritual flesh, excludeth not thereby any corporal member that pertaineth to the substance of a man's natural body, but that now being glorified, it is the same in all parts that it was before. And that same flesh being first
 born mortal of the Virgin Mary, and now being glorified and
 immortal, as well the holy fathers did eat before he was born, and his Apostles and disciples whilst he lived with us here in earth, as we do now when he is glorified. But what availeth all this to your purpose, except you could

Matth. xvii.

Luke xxiv.
John xx.

John xx.

1 Cor. x.

BOOK prove, that to a spiritual eating is required a corporal presence?
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And where you say, that St. Hierome and St. Augustine² use both one manner of speaking, that is not true. For St. Hierom speaketh of the diversity of the body of Christ, and St. Augustine of the diversity of eating thereof. And yet here is to be noted by the way, that you say, we receive not in the sacrament Christ's flesh that was crucified; which³ your words seemeth to agree evil with Christ's words, who the night before he was crucified, declared to his disciples, that he gave them the same body that should suffer death for them. And the Apostles received the body of Christ, yet passible and mortal, which the next day was crucified; and if we receive not in the sacrament the body that was crucified, then receive we not the same body that the Apostles did. And here in your idle talk you draw by force St. Hierom's words to the sacrament, when St. Hierom speaketh not one word of the sacrament in that place: let the reader judge.

Luke xxii.
1 Cor. x.

And here for the conclusion of the matter, you phantasy⁴ and imagine such novelties, and wrap them up in such dark speeches, that we had need to have Joseph or Daniell to expound your dreams. But to make a clear answer to your dark reason, the body of Christ is glorified and reigneth in heaven, and yet we remember with thankful minds, that the same was crucified and emptied of blood for our redemption; and by faith to chew and digest this in our hearts, is to eat his flesh and to drink his blood. But your brain rolleth so in phantasies, that you wot not where to get out, and one of your sayings impugneth another. For first you say, that we receive not in the sacrament the flesh that was crucified, and now you say we receive him not as he sitteth in heaven and is glorified, and so must you needs grant that we receive him not at all.

Winchester.

But to return to St. Augustine, touching adoration, if the very flesh of Christ were not in the sacrament truly present, which is

as much to say, as in substance present ; if it were not indeed present, that is to say, really present ; if it were not corporally present, that is to say, the very body of Christ there present God and man : if these truths consenting in one were not there, St. Augustine would never have spoken of adoration there. No more he doth, saith this author, there, but in heaven : let St. Augustine's words, quoth I, be judge, which be these : " No man eateth that flesh but he first worshippeth it. It is found out how such a footstool of the Lord's foot should be worshipped, and not only that we do not sin in worshipping, but we do sin in not worshipping it." These be St. Augustine's words, which, I said before, cannot be drawn to an understanding of the worshipping of Christ's flesh in heaven, where it remaineth continually glorified, and is of all men christened continually worshipped. For as St. Paul saith, Christ is so exalted that every tongue should confess that our Saviour Christ is in the glory of his Father. So as the worshipping of Christ there in the state of his glory where he reigneth, hath neither " afore" ne " after" but an " ever" continual worshipping in glory. Wherefore St. Augustine, speaking of a " before," must be understood of the worshipping of Christ's flesh present in the sacrament, as in the dispensation of his humility, which Christ ceaseth not to do reigning in glory ; for although he hath finished his humble patible conversation, yet he continueth his humble dispensation in the perfection of his mystical body ; and as he is our invisible priest for ever, and our advocate with his Father, and so for us to him a mediator to whom he is equal, so doth he vouchsafe in his Supper which continueth, to make an effectual remembrance of his offering for us, of the new testament confirmed in his blood ; and by his power maketh himself present in this visible sacrament, to be therein of us truly eaten, and his blood truly drunken, not only in faith, but with the truth and ministry of our bodily mouth, as God hath willed and commanded us to do ; which presence of Christ in this humility of dispensation, to relieve us and feed us spiritually, we must adore, as St. Augustine saith, before we eat ; and we do not sin in adoring, but we sin in not adoring, remembering the divine nature united unto Christ's flesh, and therefore of flesh not severed from the Godhead. Which admonishment of St. Augustine declareth he meant not of the worshipping of Christ's flesh in heaven, where can be no danger of such a thought, where all tongues confess

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really, corporally.
[1580.]

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Christ to be in the glory of his Father, of which Christ, as he is there in glory continually to be worshipped, it were a cold saying of St. Augustine to say, we do not sin in worshipping Christ in heaven, but sin in not worshipping him; as though any could have doubted whether Christ should be worshipped in his humanity in heaven, being inseparably unite to the Divinity. And when I say in his humanity, I speak not properly as that mystery requireth, for as Christ's person is but one of two perfect natures, so the adoration is but one, as Cyrill declareth it, and therefore abhorreth the addition of a syllable to speak of coadoration. And will this author attribute to St. Augustine such a grossness, to have written and given for a lesson, that no man sinneth to worship Christ's flesh in heaven reigning in glory? Wherefore taking this to be so far from all probability, I said before, these words of St. Augustine cannot be drawn with any tenters to stretch so far as to reach to heaven, where every Christian man knoweth and professeth the worshipping of Christ in glory, as they be taught also to worship him in this dispensation of his humility, when he maketh present himself in this sacrament, whom we should not receive into our mouth before we adore him; and by St. Augustine's rule, we not only not sin in adoring, but also sin in not adoring him.

Canterbury.

Where you speak of the adoration of Christ in the sacrament, saying, that if he were not there present substantially, really, and corporally, St. Augustine would never have spoken of adoration there; in this word "there" you use a great doubleness and *fallax*, for it may be referred indifferently, either to the adoration, or to the presence. If it be referred to the presence, then it is neither true, nor St. Augustine saith no such thing, that Christ is really, substantially, and corporally present there. If it be referred to the worshipping, then it is true, according to St. Augustine's mind, that there, in the receiving of the sacrament in spirit and truth, we glorify and honour Christ, sitting in heaven at his Father's right hand. But to this adoration is required no real, substantial, and corporal presence, as before
 There. Gen. xxviii. I have declared: for so did Jacob worship Christ before he was born, and all faithful Christian people do worship him

in all places, wheresoever they be, although he carnally and corporally be far distant from them: as they daily honour BOOK
IV. the Father and pray unto him, and yet say, *Qui es in caelis*, Matth. vi. confessing him to be in heaven. And therefore, to avoid all the ambiguity and *fallax* of your speech, I say, that we being here, do worship here Christ, being not corporally here, but with his Father in heaven.

And although all Christian men ought of duty continually to worship Christ being in heaven, yet because we be negligent to do our duties therein, his word and sacraments be ordained to provoke us thereunto. So that although otherwise we forgot our duties, yet when we come to any of his sacraments, we should be put in remembrance thereof. And therefore said Christ, (as St. Paul writeth,) *As often as you shall eat this bread and drink this cup, show forth the Lord's death until he come.* 1 Cor. xi. And do this (said Christ) *in remembrance of me.* Luke xxii. And the worshipping of Christ in his glory, should be ever continual, without either before or after. Nevertheless, forasmuch as by reason of our infirmity, ingratitude, malice, and wickedness, we go far from our offices and duties herein, the sacraments call us home again, to do that thing which before we did omit, that at the least we may do at some time that which we should do at all times.

4 And where you speak of the humiliation of Christ in the sacrament, you speak without the book; for the Scripture termeth not the matter in that sort, but calleth his humiliation only his incarnation and conversation with us here in earth, being obedient even unto death, and for that humiliation he is now from that time forward exalted for ever in glory. Humiliation. And you would pluck him down from his glory to humiliation again. And thus is Christ entreated, when he cometh to the handling of ignorant lawyers, blind sophisters, and popish divines. But the true worshippers of Christ worship him in spirit, sitting in his high glory and majesty, and pluck him not down from thence, corporally to eat him with their teeth, but spiritually in heart ascend up, as St. Chrysostom saith, and feed upon him where he sitteth in his high Phil. ii.

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throne of glory with his Father. To which spiritual feeding is required no bodily presence, nor also mouth nor teeth, and yet they that receive any sacrament, must adore Christ both before and after, sitting in heaven in the glory of his Father. And this is neither, as you say it is, a cold nor gross teaching of St. Augustine in this place, to worship the flesh and humanity of Christ in heaven; nor your teaching is not so far from all doubts, but that you seem so afraid yourself to stand to it, that when you have said that Christ is to be worshipped in his humanity, as it were to excuse the matter again, you say you speak not properly.

St. Augustine's doctrine is necessary. Psal. xcix.

And this doctrine of St. Augustine was very necessary for two considerations. One is for the exposition of the Psalm which he took in hand to declare, where in one verse is commanded to worship the earth, being God's footstool. And this he saith may be understand in the flesh of Christ, which flesh being earth, and the food of faithful Christian people, is to be worshipped of all that feed and live by him. For notwithstanding that his flesh is earth of earth, and a creature, and that nothing ought to be worshipped but God alone, yet is found out in Christ the explication of this great doubt and mystery, how flesh, earth, and a creature, both may and ought to be worshipped; that is to say, when earth and flesh being united to the Godhead in one person, is one perfect Jesus Christ both God and man. And this is neither a cold nor gross saying of St. Augustine, but an explication of the divine and high mystery of his incarnation.

The other cause why it is necessary both to teach and to exhort men to honour Christ's flesh in heaven is this, that some know it not, and some do it not. For some heretics have taught, that Christ was but a man, and so not to be honoured. And some have said, that although he be both God and man, yet his Divinity is to be honoured, and not his humanity. For extirpation of which errors, it is no gross nor cold saying, that Christ's flesh in heaven is to be honoured. And some know right well, that whole Christ, God and man, ought to be honoured with one entire and godly honour; and yet forgetting themselves in their facts, do not

according to their knowledge, but, treading the Son of God under their feet, and despising the blood whereby they were sanctified, crucify again the Son of God, and make him a mocking stock to all the wicked. And many professing Christ, yet having vain cogitations and phantasies in their heads, do worship and serve Antichrist, and thinking themselves wise, become very fools in deed. And count you it then a cold and a gross saying, that Christ in heaven is to be honoured? wherein so many old authors have travailed and written so many books, and wherein all godly teachers travail from time to time. And yet bring you here nothing to prove, that St. Augustine spake of the real presence of Christ's flesh in the sacrament, and not of Christ being in heaven, but this your cold and gross reason.

BOOK
IV.
Heb. x.
Heb. vi.

And this will serve to answer also the place here following of St. Ambrose, who spake not of the worshipping of Christ only at the receiving of the sacrament, but at all times and of all reasonable creatures, both men and angels.

Winchester.

AND for the more manifest confirmation that St. Augustine ought thus to be understood, I shall bring in St. Ambrose's saying, of whom it is probable St. Augustine to have learned that he writeth in this matter.

St. Ambrose's words, in his book *De Spiritu Sancto*, lib. iii. cap. 12. be these: "Non mediocris igitur quæstio, et ideo diligentius consideremus quid sit scabellum. Legimus enim alibi: *Cælum mihi thronus, terra autem scabellum pedum meorum*. Sed nec terra adoranda nobis, quia creatura est Dei. Videamus tamen, ne terram illam dicat adorandam Propheta, quam Dominus Jesus in carnis assumptione suscepit. Itaque per scabellum terra intelligitur, per terram autem caro Christi, quam hodie quoque in mysteriis adoramus, et quam Apostoli in Domino Jesu (ut supra diximus) adorarunt, neque enim divisus Christus, sed unus;" which words may be Englished thus: "It is therefore no mean question, and therefore we should more diligently consider, what is the footstool. For we read in another place, *Heaven is my throne, and the earth the footstool of my feet*.

BOOK
IV.

“ But yet the earth is not to be worshipped of us, because it is a creature of God. And yet let us see though, lest the prophet mean that earth to be worshipped, which our Lord Jesus took in the taking of flesh. So then by the footstool let the earth be understood, and then by the earth the flesh of Christ, which we do now worship also in the mysteries, and which the Apostles, as we have before said, worshipped in our Lord Jesu, for Christ is not divided, but one.” Hitherto St. Ambrose, whereby may appear how St. Ambrose and St. Augustine took occasion to open their faith and doctrine touching adoration, upon discussion of the selfsame words of the prophet David. And St. Ambrose expressly noteth our adoration in the mysteries, where we worship Christ’s flesh invisibly present, as the Apostles did, when Christ was visibly present with them. And thus with these so plain words of St. Ambrose consonant to those of St. Augustine, and the opening of St. Augustine’s words as before, I trust I have made manifest how this author travaileth against the stream, and laboureth in vain to writhe St. Augustine to his purpose in this matter. The best is in this author, that he handleth St. Augustine no worse than the rest, but all after one sort, because they be all of like sort against his new catholic faith, and confirm the old true catholic faith, or do not improve it. For of this high mystery, the authors write some more obscurely and darkly than other, and use diversities of speeches and words, wherewith the true doctrine hath been of a very few impugned; but ever in vain, as I trust in God this shall be most in vain, having this author uttered such untruths with so much blind ignorance, as this work well weighed and considered, that is to say, who made it, when he made it, and of like how many were, or might have been, and should have been of counsel in so great a matter, who if they were any, be all reprovèd in this one work: all such circumstances considered, this book may do as much good to relieve such perplexity, as altercation hath engendered, and so do as good service to the truth, as was meant thereby to hinder and impair it. And this shall suffice for an answer to this fourth book.

Canterbury.

Here appeareth your sincerity in proceeding in this matter. For you leave out those words of St. Ambrose, which maketh his meaning plain, that the Prophet spake of the

mystery of Christ's incarnation. " Si negant quia in Christo
 " etiam incarnationis adoranda mysteria sunt," &c. " If they
 " deny," saith he, " that the mysteries of the incarnation in
 " Christ be to be honoured," &c. And a little after " Qua ra-
 " tione ad incarnationis Dominicæ sacramentum spectare vi-
 " deatur, quod ait Propheta, *Adorate scabellum pedum ejus,*
 " consideremus." " Let us consider, by what means this say-
 " ing of the prophet, *worship his footstool,* may be seen to
 " pertain to the sacrament of Christ's incarnation." And after
 the words by you rehearsed, followeth by and by, " Cum
 " igitur incarnationis adorandum sit sacramentum," &c.
 " Seeing then that the sacrament of the incarnation is to be
 " honoured." In these words showeth St. Ambrose plainly,
 that the worshipping of Christ's flesh is understand of the
 mystery of his incarnation; so that St. Ambrose meant, not
 only that men should worship Christ when they receive the
 sacrament, but that all creatures at all times should worship
 him. And therefore he expresseth there by name, how the
 angels did worship him, and also Mary Magdalene and the
 Apostles after his resurrection, when they received not the
 sacrament. And so did also the shepherds and the wise men
 worship him, yet being in his infancy; and the Prophet,
 after the mind of St. Augustine and St. Ambrose, command-
 ed to honour him before his incarnation, and we likewise ho-
 nour him sitting now in heaven after his ascension. For so
 far is faith able to reach, without either tentering or stretch-
 ing.

Matth. xxviii.

Luke ii. Matth. ii.

2 Thus have I answered to all that you have brought
 against my fourth book, not obscurely (as you, like a cuttle,
 have done, hiding yourself in your dark colours) but plainly
 to the capacity of all men, as much as I can. And this
 have I done with some pain of writing, but little or no study
 for the matter, being a very easy thing for defence of the
 truth to answer by God's word and ancient authors to an
 ignorant lawyer, being well exercised in neither of both, but
 making such divinity as he can dream in his sleep, or devise
 of his own brain, or hath sucked out of the papistical laws
 and decrees, and for lack of arguments, furnishing up his

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IV.
book with pretty toys, with glorious boasting and scornful taunting, and with picking out of my book such sentences as he persuadeth himself that he can make some colour of apparent answer, to deceive the reader: and such places as he seeth his rhetoric will not serve, he passeth them away slightly, because he is afraid to file his hands therewith. Wherefore I may now right well and justly conclude here mine answer to his Confutation with the words of my fourth book, which be these.

[See vol. ii. p. 445, 446. "But our"—"his blood."]

THUS ENDETH THE FOURTH BOOK.

The Confutation of the Second Book.

HAVING declared how much against all truth this author would bear in hand, that the real presence, the corporal presence, and substantial presence of Christ's most precious body and blood in the sacrament, is not the true catholic doctrine, but a device of the papists, which is a term wherewith this author doth uncharitably charge the King's true subjects, among whom he knoweth a great many to be of that faith he calleth now papists': but setting words apart, and to come to the matter, as I have showed this author to err partly by wilfulness, partly by ignorance, in the understanding of the old authors, concerning the true real presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, so I trust to show this author overseen in the article of transubstantiation. For entry whereunto, first I say this, that albeit the word "transubstantiation" was first spoken of by public authority in that assembly of learned men of Christendom, in a General^e Council, where the Bishop of Rome was present, yet the true matter signified by that word was older, and believed before upon the true understanding of Christ's words, and was in that Council confessed, not for the authority of the Bishop of Rome, but for the authority of truth, being the article such as toucheth not the authority of the Bishop of Rome, but the true doctrine of Christ's mysteries; and therefore in this realm (the authority of Rome ceasing) was also confessed for a truth by all the clergy of this realm in an open Council specially discussed: and though the hardness of the law^f that by Parliament was established of that and other articles hath been repealed, yet that doctrine was never hitherto by any public Council or any thing set forth by authority impaired, that I have heard; wherefore methinketh this author should not improve it by the

BOOK
II.

^e [The fourth General Lateran Council held under Innocent III. A. D. 1215.]

^f [The Act of the Six Articles, which was passed in 1539, after a strenuous opposition from Cranmer.]

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II.

name of the Bishop of Rome, seeing we read how truth was uttered by Balaam and Caiphas also ; and St. Paul teacheth the Philippenses, that whether it be by contention or envy, so Christ be preached, the person should not impair the opening of truth, if it be truth : which Luther indeed would not allow for truth, impugning the article of transubstantiation, not meaning thereby, as this author doth, to impair the truth of the very presence of Christ's most precious body in the sacrament of the altar, as is afore said ; in the discussion of which truth of transubstantiation, I for my part should be specially defended by two means wherewith to avoid the envious name of papist. One is, that Zuinglius himself, who was no papist, as is well known, nor good Christian man, as some said, neither, saith plainly writing to Luther in the matter of the sacrament : " It must needs be true, that if the body of Christ be really in the sacrament, there is of necessity transubstantiation also." Wherefore seeing by Luther's travail, who favoured not the Bishop of Rome neither, and also by evidence of the truth most certain and manifest it appeareth, that, according to the true catholic faith, Christ is really present in the sacrament, it is now by Zuinglius' judgment a necessary consequence of that truth to say there is transubstantiation also, which shall be one mean of purgation, that I defend not transubstantiation as depending of the Bishop of Rome's determination, which was not his absolutely, but of a necessity of the truth, howsoever it liketh Duns or Gabriel to write in it, whose sayings this author useth for his pleasure. Another defence is, that this author himself saith that it is over great an absurdity to say, that bread insensible, with many other terms that he addeth, should be the body of Christ ; and therefore I think that the " is," that is to say, the inward nature and essence of that Christ delivered in his supper to be eaten and drunken, was of his body and blood, and not of the bread and wine, and therefore can well agree with this author, that the bread of wheat is not the body of Christ, nor the body of Christ made of it as of a matter ; which considerations will enforce him that believeth the truth of the presence of the substance of Christ's body, as the true catholic faith teacheth, to assent to transubstantiation, not as determined by the Church of Rome, but as a consequent of truth believed in the mystery of the sacrament ; which transubstantiation how this author would impugn, I will without quarrel of envious words consider, and, with true opening of his

handling the matter, doubt not to make the reader to see that he fighteth against the truth. BOOK
II.

8 I will pass over the unreverent handling of Christ's words, *This is my body*; which words I heard this author (if he be the same that is named) once rehearse more seriously in a solemn open audience, to the conviction and condemnation, as followed, of one that erroneously maintained against the sacrament the same that this author calleth now the catholic faith.

Canterbury.

In this book (which answereth to my second book rather with taunting words than with matter) I will answer the chief points of your intent, and not contend with you in scolding, but will give you place therein.

1 First, I charge none with the name of papists but that be well worthy thereof. For I charge not the hearers, but the teachers, not the learners, but the inventors of the untrue doctrine of transubstantiation; not the King's faithful subjects, but the Pope's darlings, whose faith and belief hangeth of his only mouth. And I call it their doctrine, not only because they teach it, but because they made it, and were the first finders of it. Papists
were the
authors of
transub-
stantiation.

2 And as in the third book, concerning the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, you have not showed mine ignorance or wilfulness, but your own, so do you now much more in the matter of transubstantiation; which word, say you, albeit the same was first spoken of in the General Council, where the Bishop of Rome was present, yet the true matter signified by that word was older. Here at the first brunt you confess that the name of transubstantiation was given at that Council. So that either the matter was not before, as it was not in deed, or at the least it was before a nameless child, (as you do grant,) until the holy father Innocent the Third, which begat it, assembled a company of his friends as godfathers to name the child.

‡ [Gardynere alludes to the part which Cranmer took in the disputation held with Lambert before King Henry VIII. in 1538. See *Examination before Brokes*, and Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. ii. p. 425.]

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II.

And by what authority the Council defined the matter of transubstantiation, it may easily appear. For authority of Scripture have they none, nor none they do allege. And what the authority of the Pope was there, all men may see, being present in the same no less than eight hundred abbots and priors, who were all the Pope's own children, of him created and begotten.

The Council in England. And as for the confession of all the clergy of this realm in an open Council, the authority of Rome ceasing, you speak here a manifest untruth wittingly against your conscience. For you know very well (and if you will deny it, there be enough yet alive can testify) that divers of the clergy, being of most godly living, learning, and judgment, never consented to the articles which you speak of. And what marvel was it that those articles (notwithstanding divers learned men repugning) passed by the most voices of the Parliament? seeing that although the authority of Rome was then newly ceased, yet the darkness and blindness of errors and ignorance that came from Rome still remained and overshadowed so this realm, that a great number of the Parliament had not yet their eyes opened to see the truth. And yet how that matter was enforced by some persons, they know right well that were then present. But after, when it pleased Almighty God more clearly to shine unto us by the light of his word, our eyes by his goodness were opened, darkness discussed, and that which was done in ignorance and darkness, was by knowledge and light in public Council reversed and taken away, as well concerning the doctrine as the hardness of the law. For if the doctrine had been true and godly, there is no Christian-hearted man but he would have desired the establishment and continuance thereof. But the doctrine being false and such as came only from Rome, they be not worthy to be likened to those truths which came from God and were uttered by Balaam and Cayphas, but to be numbered among those lies which came from his vicar, who when he speaketh lies, *ex propriis loquitur*, he speaketh properly of himself.

John viii.

And the Bishop of Rome was not clean gone out of Eug-

land, as soon as the laws were made against his authority, but remained still by his corrupt doctrine, as I fear me he doeth yet in some men's hearts, who were the chief procurers and setters forthward of the foresaid law. But yet is all together to be imputed to the Bishop of Rome, forasmuch as from thence came all the foresaid errors, ignorance, and corruption, into these parties.

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II.

5 Now where you take upon you here to purge yourself of papistry by me and Zuinglius, if you have no better compurgators than us two, you be like to fail in your purgation, for neither of us, I dare say, durst swear for you in this
6 matter, though Zuinglius were alive. Or if your purgation stand to this point, that Christ called not bread made of wheat his body, (although in a formal and proper speech bread is not in deed his body,) you may be as rank a papist as ever was, for any purgation you can make by this way. For Christ called bread made of wheat his body, as the words of the Evangelists plainly declare, and all old writers teach; and in your book of The Devil's Sophistry you have confessed, saying that Christ made demonstration of bread when he said, *This is my body*. And therefore bring some better purgation than this, or else had you been better not to have offered any purgation in a matter that no man charged you withal, than by offering a purgation and failing therein, to bring yourself into more suspicion.

7 And whereas in fortification of your matter of transubstantiation you make your argument thus, that forasmuch as the body of Christ is really in the sacrament, there is of necessity transubstantiation also: this your argument hath two great faults in it: the first is, that your antecedent is false, and then you cannot conclude thereof a true consequent: the second fault is, that although the antecedent were granted unto you, that the body of Christ is really in the sacrament, yet the consequent cannot be inferred thereof, that there is of necessity transubstantiation. For Christ can make his body to be present in the sacrament as well with the substance of the bread as without it, and rather with the substance of bread than with the accidents, foras-

Real presence
proveth no
transubstantiation.

BOOK II. much as neither Christ's body there occupieth any place, as you say yourself, nor no more doth the substance of bread by itself, but by means of the accidents, as you say also.

I erred once in this matter.

Now forasmuch as you say that you will pass over the unreverent handling of Christ's words, which you heard me once more seriously rehearse in solemn open audience, I know knowledge that not many years passed, I was yet in darkness concerning this matter, being brought up in scholastical and Romish doctrine, whereunto I gave too much credit. And therefore I grant that you have heard me stand and defend the untruth, which I then took for the truth, and so did I hear you at the same time. But praise be to the everliving God, who hath wiped away those Saulish scales from mine eyes, and I pray unto his divine Majesty with all mine heart, that he will likewise do once the same to you. Thy will be fulfilled, O Lord!

Acts ix.

But forasmuch as you pass over my handling of Christ's words, (as you use commonly to pass in post, when you have no direct answer to make,) I shall here repeat my words again, to the intent that the indifferent reader may presently see how I have handled them, and then judge whether you ought so slenderly to pass them over as you do. My words be these.

[See vol. ii. p. 313—317. "Thus have you heard"—
"God's word."]

Winchester.

But to the purpose: the simplicity of faith in a Christian man's breast doth not so precisely mark and stay at the syllables of Christ's words, as this author pretendeth, and knowing by faith the truth of Christ's words, that as he said he wrought, do not measure God's secret working after the prolation of our syllables, whose work is in one instance, howsoever speech in us require a successive utterance; and the manner of handling this author useth to bring the mystical words in contempt, were meeter in an ethnic's mouth to jest out all, than to pass the lips of such an author, to play with the syllables after this sort; for although he may read in some blind gloss that in the instant of the last syllable God's work is to be accounted wrought, being a good lesson

4 to admonish the minister to pronounce all, yet it is so but a private opinion, and reverently uttered, not to put the virtue in the
5 last syllable, nor to scorn the catholic faith; after which manner, taking example of this author, an ethnic should jest of "fiat
"lux," at "fi" was nothing, and then at "at" was yet nothing, at "lu" was nothing but a little little peering; put an "x" to it, and it was suddenly "lux," and then light. What Christian man would handle either place thus? and therefore, reader, let this entry of the matter serve for an argument with what spirit this matter is handled.

6 But to answer that this author noteth with an exclamation, "Oh, good Lord! how would they have bragged, if Christ had said, "This is no bread!" here I would question with this author, whether Christ said so or no, and reason thus: Christ's body is no material bread; Christ said, *This is my body*; Ergo, he said, This is no bread. And the first part of this reason this author affirmeth in the fifty-ninth leaf^g. And the second part is Christ's words: and therefore, to avoid this conclusion, the only way is to say, that Christ's speech was but a figure, which the catholic doctrine saith is false; and therefore by the catholic doctrine Christ's saying, *This is my body*, saith in effect, this is no bread; whereat this author saith, they would brag if Christ had said so. In speech
7 is to be considered, that every yea containeth a nay in it naturally; so as whosoever saith, This is bread, saith it is no wine; whosoever saith, This is wine, saith it is no beer: if a lapidary saith, This is a diamond, he saith it is no glass, he saith it is no crystal, he saith it is no white sapphire. So Christ saying, *This is my body*, saith it is no bread. Which plainness of speech caused Zuinglius to say plainly, If there be present the substance of the body of Christ, there is transubstantiation, that is to say, not the substance of bread; and therefore who will plainly deny transubstantiation, must deny the true presence of the substance of Christ's
8 body, as this author doth, wherein I have first convinced him, and therefore use that victory for his overthrow in transubstantiation.
9 I have showed before, how Christ's words were not figurative when he said, *This is my body*, and yet I will touch here such testimony as this author bringeth out of Hilarie for the purpose of transubstantiation, in the twenty-fifth leaf^h of this book in these
10 words: "There is a figure," saith Hilarie, "for bread and wine be

^g [See vol. ii. p. 376.]^h [See vol. ii. p. 324.]

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II.

“ outwardly seen, and there is also a truth of that figure, for the
“ body and blood of Christ be of a truth inwardly believed.”
These be Hilarie's words, as this author allegeth them, who was,
he saith, within 350 years of Christ. Now I call to thy judgment,
good reader, could any man devise more pithy words for the proof
of the real presence of Christ's body and blood, and the condem-
nation of this author that would have an only figure? Here in
Hilarie's words is a figure compared to truth, and sight outwardly
to belief inwardly. Now our belief is grounded upon God's word,
which is this, *This is my body*; in which words Hilary testifieth,
that is inwardly believed is a truth, and the figure is in that is seen
outwardly. I take Hilary here as this author allegeth him, where-
by I ask the reader, is not this author overthrown, that Christ's
speech is not figurative, but true and proper, being inwardly true
that we believe. Ye will say unto me, What is this to transub-
stantiation, to the reproof whereof it was brought in, because he
saith bread and wine is seen? First I say, that it overthroweth
this author for truth of the presence of Christ's body, and every
overthrow therein overthroweth this author in transubstantiation;
not by authority of the church of Rome, but by consequence in
truth, as Zuinglius saith, who shall serve me to avoid papistry. If
one ask me, what say ye then to Hilary that bread and wine are
seen? I say they be indeed seen, for they appear so, and there-
fore be called so, as Isaac said of Jacob, it was his voice, and yet ¹¹
by his sense of feeling deemed him Esau, which was not Esau, but
was Jacob, as the voice from within did declare him. If ye will
ask me how can there, according to Hilarie's words, be in the out-
ward visible creatures any figure, unless the same be in deed as
they appear; bread and wine; I will answer; even as well as this
outward object of the sensible hairiness of Jacob resembling
Esau, was a figure of Christ's humanity and of the very humanity
indeed. Thus may Hilary be answered to avoid his authority
from contrarying transubstantiation. But this author shall never
avoid that himself hath brought out of Hilary, which overthrow-
eth him in his figurative speech, and consequently in his denial of
transubstantiation also, as shall appear in the further handling of
this matter.

Where this author, in the eighteenth leaf ¹, compareth these St. ¹²
Paul's words: *The bread that we break, is it not the communion of*

¹ [See vol. ii. p. 314.]

the body of Christ, to be the expounding of Christ's words, *This is my body*; I deny that: for Christ's words declared the substance of the sacrament, when he said, *This is my body*, and St. Paul declareth the worthy use of it according to Christ's institution, and
 13 by the words, *The bread that we break*, doth signify the whole use of the Supper, wherein is breaking, blessing, thanksgiving, dispensing, receiving, and eating; so as only breaking is not the communion, and yet by that part in a figure of speech St. Paul meaneth all, being the same as appeareth by the Scripture, a term in speech, to go break bread, although it be not always so taken, whereby to signify to go celebrate our Lord's Supper, and therefore bread in that place may signify the common bread, as it is adhibit to be consecrate; which by the secret power of God turned into the body of Christ, and so distribute and received, is the communion of the body of Christ; as the cup is likewise of the blood of Christ, after the benediction, which benediction was not spoken of in the bread, but yet must be understood. As for Christ's
 14 calling of bread his body, is to make it his body, who, as St. Paul saith, calleth that is not, as it were, and so maketh it to be.

The arguments this author useth in the nineteenth and twentieth
 15 leaf^k of the order of Christ's speeches as the Evangelists rehearse them, be captious devices of this author, in case he knoweth what St. Augustine writeth, or else ignorance, if he hath not read St. Augustine *De Doctrina Christiana*, where he giveth a rlie of reca-
 16 pitulation, as he calleth it, when that is told after that was done afore, and therefore we may not argue so firmly upon the order of the telling in the speech. St. Augustine¹ bringeth an example, that by order of telling Adam was in paradise or any tree was brought forth for feeding, with divers other, wherewith I will not encumber the reader. The Evangelist rehearseth what Christ said and did, simply and truly, which story we must so place in understanding, as we trifle not with the mystery, at staying and stopping of letters and syllables. And therefore though the words *Take, eat*, go before the words *This is my body*, we may not argue that they took it and eat it afore Christ had told them what he gave them; and all these often rehearsals of bread, with *He took bread*, and *brake bread*, and *blessed bread*, and if ye will add, *held bread*, all this induce no consequence that he therefore gave bread:

* [See vol. ii. p. 314—316.]
 lib. iii. cap. 36.

¹ August. *De Doctrina Christiana*,

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II.

for he gave that he had consecrate, and gave that he made of bread. If Christ, when he was tempted to make stones bread, had taken the stones and blessed them, and delivered them, saying, This is bread, had he then delivered stones, or rather that he made of stones, bread? Such manner of reasoning useth Peter Martyr as this author doth, whose folly I may well say he saw not to eschew it, but as appeareth rather to follow it; and yet not content to use this fond reasoning, this author calleth papists to witness, that they might laugh at it: because the Evangelist telleth the story so as Christ said, "drink," and then told after what it was; this author fancieth that the Apostles should be so hasty to drink ere Christ had told them what he gave, which and they had, I think he would have stayed the cup with his hand, or bid them tarry, whilst he had told them more.

I will no further travail with this reasoning, which it is pity to hear in such a matter of gravity, of such consequence as it is both in body and soul. We may not trifle with Christ's words after this sort. When St. Paul saith, *We be partakers of one bread*, he speaketh not of material bread, but of Christ's body, our heavenly bread, which to all is one, and cannot be consumed, but able to feed all the world; and if this author giveth credit to Theodoretus, whom he calleth an holy man, then shall he never find the sacrament called bread after the sanctification, but the bread of life, the like whereof should be in an Epistle^m of Chrysostome, as Peter Martyr allegeth, not yet printed, by whose authorities, if they have any, as in their place this author maketh much of them, all these arguments be all trifles; for all the naming of bread by Christ and St. Paul, and all other, must be understood before the sanctification and not after. And if thou, reader, lookest after upon Theodoretus and that Epistle, thou shalt find true that I say, whereby all this questioning with the papists is only a dallying for this author's pleasure, against his own authors and all learning.

Canterbury.

Where you say that the simplicity of faith in a Christian man's breast doth not so precisely mark and stay at the syllables of Christ's words as I pretend, here may the world see what simplicity is in the papists. For I do nothing else but rehearse what the papists say, that until these words be

^m [*Ad Casarium Monachum*. See vol. ii. p. 325.]

fully ended *Hoc est corpus meum*, there is bread, and after those words be fully ended, there is no more bread, but only Christ himself. And the same simplicity do you declare by and by to be in yourself, when you say that God's work is in one instant, howsoever speech require in us a successive utterance. Then if God change the bread into Christ's body in one instant, tell me, I pray you, in which instant? For seeing that our pronunciation is by succession of time, I think you will not say that the work of God is done before the last syllable be pronounced; (for then Christ's body should be there before the words of consecration were fully finished;) nor I think you will not deny but whensoever the words of consecration be fully pronounced, then is Christ's body there. Wherefore by your own judgment you vary not in this matter from the other papists, but must needs say, that God's secret work herein is measured after the prolation of our syllables, and so it is none other person that teacheth to play with syllables in this high mystery, but the papists only. And yourself do teach in this same place, that it is a good lesson to say, that in the instant of the last syllable God's work is to be accounted wrought. And I find it not in blind glosses, but in the chief authors of the papists, that the conversion is not wrought before the whole sentence is finished, *Hoc est corpus meum*.

And it is no direct answer, but a mere cavillation and illusion, to bring in here the creation of the world, when God said, *fiat lux*, to be a like matter unto transubstantiation. For God's speech requireth no succession of time, as the speech of the priest doth. Therefore this is but a playing, to show your subtle wit and crafty rhetoric, whereby your spirit may be judged, whether you go about clearly to set forth the truth, or by dark colours and unlike examples to hide and cover it.

And where you question with me, going about by a subtle sophistical argument, to prove that Christ said, This is no bread; I shall make another argument of the same form, which shall show how strong your argument is. St. John is not the son of the Virgin Mary; Christ said to her,

BOOK
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Johu xix.

1 Cor. x.
and xi.

Yea and
nay.

1 Sam. xvii.

This is thy son; *Ergo*, he said, This is not John. The first part I am sure you will affirm in effect; the second part is Christ's words: and as the second part in my argument is a figurative speech, so is it in yours; so that in every point the arguments be like. And therefore as mine argument is naught, so is yours also; and all that you bring in to follow thereof. And if I list to dally, as you do, in such a matter, I could conclude directly against you, that in the sacrament is not Christ's body, thus; Christ's body is not material bread: St. Paul said it is bread: *Ergo*, he said it is not Christ's body. The first part you affirm, the second part St. Paul affirmeth. And therefore to avoid this conclusion, the only way is, to say that Christ's speech was a figurative speech, when he said, *This is my body*. For else by the catholic doctrine St. Paul, saying that it is bread, saith in effect it is not the body of Christ. Thus may you see what availeth your sophistication, when I am constrained *sophisticari cum sophista, ut ars deludatur arte*.

And of like effect is your argument of yea and nay, when 7 you say every yea containeth a nay in it naturally. Therefore Christ saying it is his body, saith it is no bread. If this form of argument were infallible, then I may turn the same to you again, and overthrow you with your own weapon thus. St. Paul said it is bread; *Ergo*, it is not Christ's body; if the affirmation of the one be a negation of the other. And by such sophistication you may turn up all the truth quite and clean, and say that Christ was neither God nor man, because he said he was a vine and bread; and every yea, say you, containeth a nay in it naturally.

And where you boast that you have convinced me in the 8 matter of the real presence of Christ's body, I trust the indifferent reader will say, that you triumph before the victory, saying that you have won the field, when indeed you have lost it; and when Golyath's head is smitten off with his own sword. But the old English proverb is here true, that it is good beating of a proud man; for when he is all to beaten back and bone, yet will he boast of his victory, and brag what a valiant man he is.

9 And it is another vain brag also that you make, when you say, that you have showed before that Christ's words were not figurative, when he said, *This is my body*. For you have neither proved that you say, nor have answered to my proofs to the contrary, as I refer to the judgment of all indifferent readers; but you have confessed that Christ called bread his body, and made demonstration upon the bread, when he said, *This is my body*. How can then this speech be true, but by a figure, that bread is Christ's body? seeing that in proper speech, as you say, every yea containeth a nay, and the affirmation of one thing is the denial of another?

10 And where you allege, as it were against me, the words of Hilarie, that there is both a figure and a truth of that figure; for answer hereunto the truth is, that your matter here is gathered of an untruth, that I would have only a figure, whereas I say plainly, as Hilarie saith, that in the true ministration of the Sacrament is both a figure and a truth; the figure outwardly, and the truth inwardly. For bread and wine be sensible signs and sacraments, to teach us outwardly, what feedeth us inwardly. Outwardly we see and feel bread and wine with our outward senses, but inwardly by faith we see and feed upon Christ's true body and blood. But this is a spiritual feeding by faith, which requireth no corporal presence. And here I ask you two questions, one is this, whether Hilary say that the body of Christ is under the forms of bread and wine, and that corporally? If he say not so, as the reader shall soon judge, looking upon his words, then stand I upright without any fall or foil, for Hilary saith not as you do. The other question is, whether Hilary do not say that there is a figure? let the reader judge also, and see whether you be not quite overthrown with your own crook, in saying that Christ's speech is not figurative. And yet the third question I may add also, why St. Hilary should say, that bread and wine be figures, if there be no bread nor wine there at all, but be
11 taken clean away by transubstantiation? And whereas for answer hereto you take the example of Jacob, who for his

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hairiness resembled Esau, and was, as you say, a figure of Christ's very humanity, you do like an unskilful mariner, that to avoid a little tempest, runneth himself upon a rock. For where you make Jacob, who resembled Esau, and was not he indeed, to be a figure of Christ's humanity, you make by this example, that as Jacob by his hairiness resembled Esau and was not he indeed, so Christ by outward appearance resembled a man, and yet he was no man indeed.

1 Cor. x.

And where you deny that these words of St. Paul, *Is not the bread which we break the communion of the body of Christ*, declare the meaning of Christ's words, *This is my body*, because Christ's words, say you, declare the substance, and St. Paul's words declare the use: I deny that Christ's body is the substance of the visible sacrament. For the substance of the sacrament is bread and wine, and the thing thereby signified is Christ's body and blood.

Breaking
signifieth
the whole
use of the
Supper.

And this is notable which you say, that these words, *the bread which we break*, do signify the whole use of the Supper, not only breaking, but also blessing, thanksgiving, dispensing, receiving, and eating; and that the bread in this place signifieth common bread taken to be consecrated. In which saying it is a world to see the phantasies of men's devices, how uncertain they be in matters pertaining to God. How agreeth this your saying with your doctrine of transubstantiation? For if St. Paul, when he said, *the bread which we break, is it not the communion of Christ's body*, meant by bread common bread, and by breaking meant also the blessing, thanksgiving, receiving, and eating, then is common bread broken, blessed, received, and eaten. And then where becometh your transubstantiation, if common bread be eaten in the sacrament? And when is the bread turned into the body of Christ, if it remain common bread until it be eaten? Yet now you seem to begin something to savour of the truth, that the bread remaineth still in his proper nature enduring the whole use of the Supper.

Rom. iv.

And as touching this place of St. Paul, that God calleth things that be not, as they were; if it pertain unto the sacrament, where Christ called bread his body, what could

you have alleged more against yourself? For if in this place Christ call that which is not as it were, then Christ called bread as it were his body, and yet it is not his body indeed. BOOK
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But in this your answer to the arguments, brought in by me out of the very words of the Evangelists, is such a shameless arrogancy and boldness showed, as abhorreth all Christian ears for to hear, which is, that three Evangelists telling the manner of Christ's holy Supper, not one of them all do tell the tale in right order, but subvert the order of Christ's doings and sayings, and that in such a necessary matter of our religion, that the definition of the whole truth standeth in the order. The Evangelists, say you, rehearse what Christ said and did, simply and truly. But is this a simple and true rehearsal of Christ's words and deeds, to tell them out of order otherwise than Christ did and said them? And St. Paul also, if it be as you say, speaking of the same matter, committeth the like error. And yet never no ancient author expounding the Evangelists, or St. Paul, could spy out this fault, and in their commentaries give us warning thereof.

And I am not so ignorant, but I have many times read St. Augustine *De Doctrina Christiana*, where he saith, that sometimes in Scripture a thing is told after, that was done before. But St. Augustine saith not that it is so in this matter, nor I am not so presumptuous to say that all the three Evangelists, with St. Paul also, disordered the truth of the story, in a matter wherein the truth cannot be known but by the order. St. Augustineⁿ, *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, saith, that that which Luke rehearseth of the chalice, before the giving of the bread, was spoken by Christ after the distribution of the bread, as the other two Evangelists report the same. And if these words, *Hoc est corpus meum*, had been put out of the right place in all the three Evangelists, and also in St. Paul, would not St. Augustine have given warning thereof, as well as of the other? And would all other authors expounding that place, have passed over the matter in silence, and have spoken not one word

Whether all the Evangelists told the history of the Supper out of order.

Luke xxii.
Matt. xxvi.
Mark xiv.

ⁿ August. *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, lib. iii.

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II.

thereof, specially being a matter of such weight, that the catholic faith and our salvation, as you say, hangeth thereof? Do not all the proofs that you have, hang of these words, *Hoc est corpus meum, This is my body?* And shall you say now, that they be put out of their place? and then you must needs confess, that you have nothing to defend yourself, but only one sentence, and that put out of order, and from his right place, as you say yourself; where indeed the Evangelists and Apostles, being true rehearsers of the story in this matter, did put those words in the right place. But you, having none other shift to defend your error, do remove the words both out of the right place and the right sense. And can any man that loveth the truth, give his ears to hear you, that turn upside down both the order and sense of Christ's words, contrary to the true narration of the Evangelists, contrary to the interpretation of all the old authors, and the approved faith of Christ's Church, even from the beginning, only to maintain your wilful assertions and papistical opinions?

So long as the Scripture was in the interpretation of learned divines, it had the right sense, but when it came to the handling of ignorant lawyers and sophistical papists, such godly men as were well exercised in holy Scripture, and old catholic writers, might declare and defend the truth at their perils, but the papistical sophisters and lawyers would ever define and determine all matters as pleased them.

The variance of the papists in consecration.

But as all truths agree to the truth, and falsehood agreeth not with itself, so it is a plain declaration of untruth, that the papists vary so among themselves. For some say that Christ consecrated by his own secret power without sign or words; some say that his benediction was his consecration; some say that he did consecrate with these words, *Hoc est corpus meum*; and yet those vary among themselves, for some say that he spake these words twice, once immediately after benediction, at what time they say he consecrated, and again after, when he commanded them to eat it, appointing then to his Apostles the form of consecration. And lately came new Papists with their five eggs, and say that the con-

secration is made only with these five words, *Hoc est enim corpus meum*. And last of all come you and Smith with BOOK II. yet your newer devices, saying, that Christ spake those words Smith. before he gave the bread, and immediately after the breaking, manifestly contrary to the order of the text, as all the Evangelists report, and contrary to all old authors of the catholic Church, (which all with one consent say, that Christ gave bread to his Apostles,) and contrary to the Book of Common Prayer by you allowed, which rehearseth the words of the Evangelists thus, *that Christ took bread, and when he had blessed and given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples*, where all the relation is made to the bread. Is this your faithful handling of God's word, for your pleasure to turn the words as you list? Is it not a thing much to be lamented, that such as should be the true setters forth of Christ's Gospel, do trifle with Christ's words after this sort, to alter the order of the Gospel after their own phantasy? Can there be any trifling with Christ's words, if this be not? And shall any Christian man give credit to such corrupters of holy Scripture? Have you put upon you harlots' faces, that you be past all shame, thus to abuse God's word to your own vanity?

17 And be you not ashamed likewise so manifestly to belie me, that I fancy that the Apostles should be so hasty to drink or Christ had told them what he gave? whereas by my words appeareth clean contrary, that they drank not before all Christ's words were spoken.

18 And where you say that Christ gave that he had consecrated, and that he made of bread; here you grant that Christ's body, which he gave to his disciples at his last supper, was made of bread. Christ's body made of bread. And then it must follow, that either Christ had two bodies, the one made of the flesh of the Virgin Mary, the other of bread, or else that the self-same body was made of two diverse matters, and at diverse and sundry times. Now what doctrine this is, let them judge that be learned. And it is worthy a note, how unconstant they be that will take upon them to defend an untruth, and how good memories they had need to have, if

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they should not be taken with a lie. For here you say that Christ's body in the sacrament is made of bread, and in the eleventh comparison you said, that this saying is so fond, as were not tolerable to be by a scoffer devised in a play, to supply when his fellow had forgotten his part.

1 Cor. x.

And where you say that St. Paul speaketh not of material bread, but of Christ's body, when he saith, *that we be partakers of one bread*, the words of the text be plain against you. For he speaketh of the bread that is broken, whereof every man taketh part, which is not Christ's body, except you will say, that we eat Christ's body divided in pieces, as the gross Capernaïtes imagined. And St. Augustine with other old authors do write, that Paul spake of such bread as is made of a great multitude of grains of corn gathered together and united into one material loaf, as the multitude of the spiritual members of Christ be joined together into one mystical body of Christ.

Chrysostome.
Theodorete.

And as concerning Theodorete and Chrysostome, they say as plainly as can be spoken, that the bread remaineth after consecration, although we call it by a more excellent name of dignity, that is to say, by the name of Christ's body. But what estimation of wisdom or learning soever you have of yourself, surely there appeareth neither in you in this place, where upon the alteration of the name of bread, you would gather the alteration of the substance or transubstantiation. Be not kings and emperors very men, although they be ever called by the names of their royal and imperial dignities? Or are they therefore gods, because the Prophet calleth them so? And who ever called you a man, sithence you were a bishop? and yet that dignity took not from you the nature of a man. And the Pope is a man, although he be called *Julius*, or *Pater sanctissimus*, or *Hypocrita impiissimus*. So is bread still bread, although it represent the body of Christ, and be called in that respect, as a figure, the very body of Christ.

Alteration
of names
unto dig-
nity.

Ps. lxxxii.

Bread after
the sanctifi-
cation.

And where you say that the naming of bread by Christ, and St. Paul, and all other, must be understand before the sanctification, and not after, St. Paul's own words reprove

this your saying most manifestly. For he calleth it bread when it is the communion of Christ's body, and when it is eaten, saying, *The bread which we break, is it not the communion of Christ's body?* and, *As often as you eat this bread and drink this cup: and, Whosoever eateth the bread and drinketh the cup of the Lord unworthily: and, Let a man try himself, and so eat of that bread and drink of the cup: and, He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, &c.* Now these sayings cannot be understand before the sanctification, except you will grant that the bread was Christ's body, and that it was eaten before it was sanctified. Wherefore let every reader that knoweth any thing, judge whether you seek any truth in this matter, or whether you study to search out vain cavillations, and yet the same being clean contrary to the manifest words of holy Scripture, and to all approved writers. Wherefore, gentle reader, weigh St. Paul's words, whether he call it bread after the sanctification, or only before, and as thou findest St. Paul make with this man's saying that triflith away the truth, so thou mayest believe him in all other things. Hitherto is discussed how the doctrine of transubstantiation is against God's word. Now followeth in my book, how the same is against nature: whereof I write thus.

[See vol. ii. p. 317, 318. "Let us now consider"—
"nature and reason."]

Winchester.

In the third chapter, written in the twenty-first leaf, it troubleth this author that the doctrine of transubstantiation is in his judgment against natural reason and natural operation, in the entry of which matter he granteth wisely that they should not prevail against God's word; and yet he saith, when they be joined with God's word, they be of great moment to confirm any truth: wherein if he meaneth to confirm God's word by reason, or God's mysteries by natural operation, mine understanding cannot reach that doctrine, and is more strange to me than this author maketh transubstantiation to be to him. As for the reason of *vacuum* declareth a *vacuum* that nature abhorreth not. And if we speak after the rules of nature, quantity filleth the place rather than

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II.

substance. And shortly to answer this author, it is not said in the doctrine of transubstantiation that there remaineth nothing, for in the visible form of bread remaineth the proper object of ³ every sense truly; that is seen with the bodily eye, is truly seen; that is felt, is truly felt; that is savoured, is truly savoured; and those things corrupt, putrify, nourish, and consume after the truth of the former nature, God so ordering it that create all, using singularly that creature of bread, not to unite it unto him as he did man's nature, to be in bread impanate and breaded, as he was in flesh incarnate.

And as for reason in place of service, as being inferior to faith, will agree with the faith of transubstantiation well enough. For ⁵ if our faith of the true presence of Christ's very body be true, as it is most true, grounded upon these words of Christ, *This is my body*, then reason yielding to that truth, will not strive with transubstantiation, but plainly affirm that by her judgment, if it be the body of Christ, it is not bread. For in the rule of common ⁴ reason, the grant of one substance is the denial of another, and therefore reason hath these conclusions throughly, whatsoever is bread is no wine, whatsoever is wine is no milk, and so forth. And therefore being once believed this to be the body of Christ, reason saith by and by it is not bread, by the rule afore-said, whereby appeareth how reason doth not strive with transubstantiation, being once conquered with faith of the true presence of Christ's body, which is most evident, and no whit darkened by any thing this author hath brought. As for natural operation ⁶ is not in all men's judgments as this author taketh it, who seemeth to repute it for an inconvenience, to say that the accidents of wine do sour and wax vinegar. But Ulpian^o, a man of notable learning, is not afraid to write in the law, *In venditionibus, De contrahenda emptione*, in the pandects, that of wine and vinegar there is *prope eadem ousia*, in manner one substance, wherein he showeth himself far against this author's skill, which I put for an example to show, that natural operations have had in natural men's judgments divers considerations, one sometime repugnant to another, and yet the authors of both opinions called philosophers all. Among which some thought, for example, they spake wisely that esteemed all things to alter as swiftly as the water runneth in the stream, and thought therefore no man could utter

Conclu-
sions of
reason.
[1580.]

^o [Read Smith, fol. 64. [1580.]

a word being the same man in the end of the word that he was when he began to speak, and used a similitude: Like as a man standing in one place cannot touch the same one water twice in a running stream, no more can a man be touched the same man twice, but he altereth as swiftly as doth the stream. These were laughed to scorn, yet they thought themselves wise in natural speculation. Aristotle, that is much esteemed and worthily, fancied a first matter in all things to be one; in which consideration he seemeth to be as extreme in a stay, as the other fond philosophers were in moving. By which two extremities I condemn not natural speculation, wherewith I think God pleased for man to marvel in contemplation of his inferior works, and to tame his rash wit in the inexplicable variety of it, but to use it so, as to make it an open adversary to religion, it is, me seemeth, without all purpose.

7 The doctrine of transubstantiation doth not teach no earthly thing to remain in the sacrament, but contrariwise, that the visible form of bread and wine is there as the visible sign of the sacrament, and to be the same in greatness, in thickness, in weight, in savour, in taste, in property also to corrupt, putrefy, and nourish, as it did
8 before, and yet the substance of those visible creatures to be converted into the substance, as Emissene saith, of the body of Christ. And here will reason do service to faith, to say if there be a conversion in deed, as faith teacheth, and none of the accidents be converted, then the substance is converted; for in every thing all is substance and accidents, but the accidents be not changed, and yet a change there is; it must needs be then that substance is changed. Which deduction reason will make, and so agree with transubstantiation in convenient due service. And thus I have gotten reason's good-will, whatsoever this author saith, and from the ground of faith have by reason deduced such a conclusion to prove transubstantiation, as, unless he destroy the true faith of the presence of Christ's very body, which he cannot, must needs be allowed.

And as for natural operation of putrefying, engendering worms, burning, and such experiences, which being the substance of bread absent, this author thinketh cannot be so, when he hath thought throughly, he can of his thought conclude it only to be a marvel, and it be so, as against the common rules of philosophy, wherein as me seemeth it were a nearer way, as we be admonished

BOOK
11.

to leave searching of "how" of the work of God in the mystery of Christ's presence, being that the celestial part of the sacrament, so not to search "how" in the experience of the operation of nature, of the visible earthly part of the sacrament. When God sent manna in the desert, the people saw many marvels in it, besides the common operation of nature, and yet they never troubled themselves with "hows." And as one very well writeth, it is consonant, that as there is a great miracle in the work of God to make there present the substance of the body of Christ, so likewise to knowledge the miracle in the absence of the substance of bread, and both the heavenly and earthly part of the sacrament to be miraculous, and so many miracles to be joined together in one, agreeth with the excellency of the sacrament. As for the objections this author maketh in this matter, be such as he findeth in those scholastical writers that discuss as they may, or labour thereabout wherewith to satisfy idle imaginations, and to make learned men prompt and ready to say somewhat to these trifles, whose arguments this author taketh for his principal foundation. For plain resolution and avoiding whereof, if I would now for my part bring forth their solutions and answers, there were a part of school theology so brought into English, to no great praise of either of our learnings, but our vain labour, to set abroad other men's travails to trouble rude wits with matter not necessary, and by such unreverent disputing and altercation to hinder the truth. Finally, all that this author rehearseth of absurdity, repugneth in his estimation only to the conclusion of philosophy, which should nothing move the humble simplicity of faith in a Christian man, who marvelleth at God's works and reputeth them true, although he cannot comprehend the ways and means of them.

Canterbury.

Here, in the beginning of this chapter, it is a strange thing to me, that you should think strangeness in my saying, that natural reason and operation joined to God's word should be of great moment to confirm any truth, not that they add any authority to God's word, but that they help our infirmity; as the sacraments do to God's promises, which promises in themselves be most certain and true. For did not the eating and drinking of Christ, his labouring and sweating, his agony and pangs of death, confirm the true

Acts x.

faith of his incarnation? And, did not his eating with the Apostles confirm and stablish their faith of his resurrection? BOOK
II.
Did not the sight of Christ and feeling of his wounds induce Thomas to believe that Christ was risen? when neither the John xx. report of the devout woman, nor yet of the Apostles which Luke xxiv. did see him, could cause him to believe Christ's resurrection? And when they took our Saviour Christ for a spirit, did not he cause them by their sight and feeling of his flesh and bones, to believe that he was very man, and no spirit, as they phantasied? Which sensible proofs were so far from derogation of faith, that they were a sure establishment thereof. Wherefore if your understanding cannot reach this doctrine, it is in deed very slender in godly things.

2 And as for my reason of *vacuum*, you have not yet answered thereto, for nature suffereth not any place to be without some substance, which by means of his quantity filleth the place. And quantity without substance to fill any place, is so far from the rules of nature, that by order of nature, quantity without substance hath neither filling nor being. And although I do not say that by the doctrine of transubstantiation there remaineth nothing, (so that all that you speak to answer that matter, is to no purpose, but *res vacua*,) yet by the doctrine of transubstantiation joined unto nature there should remain utterly nothing in deed: for substance remaineth none by your doctrine of transubstantiation, and without substance can be no accidents by the rules of nature. Therefore comparing your doctrine and nature together, either you must recant your doctrine of transubstantiation, or confess that nothing remaineth, or at the least grant that your teaching repugneth to the order of nature, which sufficeth for me in this place, where my purpose is only to show, how the doctrine of transubstantiation is against nature and reason.

3 Now where you so often speak of the visible form of The word bread remaining, by this word "form" you sweetly deceive form. yourself, thinking that it doth much advance your faith of transubstantiation, understanding by that word the accidents, similitudes, and likeness without substance remain-

BOOK
11.
Philip. ii.

ing, misunderstanding both holy Scripture and the ancient doctors. St. Paul speaking of Christ's incarnation saith, *that he being in form of God, did humble himself, taking upon him the form of man*: by which words St. Paul meant not, that Christ was like unto God, and not God in deed, nor yet that he was like unto man, and not very man in deed, but that he was and is very God and very man, having two substances, one of his Godhead and the other of his manhood, united together in one person. And the ancient doctors writing of this sacrament, when they speak of the forms of bread and wine, do use this vocable "form," as St. Paul useth it, to signify very bread and very wine, or the substances of bread and wine, and not the similitude or likeness of bread and wine without the substances, as you phantasy and imagine.

And you after this sort, wresting holy Scriptures and doctors for maintenance of your error of transubstantiation, do lead yourself craftily into another heinous error, (if this your proposition be true, that the grant of one substance is a denial of any other,) which is, to deny Christ either to be very God or man. For by your sentence, if he in substance be God, then can he not have the substance of man; for the grant of one substance is a denial of any other, as ye say.

And like as you do err in misunderstanding of the Scripture and doctors, so do you err in reason and judgment of things, your own eyes, nose, mouth, and fingers, bearing witness against you of your wilful error and folly. For what man is living, which hath his right wits, that can believe as you teach, that the proper object of every sense remaineth, that is to say, colour, taste, savour, &c. and yet the former substance of bread and wine is gone? And here, to further your belief of transubstantiation, you do exaggerate your accustomed absurdity of impanation of Christ's body, as if every man that believeth not your error of transubstantiation, must of necessity fall into the error of impanation, or as if I defended the said impanation. But whether I defended any such fond opinion or not, or whether I

Impanation.

have herein sufficiently answered the papists, I refer to the judgment of all wise and learned men, that be any thing indifferent, which have read my book. BOOK
II.

And as concerning natural reason, where you say it will agree with the doctrine of transubstantiation well enough, if the faith of the true presence of Christ's very body be true: for answer hereto I say, that if your fantastical belief of the real presence of Christ's natural body in the sacrament were as true as the Gospel, as none opinion can be more erroneous and fond, yet would both faith and reason judge that there were still bread: faith, because holy Scripture manifestly saith so: reason, because it is so, not only to all our senses, but also in all the effects and operations of bread. And reason cannot discern, but that Christ's body may be as well present with the substance of bread as with the accidents, and that rather also, forasmuch as you confess yourself, that after the rules of nature, quantity filleth the place rather than substance. And so may reason judge the body of Christ to be the body of Christ, and yet the bread to be the bread still, and wine to be wine and no bread, nor none other confusion of natures to be there against reason.

6 And as touching natural operation, in the handling thereof you show your ignorance in natural philosophy, which teacheth, that in mutation from one quality to another is required one substance to receive both the qualities. For white of itself cannot be made black, nor cold hot; but one substance may be now hot, now cold, now black, now white. As cold water may be made hot, although cold in itself cannot be hot. Therefore you cannot blame me, to think in this a great inconvenience and absurdity in nature, that sweetness of itself should change into sourness, when the substance of wine is gone, and no substance remaining to receive this mutation: this matter being so clean contrary to the precepts and rules of natural philosophy.

And I marvel that you cannot see, how much Ulpian Ulpian. whom you allege, maketh against yourself, and with my saying, that both in wine and vinegar remaineth substance,

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11.

which is changed from sweet to sour, so that the sweet of itself is not made sour, but that substance which before was sweet, is after sour. And therefore what great skill you have in citing of Ulpian, to prove that the accidents of wine without substance do sour and wax vinegar, let the wise reader judge. But Ulpian seemeth to me to have another sense than all men can perceive: but I will not discuss the mind of Ulpian, because I am no lawyer, lest you should cast the proverb in my teeth, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*.

But to what purpose you should bring in the diversity of judgments in natural operations, and the extreme fondness of philosophers, some in moving, some in staying, I cannot devise, except it be the permission of God, that as some of the philosophers by their fond opinions in nature, made themselves laughing-stocks to all men of reason, so should ye papists do. And yet so much more is the papistical opinion of transubstantiation to be laughed to scorn of all men, as it passeth the fondness of all the philosophers, and that so far, that the fondest of the philosophers would have laughed at it, and have clapped it out of their schools with one consent, as an opinion more meet for frantic and mad men, than for men of natural reason. And as fond opinions as some philosophers had, yet was there none that so far erred in reason, to say that accidents might stand without any substance, but all with one uniform consent agreed, that accidents had none other being or remaining, but in their substances. And yet if the faith of our religion taught us the contrary, then reason must yield to faith. But your doctrine of transubstantiation is as directly contrary to the plain words of Scripture, as it is against the order of natural reason.

And where you say that the doctrine of transubstantiation doth not teach that no earthly thing remaineth, but that the visible form of bread and wine remaineth the same in greatness, in thickness, in weight, in savour, in taste, in property also to corrupt, putrefy, and nourish, as it did before, tell plainly, I pray you, what thing it is which you call

the visible form of bread and wine, whether it be an accident or a substance, and if it be an accident, show whether it be a quantity or quality, or what other accident it is, that all men may understand what thing it is, which, as you say, is the same in greatness, thickness, weight, savour, and other properties. BOOK
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8 And where you allege Emissene for the conversion of the substance of bread and wine, this conversion, as Emissene saith, and as I have declared before, is like to our conversion in baptism, where outwardly is no alteration of substance, for no sacramental alteration maketh alteration of the substance, but the marvellous and secret alteration is inwardly in our souls. And as the water in baptism is not changed, but sacramentally, that is to say, made a sacrament of spiritual regeneration, which before was none, so in the Lord's Supper, neither the substance nor accidents of bread and wine be changed but sacramentally; but the alteration is inwardly in the souls of them that spiritually be refreshed and nourished with Christ's flesh and blood. And this our faith teacheth us, and natural reason doth good service to faith herein against your imagined transubstantiation. So that you have not gotten reason's good will nor consent to your vain doctrine of transubstantiation, although you had proved your real presence, which hitherto you have not done; but you have taken great pain to shoot away all your bolts in vain, missing quite and clean both the prick and the whole butt. Emissen.

9 And yet in the end you take a good ready way for your own advantage, like unto a man that had shot all his shafts clean wide from the butt, and yet would bear all men in hand that he had hit the prick: and when other should go about to measure how far his shafts were wide from the butt, he would take up the matter himself, and command them to leave measuring, and believe his own saying, that his arrows stuck all fast in the mark, and that this were the nearest way to finish the contention: even so do you in this matter, willing all men to leave searching of "how" in the mystery of Christ's presence in the sacrament, saying that

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1 Pet. iii.
Tit. i.

Luke i.

Miracles.

to be the nearest way. And it were a much nearer way for you in deed, if all men would leave searching of "how," and without ground or reason believe as well your transubstantiation as the corporal presence of Christ's body, only because you do say it is so. But St. Peter requireth every Christian man to be ready to render a reason of his faith to every one that asketh; and St. Paul requireth in a Christian bishop, that he should be able to exhort by wholesome doctrine, and to convince the gainsayers, and not to require other men to give faith unto him without asking of "how" or "why," only because he saith so himself. The old catholic authors tell wherefore Christ called bread his body, and how Christian people feed of his body. And the blessed Virgin Mary asked how she should conceive a child, never having company with man. And you tell yourself how Christ is in heaven, how in us, and how in the sacrament, declaring all to be but after a spiritual manner. And what manner of men be you, that we may not ask you "how," to render a reason of your transubstantiation, being a matter by you only devised, clearly without God's word.

But at length, when you have sweat well favouredly in answering to mine arguments of natural reason and natural operation, you be fain to confess a great part to be true, and to turn all together into miracles, and that into such kind of miracles, as the old catholic writers never knowledged nor touched in none of their works. For besides the chief miracle, which you say is in the conversion of the substance of bread into the substance of Christ's body, and of the wine into his blood, there be other miracles, when the forms of wine turn into vinegar, and when bread mouldeth, or a man doth vomit it, or the mouse eateth it, or the fire burneth it, or worms breed in it; and in all like chances, God still worketh miracles, yea even in poisoning with the consecrated wine. And the multitude of such miracles, as you do judge, pertaineth to the excellency of the sacrament, whereas among the school authors this is a common received proposition, *non esse ponenda miracula sine necessitate*.

And where you say that I make my principal foundation 10

upon the arguments of the scholastical writers, although mine arguments deduced out of the scholastical authors be unto you insoluble, and therefore you pass them over unanswered, yet I make no foundation at all upon them, but my very foundation is only upon God's word, which foundation is so sure, that it will never fail. And mine arguments in this place I bring in only to this end, to show how far your imagined transubstantiation is, not only from God's word, but also from the order and precepts of nature, and how many and portentous absurdities you fall into by means of the same. Which it seemeth you do confess by holding your peace, without making answer thereto. But now let us consider what is next in my book.

[See vol. ii. p. 318—320. "The papistical doctrine"—
"contrary thereunto."]

Winchester.

1 As in answering to the third chapter, I have showed how reason received into faith's service, doth not strive with transubstantiation, but agreeth well with it: so I trust to show how man's senses, which this author calleth the five wits, be no such direct adversaries to transubstantiation, as a matter whereof they can no skill¹. And therefore to a question this author asketh in the end of the second column in the twenty-second leaf, which is this: "If we believe our senses in the accidents, why may we not do the like of the substance?" I answer thus, that the senses can no skill of substance as learned men speak of substance, nor this author neither, if a man should judge him by this question.

For and a sensual man, one that followeth his rude senses, would say, 'Come hither, master scholar: I hear much talking in this world of substance and accident;' and if he were of a merry nature, would say his little boy had learned his accident, but himself wotteth not perfectly what substance meaneth, as clerks term it, and bringing forth a piece of bread, another of cheese, and a pot of ale, would desire the scholar to learn him the substance of them, and show it with his finger, and show him also what difference between the substance of bread, cheese, and the

¹ Contrarium habetur in libro vocato, *The Devil's Sophistry*, fol. 6, 10, 11, 12, 15, 21. [1530.]

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II.

ale; I think the scholar with the advice of all at Cambridge, and Oxford also, could not do it; and the more the scholar should travail with such a rude man, so sensual in the matter, I think he should be the further off, unless the sensual man would set apart his rude wits, and learn of the scholar some reasonable understanding, which is, that the substance is the inward nature, where-² in those that be accidents do naturally stay, the quantity immediately, and the rest by mean of quantity, in which the rest may be said to stay; which words were new divinity to this man, who touching the bread would ask the scholar roundly, 'Callest thou 'not this substance, this good thicke piece that I handle?' The scholar would answer, 'Sir, as I shall answer you, you will say I play 'the sophister, for I must speak learning to you that you can no 'skill of, and be not angry though I tell you so; for and ye were 'learned, ye would not ask me this question; for substance, as it is 'properly understood to be of this or that thing, is properly nei- 'ther seen by itself nor felt, and yet by reason comprehended truly 'to be in that we feel or see; nevertheless in common speech, and 'in the speech of such as for the purpose speak after the common 'capacity, the word substance is used to signify that is seen or felt; 'and so ye may say ye see the substance or feel the substance of 'bread, and yet ye do in deed see but the colour, and by it the 'largeness, and feel the heat or coldness, moisture or dryness, 'weight or lightness, hardness or softness, thickness and thinness. 'If ye will learn what substance is, ye must leave your outward⁴ 'senses, and consider in your understanding, how in every thing 'that is there is a stay which we call a substance, being the prin- 'cipal part of every thing; which failing, we say that special thing 'not to be. As where the substance of bread is not, there that 'special thing bread is not, because bread is as every other natural 'visible thing is, of two parts, substance and accidents; now if the 'one part, that is to say substance, be not there, which can be but 'by miracle, then is no bread properly there, because the one and 'chief part is not there; and yet I say not nothing is there, for the 'other part remaining hath a being as God's visible creature, and 'may be called the visible part of bread and therefore, the outward 'kind and form of bread, and the appearance of bread, and a true 'sensible part of bread, and therefore be called also by the name of 'bread; not that it is so properly, but after the common speech and 'capacity of men; and be called the nature of bread, signifying the

'property, and the matter of bread, signifying the grossness.' The rude man I think would hereat say, 'Here is sophistry in deed, for here is substance and no substance, matter of bread and no bread, appearance of bread and no bread, called bread and no bread: this is plain juggling where it happeneth.' Wherein this rude man, for want of true understanding of the words and perfect consideration of the matter, speaketh thus fondly; who if he should thereupon require the scholar to show him some difference of the very substance between bread, and cheese, and ale, what could the learned scholar answer here, but even frankly declare his ignorance, and say 'I know none;' which is as much to say as, 'I know there is a difference, but I wot not what it is.' Whereunto I trow the rude man would say to the scholar, 'Then art thou with all thy learning as very a fool as I, to speak of a difference and cannot tell what it is.' Now if the scholar should utter even the extremity of his learning in proper terms, and say, 'I know bread is no cheese, and cheese is none ale; and of their accidental parts I can in deed show differences, but of the very substance none:' the rude man, if his nature were not over dull, would laugh roundly to hear a scholar utter for a point of learning, that bread is no cheese, and cheese is none ale, which whoso knoweth not, is a very fool; and merrily to knit up the matter, would keep the accidents of his bread, cheese, and ale for himself, and give the substance to the scholar, if he can divide it, as a reward for his cunning, to his better nurture.

And this I write after this gross sort, to show that this matter of substance is not commonly understood as senses exercised in learning perceive it, and how man's outward senses cannot, as this author would have it, be judges of the inward nature of substance, which reason persuadeth to be, using the service of the senses for induction of the knowledge of it, in which judgment upon their report happeneth many times much deceit. Titus Livius speaketh of a great number of divers dishes of meat made in a solemn supper, whereat the guests wondered to see such a variety at that time of the year, and when they demanded of it, answer was made, the substance was but one, all hog's flesh; so as the alteration in the accidents deceived their judgments. That stone, which among many thought to have some skill, hath been taken for a precious diamond, hath after by cunning lapidaries been judged to be but a white sapphire, and contrariwise. So easily may our judgment upon the report of our senses fall in error; not that the

Cœna
Chalcidensis hospitibus.
Livius in 5.
de bello Macedonico.
[1580.]

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senses be properly deceived, but rather the man that is grossly sensual, and judgeth fondly by them. For the very substance is not the proper object of any of the five wits, but of their report considered in reason denied, and sometime guessed at, whereof ensueth great error and *quid pro quo* among the poticaries and learned also in things strange, whereof they have but accidental marks.

Wherefore upon consideration of the premises it may easily appear, how the question of this author, why the senses be not believed in knowledge of substance as in knowledge of accidents, may be reasonably answered. And then if the judgment of reason in the estimation of God's natural works, and denying this or that substance, when by accidents it should seem otherwise, reason doth stay sensuality; and when men of experience, knowledge, and credit, have determined such a certain stone to be a very true diamond, other ignorant will be ashamed to say the contrary: and if a man fearing himself deceived to have bought one kind of drugs for another, and yet mistrusting wisely his own judgment, having caused it to be viewed by men of knowledge, good faith, and honesty, if they affirm it to be the very thing, this man will then condemn his own imagination, and upon credit call it so, and take it so to be; wherefore, if in these things I say, reason doth in a man stay sensuality, and if knowledge with honesty ruleth the judgment rude of understanding; and finally, if credit among men be so much regarded, how much more convenient is it, that faith in God's word (wherein can be no deceit as there is in men) should alter and change man's judgment in reason, and bring it into the obedience of faith. Of that is bread after the judgment of our reason, after the report of our senses, Christ determineth unto us the substance of that to be his body, saying, *This 6 is my body*; why shall not now a true Christian man answer ever according to his faith, to say and profess the same to be the substance of Christ's body, upon credit of Christ's words, as well as the carnal man will upon report of his senses conclude in reason there to be the substance of bread? whereby is not taken away the credit of our senses, as this author supposeth, which have their objects still true as they had before. For the colour, greatness, 7 savour, and taste, all remain truly with the experiences of them as before. Upon whose report, reason nevertheless, now reduced to the obsequy of faith, forbearth reverently to conclude against the truth of faith, but according to faith confesseth the substance to

be the very substance of Christ's body, and the accidents to remain in their very true nature, because faith teacheth not the contrary, and that it agreeth with the rule of faith so to be, and therefore remaineth a very true greatness, thickness, and weight, which may be called in common speech, substance, signifying the outward nature. And in that sense Theodorete, reasoning with an heretic, seemeth to call it, because having spoken of substance remaining, he declareth what he meaneth by it, adding, "It may be seen and felt as before," which is not the nature of substance properly, but by like common speech, that remaineth may be called matter, as Origen called it; wherein also remaineth true savour and taste, with true property to corrupt, or putrefy, and also nourish; God so ordering the use of the creature of bread and likewise wine in this mystery, as the inward nature of them, (which in deed is the substance, but only comprehended in reason and understanding,) is converted into the most precious substance of Christ's body and blood, which is in deed a substance there present, by God's omnipotency only to be comprehended by faith, so far as may be understood of man's weakness and imbecility.

- 8 And where this author putteth a danger, if senses be not trusted, there is a gap open to the Valentinians and Marcionists, and therefore bringeth in the feeling of St. Thomas; hereunto I say, that the truth of that feeling dependeth upon a true belief, according to the Scriptures, that Christ was very man; for else the body glorified of Christ, (as St. Gregory noteth¹) was not of the own glorified nature then either visible or palpable, but therein Christ condescended to man's infirmity, and as he was truth itself, left that a true testimony to such as humbly were disposed by grace to receive it; not to convince heretics, who can devise wayward answers to the external acts of Christ, as now-a-days they delude the miraculous entering of Christ to his disciples, the doors being shut. Our faith of the true manhood in Christ is truly believed, by true preaching thereof, and by the Scriptures; not by the outward senses of men, which altogether we must confess could be
- 9 no certain inevitable proof thereof. And therefore Christ appearing to his disciples going into Emaus, opened the Scriptures to them, for the proof of his death that he suffered as very man, and yet he used also in some part to preach to their senses, with sen-

* *Homil. Pasch.* 26.

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sible exhibition of himself unto them. And so all Christ's doings which were most true, do bear testimony to the truth, but in their degree of testimony; and the feeling of St. Thomas, being (as St. Gregory saith) miraculous, serveth for proof of another thing, that God's work in miracle doth not impair the truth of the thing wrought; and so St. Thomas touched then Christ as truly by miracle, after his resurrection in his body glorified, as if he had touched his body before glorification. Finally, in Christ's acts or his ordinances be no illusions, all is truth and perfect truth, and our senses in the visible forms of bread and wine be not illuded, but have their proper objects in those accidents, and reason in carnal understanding brought and subdued in obsequy to faith, doth in the estimation of the host consecrate yield to faith, according whereunto we confess truly the same to be the body of Christ.

Where this author would all the papists to lay all their heads together, &c. I know no such papists; but this I say without farther counsel, which this author with all his counsel shall not avoid: we believe most certainly the resurrection of our flesh, and be persuaded by catholic teaching, that the same flesh, by participation of Christ's godly flesh in the sacrament, shall be made incorruptible; and yet not after the judgment of our senses, and conclusions gathered of them, considering the manner of the continual consumption of the said bodies; whereof some philosophers have at length after their reason declared their mind, whom Christian men contemn with all the experience of senses, which they allege being vehement in that matter. We read in Scripture of the feeding of angels, when Loth received them.

Canterbury.

As in your answer to the third chapter of my book you have done nothing but dallied and trifled, even so do you likewise in the fourth chapter, and yet far more unseemly than in the third. For doth it become a Christian bishop, of a matter of religion and a principal article of our faith to make a matter of bread and cheese? And of the holy Supper of the Lord to make a resemblance of a dinner of hog's flesh? And yet for persuasion of your purpose, you make, as it were, a play in a dialogue between a rude man and a learned scholar, wherein the matter is so learnedly handled,

The rude
man and
learned
scholar.

that the simple rude man showeth himself to have more knowledge than both you and your learned scholar. And why you should bring in this matter I know not, except it be to show your ignorance to be as great in logic and philosophy as it is in divinity. For what an ignorance is this, to say that a man can know no difference between one substance and another, and that substances be not judged by any senses? And that all natural things be of these two parts, of substances and accidents; and that their accidents be part of their substances, and be called their substances, their natures, and matters? Was there ever any such learning uttered before this time? May not all men now evidently perceive into what a strait your error hath driven you, that you have none other defence but to fly to such absurdities as be against the judgment of the whole world? Would you make men believe, that they know not the substance of bread from drink, nor of chalk from cheese? Would you lead the world into this error, that Christ was never in deed seen, heard, nor felt, when he walked here with his Apostles? Did he not prove the very truth of his very flesh and bones by sight, saying, *A spirit hath not* Luke ult. *flesh and bones as you see me have?* And although substances be not seen and known to our senses, but by their accidents, yet be they in deed known, and properly known, and truly known by their accidents, and more properly seen than their accidents be. For the accidents be rather the means to know the substance by, than the things that be known. Is not wine known from beer by the taste, and mustard from sugar? Is not one man known by his voice from another? and a shalm from a drum? And is not a man discerned from a beast, and one man from another by sight? But when you turn up all speeches, all reason, and all manner of knowledge, it is less to be marvelled that you turn up divinity also, wherein you can less skill than in the rest.

And where you say, that the senses can no skill of substances, because they may be deceived therein, so may they also be in the accidents. For do not the sun and moon sometime look red by means of the vapours between us and

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them? And doth not spectacles make all things look of the same colour that they be of? And if you hold up your finger directly between your eyes and a candle, looking full at the candle, your finger shall seem two, and if you look full at your finger, the candle shall seem two. And an ague maketh sweet things seem bitter, and that is sweet to one, is bitter to another. And if a man having very hot hands, and another very cold, if they handle both one thing, the one shall think it hot, and the other cold. So that the senses may err as well in the accidents as in the substances, and cannot err in the substances, except they err also in the accidents.

Substance. But in speaking of substance, you declare such a substance, as never was, nor never shall be, phantasing substance by your imagination to be a thing in itself, separated from all accidents; and so confounding the substances of all things, and mixing heaven and earth together, you make all substances but one substance without any difference. And
1 Cor. xv. where Almighty God hath taught by his word that there be heavenly bodies and earthly bodies, and that every seed hath his own proper body, and that all flesh is not one flesh, but the flesh of men, of beasts, of fish, and of fowl be diverse, you teach by your words, that all flesh is one flesh, and all substances one substance, and so confound you all flesh with hog's flesh, making an hotch-potch like unto him that made a great variety of dishes all of hog's flesh. For take away the accidents, and I pray you what difference is between the bodily substance of the sun and the moon, of a man and a beast, of fish and flesh? between the body of one beast and another, one herb and another, one tree and another; between a man and a woman? yea, between our body and Christ's? and generally between any one corporal thing and another? For is not the distinction of all bodily substances known by their accidents, without the which a man's body cannot be known to be a man's body? And as substances cannot be substances without accidents, so the nature of accidents cannot be without substances, whose being and definition is to be in substances.

But as you speak of substances and accidents against Scripture, sense, reason, experience, and all learning, so do you also speak manifestly against yourself. For you say that every thing that is, must have a substance wherein it is stayed, and that every natural visible thing is of two parts, of substance and accidents, and yet by your transubstantiation you leave no substance at all to stay the accidents of the bread and wine.

And moreover this is a marvellous teaching of you, to say, that the accidents of bread be one part of bread, and be called the outward kind of bread, the sensible part of bread, the nature and matter of bread, and very bread. Was there ever any such learning taught before this day, that accidents should be called parts of substances, the nature of substances, the matter of substances, and the very substances themselves? If ever any man so wrote, tell who it is, or else knowledge the truth, that all these matters be invented by your own imagination, whereof the rude man may right well say, 'Here is sophistry indeed and plain juggling.' But you convey not your juggling so craftily, but that you be taken, as the Greeks term it, *ἐπαντοφώρη*, even with the manner.

Now as concerning your expert lapidary, if his senses be deceived, how shall he judge a true stone from a counterfeit? Doth he not diligently look upon it with his sight, to discern truly of it? For tell me, I pray you, how a man without senses shall judge a true diamond? Put out his eyes, and is not a white sapphire, a diamond, and a glass, all one in his judgment? Mary, if he be a man of clear sight, of true knowledge and experience in the judgment of stones, and be therewithal a man of good faith and honesty, as you tell the tale, they that be ignorant will be ashamed to control his judgment. But if he be blind, or be a man neither of faith nor honesty, but his experience hath been ever exercised to deceive all that trust him, and to sell them white sapphires for diamonds, then no man that wise is, will take a glass or sapphire at his hands of trust, although he say it be a true diamond. Even so likewise the papists, being so accustomed

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with their merchandises of glistening glasses and counterfeit drugs to deceive the world, what wise men will trust them with their feigned transubstantiation, being so manifestly against the plain words of Scripture, against all reason, sense, and ancient writers? And although you have taken never so great labour and pains in this place to answer mine arguments, (wherein you do nothing else but show your ignorance in philosophy and logic,) yet all is in vain, except you could prove transubstantiation to be a matter of our faith; which being not proved, all that you have spoken here serveth to no purpose, nor concludeth nothing. For you are not so ignorant in sophistry, but you know well enough, that of a false antecedent can no consequent directly follow.

And as concerning these words of Christ, *This is my body*, by your own teaching in these words he called bread his body, which can be no formal and proper speech, but spoken by a figure, as the order of the text plainly declareth, and all the old authors do testify.

And where you say, that although the substance of bread⁷ and wine be gone, yet the senses have their proper object still remaining, as they had before, that is to say, the colours, greatness, thickness, weight, savour, and taste; express then, I pray you plainly, what thing it is that is coloured, great, thin or thick, heavy or light, savoury or tasted? For seeing you confess that these do remain, you must confess also that there remaineth bread. For that greatness, thickness, thinness, colours, and weight be not in the body of Christ, nor in the air, which cannot be weighed; and in something they must needs be, for by your own saying, every thing hath a substance to stay it; therefore they must needs be in the substance of bread and wine. And to say that the accidents of bread be the natures, matters, and substances thereof, is nothing else but to declare to the world, that you make words to signify at your pleasure.

But other shift have you none to defend your transubstantiation, but to devise such monstrous kinds of speeches as never was heard of before. For you say that the nature, matter, and substance of bread and wine remain not, but be

changed into the body and blood of Christ: the old writers say directly contrary, that the nature, matter, and substance remain. "Christ," saith Theodoret, "called bread and wine his body and blood, and yet changed not their natures." And again he saith, "The bread and wine after the consecration lose not their proper nature, but keep their former substance, form, and figure, which they had before." And Origene saith, that "the matter of bread availeth nothing, but as concerning the material part thereof it goeth down into the belly and is avoided downward." And Gelasius saith, that "the nature and substance of bread and wine cease not to be." Now seeing that your doctrine, who teach that the nature, matter, and substance of bread and wine be changed and remain not, is as clean contrary to these old writers, with many other, as black is contrary to white and light to darkness, you have no remedy to defend your error and wilful opinion, but to imagine such portentous and wonderful kinds of speeches to be spoken by these authors, as never were uttered before by no man; that is to say, that the outward appearance and accidents of any thing should be called the nature, matter, and substance thereof. But such monsters had you rather bring forth, than you would in one jot relent in your error once by you uttered, and undertaken to be by you defended. And yet bring you nothing for the proof of your saying, but that if the author's words should be understand as they be spoken, this should follow thereof, that bread and wine should be seen and felt; which as no man doubteth of, but all men take it for a most certain truth, so you take it for a great inconvenience and absurdity. So far be you forced in this matter to vary in speech and judgment from the sentence and opinion of all men.

- 8 And as touching the belief of St. Thomas, although he believed certainly that Christ was a man, yet he believed not that Christ was risen, and appeared to the Apostles, but thought rather that the Apostles were deceived by some vision or spirit, which appeared to them in likeness of Christ, which he thought was not he in deed. And so thought the

BOOK II. Apostles themselves, until Christ said, *Videte manus meas et pedes, quia ego ipse sum : palpate et videte, quia spiritus*

Luc. ult.

carnem et ossa non habent, sicut me videtis habere. See my hands and my feet, for I am even he : grope and see, for spirits have no flesh and bones, as you see that I have.

John xx.

And so thought also St. Thomas, until such time as he put his hands into Christ's side and felt his wounds, and by his sense of feeling perceived that it was Christ's very body, and no spirit nor phantasy, as before he believed. And so in St. Thomas the truth of feeling depended not upon the true belief of Christ's resurrection, but the feeling of his senses brought him from misbelief unto the right and true faith of

Gregorius.

that matter. And as for St. Gregory, he speaketh no such things as you report, that the glorified body of Christ was of the own nature neither visible nor palpable, but he saith clean contrary, that Christ showed his glorified body to St. Thomas palpable, to declare that it was of the same nature that it was of before his resurrection ; whereby it is plain, after St. Gregory's mind, that if it were not palpable, it were not of the same nature. And St. Gregory saith further in the same homily. " Egit miro modo superna clementia, ut " *discipulus ille dubitans, dum in Magistro suo vulnera pal-* " *paret carnis, in nobis vulnera sanaret infidelitatis. Plus* " *enim nobis Thomæ infidelitas ad fidem, quam fides cre-* " *dentium discipulorum profuit : quia dum ille ad fidem* " *palpando reducitur, nostra mens omni dubitatione post-* " *posita in fide solidatur.*" " The supernal clemency wrought " *marvellously, that the disciple which doubted, by groping* " *the wounds of flesh in his Master, should heal in us the* " *wounds of infidelity. For the lack of faith in Thomas* " *profited more to our faith, than did the faith of the disci-* " *ples that believed. For when he is brought to faith by* " *groping, our mind is stablished in faith without all doubt-* " *ing.*" And why should St. Gregory write thus, if our senses availed nothing unto our faith, nor could nothing judge of substances ? And do not all the old catholic authors prove the true humanity of Christ, by his visible conversation with us here in earth ? that he was heard preach, seen

eating and drinking, labouring and sweating? Do they not also prove his resurrection by seeing, hearing, and groping of him? which if it were no proof, those arguments were made in vain against such heretics that denied his true incarnation. And shall you now take away the strength of their arguments to the maintenance of those old condemned heresies, by your subtle sophistications? The touching and feeling of Christ's hands, feet, and wounds, was a proof of his resurrection, not as you say, to them that believed, but as St. Gregory saith, to them that doubted.

- 9 And if all things that Christ did and spake to our outward senses, prove not that he was a natural man, (as you say with Marcion, Menander, Valentinus, Apollinaris, with other of like sort,) then I would know how you should confute the said heresies? Mary, will you say peradventure, by the Scripture, which saith plainly, *Verbum caro factum est*. But if they would say again, that he was called a man and flesh, because he took upon him the form of a man and flesh, and would say that St. Paul so declareth it, saying, *Formam servi accipiens*; and would then say further, that Phil. ii. form is the accident of a thing, and yet hath the name of substance, but is not the substance in deed, what would you then say unto them? If you deny that the forms and accident be called substances, then go you from your own saying. And if you grant it, then will they avoid all the Scriptures that you can bring to prove Christ a man, by this cavillation, that the appearances, forms, and accidents of a man, may be called a man, as well as you say, that the forms and accidents of bread be called bread. And so prepare you certain propositions and grounds for heretics to build their errors upon, which after, when you would, you shall never be able to overthrow.

And where you say, that Thomas touched truly Christ's body glorified, how could that be, when touching, as you say, is not of the substance, but of the accidents only; and also Christ's body glorified, as you say, is neither visible nor palpable? And whereas in deed you make Christ's acts

10 illusions, and yet in words you pretend the contrary, call

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you not this illusion of our senses, when a thing appeareth to our senses, which is not the same thing in deed? When Jupiter and Mercury, as the comedy telleth¹, appeared to Alcumena in the similitude of Amphitryo and Sosia, was not Alcumena deceived thereby? And poticaries that sell juniper berries for pepper, being no pepper in deed, deceive they not the buyers by illusion of their senses? Why then is not in the ministration of the holy communion an illusion of our senses, if our senses take for bread and wine that which is not so in deed?

Finally, whereas I required earnestly all the papists to lay their heads together, and to show one article of our faith so directly contrary to our senses, that all our senses by daily experience shall affirm a thing to be, and yet our faith shall teach us the contrary thereunto; where I say I required this so earnestly of you, and with such circumstances, and you have yet showed none, I may boldly conclude that you can show none. For sure I am, if you could, being so earnestly provoked thereunto, you would not have failed to show it in this place. As for the article of our resurrection, and of the feeding of angels serve nothing for this purpose; for my saying is of the daily experience of our senses, and when they affirm a thing to be; but the resurrection of our flesh, and the feeding of angels, be neither in daily experience of our senses, nor our senses affirm them not so to be. Now after the matter of our senses, followeth in my book the authorities of ancient writers in this wise.

[See vol. ii. p. 320, 321. "Now forasmuch"——
"nourish our bodies."]

Winchester.

Justinus. I will spend no more words herein; but having avoided this author's reasoning against transubstantiation, now let us examine his authorities. First, he beginneth with Justine the Martyr, whose words be not truly by this author here reported, which be these, truly translate out of the Greek. "When the priest hath

¹ Plautus in *Amphitryone*.

“ ended his thanksgiving and prayers, and all the people hath
 “ said Amen, they whom we call deacons, give to every one then
 2 “ present a part of the bread and of the wine and water conse-
 “ crated, and carry part to those that be absent, and this is that
 “ food which is among us called *Eucharistia*; whereof it is lawful
 “ for no man to be partaker, except he be persuaded those things
 “ to be true that he taught us, and be baptized in the water of
 “ regeneration in remission of sins, and ordereth his life after the
 “ manner which Christ hath taught. For we do not take these
 “ for common bread or drink, but like as Jesus Christ our Sa-
 “ viour, incarnate by the word of God, had flesh and blood for
 “ our salvation, even so we be taught the food, wherewith our
 3 “ flesh and blood be nourished by alteration, when it is consecrate
 “ by the prayer of his word, to be the flesh and blood of the same
 “ Jesus incarnate. For the Apostles in those their works which
 “ be called Gospels, teach that Jesus did so command them, and
 “ after he had taken the bread, and ended his thanksgiving, said :
 “ *Do this in my remembrance, This is my body.* And likewise
 “ taking the cup after he had given thanks, said : *This is my*
 “ *blood,* and did give them to his Apostles only.” And here I
 1 make an issue with this author, that he wittingly corrupteth An issue.
 Justine in the allegation of him, who writeth not in such form of
 words as this author allegeth out of his second Apology, nor hath
 any such speech : “ The bread, water, and wine, in this sacra-
 “ ment, are meats ordained purposely to give thanks to God, and
 “ therefore be called *Eucharistia* ;” nor hath not these words,
 “ They be called the body and blood of Christ ;” but hath in plain
 words, “ that we be taught this food consecrate by God’s word,
 “ to be the flesh and blood of Christ, as Christ in his incarnation
 “ took flesh and blood :” nor hath not this form of words placed
 to have that understanding, how the same meat and drink is
 changed into our flesh and blood. For the words in Justine,
 speaking of alteration of the food, have an understanding of the
 food, as it is before the consecration, showing how Christ used
 those creatures in this mystery, which by alteration nourish our
 flesh and blood. For the body of Christ, which is the very celes-
 tial substance of the host consecrate, is not changed, but without
 all alteration spiritually nourisheth the bodies and souls of them
 that worthily receive the same to immortality ; whereby appeareth
 this author’s conclusion, “ that bread and wine remain still, which

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“is turned into our flesh and blood,” is not deduced upon Justine’s words truly understood, but is a gloss invented by this author, and perverting of Justine’s words and their true meaning. Whereupon I may say and conclude, even as this author erreth in his reasoning of mother wit against transubstantiation, even so erreth he in the first allegation of his authorities by plain misreporting; let it be further named or thought on, as the thing deserveth.

Canterbury.

In this holy Martyr Justinus I do not go about to be a translator of him, nor I bind not myself precisely to follow the form of his words, which no translator is bound unto, but I set forth only his sense and meaning. For where Justine hath a good long process in this matter, I take no more but that is directly to the purpose of transubstantiation, which is the matter being here in question. And the long words of Justine I knit up together in as few words as I can, rendering the sense truly, and not varying far from the words. And this have I done, not willingly to corrupt Justine, as you maliciously deprave, (and thereupon will I join with you in your own issue,) but I do it to recite to the reader Justine’s mind shortly and plainly; whereas you professing to observe scrupulously the words, observe in deed neither the words nor the sentence of Justine. But this is your fashion; when you lack good matter to answer, then, to find something to fill up your book, you turn the matter into trifling and cavillation in words.

Mine issue.
[1580.]

You say that Justine hath not this speech, “the bread, water, and wine, in this sacrament, are meats ordained purposely to give thanks to God,” and yet by your own translation he hath the same thing in effect, and yet in deed the words be neither as you nor as I say, and as they be in Greek they cannot be expressed in English but by a paraphrasis: the words be these in Greek, τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, and in our tongue, as near as may be Englished, signify thus, “the bread and wine and water of thanksgiving,” or as Ireneus saith, “in which thanks be given.” And neither hath Justine this word

“sacrament,” as I say, nor this word “consecrated,” as you say. May not all men therefore evidently see that your chief study is to make cavillations and dallying in words? And all the rest of my sayings, which you deny to be in Justine, be there very plainly in sense, as I will be judged by the indifferent reader. BOOK
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And what need I willingly to corrupt Justine, when his words after your allegation, serve more for my purpose against your feigned transubstantiation, than as I allege them myself. For if the deacons give to every one present ² a part of the bread, wine, and water consecrated, and send part to them that be absent, as you report Justine’s words, do not then bread, wine, and water remain after consecration, seeing that they be distributed to divers men in parts? For I think you will not say that the body of Christ is divided into parts, so that one man receiveth an hand, and another a leg. And Justine saith further, that the same ³ food of bread, wine, and water, called *Eucharistia*, nourisheth our flesh and blood by alteration, which they could not do, if no bread, wine, nor water, were there at all.

But here is not to be passed over one exceeding great craft and untruth in your translation, that to cast a mist before the reader’s eyes, you alter the order of Justine’s words in that place where the pith of the matter standeth. For where Justine saith of the food of bread, wine, and water, after the consecration, that they nourish our flesh and blood by alteration, the nourishment which Justine putteth after consecration, you untruly put it before the consecration, and so wilfully and craftily alter the order of Justinus’ words, to deceive the reader; and in this point will I join an issue with you. Minor issue.
[1580.] Is such craft and untruth to be used of bishops? and that in matters of faith and religion, whereof they pretend and ought to be true professors? But I marvel not so much at your sleights in this place, seeing that in the whole book throughout you seek nothing less than the truth. And yet all your sleights will not serve you, for how can the food, called *Eucharistia*, nourish before the

BOOK II. consecration, seeing it is not eaten until after the consecration?

The next author in my book is Irene, whom I allege thus.

[See vol. ii. p. 321. "Next him was Irenæus"—"we do use."]

Winchester.

Irene.

NEXT Justine is Irene, in the allegation of whom this author maketh also an untrue report, who hath not this form of words in the fourth book, *Contra Valentinum*, that "the bread wherein we give thanks unto God, although it be of the earth, yet when the name of God is called upon, it is not then common bread, but the bread of thanksgiving, having two things in it, one earthly, and the other heavenly." This is Irene alleged by this author, who I say writeth not in such form of words. For his words be these: "Like as the bread which is of the earth, receiving the calling of God, is now no common bread, but *Eucharistia*, consisting of two things, earthly and heavenly, so our bodies receiving *Eucharistia*, be no more corruptible." These be Irene's words, where Irene doth not call the bread receiving the calling of God, the bread of thanksgiving, but *Eucharistia*, and in this *Eucharistia* he showeth how that, that he calleth the heavenly thing, is the body and blood of Christ, and therefore saith in his fifth book^m: "When the chalice mixed, and the bread broken, receive the word of God, it is made *Eucharistia* of the body and blood of Christ, of which the substance of our flesh is stayed and increased. And how say they that our flesh is not able to receive God's gift, who is eternal life; which flesh is nourished with the body and blood of Christ?" These be also Irene's words, whereby appeareth what he meant by the heavenly

^m [Both Cranmer and Gardyner, with others of their contemporaries who wrote on this controversy, were misled in the interpretation of this passage by the incorrectness of the Latin version, the only form in which it was then circulated. But it is extant in the original Greek, together with great part of the chapter to which it belongs, in Jo. Damascene, and was first printed from thence by P. Halloix, in his *Life of Irenæus*. For the passage as it stood in the Latin version, see Fisher, Bp. of Rochester, *Against Ecolampadius*, lib. iv. cap. 23; Cranmer, *Defence*, vol. ii. p. 321. 373; and Peter Martyr, *De Eucharistia*, Obj. 155. For the Greek original, see *Authorities* in the Appendix.]

thing in *Eucharistia*, which is the very presence of Christ's body and blood. And for the plain testimony of this faith, this Irene hath been commonly alleged, and specially of Melancthon to Œcolampadius, as one most ancient and most plainly testifying the same. So as his very words, truly alleged, overthrow this author in the impugnation of Christ's real presence in the sacrament, and therefore can nothing help this author's purpose against transubstantiation. Is not this a goodly and godly entry of this author, in the first two authorities that he bringeth in, to corrupt them both ?

Canterbury.

Who seeth not, that as you did before in Justine, so again in Irene, you seek nothing else but mere cavillations and wrangling in words ? Is not *Eucharistia* called in English thanksgiving ? If it be not, tell you what it is called in English. And doth not Irene say, "Panēs in quo gratiæ actæ sunt;" that is 'to say, "bread wherein thanks be "given?" what have I offended then in Englishing *Eucharistiam* thanksgiving ? Do not I write to Englishmen, which understand not what this Greek word *Eucharistia* meaneth ? What great offence is it then in me to put it into English, that Englishmen may understand what is said ? Should I do as you do, put Greek for English, and write so obscurely that Englishmen should not know the author's meaning ?

And do you not see how much the words of Ireneus, by you alleged, make against yourself ? These be his words after your citation : "When the chalice mixed, and the "bread broken, receive the word of God, it is made *Eucharistia* of the body and blood of Christ, of which the "substance of our flesh is stayed and increased." Doth not Irene say here plainly, that the chalice mixed, and the bread broken after the word of God, which you call the words of consecration, is made *Eucharistia* of the body and blood of Christ, and not the body and blood of Christ ? And saith he not further, that they stay and increase the substance of our bodies ? But how can those things stay and increase our bodies, which be transubstantiated and gone before we receive them ? And have you forgotten now

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in Irene, what you said in the next leaf before in Justine, that the alteration and nourishment by the food of bread and wine was understand before the consecration, which you confess now to be after the consecration? And when you thus obscure the author's words, perverting and corrupting both the words and senses, yet shall you conclude your untrue dealing with these words concerning me, "Is not this a goodly and godly entry of this author, in the first two authorities that he bringeth in, to corrupt them both?" Now followeth Origene next in my book.

[See vol. ii. p. 321, 322. "Shortly after"—"availeth."]

Winchester.

Origene. As for Origene in his own words saith, the matter of the bread remaineth; which as I have before opened, it may be granted, but yet he termeth it not, as this author doth, to call it material bread. When God formed Adam of clay, the matter of the clay remained in Adam, and yet the material clay remained not, for it was altered into another substance; which I speak not to compare equally the forming of Adam to the sacrament, but to show it not to be all one, to say the material bread, and the matter of bread. For the accidents of bread may be called the matter of bread, but not the material bread, as I have somewhat spoken thereof before: but such shifts be used in this matter, notwithstanding the importance of it.

Canterbury.

What should I tarry much in Origene, seeing that you confess that he saith the matter of bread remaineth; and Origene saith, that the meat which is sanctified, "juxta id quod habet materiale, in ventrem abit;" that is to say, "as concerning the material part thereof, goeth into the belly." So that by Origen's teaching both the bread and the material part of bread remain. So that your example of clay relieveth you nothing in this your answer unto Origene.

But when you see that this shift will not serve, then you fly to another, and say that the accidents of bread be called the matter of bread, which is so shameful a shift, as all that have any manner of knowledge, may plainly see your mani-

fest impudency. But many such shifts you “use in this matter, notwithstanding the importance of it.” Now let us come to Cyprian, of whom I write in this manner. BOOK
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[See vol. ii. p. 322, 323. “After Origen”——“for our sins.”]

Winchester.

1 St. Cyprian's words do not impugn transubstantiation, for they tend only to show that wine is the creature appointed to the celebration of this mystery, and therefore water only is no due matter according to Christ's institution. And as the name wine must be used before the consecration, to show the truth of it then, so it may also be used for a name of it after, to show what it was, which is often used. And in one place of Cyprian by this author here alleged, it appeareth St. Cyprian, by the word wine, signifieth the heavenly wine of the vineyard of the Lord of Sabaoth, calling it new wine, and alluding therein to David. And this doth Cyprian show in these words, “How shall we drink with Christ new wine of the creature of the vine; if in the sacrifice to God the Father and Christ we do not offer wine?” Is not here mention of new wine of the creature of the vine? what new wine can be, but the blood of Christ, the very wine consecrate by God's omnipotency, of the creature of the vine offered? And therefore this one place may give us a lesson in Cyprian, that as he useth the word “wine” to signify the heavenly drink of the blood of Christ, made by consecration, of the creature of wine; so when he nameth the bread consecrate bread, he meaneth the heavenly bread Christ, who is the bread of life. And so Cyprian can make nothing by those words against transubstantiation, who writeth plainly of the change of the bread by God's omnipotency into the flesh of Christ, as shall after appear, where this author goeth about to answer to him.

Canterbury.

1 Cyprian's words tend not only to show that wine is the creature appointed to the celebration of the mystery, but that it is also there present, and drunken in the mystery. For these be his words: “It cannot be thought, that Christ's blood is in the cup, when wine is not in the cup,

BOOK “whereby the blood of Christ is showed.” And again he
II. saith: “It was wine that Christ called his blood,” and that
 “it is clear that Christ’s blood is not offered, if there be no
 “wine in the chalice.” And further he saith: “How shall
 “we drink with Christ new wine of the creature of the vine,
 “if in the sacrifice of God the Father and of Christ, we do
 “not offer wine?” In these words Cyprian saith not, that
 Christ is the wine which we drink, but that with Christ we
 drink wine that cometh of the vine tree, and that Christ’s
 blood is not there, when wine is not there. And where is
 now your transubstantiation, that taketh away the wine?
 For take away the wine, and take away, by Cyprian’s mind,
 the blood of Christ also.

But lest any man should stumble at Cyprian’s words, where he seemeth to say that the blood of Christ should be really in the cup, he saith nor meaneth no such thing, but that it is there sacramentally or figuratively. And his meaning needeth none other gathering, but of his own words, that follow next after in the same sentence, that by the wine the blood of Christ is showed. And shortly after he saith, that the cup which the Lord offered was wine, and that it was wine that Christ called his blood. Now come we to Emissene, your principal stay, in whom is your chief glory. Of him thus I write.

[See vol. ii. p. 323, 324. “Eusebius Emissenus”——
 “blood of Christ.”]

Winchester.

Emissene. As touching Emissene, by whose words is expressly testified the truth of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, and also the sense of the doctrine of transubstantiation, this author maketh himself bold over him, and so bold that he dare corrupt him; which Emissene writeth not, that man is turned into the
An issue. body of the Church. And here I make an issue with this author, that Emissene hath not that word of “turning” in that place, and man to be turned into the body of the Church is no convenient speech, to signify a change in him that is regenerate by baptism. He in deed that is thrust out of the chancel for his misdemeanour

in service time, may be said turned into the body of the church. But Emissene speaketh not so here. But because the same Emissene, declaring the mystery of the sacrament, saith the visible creatures be turned into the substance of the body of Christ, this author thought it would sound gaily well, to the confusion of that true doctrine of turning, to speak in baptism of the turning of a man into the body of the Church. And it may be commonly observed in this author, when he allegeth any authority of others, he bringeth forth the same in such form of words as he would have them, and not as they be, for the most part or very often; and once of purpose were over often in so high a matter as this is.

And yet in this Emissene's authority, after all the pain taken to reforge him, Emissene's doctrine plainly confoundeth this author's teaching. This author maketh a note, that there is in man baptized nothing changed outwardly, and therefore in the sacrament neither; and it must be granted. For the doctrine of transubstantiation teacheth not in the sacrament any outward change. For the substance of the bread and wine is an inward nature, and so is substance of one defined. And to speak of the thing changed, then as in man the change is in the soul, which is the substance of man: so far the thing changed in the visible creatures should be also changed, and is changed; the substance of the bread and wine to answer therein to the other.

And we must consider how this comparison of the two changes is made as it were by proportion: wherein each change hath his special end and term, "whereunto," and therefore according to the term and end hath his work of change, special and several both by God's work. Thus I mean, the visible creatures hath their end and term, "whereunto" the change is made, the very body and blood of Christ; which body being a true body, we must say is a corporal substance. The soul of man hath his end and term, a spiritual alteration, incorporeal, to be regenerate the son of God. And then the doctrine of this Emissene is plain thus, that each change is of like truth; and then it followeth, that if the change of man's soul in baptism be true, and not in a figure, the change likewise in the sacraments is also true and not in a figure. And if man's soul by the change in baptism be in deed, that is to say, really made the son of God, then is the substance of the bread, which is as it were the soul of the bread, (I am

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bold here in speech to use the word soul, to express proportion of the comparison;) but even so is the inward nature of the bread which is substance, turned and changed into the body of Christ, being the term and end of that change. And here I say so, not to declare the manner, but the truth of the end; that is to say, as really and in deed the change is in the substance of bread as in the soul of man; both these changes be marvellous, and both be in the truth of their change, whereunto they be changed, of like truth and reality to be done in deed; they resemble one another in the secrecy of the mystery, and the ignorance of our senses, for in neither is any outward change at all; and therefore there was never man tripped himself more handsomely to take a fall, than this author doth in this place, not only in corrupting evidently and notably the words of Emissene without purpose, whereby nevertheless he showed his good will, but also by setting forth such matter, as overturneth all his teaching at once.

For now the author must say the change in man's soul by baptism, to be there made the son of God, is but in figure and signification, not true and real in deed, or else grant the true catholic doctrine of the turn of the visible creatures into the body and blood of Christ, to be likewise not in figure and signification, but truly, really, and in deed. And for the thing changed, as the soul of man, man's inward nature, is changed, so the inward nature of the bread is changed. And then is that evasion taken away, which this author useth in another place of sacramental change, which should be in the outward part of the visible creatures to the use of signification. This author noteth the age of Emissen, and I note withal how plainly he writeth for confirmation of the catholic teaching, who indeed, because of his ancient and plain writing for declaration of the matter in form of teaching without contention, is one, whose authority the Church hath much in allegation used to the conviction of such as have impugned the sacrament, either in the truth of the presence of Christ's very body, or transubstantiation; for the speaking of the inward change doth point as it were the change of the substance of bread, with resembling thereunto the soul of man changed in baptism. This one author not being of any reprov'd, and of so many approved, and by this in the allegation after this manner corrupt, might suffice for to conclude all brabbling against the sacrament.

Canterbury.

1 Whether I have corrupted Emissene, let the reader be judge. But when Emissene speaketh godly of the alteration, change, and turning of a man from the congregation of the wicked unto the congregation of Christ, which he calleth the body of the Church, and from the child of death unto the child of God; this must be made a matter of scoffing, to turn light fellows out of the chancel into the body of the church. Such trifling now-a-days becometh gaily well godly bishops. What if in the stead of "turning" I had said "skipped over," as the word *transilisti* signifieth, which, (although peradventure the books be false and should be *transisti*,) I have translated "turning," should I have so escaped a mock, trow you? You would then have said, He that so doeth, goeth not out of the chancel door into the body of the church, but skippeth over the stalls. But that Emissene meant of turning, is clear, as well by the words that go before, as those which go after, which I refer to the judgment of the indifferent reader.

But forasmuch as you would persuade men that this author maketh so much for your purpose, I shall set forth his mind plainly, that it may appear how much you be deceived. Emissene's mind is this, that although our Saviour Christ hath taken his body hence from our bodily sight, yet we see him by faith, and by grace he is here present with us, so that by him we be made new creatures, regenerated by him, and fed and nourished by him; which generation and nutrition in us be spiritual, without any mutation appearing outwardly, but wrought within us invisibly by the omnipotent power of God. And this alteration in us is so wonderful, that we be made new creatures in Christ, grafted into his body, and of the same receive our nourishment and increasing: and yet visibly with our bodily eyes we see not these things, but they be manifest unto our faith by God's word and sacraments. And Emissene declareth none other real presence of Christ in the sacrament of his body and blood, than in the sacrament of baptism, but spiritually by faith to be present in both.

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Turning.

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And where Emissene speaketh of the conversion of earthly creatures into the substance of Christ, he speaketh that as well of baptism as of the Lord's Supper, as his own words plainly declare. "If thou wilt know," saith he, "how it ought not to seem to thee a new thing and impossible, that earthly and corruptible things be turned into the substance of Christ, look upon thyself, which art made new in baptism." And yet he meant not, that the water of baptism in itself is really turned into the substance of Christ, nor likewise bread and wine in the Lord's Supper, but that in the action, water, wine, and bread, as sacraments, be sacramentally converted, unto him that duly receiveth them, into the very substance of Christ. So that the sacramental conversion is in the sacraments, and the real conversion is in him that receiveth the sacraments, which real conversion is inward, invisible, and spiritual. For the outward corporal substances, as well of the man as of the water, remain the same as they were before. And therefore saith Emissene, "Thou visibly didst remain in the same measure that thou hadst before, but invisibly thou wast made greater without any increase of thy body; thou wast the selfsame person, and yet by the increase of faith thou wast made another man. Outwardly nothing was added, but all the change was inwardly." In these words hath Emissene plainly declared, that the conversion in the sacraments, whereof he spake when he said that earthly and corruptible things be turned into the substance of Christ, is to be understand in the receivers by their faith, and that in the said conversion the outward substance remaineth the selfsame that was before. And that Emissene meant this, as well in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper as in the sacrament of baptism, his own words plainly declare. So that the substance of Christ, as well in baptism as the Lord's Supper, is seen, not with our eyes, but with our faith, and touched not with our bodies, but with our minds, and received not with our hands, but with our hearts, eaten and drunken not with our outward mouths, but with our inward man.

And where Emissene saith, that Christ hath taken his body from our sight into heaven, and yet in the sacrament of his holy Supper he is present with his grace through faith, he doth us to understand that he is not present in the forms of bread and wine out of the ministration, except you will say that faith and grace be in the bread, when it is kept and hanged up; but when the bread and wine be eaten and drunken according to Christ's institution, then to them that so eat and drink, the bread and wine is the body and blood of Christ, according to Christ's words, *Edite, hoc est corpus meum: bibite, hic est calix sanguinis mei*. And thereforeⁿ, in the Book of the Holy Communion we do not pray that the creatures of bread and wine may be the body and blood of Christ, but that they may be to us the body and blood of Christ, that is to say, that we may so eat them and drink them, that we may be partakers of his body crucified and of his blood shed for our redemption.

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II.

The Book
of Common
Prayer.

Thus have I declared the truth of Emissene's mind, which is agreeable to God's word and the old catholic Church. But now what illusions and dreams you fantasy of Emissene's words, it is a wonder to hear. First, that the substance of bread and wine is an inward nature, and that in baptism the whole man is not regenerated, but the soul only, and that the soul of man is the substance of man, and made the son of God. And now when it serveth for your purpose, the body of Christ is a corporal substance, which in all your book before was but a spiritual body; and the substance of bread and wine be visible creatures, which were wont with you to be inward and invisible natures; and now is the inward nature of the bread the substance of the bread, whereas in other places the outward forms be the substance; so little substance is in your doctrine, that from time to time you thus alter your sayings. This is no tripping, but so shameful a fall, and in so foul and stinking a place, that you shall never be able to spunge the filthiness out of your clothes, and to make yourself sweet again.

Absurdi-
tics.

4 And you appoint at your pleasure both *terminum a quo*,

ⁿ [See p. 145.]

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II.

terminum ad quem, and the changes, and the things that be changed, altogether otherwise than Emissene doth. For in Emissene the changes be regeneration, and nourishing or augmentation, the thing that is changed is the man, both in regeneration, and in nutrition or augmentation: and in regeneration *terminus a quo* is the son of perdition, and *terminus ad quem* is the son of God: and in nutrition *terminus a quo* is the hunger and thirst of the man, and *terminus ad quem* is the feeding and satisfying of his hunger and thirst. But you appoint the changes to be transubstantiation and regeneration, and the things that be changed in transubstantiation you say is the substance of bread and wine, and the same to be *terminum a quo*, and the flesh and blood of Christ, say you, is *terminus ad quem*. And in regeneration you assign *terminum a quo* to be the soul of man only, and *terminum ad quem* to be regenerated the son of God. And so being eight things in these two mutations, in each of them the change, the thing that is changed, the thing from whence it is changed, and the thing whereunto it is changed; you have missed the butt clearly in all saving two, that is to say, regeneration, and the thing whereunto regeneration is made: and in all the other six you missed the cushion quite. And yet if the change were in the substance of bread and wine, proportionably to the change of the soul being the substance of man, as you say, if you should make the proportions agree, then as the soul, being the man's substance, remaineth without transubstantiation, so must the bread and wine remain without transubstantiation. And if the substance of the bread and wine be not the visible sign in the Lord's Supper, because substance, as you say, is a thing invisible, then is not the substance of water the visible sign in baptism, being no more visible the substance of the one than the substance of the other. Now of Hilary I write thus.

[See vol. ii. p. 324. "Hilarius"—"after Christ."]

Winchester.

Hilary.

But I will examine no particularities. I have before answered

to Hilary, to whom nevertheless I should aptly have said somewhat now, to note how he distincteth outwardly and inwardly by belief and corporal sight. For outwardly, as Emissene saith, we see no change, and therefore we see after consecration as before, which we may therefore call bread, but we believe that inwardly is, which, as Emissene saith, is the substance of the body of Christ, whereunto the change is made of the inward nature of bread, as by the comparison of Emissene doth appear.

Canterbury.

Your distinction made here of outwardly and inwardly is a plain confusion of Hilarie's mind, and contrary to that which you wrote before in Emissene. For there you said, that the visible creatures be changed, (meaning, by the visible creatures, the substances of bread and wine), and now, when Hilary saith that bread and wine be seen, you say that their substances be not seen, but the outward forms only, which you say be called bread and wine. But here appeareth into how narrow a strait you be driven, that be fain for a shift to say, that the accidents of bread without the substance be called bread. Epiphanius is next in my book.

[See vol. ii. p. 324. "And Epiphanius"—"be meat."]

Winchester.

1 THESE words of Epiphanius do plainly overturn this author's doctrine of a figurative speech, for a figure cannot give life: only God giveth life, and the speech of this Epiphanius of the sacrament doth necessarily imply the very true presence of Christ's body author of life. And then as often as the author is overthrown in the truth of the presence, so often is he (by Zuinglius's
2 rule) overthrown in transubstantiation. As for the name of bread is granted, because it was so, and transubstantiation doth not take
3 away, but it is meat because of the visible matter remaining. These sayings be sought out by this author only to wrangle, not taken out, where the mystery is declared and preached to be taught as a doctrine thereof, but only signified by the way and spoken of upon occasion, the sense whereof faithful men know otherwise than appeareth at the first readings to the carnal man:

but by such like speeches the Arrians impugned the Divinity of Christ.

Canterbury.

Epiphanius, speaking of the bread in the Lord's Supper, and the water in baptism, saith, that they have no power nor strength of themselves, but by Christ. So that the bread feedeth, and the water washeth the body, but neither the bread nor water give life nor purge to salvation, but only the might and power of Christ that is in them. And yet not in them reserved, but in the action and ministration, as it is manifest of his words. And therefore as in baptism is neither the real and corporal presence of Christ's body, nor transubstantiation of the water, no more is in the Lord's Supper either Christ's flesh and blood really and corporally present, or the bread and wine transubstantiated. And therefore Epiphanius calleth not bread by that name because it was so, but because it is so indeed, and nourisheth the body: as Hilarie said, "there is a figure, for bread and wine be openly seen:" he saith not, There was a figure, for bread and wine were openly seen. And the figure giveth not life, nor washeth not inwardly, but Christ that is in the figure, *tanquam signatum in signo*. And where you be fain to say, that accidents be meat without substance, all the world may judge how shameful a shift this is, and how contrary to this principle of philosophy, *Ex eisdem sunt et nutriuntur omnia*. Oh, what absurdities you be driven unto for the defence of your papistical inventions! Now cometh St. John Chrysostom, of whom in my book is thus written.

[See vol. ii. p. 324—326. "About the same time"—
"substance."]

Winchester.

Chrysostom.

CHRYSOSTOME speaketh in this place of wine, as Cyprian did before, against those that offer no wine, but water. Chrysostome saith thus: "Christ used wine:" and I grant he did so. For he did consecrate that creature, and, as Emissen saith, turned it in the celebration and dispensation of these mysteries. But this

saying toucheth nothing the doctrine of transubstantiation. The second saying of Chrysostom, which I never read but in Peter Martyr's book, who saith it is not printed^o, toucheth this author's doctrine much; if the bread by consecration be delivered from the name of bread, and exalted to the name of our Lord's body. Now consider, reader, if this manner of speech by Chrysostom here meaneth an effectual naming, to make the substance of the body of Christ present, as Chrysostom in his public approved works is understood of all to teach, then is the deliverance from the name of bread of like effect, to take away the reason of the name of bread, which is the change in substance thereof. Or if the author will say, that by the name of bread Chrysostom understandeth the bare name, how can that stand without reproof of St. Paul? who after this author's mind calleth it bread after consecration, and so do many other by this author alleged. Here percase may be said, what should I reason what he meant, when he saith plainly, the nature of bread still remaineth? To this I say, that as Chrysostome in this place (of an Epistle not published by credit) saith that the nature of bread remaineth; so Cyprian, that was older than he, saith the nature of bread is changed, which Chrysostom in his other works, by public credit set abroad, seemeth not to deny. Now the word "nature" signifieth both the substance and also property of the nature. The substance therefore after Cyprian by the word of God is changed, but yet the proper effect is not changed, but in the accidents remain without illusion, by which diverse signification and acception of the word "nature," both the sayings of St. Cyprian and St. Chrysostome (if this be his saying) may be accorded, and notwithstanding the contrariety in letter, agree nevertheless in sense between themselves, and agree with the true doctrine of transubstantiation. Add to this, how the words of Chrysostome next following this sentence alleged by this author, and as it seemeth of purpose left here out, do both confound this author's enterprise, and confirm the true doctrine: which words be these, "And is not called two bodies but one body of the Son of God." Of Chrysostome I shall speak again hereafter.

The word Nature hath two significations. [1580.]

Canterbury.

1 The first place of Chrysostom by me alleged, you say toucheth not the doctrine of transubstantiation. But you

^o [See vol. ii. p. 325.]

BOOK rehearse but a piece of Chrysostome's words. For he saith
II. not only that Christ used wine, but also drank wine in the
 mysteries, and the very wine of the grape. And how could
 then the wine be transubstantiate, except it were transubstan-
 tiate after it was drunken ?

Changing
 of names.

Now as touching the second part of Chrysostome, where
 he saith that the bread, when it is consecrated, is delivered
 from the name of bread, and is exalted to the name of the
 Lord's body, and yet the nature of bread doth still remain ;
 he meaneth, that the bread is delivered from the bare name
 of bread to represent unto us the body of Christ (according
 to his institution) which was crucified for us ; not that he is
 present or crucified in the bread, but was crucified upon the
 cross. And the bread is not so clearly delivered from the
 name of bread that it is no bread at all, for he saith the
 nature of bread doth still remain, nor that it may not be
 called by the name of bread, but it is so delivered, that
 commonly it is called by the higher name of the Lord's
 body, which to us it representeth. As you and I were deli-
 vered from our surnames, when we were consecrated bishops,
 sithence which time we have so commonly been used of all
 men to be called bishops, (you of Winchester, and I of Can-
 terbury,) that the most part of the people know not that your
 name is Gardyner, and mine Cranmer. And I pray God,
 that we being called to the name of lords, have not forgot-
 ten our own baser estates, that once we were simple squires.
 And yet should he have done neither of us wrong that
 should have called us by our right names, no more than St. 3
 Paul doth any injury to the bread in the sacrament calling
 it bread, although it have also an higher name of dignity, to
 be called the body of Christ. And as the bread being a
 figure of Christ's body hath the name thereof, and yet it is
 not so in deed, so I pray God that we have not rather been
 figures of bishops, bearing the name and title of pastors and
 bishops before men, than that we have in deed diligently fed
 the little flock of Christ with the sweet and wholesome pas-
 ture of his true and lively word.

Cyprian. And where you allege Cyprian, to avoid thereby the say-4

ing of Chrysostome in the Epistle by me cited, you take Cyprian clearly amiss, as I have plainly opened hereafter in the eleventh chapter of this book, whereunto, for to avoid the tediousness of repeating, I refer the indifferent reader; unto which mine answer there, helpeth much that which you grant here, that the word "nature" signifieth both the substance and also the property. For in Cyprian it is not taken for the substance, as you would fain have it, but for the property. For the substance of bread still remaining, in them that duly receive the same the property of carnal nourishment is changed into a spiritual nourishment, as more largely in mine answer to you in that place shall be declared.

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The word
Nature.

5 And where you would somewhat relieve yourself by certain words of Chrysostome which immediately follow the sentence by me alleged, which words be these, that the bread after consecration "is not called two bodies, but one "body of the son of God," upon which words you would gather your transubstantiation; how effectual your argument is in this matter, may appear by another like. Steven Gardyner, after he was consecrated, was called the Bishop of Wynchester, and not two bishops, but one bishop; *Ergo*, Steven Gardyner was transubstantiate. And a counter laid by an auditor for a thousand pounds is not then called a counter, but a thousand pounds; *Ergo*, it is transubstantiated. And the man and wife after marriage be called but one body; *Ergo*, there is transubstantiation. This must be the form of your argument, if you will prove transubstantiation by these words of Chrysostome. Now come we to St. Ambrose.

[See vol. ii. p. 326, 327. "At the same time"—
"was before."]

Winchester.

1 St. Ambrose doth not, as this author would have it, impugn transubstantiation, but confirmeth it most plainly, because he teacheth the true presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, which he saith is by change, and things still remaining; and that may be verified in the outward visible matter, that is to say, the

Ambrosius.

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accidents remaining with their proper effects, which therefore may worthily be called things. And here I would ask this author, if his teaching, as he pretendeth, were the catholic faith, and the bread only signified Christ's body, what should need this force of God's word that St. Ambrose speaketh of, to bring in the creation of the world, whereby to induce man's faith in this mystery to the belief of it? As for the example of baptism to show the change in man's soul, whereof I have spoken declaring Emissen, serveth for an induction not to lean to our outward senses, ne to mistrust the great miracle of God in either, because we see none outward experience of it; but else it is not necessary that the resemblance shall answer in equality, otherwise than as I said afore, each part answering his convenient proportion; and as for their comparison of resemblance baptism with the sacrament, this author in his doctrine specially reproveth, in that he cannot I think deny, but man by regeneration of his soul in baptism, is the partaker of holiness; but as for the bread, he specially admonisheth that it is not partaker of holiness by this consecration, but howsoever this author in his own doctrine snarleth himself, the doctrine of St. Ambrose is plain, that before the consecration it is bread, and after the consecration the body of Christ, which is an undoubted affirmation then to be no bread, howsoever the accidents of bread do remain.

Canterbury.

St. Ambrose teacheth not the real and corporal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, as I have proved sufficiently in my former book, the 64th, 81st, and 82nd leaves^o, and in mine answer unto you in this book. But against transubstantiation he teacheth plainly, that after consecration not only things remain, but also that the things changed still remain. And what is this but a flat condemnation of your imagined transubstantiation? For if the things changed in the sacrament do still remain, and the substances of bread and wine be changed, then it followeth that their substances remain, and be not transubstantiated; so that your untrue and crafty shift will not relieve your matter any whit, when you say, that the accidence of bread is bread, wherein all the world knoweth how much you err from the truth. And

^o [See vol. ii. pp. 383, 413, 414.]

better it had been for you to have kept such sayings secret unto yourself, which no man can speak without blushing, except he be past all shame, than to show your shameful shifts unto the world, that all men may see them. And specially when the showing thereof only discovereth your shame, and easeth you nothing at all. For the accidents be not changed, as you say yourself, but the substances. And then if the things that be changed remain, the substance must remain, and not be transubstantiated. And St. Ambrose bringeth forth to good purpose the creation of the world, to show the wonderful work of God, as well in the spiritual regeneration, and spiritual feeding and nourishing of the lively members of Christ's body, as in the creation and conservation of the world. And therefore David calleth the spiritual renovation of man by the name of creation, saying, *Cor mundum crea in me Deus: O God, create in me a new heart.* And as for any further answer here unto Ambrose needeth not, but because you refer you here to Emissene, they which be indifferent may read what I have answered unto Emissene a little before, and so judge. Now let us examine St. Augustine.

[See vol. ii. p. 327—330. “And St. Augustine”——
“divers other.”]

Winchester.

In the 26th leaf this author bringeth forth two sayings of St. Augustine, which when this author wrote, it is like he neither thought of the third or first book of this work. For these two sayings declare most evidently the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, affirming the same to be the sacrifice of the Church, whereby appeareth it is no figure only.

In the first saying of St. Augustine is written thus, how faith showeth me that bread is the body of Christ: now whatsoever faith showeth is a truth, and then it followeth that of a truth it is the body of Christ, which speech “bread is the body of Christ,” is as much to say, as “it is made the body of Christ,” and made not as of a matter, but, as Emissen wrote, by conversion of the visible creature into the substance of the body of Christ, and as St. Au-

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gustine in the same sentence writeth, it is bread before the consecration, and after, the flesh of Christ.

As for the second saying of St. Austen, how could it with more plain words be written, than to say that "there is both the sacrament, and the thing of the sacrament, which is Christ's body," calling the same the sacrifice of the Church. Now if Christ's body be there, it is truly there, and in deed there, which is really there; as for there in a figure, were as much to say, as not there in truth and in deed, but only signified to be absent, which is the nature of a figure in his proper and special speech. But St. Austen saith even as the author bringeth him forth, and yet he gave his privy nip by the way thus: it is said of St. Augustine there be two things in this sacrifice, which be contained in it, whereof it consisteth, so as the body of Christ is contained in this sacrifice by St. Augustine's mind.

According whereunto St. Augustine is alleged to say in the same book from whence this author took this saying, also these words following, "Under the kinds of bread and wine which we see, we honour things invisible, that is to say, the flesh and blood of Christ, nor we do not likewise esteem these two kinds as we did before the consecration, for we must faithfully confess before the consecration to be bread and wine that nature formed, and after consecration, the flesh and blood of Christ, which the benediction hath consecrate^p." Thus saith St. Augustine as he is alleged out of that book^q, which in deed I have not, but he hath the like sense in other places; and for honouring of the invisible heavenly things there, which declare the true and real presence, St. Augustine hath the like in his book, *De Catechisandis Rudibus*, and in the 98th Psalm, where he speaketh of adoration.

This may be notable to the reader, how this author concludeth himself in the faith of the real presence of Christ's body, by his own collection of St. Augustine's mind, which is, as he confesseth in his own words noting St. Augustine, that "as the person of Christ consisteth of two natures, so the sacrament consisteth of two natures, of the elements of bread and wine, and of the body and blood of Christ, and therefore both these natures do remain in the sacrament." These be this author's own words, who tra-

^p Out of the Master of the Sentences, and Decrees. [1580.]

^q The book of St. Augustine, *De Sententiis Prosperi*, is not commonly had. [1580.]

vailing to confound transubstantiation, confoundeth evidently himself by his own words touching the real presence. For he saith the nature of the body and blood of Christ must remain in the sacrament, and as truly as the natures of the manhood and Godhead were in Christ, for thereupon he argueth. And now let this author choose whether he will say any of the natures, the manhood or the Godhead, were but figuratively in Christ, which and he do, then may he the better say for the agreement of his doctrine, the nature of the body and blood of Christ is but figuratively in the sacrament. And if he say, as he must needs say, that the two natures be in Christ's person really, naturally, substantially, then must he grant by his own collection the truth of the being of the nature of the body and blood of Christ to be likewise in the sacrament, and thereby call back all that he hath written against the real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, and abandon his device of a presence by signification, which is in truth a plain absence, as himself also speaketh openly; which open speech canuot stand, and is improved by this open speech of his own.

Likewise where he saith, the nature of the body and blood of Christ remain in the sacrament, the word "remain" being of such signification, as it betokeneth not only to be there, but to tarry there, and so there is declared the sacrifice of the Church, which mystery of sacrifice is perfected before the perception, and so it must be evident how the body of Christ is there, that is to say, on the altar before we receive it, to which altar St. Augustine saith we come to receive it. There was never man overturned his own assertions more evidently than this author doth here in this place, the like whereof I have observed in other that have written against this sacrament, who have by the way said somewhat for it or they have brought their treatise to an end.

It will be said here, howsoever this author doth overthrow himself in the real presence of Christ's very body, yet he hath pulled down transubstantiation, and done as crafty wrestlers do, falling themselves on their back, to throw their fellow over them. But it is not like; for as long as the true faith of the real presence standeth, so long transubstantiation standeth, not by authority of determination, but by a necessary consequence of the truth, as I said before, and as Zuinglius defendeth plainly; and as for these places of St. Augustine may be answered unto, for they speak of the visible matter and element, which remain truly in the property of

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their nature, for so much as remaineth, so as there is true, real, and bodily matter of the accidents of bread and wine, not in phantasy or imagination, whereby there should be illusion in the senses, but so in deed as the experience doth show; and the change of substance of the creatures into a better substance, should not impair the truth of that remaineth, but that remaineth doth in deed remain with the same natural effects by miracle that it had when the substance was there, which is one marvel in this mystery, as there were divers more in manna, the figure of it. And then a miracle in God's working doth not impair the truth of the work. And therefore I noted before how St. Thomas did touch Christ after his resurrection truly, and yet it was by miracle, as St. Gregorie writeth.

And further we may say, touching the comparison, that when a resemblance is made of the sacrament to Christ's person, or contrariwise of Christ's person to declare the sacrament, we may not press all parts of the resemblance with a thorough equality in consideration of each part by itself, but only have respect to the end wherefore the resemblance is made. In the person of Christ be joined two whole perfect natures inseparably unite, (which faith the Nestorians impugned,) and yet unite without confusion of them; which confusion the Eutychians in consequence of their error affirmed, and so arguments be brought of the sacrament, wherewith to convince both, as I shall show answering to Gelasius. But in this place St. Augustine useth the truth most certain of the two natures in Christ's person, whereby to declare his belief in the sacrament, which belief, as Hilarie before is by this author alleged to say, is of that is inwardly. For that is outwardly of the visible creature, we see, he saith, with our bodily eye, and therefore therein is no point of faith, that should need such a declaration as St. Augustine maketh. And yet making the comparison, he rehearseth both the truths on both sides, saying, "As the person of Christ consisteth of God and man, so the sacrifice of the Church consisteth of two things, the visible kind of the element, and the invisible flesh and blood;" finishing the conclusion of the similitude, that therefore there is in the sacrifice of the Church both the sacrament and the thing of the sacrament, Christ's body. That is invisible and therefore required declaration, that is by St. Augustine opened in the comparison, that is to say, the body of Christ to be there truly; and therewith, that needed no declaration, that is to say, the

visible kind of the element is spoken of also as being true, but not as a thing which was intended to be proved, for it needed not any proof as the other part did; and therefore it is not necessary to press both parts of the resemblance so, as because in the nature of Christ's humanity, there was no substance converted in Christ, which had been contrary to the order of that mystery, which was to join the whole nature of man to the Godhead in the person of Christ; that therefore in this mystery of the sacrament, in which by the rule of our faith, Christ's body is not impanate, the conversion of the substance of the visible elements should not therefore be. If truth answereth to truth for the proportion of the truth in the mystery, that is sufficient. For else the natures be
 10 not so unite in one hypostasy in the mystery of the sacrament, as they be in Christ's person; and the flesh of man in Christ by union of the Divinity, is a divine spiritual flesh, and is called and is a lively flesh, and yet the author of this book is not afraid to teach the bread in the sacrament to have no participation of holiness, wherein I agree not with him, but reason against him with his own doctrine; and much I could say more, but this shall suffice. The words of St. Augustine for the real presence of Christ's body,
 11 be such as no man can wrest or writhe to another sense, and with their force have made this author to overthrow himself in his own words. But that St. Augustine saith^r, touching the nature of bread and the visible element of the sacrament, without wresting or writhing may be agreed in convenient understanding with the doctrine of transubstantiation, and therefore is an authority familiar with those writers that affirm transubstantiation by express words, out of whose quiver this author hath pulled out his bolt, and as it is out of his bow sent, turneth back and hitteth himself on the forehead; and yet after his fashion, by wrong and untrue translation he sharpened it somewhat, not without some punishment of God, evidently by the way by his own words to overthrow himself.

In the second column of the 27th leaf, and the first of the 28th leaf, this author maketh a process in declaration of heresies in the person of Christ; for conviction whereof, this author saith the old fathers used arguments of two examples, in either of which examples were two natures together, the one not perishing ne

^r The Master of the Sentences hath these words of St. Augustine. [1580.]

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confounding the other. One example is in the body and soul of man. Another example of the sacrament, in which be two natures, an inward heavenly, and an outward earthly, as in man there is a body and a soul.

I leave out this author's own judgment in that place, and of thee, O reader, require thine, whether those fathers that did use both these examples to the confusion of heretics, did not believe, as appeareth by the process of their reasoning in this point; did they not, I say, believe, that even as really and as truly as the soul of man is present in the body, so really and so truly is the body of Christ (which in the sacrament is the inward invisible thing, as the soul is in the body) present in the sacrament? for else, and the body of Christ were not as truly and really present in the sacrament, as the soul is in man's body, that argument of the sacrament had no two things present, as the argument of the body and soul had, whereby to show how two things may be together without confusion of either, each remaining in his nature; for if the teaching of this author in other parts of this book were true, then were the sacrament like a body lying in a trance, (whose soul for the while were in heaven) and had no two things, but one bare thing, that is to say bread, and bread never the holier with signification of another thing so far absent, as is heaven from earth; and therefore to say as I probably think, this part of this second book against transubstantiation was a collection of this author, when he minded to maintain Luther's opinion against transubstantiation only, and to strive for bread only, which notwithstanding the new enterprise of this author to deny the real presence, is so fierce and vehement, as it overthroweth his new purpose, or he cometh in his order in his book to entreat of it. For there can no demonstration be made more evident for the catholic faith of the real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, than that the truth of it was so certainly believed, as they took Christ's very body as verily in the sacrament, even as the soul is present in the body of man.

Canterbury.

When you wrote this, it is like that you had not considered my third book, wherein is a plain and direct answer to all that you have brought in this place or elsewhere, concerning the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament. And how slender proofs you make in this

place, to prove the real presence because of the sacrifice, every man may judge, being neither your argument good, nor your antecedent true. For St. Augustine saith not that the body and blood of Christ is the sacrifice of the Church; and if he had so said, it inferreth not this conclusion, that the body of Christ should be really in the bread, and his blood in the wine.

And although St. Augustine saith, that bread is Christ's body, yet if you had well marked the 64th, 65th, and 66th leaves of my book P, you should there have perceived how St. Augustine declareth at length in what manner of speech that is to be understand; that is to say figuratively, in which speech the thing that signifieth and the thing that is signified, have both one name, as St. Cyprian manifestly teacheth q. For in plain speech without figure, bread is not the body of Christ, by your own confession; who do say, that the affirmation of one substance is the negation of another. And if the bread were made the body of Christ, as you say it is, then must you needs confess that the body of Christ is made of bread, which before you said was so foolish a saying, as were not tolerable by a scoffer to be devised in a play, to supply when his fellow had forgotten his part. And seeing that the bread is not annihilate and consumed into nothing, as the school authors teach, then must it needs follow that the body of Christ is made of the matter of bread, for that it is made of the form of bread, I suppose you will not grant.

And as touching the second place of St. Augustine, he saith not that the body and blood of Christ be really in the sacrament, but that in the sacrifice of the Church, that is to say, in the holy administration of the Lord's Supper, is both a sacrament and the thing signified by the sacrament, the sacrament being the bread and wine, and the thing signified and exhibited being the body and blood of Christ. But St. Augustine saith not that the thing signified is in the bread and wine, (to whom it is not exhibited, nor is not in it but as in a figure,) but that it is there in the true ministration

¹ [See vol. ii. p. 384—387.] ^q Cyprianus, *De Unctione Chrismatis*.

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II.

of the sacrament present to the spirit and faith of the true believing man, and exhibited truly and in deed, and yet spiritually not corporally.

And what need any more evident proofs of St. Augustine's mind in this matter, how bread is called Christ's body, than St. Augustine's own words cited in the same place where the other is, *De Consecratione*, dist. ii. "Hoc est quod dicimus." These be St. Augustine's words there cited. "Sicut cœlestis panis, qui Christi caro est, suo modo vocatur corpus Christi, cum revera sit sacramentum corporis Christi, illius videlicet quod visibile, quod palpabile, mortale, in cruce positum est, vocaturque ipsa immolatio carnis (quæ sacerdotis manibus fit) Christi passio, mors, crucifixio, non rei veritate, sed significanti mysterio: sic sacramentum fidei, quod baptismus intelligitur, fides est." "As the heavenly bread, which is Christ's flesh, after a manner is called the body of Christ, where in very deed it is a sacrament of Christ's body, that is to say, of that body which being visible, palpable, mortal, was put upon the cross: and as that offering of the flesh which is done by the priest's hands, is called the passion, the death, the crucifying of Christ, not in truth of the thing, but in a signifying mystery; so is the sacrament of faith, which is baptism, faith." These words be so plain and manifest, that the expositor, being a very papist, yet could not avoid the matter, but wrote thus upon the said words. "Immolatio quæ fit a presbytero, improprie appellatur Christi passio, vel mors, vel crucifixio; non quod sit illa, sed quia illam significat." And after he saith: "Cœleste sacramentum, quod vere representat Christi carnem, dicitur corpus Christi, sed improprie. Unde dicitur, suo modo, sed non rei veritate, sed significanti mysterio; ut sit sensus, vocatur Christi corpus, id est, significat." "The offering which the priest maketh is called improperly the passion, death, or crucifying of Christ; not that it is that, but that it signifieth it. And the heavenly sacrament, which truly representeth Christ's flesh, is called Christ's body, but improperly. And therefore is said, after a

“ manner, but not in the truth of the thing, but in the signifying mystery ; so that the sense is this, it is called the “ body of Christ, that is to say, signifieth.” Now the words of St. Augustine being so plain that none can be more, and following the other words within ten lines, so that you can allege no ignorance, but you must needs see them ; it can be none other but a wilful blindness that you will not see, and also a wilful concealing and hiding of the truth from other men, that they should not see neither.

And this one place is sufficient at full to answer whatsoever you can bring of the presence of Christ in the sacrament of bread and wine. For after consecration, the body and blood of Christ be in them but as in figures, although in the godly receivers he is really present by his omnipotent power, which is as great a miracle in our daily nourishing, as is wrought before in our regeneration. And therefore is Christ no less to be honoured of them that feed of him in his holy Supper, than of them that be grafted in him by regeneration.

4 And whereas I said upon St. Augustine’s words, that the sacrament consisteth of two natures, in that place I collected more of St. Augustine’s words in your favour, than in deed St. Augustine saith, because you should not say, that I nipt him. For St. Augustine saith not, that the sacrament consisteth of two natures, and therefore both these natures must needs remain in the sacrament, but he saith, that the sacrifice consisteth of two things, which he calleth also natures, and thereof it followeth, that those two things must be in the sacrifice, which is to be understand in the ministration, not in the bread and wine reserved. And very true it is, as St. Augustine saith, that the sacrifice of the Church consisteth of two things, of the sacrament and of the thing thereby signified, which is Christ’s body, as the person of Christ consisteth of God and man.

5 But yet this resemblance is not altogether like, as you say truly for so much, for the person of Christ consisted so of his Godhead and manhood, that they be both in him in real presence, and unity of person. But in the sacrifice it is

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II.

otherwise, where neither is any such union between the sacrament and the truth of the sacrament, nor any such presence of the body of Christ. For in the bread and wine Christ is but figuratively, as I said before, and in the godly receivers spiritually, in whom also he tarrieth and remaineth so long as they remain the members of his body.

Similitudes
may not be
pressed in
all points,
but in the
purpose
wherefore
they be
brought.
Luke xvi.

But if Christ's similitudes should be so narrowly pressed, as you press here the similitude of the two natures of Christ in the sacrament, collecting that because the body and blood of Christ be truly present in the due administration of the sacrament, therefore they must be there naturally present, as the two natures of the humanity and Divinity be in Christ; many wicked errors should be established by them. As if the similitude of the wicked steward were strained as you strain and force this similitude, men might gather that it is lawful for Christian men to beguile their lords and masters whiles they be in office, to help themselves when they be out of office, because the lord praised the wicked steward. Yet you know the similitude was not taught of our Saviour Christ for that purpose, for God is no favourer of falsehood and untruth. So you do wrong both to the holy doctors and to me, to gather of our similitude any other doctrine, than we mean by the said similitude. Nor any reasonable man can say that I am forced, by confessing two natures in Christ's person, really, naturally, and substantially, to confess also the nature of the body and blood of Christ to be likewise in the sacrament, except he could prove that the holy doctors, and I following their doctrine, do teach and affirm, that the natures of bread and wine are joined in the sacrament with the natural body and blood of Christ in unity of person, as the natures of God and man be joined in our Saviour Christ; which we do not teach, because we find no such doctrine taught by Christ, by his Apostles, nor Evangelists.

Therefore take your own collection to yourself, and make yourself answer to such absurdities and inconvenience as you do infer, by abusing and forcing of the doctors' similitude to another end than they did use it.

And it is not necessary for our eternal salvation, nor yet profitable for our comfort in this life, to believe that the natural body and blood of Christ is really, substantially, and naturally present in the sacrament. For if it were necessary or comfortable for us, it is without doubt that our Saviour Christ, his Apostles, and Evangelists, would not have omitted to teach this doctrine, distinctly and plainly. Yea our Saviour would not have said, *Spiritus est qui vivificat, caro non prodest quicquam. The spirit giveth life, the flesh availeth nothing.*

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The faith of the real presence in the forms is unprofitable and uncomfortable.

John vi.

But this doctrine which the holy doctors do teach, is agreeable to holy Scripture, necessary for all Christian persons to believe for their everlasting salvation, and profitable for their spiritual comfort in this present life; that is to say, that the sacrament of Christ's body and blood in the natures and substances of bread and wine, is distributed unto all men, both good and evil, which receive it, and yet that only faithful persons do receive spiritually by faith the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ. So that Christ's natural body is not in the sacrament really, substantially, and corporally, but only by representation and signification, and in his lively members by spiritual and effectual operation.

The profit and comfort of the true doctrine.

But it appeareth that you be foul deceived in judgment of the doctrine set out in my book. And if you were not either utterly ignorant in holy Scriptures and doctors, or not obstinately bent to pervert the true doctrine of this holy sacrament, you would never have uttered this sentence, that
 6 "there was never man overturned his own assertions more
 "evidently than this author doth." For I am well assured that my doctrine is sound, and therefore do trust that I shall be able to stand by mine assertions before all men that are learned, and be any thing indifferent, and not bent obstinately to maintain errors as you be, when you, tumbling and tossing yourself in your filthy phantasies of transubstantiation, and of the real and carnal presence of Christ's body, shall be ashamed of your assertions. But I marvel not much of your stout bragging here, because it is a common thing with you, to dash me in the teeth with your own faults.

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And it is untrue that you say, that the sacrifice is perfected before the perception. For if the sacrifice be perfected before the perception, it is perfected also before the consecration. For between the consecration and perception was no sacrifice made by Christ, as appeareth in the Evangelists, but the one followed immediately of the other. And although Christ being in heaven be one of the parts whereof the sacrifice consisteth, and be present in the sacrifice, yet he is not naturally there present, but sacramentally in the sacrament, and spiritually in the receivers.

And by this which I have now answered, I have wrestled with you so in the matter of Christ's presence, that I have not fallen upon my back myself to pull you over me, but I, standing upright myself, have given you such a fall, that you shall never be able to recover. And now that I have brought you to the ground, although it be but a small piece of manhood to strike a man when he is down, yet for the truth's sake, unto whom you have ever been so great an adversary, I shall beat you with your transubstantiation, as they say, both back and bone. How say you, sir, is whiteness or other colours the nature of bread and wine? (for the colours be only visible by your doctrine:) or be they elements? or be accidents the bodily nature? Lie still, ye shall be better beaten yet for your wilfulness. Be the accidents of bread substances, as you said not long before? And if they be substances, what manner of substances be they, corporal or spiritual? If they be spiritual, then be they souls, devils, or angels? And if they be corporal substances, either they have life or no life. I trust you will say at the least, that bread hath life, because you said but even now almost, that the substance of bread is the soul of it. Such absurdities they fall into that maintain errors.

But at length when the similitude of the two natures in Christ remaining both in their proper kinds, must needs be answered unto, then cometh in again the cuttle with his colours to hide himself, that he should not be seen, because he perceiveth what danger he is in to be taken: and when he cometh to the very net, he so stoutly striveth, wrangleth,

and wresteth, as he would break the net, or else by some craft, wind himself out of it; but the net is so strong, and he so surely masted therein, that he shall never be able to get out.

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For the old catholic authors, to declare that two natures remain in Christ together, that is to say, his humanity and his Divinity, without corruption or wasting of any of the said two natures, do give two examples thereof; one is of the body and soul, which both be in a man together, and the presence of the one putteth not away the other; the other example is of the Lord's Supper or ministration of the sacrament, where is also together the substance and nature of bread and wine with the body and blood of Christ, and the presence of the one putteth not away the other, no more than the presence of Christ's humanity putteth away his Divinity. And as the presence of the soul driveth not away the body, nor the presence of the flesh and blood of Christ driveth not away the bread and wine, so doth not the presence of Christ's humanity expel his Divinity, but his Divinity remaineth still with his humanity, as the soul doth with the body, and the body of Christ with the bread. And then if there remain not the nature and substance of bread, it must follow also, that there remaineth not the divine nature of Christ with his humanity, or else the similitude is clearly dissolved.

Two examples of the two natures in Christ; one in a man, the other in the sacrament.

But yet say you, we may not press all parts of the resemblance with a thorough equality, but only have respect to the end wherefore the resemblance is made. And do not you see, how this your saying taketh away your own argument of the real presence in the sacrament, and nevertheless setteth you no whit more at liberty concerning transubstantiation, but masteth you faster in the net, and maketh it more stronger to hold you? For the old authors make this resemblance, only to declare the remaining of two natures, not the manner and form of remaining, which is far diverse in the person of Christ, from the union in the sacrament. For the two natures of Christ be joined together in unity of person, which unity is not between the sacrament and the

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II.

body of Christ. But in that point wherein the resemblance is made, there must needs be an equality by your own saying. And forasmuch as the resemblance was made only for the remaining of two natures, therefore, as the perfect natures of Christ's manhood and Godhead do both remain, and the perfect nature of the soul and the body doth also remain, so must the perfect nature of Christ's body and blood, and of bread and wine also remain. But forasmuch as the similitude was not made for the manner of remaining, nor for the place, therefore the resemblance requireth not that the body and blood of Christ should be united to the bread and wine in person or in place, but only that the natures should remain every one in his kind. And so be you clean overthrown with your transubstantiation, except you will join yourself with those heretics, which denied Christ's humanity and Divinity to remain both together.

Spiritual
flesh.

And it seemeth that your doctrine varieth very little from Valentine and Marcion, (if it vary any thing at all,) when you say that Christ's flesh was a spiritual flesh. For when St. Paul, speaking of Christ's body, said, *we be members of his body, of his flesh and of his bones*, he meant not of a spiritual body, as Irenæus saith^r, for a spirit hath no flesh nor bones, but of a very man's body that is made of flesh, sinews, and bones; and so with striving to get out of the net, you roll yourself faster in it.

And as for the words of St. Augustine, make nothing for the real presence, as I have before declared. So that therein I neither have foil nor trip; but for all your brags, hooks, and crooks, you have such a fall, as you shall never be able to stand upright again in this matter. And my shafts be shot so straight against you, and with such a force, that they pierce through shield and habergeon, in such sort that all the harness you have is not able to withstand them, or to make one arrow to start back; although to avoid the stroke you shift your place, seeking some mean to fly the fight. For when I make mine argument of transubstantiation, you turn the matter to the real presence, like unto

^r Irenæus, *Contra Valentin.* lib. v.

a surgeon that hath no knowledge, but when the head is wounded or sore, he layeth a plaster to the heel. Or (as the proverb saith) *Interrogatus de alliis, respondet de cæpis*; When you be asked of garlic, you answer of onions. BOOK
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And this is one pretty sleight of sophistry, or of a subtle warrior, when he seeth himself overmatched and not able to resist, then by some policy quite to put off, or at the least to delay the conflict, and so do you commonly in this book of transubstantiation. For when you be sore pressed therein, then you turn the matter to the real presence. But I shall so straightly pursue you, that you shall not so escape. For A sleight.
12 where you say, that the Fathers (which used the examples of the sacrament, and of the body and blood of Christ to show the unity of two natures in Christ) did believe, that as really and as truly the soul of man is present in the body, so really and so truly is the body of Christ present in the sacrament: the Fathers neither said nor believed as you here report, but they taught that both the sacrament and the thing thereby represented (which is Christ's body) remain in their proper substance and nature, the sign being here, and the thing signified being in heaven; and yet of these two consisteth the sacrifice of the Church.

But it is not required that the thing signified should be really and corporally present in the sign and figure, as the soul is in the body, because there is no such union of person; nor it is not required in the soul and body that they should be ever together; for Christ's body and soul remained both, without either corruption or transubstantiation, when the soul was gone down into hell, and the body rested in the sepulchre. And yet was he then a perfect man, although his soul was not then really present with the body. And it is not so great a marvel that his body should be in heaven, and the sacrament of it here, as it is that his body should be here, and his soul in hell.

13 And if the sacrament were a man, and the body of Christ the soul of it, (as you dream in your trance,) then were the sacrament not in a trance but dead, for the time whilst it were here, and the soul in heaven. And like scoffing you might

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make of the sacrament of baptism, as you do in the sacrament of Christ's body, that it lieth here in a trance, when Christ being the life thereof is in heaven.

And where you think that my second book against transubstantiation was a collection of me, when I minded to maintain Luther's opinion against transubstantiation only, you have no probation of your thought, but still you remain in your dreams, trances, and vain phantasies, which you have used throughout your book, so that whatsoever is in the bread and wine, there is in you no transubstantiation nor alteration in this thing at all.

And what availeth it you so often to affirm this untruth, that the body of Christ is present in the sacrament, as the soul of man is present in the body, except you be like to them that tell a lie so often, that with often repeating they think men believe it, and sometime by often telling they believe it themselves. But the authors bring not this similitude of the body and soul of man to prove thereby the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, but to prove the two natures of the Godhead and the manhood in the person of Christ. Let us now discuss the mind of Chrysostome in this matter, whom I bring thus in my book.

[See vol. ii. p. 330—331. "St. John Chrysostome"—
"his Father."]

Winchester.

Chrysos-
tomus.

ST. CHRYSOSTOME'S words in deed, if this author had had them either truly translate unto him, or had taken the pains to have truly translate them himself, which, as Peter Martyr saith, be not in print, but were found in Florence, a copy whereof remaineth in the Archdeacon or Archbishop of Canterbury's hands; or else if this author had reported the words as they be translate into English out of Peter Martyr's book, where in some point the translator in English seemeth to have attained by guess the sense more perfectly than Peter Martyr uttereth it himself; if either of this had been done, the matter should have seemed for so much the more plain. But what is this to make foundation of an argument, upon a secret copy of an Epistle uttered at one time in di-

verse senses ? I shall touch one special point : Peter Martyr saith in Latin, whom the translator in English therein followeth, that the " bread is reputed worthy the name of the Lord's body." This author, Englishing the same place, termeth it " exalted to the name " of the Lord's body," which words of exalting come nearer to the purpose of this author, to have the bread but a figure, and there-
2 with never the holier of itself. But a figure can never be account-
ed worthy the name of our Lord's body, the very thing of the sacrament, unless there were the thing in deed, as there is by con-
1 version, as the Church truly teacheth. Is not here, reader, a marvellous diversity in report, and the same so set forth, as thou that canst but read English mayest evidently see it ? God ordering it so as such varieties and contradictions should so manifestly appear
3 where the truth is impugned. Again, this author maketh Chrysostome to speak strangely in the end of this authority, that " the " divine nature resteth in the body of Christ," as though the nature of man were the stay to the divine nature ; whereas in that union the rest is an ineffable mystery, the two natures in Christ to have one subsistence, called and termed an hypostasy, and therefore he that hath translate Peter Martyr into English doth translate it thus : " The divine constitution the nature of the body adjoined, " these two both together make one son and one person."

Thou, reader, mayest compare the books that be abroad of Peter Martyr in Latin, of Peter Martyr in English, and this author's book, with that I write, and so deem whether I say true or no.
4 But to the purpose of St. Chrysostome's words (if they be his words) : he directeth his argument to show by the mystery of the sacrament, that as in it there is no confusion of natures, but each remaineth in his property ; so likewise in Christ, the nature of his Godhead doth not confound the nature of his manhood. If the visible creatures were in the sacrament by the presence of Christ's body there truly present, invisible also as that body is, impalpable also as that is, incorruptible also as that is ; then were the visible nature altered, and as it were confounded, which Chrysostome saith is not so, for the nature of the bread remaineth, by which word of " nature" is conveniently signified the property of nature. For proof whereof, to show remaining of the property without alteration, Chrysostome maketh only the resemblance, and before I have showed how nature signifieth the property of nature, and may signify the outward part of nature, that is to say,

BOOK II. the accidents, being substance in his proper signification the inward nature of the thing, of the conversion whereof is specially understood transubstantiation.

Canterbury.

Where you like not my translation of Chrysostome's words, I trow you would have me to learn of you to translate, you use such sincerity and plainness in your translation. Let the learned reader be judge. I did translate the words myself out of the copy at Florence, more truly than it seemeth you would have done. But when you see the words of Chrysostome so manifest and clear against your feigned transubstantiation, (for he saith that the nature of bread remaineth still,) you craftily for a shift fall to the carping of the translation, because you cannot answer to the matter. And yet the words of Chrysostome cited by Master Peter Martyr in Latin, out of Florence copy, and my translation, and the translation of Master Peter's book in English, do agree fully here in sense, although the words be not all one, which neither is required nor lightly found in any two translators; so that all your wrangling in the diversity of the translations, is but a sleight and common practice of you, when you cannot answer the matter, to seek faults in the translation where none is.

And for the special point, wherein you do note a marvelous diversity in report, and would gather thereof no truth to be, where such diversity is, let the reader be judge what a wonderful diversity it is. The Latin is this, *Panis dignus habitus est Dominici corporis appellatione*. The translator of M. Peter Martyr's book saith, "The bread is reputed worthy the name of the Lord's body." My translation hath, "The bread is exalted to the name of the body of the Lord." When a man is made a lord or knight, if one say of him, that he is reputed worthy the name of a lord or knight, and another say, that he is exalted to the name of a lord or knight, what difference is between these two sayings? Is not this a wonderful diversity? I pray thee judge indifferently, good reader.

A figure
requireth

But, say you, a figure can never be counted worthy the

name of the thing, unless the thing were there in deed. **BOOK II.**
 Wrangle then with St. John Chrysostome himself, and not with me, who saith that the bread is exalted to the name of the Lord's body, or is reputed worthy the name of the Lord's body after the sanctification, and yet the nature of the bread remaineth still; which cannot be as you say, if the body of Christ were there present. not the presence of the thing that is signified.

And who heard ever such a doctrine as you here make, that the thing must be really and corporally present, where the figure is? For so must every man be corporally buried in deed, when he is baptized, which is a figure of our burial. **Rom. vi.** And when we receive the sacrament of Christ's body, then is accomplished the resurrection of our bodies, for that sacrament you affirm to be the figure thereof. But your doctrine herein is clean contrary to the judgment of Lactantius^s and other old writers, who teach that figures be in vain and serve to no purpose, when the things by them signified be present.

3 And where you think it strange to say, that the divine nature is or resteth in the body of Christ, it is nothing else but to declare your ignorance in God's word and ancient authors; in reading of whom forasmuch as you have not been much exercised, it is no marvel though their speech seem strange unto you. The Greek word of Chrysostom is *ἐνιδρωσάσης*, which I pray you English, and then we shall see what a strange speech you will make. Did you never hear tell at the least that the Word was incarnated? or, *Verbum caro factum est*? And what signifieth this word "incarnate," but God to be made man, and his divine nature to be in flesh? Doth not St. John bid us beware, that we believe not every spirit, for there be many false prophets? and every spirit, saith he, that confesseth not Jesus Christ to have come in flesh, is not of God, but is the spirit of Antichrist. Is this then a strange speech to you, that the divine nature resteth in the flesh, that is to say, in the body of Christ? which if you deny, you know whose spirit you have. But your trust is altogether in obscure speeches,

^s Lactantius, *Institut.* lib. ii. cap. 1.

BOOK wherewith you trust so to darken the matter, that no man
II. shall understand it, lest that if they understand it, they
 must needs perceive your ignorance and error.

But when you promise to come to the purpose, as, to say ⁴ the truth, all that you said before is clearly without purpose; but when you promise (I say) now at length to come to the purpose, your answer is nothing to the purpose of St. John Chrysostome's mind: for he made not his resemblance, as you say he did, only to show the remaining of the accidents, which you call the properties, but to show the remaining of the substances, with all the natural properties thereof: that as Christ had here in earth his Divinity and humanity, remaining every of them with his natural properties, the substance of his Godhead being a nature single without composition, without conversion, invisible, immortal, incircumscribable, incomprehensible, and such like, (for these be Chrysostome's own words,) and the substance of his humanity being a feeble nature, subject to hunger, thirst, weeping, fear, sweating, and such passions; so is it in the bread and Christ's body, that the bread after sanctification or consecration, as you call it, remaineth in his substance that it had before; and likewise doth the body of Christ remain still in heaven in his very true substance, whereof the bread is a sacrament and figure. For else, if the substance of the bread remained not, how could Chrysostom bring it for a resemblance, to prove that the substance of Christ's humanity remaineth with his Divinity? Mary, this that you say, had been a gay lesson for the Manichees, to say that there appeareth bread by all the accidents thereof, and yet is none in deed, that then by this similitude they might say likewise, that Christ appeared a man by all the accidents and properties of a man, and yet he was none in deed. And to make an end of this author, your vain comment will not serve you, to call the accidents of bread the nature of bread, except you will allow the same in the Manichees, that the nature of Christ's body is nothing else but the accidents thereof. Now followeth Gelasius of the same matter.

[See vol. ii. p. 331, 332. "Hereunto accordeth" — **BOOK II.**
"was before."]

Winchester.

Now followeth to answer to Gelasius, who abhorring both the **Gelasius.** heresies of Eutyches and Nestorius, in his treatise against the Eutychians forgetteth not to compare with their error in extremity in the one side, the extreme error of the Nestorians on the other side; but yet principally intendeth the confusion of the Eutychians, with whom he was specially troubled. These two heresies were not so gross as the author of this book reporteth them, wherein I will write what Vigilus saith. "Inter Nestorii ergo quondam Ecclesiæ Constantinopolitanæ non rectoris sed dissipatoris, non pastoris sed prædatoris, sacrilegum dogma et Eutychetis nefariam et detestabilem sectam, ita serpentinæ grassationis sese calliditas temperavit, ut utrumque sine utriusque periculo plerique vitare non possint: dum si quis Nestorii perfidiam damnat, Eutychetis putatur errori succumbere: rursus dum Eutychianæ hæresis impietatem destruit, Nestorii arguitur dogma erigere." These be Vigilus's words in his first book, which be thus much in English. "Between the abominable teaching of Nestorius, sometime not ruler but waster, not pastor but prey-searcher of the Church of Constantinople, and the wicked and detestable sect of Eutyches, the craft of the Devil's spoiling so fashioned itself, that men could not avoid any of the sects without danger of the other: so as whiles any man condemneth the falseness of the Nestorian, he may be thought fallen to the error of the Eutychian; and whiles he destroyeth the wickedness of the Eutychians' heresy, he may be challenged to relieve the teaching of the Nestorian." This is the sentence of Vigilus, by which appeareth how these heresies were both subtly conveyed, without so plain contradiction, as this author either by ignorance or of purpose feigneth; as though the Nestorian should say, that Christ was a perfect man but not God, and the Eutychian clean contrary, very God but not man. For if the heresies had been such, Vigilus had had no cause to speak of any such ambiguity as he noteth, that a man should hardly speak against the one, but he might be suspected to favour the other. And yet I grant that the Nestorians' sayings might imply Christ not to be God, because they would of two distinct different natures make also two distinct persons, and so

BOOK II. as it were two Christs, the one only man, and the other only God ; so as by their teaching, God was neither incarnate, nor as Gregorie Nazianzene saith, man Deitate, for so he is termed to say.

The Eutyichians, as St. Augustine saith, reasoning against the Nestorians became heretics themselves; and because we confess truly by faith but one Christ the Son of God very God, the Eutyichians say, although there were in the Virgin's womb before the adunation two natures yet after the adunation in that mystery of Christ's incarnation, there is but one nature, and that to be the nature of God, into which the nature of man was after their fancy transfused and so confounded ; whereupon by implication, a man might gather the nature of humanity not to remain in Christ after the adunation in the Virgin's womb. Gelasius detesting both ; Eutyches and Nestorius, in his process uttereth a catholic meaning against them both, but he directeth special arguments of the two natures in man, and of the two natures in the sacrament, chiefly against the Eutyichians, to prove the nature of man to continue in Christ after the adunation, being no absurdity for two different natures to constitute one person : the same two natures remaining in their property, and the natures to be *aliud* and *aliud*, which signifieth different, and yet in that not to be *alius* and *alius* in person, which *alius* and *alius* in person, which the Eutyichians abhorred, and catholicly for so much against the Nestorians, who by reason of two natures would have two persons ; and because those Nestorians fancied the person of Christ patible to suffer all apart, therefore they denied Christ conceived God or born God ; for the abolition of which part of their heresy, and to set forth the unity of Christ's person, the blessed Virgin was called *θεοτοκός*, *Deipara*, God's mother, which the Nestorians deduced by an exposition, granting she might so be called, because her son, they said, was afterward God, and so she might be called God's mother, as another woman may be called a bishop's mother, if her son be made a bishop afterward, although he departed no bishop from her.

And hereof I write thus much, because it should appear that Gelasius by his arguments of the sacrament, and of the two natures in man, went not about to prove that the Godhead remained in Christ after his incarnation, as the author of this book would have it ; for the Nestorian said the Godhead was an accession to

Christ afterward by merit, and therefore with them there was no talk of remaining, when they esteemed Christ's nature in his conception singular and only by God's power conceived, but only man. And again the Eutychians so affirmed the continuance of the divine nature in Christ after the adunation, as Gelasius had no cause to prove that was granted, that is to say, the remain of the divine nature; but on the other side to prove the remain of the human nature in Christ, which by the Eutychians was by implication rather denied. Nestorius divided God and man, and granted always both to be in Christ continually, but as two persons, and the person of Christ being God dwelling within the person of Christ being man, and as Christ man increased, so Christ God dignified him, and so divided one Christ into two persons, because of the two natures so different, which was against the rules of our faith, and destroyed thereby the mystery of our redemption. And the Eutychians affirming catholically to be but one person in Christ, did perniciously say there was but one nature in Christ, accounting by implication the human nature transfused into the divine nature, and so confounded. And to show the narrow passage Vigilus spake of, Cyrillus a catholic author, because writing of unity of Christ's person, he expressed his meaning by the word "nature," signifying the whole of any one constitution, which more properly the word "person" doth express; the Eutychians would by that word after gather that he favoured their part, so taking the word at a vantage.

Nature.
Person.
[1580.]

And because the same Cyrillus used the word subsistence to signify substance, and therefore said in Christ there were two subsistences, meaning the divine substance and human substance, forasmuch as the word subsistence is used to express the person, that is to say, hypostasy: there were that of that word, frowardly understood, would gather he should say that there were two persons in Christ, which was the Nestorians' heresy that he impugned. Such captiousness was there in words, when arrogant men cared not by what mean to maintain their error. These were both pernicious heresies, and yet subtle, and each had a marvellous pretence of the defence of the glory of God, even as is now pretended against the sacrament. And either part abused many Scriptures, and had notable appearances for that they said, so as he that were not well exercised in Scriptures and the rules

Subsistence.
Substance.
[1580.]

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of our faith might be easily circumvented. Nestorius was the great Archbishop of Constantinople, unto whom Cyrill that condemneth his heresy writeth, that seeing he slandereth the whole Church with his heresy, he must resist him, although he be a Father, because Christ saith, *He that loveth his Father above me, is not worthy me.* But Nestorius, as appeareth, although he used it illfavouredly, had much learning, and cloaked his heresy craftily, denying the gross matter that they imputed to him, to teach two Christs, and other specialities laid to his charge, and yet condemning the doctrine of Cyrill, and professing his own faith in his own terms, could not hide his heresy so, but it appeareth to be and contain in effect that he was charged with, and therefore an admonishing was given by a catholic writer, Believe not Nestorius, though he say he teach but one Christ. If one should here ask, What is this to the purpose to talk so much of these sects? I answer, this knowledge shall generally serve to note the manner of them that go about to deceive the world with false doctrine, which is good to learn.

Another special service is to declare, how the author of this book either doth not know the state of the matter in these heresies he speaketh of, or else misreporteth them of purpose. And the arguing of Gelasius in this matter well opened, shall give light of the truth of the mystery of the sacrament: who against the Eutychians useth two arguments of examples, one of the two different natures to remain in one person of man, and yet the Eutychians defamed that conjunction with remaining of two different natures, and called it *δύοφυσιν*, double nature, and Gelasius to encounter that term saith, they will with their *μονόφυσις*, one nature, reserve not one Christ and whole Christ. And if two different natures, that is to say, soul and body, make but one man, why not so in Christ? For where Scripture speaketh of the outward man and inward man, that is to show, Gelasius saith, two diverse qualities in the same man, and not to divide the same into two men; and so intendeth to show there ought to be no scruple to grant two different natures to remain in their property, for fear that every diverse nature should make a diverse person, and so in Christ divide the unity, concluding that the integrity of Christ cannot be but by both the natures different remaining in their property. Carnal imagination troubled the Eutychians to have one person of two

two such different natures remaining in their property, which the Nestorians relieved with device of two persons, and the Eutychians by confusion of the human nature.

Then cometh Gelasius to the argument of example from the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and noteth the person of Christ to be a principal mystery, and the sacrament an image and similitude of that mystery; which sense his words must needs have, because he calleth Christ the principal mystery, and as in
10 one place he saith the image and similitude of the body and blood of Christ, so by and by he calleth the sacrament the image of Christ. And here the words image and similitude express the manner of presence of the truth of the things represented, to be understood only by faith as invisibly present. And St. Ambrose by this word image, signifieth the exhibition of truth to man in this life. And to show the sacrament to be such an image as containeth the very truth of the thing whereof it is the image,
11 Gelasius declareth in framing his argument in these words, "As
" bread and wine go into the divine substance, the Holy Ghost
" bringing it to pass, and yet remain in the property of their
" nature, so that principal mystery, those natures remaining
" whereof it is, declare unto us true and whole Christ to continue."

In these words of Gelasius, where he saith the bread and wine go into the divine substance, is plainly declared the presence of the divine substance, and this divine substance can signify none other substance but of the body and blood of Christ, of which heavenly nature, and earthly nature of the bread and wine, consisteth this sacrament, the image of the principal mystery of Christ's person. And therefore as in the image be two divers natures and different remaining in their property: so likewise in the person of Christ, which is the conclusion of Gelasius's argument, should remain two natures. And here were a great danger if we should say that Christ's body, which is the celestial nature in the sacra-
12 ment, were there present but in a figure; for it should then imply, that in Christ's person, the principal mystery, it were also but in a figure. And therefore as in the mystery of Christ's person ordained to redeem us, being the principal mystery, there is no figure, but truth, in consideration of the presence of the two natures whereof Christ is; so in the sacrament being a mystery ordered to feed us, and the image of that principal mystery, there

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is not an only figure, but truth of the presence of the natures, earthly and celestial. I speak of the truth of presence, and mean such an integrity of the natures present, as by the rules of our faith is consonant and agreeable to that mystery, that is to say, in the person of Christ perfect God and perfect man, perfect God to be incarnate, and perfect man to be Deitate, as Gregory Nazianzen termeth it.

In the sacrament, the visible matter of the earthly creature in his property of nature, for the use of signification is necessarily required, and also according to the truth of Christ's words, his very body and blood to be invisibly with integrity present, which Gelasius calleth the divine substance. And I think it worthy to be noted, that Gelasius, speaking of the bread and wine, reciteth not precisely the substance to remain, but saith the substance or nature; which nature he calleth after property, and the disjunctive may be verified in the last. And it is not necessary examples to be in all parts equal, as Rusticus Diaconus handleth it very learnedly, *Contra Acephalos*. And Gelasius, in opening the mystery of the sacrament, speaketh of transition of the bread and wine into the godly substance; which word "transition" is meet to express transubstantiation, and therefore St. Thomas expressed transubstantiation with the same word "transire," writing: "Dogma datur Christianis, quod in carnem transit panis, et vinum in sanguinem." But in the mystery of Christ's person there is no transition of the Deity into the humanity, or humanity into the Deity, but only assumption of the humanity, with the adunation of those two natures, and of two perfect natures so different, one person and one Christ, who is God incarnate and man Deitate, as Gregory Nazianzene saith, without mutation, conversion, transition, transelementation, or transubstantiation; which words be proper and special, to express how *Eucharistia* is constitute of two different natures, an heavenly and earthly nature, a mystery institute after the example of the principal mystery, wherewith to feed us with the substance of the same glorious body that hath redeemed us. And because in the constitution of this mystery of the sacrament there is a transition of the earthly creature into the divine substance, as Gelasius and St. Thomas term it, and mutation, as Cyprian and Ambrose teach it, which Theophylactus expresseth by the word "transelementation,"

Emissen by the word "conversion," and all their words, reduced into their own proper sense, expressed in one word of "transubstantiation:" it cannot be convenient, where the manner of constitution of the two mysteries be so different, there to require a like remaining of the two natures, whereof the mysteries be. In the mystery of Christ's person, because there was not of any of the two different natures either mutation, transition, conversion, or transelementation, but only assumption of the humanity, and adunation in the Virgin's womb, we cannot say the Godhead to have suffered in that mystery, which were an absurdity, but to have wrought the assumption and adunation of man's nature with it, nor man's nature by that assumption and adunation diminished, and therefore profess truly Christ to be whole God and whole man, and God in that mystery to be made man, and man God; whereas in the sacrament, because of transition, mutation, and conversion of their earthly creatures, wrought by the Holy Ghost, which declareth those earthly creatures to suffer in this conversion, mutation, and transition, we knowledge no assumption of those creatures, or adunation with the heavenly nature, and therefore say not as we do in the principal mystery, that each nature is wholly the other, and as we profess God incarnate, so the body of Christ breaded, and as man is Deitate, so the bread is corporate; which we should say, if the rules of our faith could permit the constitution of each mystery to be taught alike, which the truth of God's word doth not suffer.

- 17 Wherefore although Gelasius and other argue from the sacrament, to declare the mystery of Christ's person, yet we may not press the argument to destroy or confound the property of each mystery, and so violate the rules of our faith, and in the authors not press the words otherwise than they may agree with the catholic teaching, as those did in the words of Cyrill, when he spake of nature and subsistence, whereof I made mention before to be remembered here in Gelasius, that we press not the word "substance" and "nature" in him, but as may agree with the transition he speaketh of, by which word other express transubstantiation. And against the Eutychians, for to improve their confusion, it sufficeth to show two different natures to be in the sacrament, and to remain in their property, and the divine nature not to confound the earthly nature, nor as it were swallow it, which was the dream of the Eutychians. And we must forbear to press all

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parts of the example in the other argument, from the person of man, being one of body and soul, which the Church doth profess in *Symbolo Athanasii*, of all received. For Christ is one person of two perfect natures, whereof the one was before the other, in perfection and creation of the other; the one impassible, and the other passible. Man is of the soul and body one, two different natures, but such as for their perfection required that unity, whereof none was before other perfect. Of Christ we say, he is consubstantial to his Father, by the substance of his Godhead, and consubstantial to man, by the substance of his manhood; but we may not say, man is consubstantial by his soul to angels, and consubstantial in his body to beasts, because then we should deduce also Christ by mean of us to be consubstantial to beasts. And thus I write to show that we may not press the example in every part of it, as the author of this book noteth upon Gelasius, who overturneth his doctrine of the figure.

Canterbury.

I pity you, to see how ye swink and sweat to confound this author Gelasius. And yet his words be so plain against your papistical transubstantiation, that you have clearly lost all your pains, labours, and costs. For these be his words, spoken of the sacrament, “*Esse non desinit substantia vel natura panis et vini,*” “the substance or nature of bread and wine ceaseth not to be.” But to avoid and dally away these words, that be so clear and plain, must needs be laid on load of words, the wit must be stretched out to the utmost, all fetches must be brought in that can be devised, all colours of rhetoric must be sought out, all the air must be cast over with clouds, all the water darkened with the cuttle’s ink, and if it could be, at the least as much as may be, all men’s eyes also must be put out, that they should not see. But I would wish that you stood not so much in your own conceit, trusted not so much in your inventions and device of wit, in eloquence, and in craftiness of speech, and multitude of words, looking that no man should dare encounter you, but that all men should think you speak well, because you speak much, and that you should be had in great reputation among the multitude of them that be ignorant and

cannot discern perfectly those that follow the right way of truth, from other that would lead them out of the way into error and blindness. This standing in your own conceit, is nothing else but to stand in your own light.

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1 But where you say, that these heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches were not so gross as I report, that the one should say that Christ was a perfect man, but not God, and the other should say clean contrary, that he was very God, but not man: of the grossness of these two heresies I will not much contend. For it might be, that they were of some misreported, as they were in deed, if credit be to be given to divers ancient histories; but this I dare say, that there be divers authors that report of them as I do write, and consequently you grant the same in effect. For you report of the Eutychians, that they did perniciously say, that there was but *μονόφυσις*, one nature in Christ. And of the Nestorians you say, that they denied Christ to be conceived God or born God, but only man, and then could not he be naturally God, but only man. And therefore neither by ignorance nor of purpose do I report them otherwise than you confess yourself, and than I have learned of other that were before my time. For St. Augustine, in the place which you do cite of him, hath these words of Nestorius, “Dogmatizare ausus est Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum hominem tantum,” “he presumed to teach,” saith St. Augustine, “that our Lord Jesus Christ was but man only.” And of Eutyches he saith, “Humanitatis in Christo denegavit veritatem,” “he denied the truth of Christ’s manhood.” And Gelasius writeth also thus: “Eutychiani dicunt unam esse naturam, id est divinam, ac Nestorius nihilominus memorat singularem, id est, humanam,” “the Eu-

¹ August. *Contra Hæreses*. [The clauses in Augustine’s work *De Hæresibus*, which relate to the Nestorians and Eutychians, are rejected by the Benedictine editors as spurious additions, on the ground of anachronism: A. D. 430. being the date of Augustine’s death; A. D. 431. that of the Council of Ephesus, by which Nestorius was deposed; A. D. 451. that of the Council of Chalcedon against Eutyches. But this does not affect the argument between Cranmer and Gardyner. See *Ed. Bened.* tom. viii. p. 28.]

² Gelasius, *Adversus Eutychen et Nestorium*.

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“ tychians say, that there is but one nature in Christ, that is
“ to say, the Godhead : and also Nestorius saith, there is but
“ one nature, meaning the manhood.” By which words of St.
Augustine and Gelasius appeareth as plainly as can be
spoken, the plain contradiction between the Nestorians and
the Eutychians, that the one denied the humanity of Christ
and the other his Divinity, as I have written in my book ; so
that neither of ignorance nor of purpose have I feigned any
thing, but you, either of malice, or of your accustomed
manner to calumniate and find fault with every thing that
misliketh you, be it never so well, seek occasion likewise
here to carp and reprehend where no fault is, being like
unto Momus, which when he could find no fault with Ve-
nus’s person, yet he picked a quarrel to her slipper. And
not in this place only, but throughout your whole book you
use this fashion, that when you cannot answer to the prin-
cipal matter, then you find fault with some bye matter ;
whereby it seemeth you intend so to occupy the reader’s
mind, that he should not see how craftily you convey
yourself from direct answering of the chief point of the ar-
gument, which when you come unto, you pass it over
slen-derly, answering either nothing or very little, and no-
thing to the purpose.

But yet this bye matter, which you bring in of the gross-
ness of these two errors, helpeth little your intent, but
rather helpeth to fortify my saying against your doctrine of
transubstantiation, that your doctrine herein maketh a plain
way for the Nestorians and the Eutychians to defend their
errors. For if the bread and the body of Christ before the
consecration in the sacrament be two natures, and after the
consecration in that mystery is but one nature, and that is
the body of Christ, into which the nature of bread in your
fantasy is transformed and confounded, and if also this mys-
tery be an example of the mystery of Christ’s incarnation,
as the old authors report, why may not then the Eutychians
say, that before the adunation in the Virgin’s womb, the
Godhead and manhood were two natures, and yet after the
adunation in that mystery of Christ’s incarnation, there was

but one nature, and that to be the nature of God, into which the nature of man was after their fantasy transfused and confounded? And thus have you made by your transubstantiation a goodly pattern and example for the Euty-chians to follow in maintenance of their error.

And yet although the Euty-chians said, that the nature of God and of man, before their uniting were two, yet I read not that they said, that they were two in the Virgin's womb, as you report of them, which is no great matter, but to declare how ignorant you be in the thing, whereof you make so great boast, or how little you regard the truth, that wittingly will tell an untruth. But to say my mind frankly what I think of your declaration of these two heresies, I think a great part thereof you dreamed in your sleep, or imagined, being in some trance or rapt with some so-phistical vision, and part of your dream agreeth neither with approved authors and histories, nor with itself. For

- ³ first as touching the Euty-chians, where you say that Gela-
 sius directeth his arguments of the two natures in man, and
 of the two natures in the sacrament, chiefly against the Eu-
 ty-chians, to prove the nature of man to remain in Christ
 after the adunation, whosoever readeth Gelasius, shall find
 otherwise, that he directed his arguments indifferently, as well
 against Nestorius as against Eutyches, and no more against
 the one than against the other. Nor no more did the Eu-
 ty-chians abhor *alius* and *alius*, (although some gathered so
 of their words,) than did the Nestorians; which words sig-
 nify diversity of person, as *aliud* and *aliud* signify diversity
⁴ of nature: so as the body and soul in one man be *aliud* and
aliud by reason of diversity of natures, and yet be they not
alius and *alius*, because that both together make but one
 person. By means of which difference between *alius* and
aliud, we say, *Alius Pater, alius Filius, alius Spiritus Sanc-
 tus*, and not *Aliud Pater, aliud Filius, aliud Spiritus Sanc-
 tus*; forasmuch as they be three in persons, and but one in
 nature and substance. And because Christ is two in nature,
 that is to say, of his Deity and humanity, and but one in

BOOK II. person, therefore we say, *Aliud et aliud est Divinitas et humanitas*, but not *Alius, sed unus est Christus*.

And although Nestorius granted two natures in Christ,⁵ yet not, as you say, from his nativity, nor by adunation, but by cohabitation or inhabitation, so that he made but one Christ, although some otherwise take him, and not *alium et alium*; after which sort the Godhead is also in other godly men, whom by grace he maketh partakers of his godly nature, although by their natural generation they be but men, without the divine nature united in person, but after obtained by adoption and grace. As by your example, a man is made bishop, which by natural generation is born but a man.

And that this was Nestorius's opinion, that Christ from his nativity was but man only, and had his Godhead after by adoption or accession, is evident of your own words, when you say, that "the Nestorians denied Christ conceived God, or born God," and that "the Godhead was an accession to Christ afterward by merit," and that "he was conceived but only man," although shortly after you go from the same, saying that both the Godhead and manhood were always in Christ: such constancy is in your dreamed phantasies.

And where you have written thus much, as you say,⁶ because it should appear that Gelasius by his arguments of the sacrament, and of the two natures of man, went not about to prove that the Godhead remained in Christ after his incarnation; you might have bestowed your time better, than to have lost so much labour, to impugn the truth. For although neither Nestorius nor Eutyches denied the Godhead of Christ to remain, yet Gelasius went not about only to confute them, but also to set out plainly the true catholic faith, that Christ being incarnated, was perfect God and perfect man; and how that might be, both the said natures and substances remaining with all their natural properties and conditions, without transubstantiation, abolition, or confusion of any of the two natures. And this he declareth as well by the example of the sacrament, as of the

body and soul of man. Wherefore as true as it is, that the body and soul of man, and the Godhead and manhood of Christ remain in their proper substances, natures, and properties, without transubstantiation or perishing of any of them, so must it be in the sacrament.

7 And in the said heresies, as you say, was some appearance of the truth, every one having Scripture, which in sound of words seemed to approve their errors, whereby they deceived many. But as for your feigned doctrine of transubstantiation, it hath no pretence nor appearance of truth by God's word, for you have not one Scripture that maketh mention thereof, whereas I have many plain and manifest Scriptures, that speaketh in plain terms, that bread is eaten, and wine is drunken. And this author Gelasius, with divers other learned men, as well Greeks as Latins, of the old catholic Church, affirm in no doubtful words, that the bread and wine be not gone, but remain still. From which Scriptures and doctors whosoever dissenteth, declareth himself at the least to be ignorant, whereby yet he may excuse himself of a greater blot and infamy.

And this matter being so clear, neither your fine disguising, nor your painted colours, nor your gay rhetoric, nor witty inventions, can so hide and cover the truth that it shall not appear; but the more you labour to strive against the stream, the more faint shall you wax, and at length, the truth hath such a violence, that you shall be borne clean down with the stream thereof.

8 In the end you compare Nestorius and Cyrill together, alluding, as it seemeth, to this contention between you and me; which comparison, if it be thoroughly considered, hath no small resemblance, although there be no little diversity also. Nestorius, say you, was a great Archbishop, and so say I, was Cyrill also. Nestorius, say you, as appeareth, had much learning, but cloaked his heresy craftily. But the histories of his time, who should know him best, describe him in this sort, that he was a man of no great learning, but of an excellent natural wit and eloquence, and full of craft and subtlety; by means whereof he was so proud and glo-

A comparison of Nestorius and Cyrill.

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II.

rious, that he contemned all men in respect of himself, and disdained the old writers, thinking himself more wise than they all. Now let the indifferent reader judge, whom he thinketh in this your allusion should most resemble the qualities and conditions of Nestorius.

And all this that you have brought in here of these two heresies, although it be to no purpose in the principal matter, yet it serveth me to this purpose, that men may conjecture whose nature and wit is most like unto the description of Nestorius, and also how loth you be to come to the matter, and to make a direct answer to Gelasius's words, who saith in plain terms that the substance or nature of bread and wine remaineth. Even as glad you be to come to this, as a bear is to come to the stake, seeking to run out at this corner or that corner, if it were possible. But all will not help, for you be so fast tied in chains, that (will you, nill you) at length you must come to the stake, although you be never so loth. And Gelasius biteth so sore and hath caught so hard hold of you, that you can never escape, although you attempt all manner of ways, by tooth and by nail, to shake him off.

First, you would shake him off by this pretence, that he useth his two arguments of the two examples of man, and of the sacrament, against the Eutychians only. But Gelasius will not so easily leave his hold. For he speaketh indifferently as well against the Nestorians as the Eutychians, declaring by these two examples, how two different natures may remain in Christ, and that the integrity of Christ cannot be, except both the different natures remain in their properties, which condemneth both the foresaid heresies, that affirmed but one nature to be in Christ, the Eutychians his Divinity, and the Nestorians his humanity. And yet if he had used these examples against the Eutychians only, they bite you as sore as if they were used against them both. For if he conclude by these two examples, against the Eutychians, as you say he doth, that the integrity of Christ cannot be, but both natures different, that is to say, his manhood and Godhead must remain in their property,

then must it needs be so in the examples also. And then as Christ had in him two natures, with their natural properties, neither perishing, but both remaining, and as man hath in him two natures, the soul and the body both remaining still, so must in the sacrament also, the nature of bread and wine remain without transubstantiation, or corruption of any of the natures, according to the said words of Gelasius, “*Esse non desinit substantia vel natura panis et vini,*” “the substance or nature of the bread and wine ceaseth not to be.”

10 And Gelasius bringeth not this image and similitude to that purpose that you would draw it, that is to say, to express the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament, but to express the manner of two natures in Christ, that they both so remain, that neither is corrupted or transubstantiated, no more than the bread and wine be in the sacrament. And by this all men may see, that Gelasius hath fastened his teeth so surely, that you cannot so lightly cast him off with a shake of your chain. And if he meant to express the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament, as you feign he doth, that the manner is only by faith, whereof he speaketh not one word, yet are you nothing at liberty thereby, but held much more faster than you were before. For Gelasius speaketh of the action of the mystery, and Christ's flesh and blood be present in the action of the mystery only by faith, therefore can they not be present in the bread or wine reserved, which have no faith at all. And presence by faith only requireth no real, material, and corporal presence. For by faith is Christ present in baptism, and by faith Abraham saw him, and the holy fathers did eat his flesh and drink his blood before he was born. And Christ humbling himself to take upon him our mortal nature, hath exalted us to the nature of his Deity, making us to reign with him in his immortal glory, as it were gods. And this, saith Gelasius, God worketh in us by his sacraments, “*per quæ divinæ efficimur consortes naturæ, et tamen esse non desinit substantia vel natura panis et vini;*” that is to say, “by the sacrament of Christ's body and blood

Presence by
faith re-
quireth no
corporal
presence.
[1580.]
Gal. iii.
John viii.
1 Cor. x.

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“ we be associate unto the divine nature, and yet ceaseth
“ not the substance or nature of bread and wine to be.”
So that the sacrament not being altered in substance, we be
altered and go into the divine nature or substance, as Ge-
lasius termeth it, being made partakers of God’s eternity.

And therefore when he speaketh of the going of the sa-¹¹
craments into the divine substance, he meaneth not that
the substances of the sacraments go into the substance
of God, which no creature can do, but that in the action of
that mystery, to them that worthily receive the sacraments,
to them they be turned into the divine substance, through
the working of the Holy Ghost, who maketh the godly re-
ceivers to be the partakers of the divine nature and sub-
stance. And that this was the intent and meaning of Gela-
sius, appeareth by two notable sentences of him, whereof
one is this: “ Surely,” saith he, “ the image and similitude
“ of the body and blood of Christ, is celebrate in the action
“ of the mystery.” The other is, that “ by the sacrament
“ we be made partakers of the godly nature ;” he saith not,
that the sacraments be but that we be made partakers of
the nature of Christ’s Godhead. And if he should mean,
as you have most untruly altered both his words and sense
at your pleasure, not that the godly receivers, but that the
substance of bread and wine should go into the divine sub-
stance, then were not they changed into his humanity, but
into his Deity, and so were the bread and wine deified, or
or at the least made partakers of the divine nature and im-
mortality. But forasmuch as Gelasius saith, that the two
natures in Christ remain, in like case as the natures of the
sacraments remain, for he maketh his argument altogether
of the remaining of the natures, by the verb *permanere*,
and the participle *permanens* ; then as you say that the in-
tegrity of Christ cannot be, except both his natures different
remain in their properties, so cannot the integrity of the
sacrament be, except the two natures of bread and wine re-
main in their properties. For else, seeing that the remain-
ing of the natures is in the sacrament as it is in Christ, as
Gelasius saith, then if in the sacraments remain but the ac-

cidents and appearance of bread and wine, and not the substances of them, how could Gelasius by the resemblance of the two sacraments of bread and wine, prove the two substances and natures of Christ to remain? Might it not rather be gathered, that only the appearance of Christ's humanity remaineth in accidents, and not the substance itself, (as Marcion saith, and as you say it is in the sacrament,) or else that Christ's humanity is absorbed up by his Divinity, and confounded therewith, as the Eutychians say, and as you say, that the bread and wine is by the body and blood of Christ? But the catholic faith hath taught from the beginning, according to holy Scripture, that as in the image or sacrament be two divers natures and different, remaining in their properties, that is to say bread and wine, so likewise in the person of Christ remain two natures, his Divinity and his humanity.

12 And I pray you, what danger is it to say, that Christ's body is in the sacramental bread but as in a figure? should that imply, that his body is in his person but as in a figure? That should be even as good an argument as this. Christ was in the brasen serpent but in a figure; *Ergo*, he is now in heaven but in a figure. For the form of argumentation is all one, in the one and the other. And if Christ be in us by virtue and efficacy, although in the sacraments representing the same, as Gelasius saith, he be but sacramentally, figuratively, and significatively, what peril is it to us? And what availeth it us his being in the sacrament, and not in us?

And the two natures in the sacrament (which Gelasius taketh for the image and similitude of the two natures in Christ) be bread and wine, which as they remain, and that truly in their natures and substances, so do the two natures in Christ. And yet be the bread and wine sacraments of the terrestrial nature of Christ, that is to say, of his body and blood, but not of his celestial and divine nature, as you imagine. And they be called sacraments because they be figures, which if they were no figures, they were no sacrament. But it is not required that the thing represented by

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the figure, should be really and corporally present in the figure, when the figure is ordained to represent a thing corporally absent; and the figure were in vain, as Lactantius saith *, if the thing were present.

And at the least wise in this place, Gelasius useth the natures and substances of bread and wine, which be sacraments of Christ's flesh and blood, to be images and similitudes in this point, not of his flesh and blood, but of his divine and human nature; that as the bread and wine in the sacrament remain still in their proper kinds, without violation, annihilation, confusion, commixtion, or transubstantiation, so is it in the two natures of Christ's manhood and his Godhead. So that Gelasius useth this similitude for the incarnation of Christ, not for the consecration of the sacrament, as you would pervert his meaning.

And because you would have all your things strange, (as it were one that had come out of a strange country, where he had learned a strange fashion of speech, never heard of before, or rather devised it himself;) you call the colours of bread and wine the matter of bread and wine, because colours only be visible after your teaching. And then must the natural property of colours be, to signify our feeding spiritual by the body and blood of Christ, that as they feed us spiritually, so do the colours corporally. And then making the argument *ab opposito consequentis, ad oppositum antecedentis*, as colours feed not our bodies, so Christ feedeth not our souls. This is the conclusion of your goodly new devised divinity.

And to like effect cometh your other saying in the same sentence, because you were loth to commit but one horrible error in one sentence, that Gelasius calleth Christ's body and blood his divine substance. This is a goodly hearing for the Eutychians, who say, that in Christ is no mo natures but his divine substance, which by your interpretation must be true. For if his Godhead be a divine substance, and his body and blood also a divine substance, why should Eutyches be reprehended for denying in Christ to be any other

* Lactantius, *Institut.* lib. ii. cap. 1.

than divine substance? And so shall we bring to pass, that either Christ hath but one substance, or two divine substances, although not of like sort, and so not one human substance. And is it like, that Gelasius (who so long contended against Eutyches for two distinct substances in Christ, human and divine) would in the conclusion of his disputation so much yield unto the heretic, to grant that Christ's human substance should be a divine substance?

- 15 And it is worthy to be noted, and double noted, how you wrangle with the words of Gelasius, and wrest them clean out of tune. For where Gelasius saith, that there remaineth the substance or nature of bread and wine, to declare thereby the remaining of two natures in Christ, you say that Gelasius's saying may be verified in the last, and not in the first, that is to say, that the nature of bread and wine remaineth. And nature, say you, is there taken for the properties, which you call accidents. And so you make Gelasius a goodly teacher, that should so ambiguously speak of two things, when he meaneth but of one. For when he saith, that the substance or nature remaineth, you say he meaneth, that only the nature remaineth. And were this tolerable in a learned man, when he meaneth the nature to remain and not the substance, to express it by these terms, the substance or nature remaineth? And if Gelasius mean, that the substance of bread and wine remaineth not, but the natures, and then if by nature he understood the accidents, as you untruly surmise of him, and make them the image and similitude, to prove Christ's two natures, then they prove no more but that the accidents of Christ's natures remain, and not the substance; which saying, whether it be a favouring of the Eutychians, Nestorians, Valentiniens, Marcionists, Apollinarists, and other of that sort, let the learned be judge.
- 16 And although it be not necessary the examples to be in all parts equal, as you allege of Rusticus Diaconus, yet they must needs be like in the point, wherefore they were taken to be examples, for else they were none examples. And therefore seeing that the bread and wine were of Ge-

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lasius brought for examples of Christ's two natures for this intent, to prove that the two natures of Christ remain in their substance, it must needs be so in the bread and wine, or else they served nothing to that purpose.

And the transition that Gelasius meant of, is in the persons that receive the sacraments, which be transformed into the divine nature, as Gelasius saith, by efficacy and virtue represented by the sacraments; but the transition is not in the bread and wine, (as you and your Thomas imagine of transition,) which remain in the sacrament, without substantial mutation, conversion, transition, transelementation, or transubstantiation. For if in the mystery of the sacrament were transition, mutation, conversion, and transelementation of the substance of bread and wine, how could that mystery be an example of the principal mystery of Christ's incarnation, to prove thereby that there is no transition, mutation, conversion, or transelementation of the two substances of Christ in his incarnation? Doth not the remaining of substance in the sacrament, prove the remaining of substance in the incarnation? For how can the not remaining of substance be an example, image, and similitude, to prove the remaining of the substance? But here appeareth what it is to wrestle against the truth, and to defend an evil cause, and what absurdities wit and eloquence be driven unto, when they strive against God and his word.

And where you think yourself over sore pressed with this argument and similitude of bread and wine to the two natures in Christ, I must needs press the argument and words so far, as pertaineth to the remaining of the natures and substance; for to that end was the image and similitude brought in by Gelasius. And then by argument from the cause, wherefore the resemblance was made, if the substance and nature of the bread and wine remain not in the sacrament, it followeth that the two natures and substance of Christ remain not in his person, which is no sound teaching; wherefore to make the argument agree with the catholic teaching, we must needs say, that as in the person of Christ remain the two natures and substance of his Godhead and

manhood, so in the sacrament remain the natures and substances of bread and wine, that the comparisons may agree with themselves and with the catholic faith. Like as it is also in the other example of the body and soul, which two natures must needs remain in the person of man, without transubstantiation of any nature, if they shall resemble the remaining of the two natures in Christ. And how do the two natures in the sacrament remain in their property, I pray you declare, if the nature of bread and wine be gone? And how doth not the divine nature swallow up the earthly nature, if the nature of bread and wine be so turned into the divine nature, that it remaineth not, but is clearly extinct.

If you may purge yourself in handling of this author, by confession of your ignorance, you must obtain it by great favour of them that will so accept it. For else in this one author is affirmed by you many great errors, with wilful depravation of the author's mind, to give weapons to them that be enemies to the truth, and to the subversion of the catholic faith. And no less have you done in Theodoretus next following, because you would handle them both indifferently, and do no more injury to the one than to the other. And as for Cyprian, Ambrose, Theophylacte, and Emissene, I have answered to them before. It is time now to hear Theodorete.

[See vol. ii. p. 332. "Theodoretus"—"the other."]

Winchester.

AND if that I have here said be well considered, there may appear the great ignorance of this author in the alleging of Theodorete, the applying of him, and the speaking of Nestorius in the end. For as the Eutychians, reasoning (as St. Augustine saith) to confound the Nestorians, fell into an absurdity in the confusion of the two natures in Christ; so Theodoretus, reasoning against the Eutychians, fell in a vehement suspicion to be a Nestorian; like as St. Augustine, reasoning against the Manichees for defence of free will, seemed to speak that the Pelagians would allow; and

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reasoning against the Pelagians, seemed to say that the Manichees would allow; such a danger it is to reduce extremities to the mean, wherein St. Augustine was better purged than Theodorete was, although Theodorete was reconciled. But for example of that I have said, this argument of Theodoreteus against the Eutychians to avoid confusion of natures in Christ, showeth how in the sacrament, where the truth of the mystery of the two natures in Christ may be as it were in similitude learned, the presence of the body of Christ there in the sacrament doth not alter the nature, that is to say, the property of the visible creatures. This saying was that the Nestorians would draw for their purpose to prove distinct persons, against whom Cyrill travailed to show that in the sacrament the flesh of Christ that was given to be eaten, was given not as the flesh of a common man, but as the flesh of God; whereby appeared the unity of the Godhead to the manhood in Christ in one person, and yet no confusion, as Theodoreteus doth by his argument declare. But whether the printer's negligence, or this author's oversight, hath confounded or confused this matter in the uttering of it, I cannot tell. For the author of this book concludeth solemnly thus by induction of the premises, that even so the body of Christ was after the ascension changed into the godly substance. I ween the printer left out a "not," and should have said, not changed into the godly substance; for so the sense should be, as Peter Martyr reporteth Theodorete. And yet the triumph this author maketh against them he calleth for his pleasure papists, with his forked dilemma, maketh me doubt whether he wist what he said or no; because he bringeth in Nestorius so out of purpose, saying the papists must either grant the substance of bread and wine to remain, or else to be of Nestorius's heresy, that the nature of Godhead remained not.

This author of the book for the name of Nestorius should have put Eutyches, and then said for conclusion, the nature of manhood remained not in Christ. And although in Theodorete the substance of bread is spoken of to remain, yet because he doth after expound himself to speak of that is seen and felt, he seemeth to speak of substance after the common capacity, and not as it is truly in learning understood, an inward, invisible, and not palpable nature, but only perceived by understanding; so as this outward nature that Theodorete speaketh of, may according to his words truly remain, notwithstanding transubstantiation. This 4

author declareth plainly his ignorance, not to perceive whither the argument of Theodorete and Gelasius tendeth, which is properly against the Eutychians rather than the Nestorians. For and no property of bread remain, it proveth not the Godhead in Christ not to remain, but the humanity only to be as it were swallowed up of the Divinity, which the Eutychians intended, and specially after Christ's resurrection; against whom the argument by Theodorete is specially brought, howsoever this author confoundeth the Nestorians' and Eutychians' names, and taketh one for another, which in so high a matter is no small fault, and yet no great fault among so many other huger and greater as be in this book committed.

Canterbury.

1 If that which you have said to Gelasius be well considered and conferred with this in Theodorete, it seemeth by your process in both, that you know not what confusion of natures is. And then your ignorance therein must needs declare that you be utterly ignorant of all their whole discourse, which tendeth only to prove that the two natures in Christ, his Divinity and his humanity, be not confounded. And for ignorance of confusion, you confound all together. Gelasius and Theodorete prove that the two natures in Christ be not confounded, because they remain both in their own substances and properties, so that the remaining declareth no confusion, which should be confounded if they remained not. If a drop of milk be put into a pot of wine, by and by it loseth the first nature and substance, and is confounded with the nature and substance of wine. And if wine and milk be put together in equal quantity, then both be confounded, because neither remaineth, neither perfect wine with his substance and natural properties, nor perfect milk with the substance and properties of milk, but a confusion, a humble jumble or hotch potch, a posset or syllabub is made of them both together, like as in man's body, the four elements be confounded to the constitution of the same, not one of the elements remaining in his proper substance, form, and pure natural qualities. So that if one nature remain not, the same is confounded. And if there

Confusion
of natures.

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be more natures that lose their substance, they be all confounded, except there be an utter consumption or annihilation of the thing that loseth his substance; and therefore the argument which all the old ecclesiastical authors use, to save the confusion of the two natures in Christ, is to prove that they both remain. And if we may learn that by the similitude of the sacrament, (as Gelasius and Theodorete teach, and you here confess the same,) then must needs the substance of bread and wine remain, or else is there none example nor similitude of the remaining of the two natures in Christ, but of their confusion; as by your feigned doctrine the substance of bread is confounded with the body of Christ, neither being annihilate, nor remaining, but transubstantiated, confounded, and converted into the substance of Christ's body. And thus, with your well understanding of the matter, you confound all together; whereas I, with my ignorance, not blaspheming that holy union and mystery of Christ's incarnation, do save all the natures whole, without mixtion, confusion, or transubstantiation, either of the divine and human nature in Christ, or of the soul and body in man, or of the bread and wine in the sacrament; but all the substance and natures be saved, and remain clearly with their natural properties and conditions, that the proportion in that point may be like, and one to be the true image and similitude of the other. But surely more gross ignorance or wilful impiety than you have showed in this matter, hath not lightly been seen or read of.

Not.

And where you say, that I by oversight, or the printer by negligence, have left out a "not," if I should have put in that "not" of mine own head, contrary to the original in Greeky, and to all the translators in Latin, and the translation of Master Peter Martyr also, I should have been as far overseen as you be, which, as it seemeth of purpose, confound and corrupt you care not whether any authors' words or their meaning.

And as for my forked dilemma, you shall never be able

^y [See the original in *Authorities* in the Appendix, where, as Cranmer says, there is no negative.]

to answer thereto, but the more you travail therein, the more you shall entangle yourself. For either you must grant, (as unwilling as you be) that the nature and substance of bread and wine remain after the consecration, or else that the nature and substance of Christ's humanity and Divinity remain not after his incarnation, wherein erred not only Eutyches, (whom you say I should have put for Nestorius,) but also Marcion, Ebion, Valentinus, Nestorius, and other, as in my book I have declared.

3 And one thing is principally to be noted in your answer to Theodoret, how you can sophisticate and falsify all men's sayings, be they never so plain. For where between me and the papists the matter here in contention is this, whether the bread and wine remain in their proper nature and substance or no, I saying that they remain, and the papists saying that they remain not; the issue being in this point whether they remain or remain not, I bring for me Chrysostome, who saith, "the nature of bread remaineth," I bring Gelasius, who saith, that "there ceaseth not the substance or nature of bread and wine," I bring this Theodorete, whose words be these: "The bread and wine after consecration lose not their proper nature, but keep their former substances, form, and figure." Now how can any man devise to speak the truth in more plain words than these be? For they say the very same words that I say. And yet, because the truth is not liked, here must be devised a crafty lawyer's gloss, of them that never sought other but to calumniate the truth, and must be said, against all learning, reason, and speech, that substance is taken for the visible and palpable qualities or accidents. Well yet then you confess that those old ancient authors agree with me in words, and say as I do, that the bread and wine be not transubstantiated, but remain in their former substance; and then the issue plainly passeth with me by the testimony of these three witnesses, until such time as you can prove that these authors spake one thing and meant another, and that qualities and accidents be substances. And if you understood whereunto the argument

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of Theodoret and Gelasius tendeth, you would not say that they spake against the Eutychians any more than they do against the Nestorians. For if the bread and wine remain not, (as you say,) but be swallowed up of the body and blood of Christ, then likewise, in the principal mystery, either the Deity must be swallowed up of the humanity, or the humanity of the Deity. The contrary whereof is not only against the Eutychians, but also against the Nestorians, Marcionists, and all other that denied any of his two natures to remain perfectly in Christ.

And whereas you, with all the rout of the papists, both privately and openly, report me to be unlearned and ignorant, because you would thereby impair my credit in this weighty matter of our faith, my knowledge is not any whit the less because the papists say it is nothing, nor yours any deal the more because the papists do say that you only be learned, whom, for any thing that ever I could perceive in you, I have found more full of words and talk than of learning. And yet the note of ignorance I nothing pass of, if thereby the truth and God's glory should not be hindered.

Now after the reproof of your doctrine of transubstantiation by all the old writers of Christ's Church, I write in my book after this manner.

[See vol. ii. p. 333—337. "Now forasmuch"—
"overthrown."]

Winchester.

WHEREIN this author, not seeing how little he hath done, concludeth yet as constantly as though he had thrown all down afore him, intending to show that the doctrine of transubstantiation dependeth only of authority, (which is not so,) using the sayings of Duns and Gabriel (as he reporteth them) for his purpose, because they (as he saith) boast themselves what they could do, if the determination of the Council were not; and thus every idle speech may have estimation with this author against the received truth. And from this point of the matter, the author of this book maketh a passage, with a little sport at them he fancieth or liketh

to call so English papists by the way, to enterprise to answer all such as he supposeth reasons for transubstantiation, and authorities also.

First, he findeth himself mirth in devising as he calleth them the papists* to say that Christ is made anew; which fancy, if it were so, is against the real presence as well as transubstantiation. In which words, because every wise reader may see how this author playeth, I will say no more but this: Christ is not made anew, nor made of the substance of bread, as of a matter; and that to be the catholic doctrine, this author, if he be right named, knoweth well enough, and yet spendeth two leaves in it.

Canterbury.

When I have proved most evidently, as well by the testimony of the Scripture as by the consent of the old authors of Christ's Church, both Greeks and Latins, from the beginning continually from time to time, that transubstantiation is against God's most holy word, against the old Church of Christ, against all experience of our senses, against all reason, and against the doctrine of all ages, (until the bishops of Rome devised the contrary,) therefore I conclude that the said doctrine of transubstantiation may justly be called the Romish or papistical doctrine; and where I have showed further, that the chief pillars of the papistical doctrine, as Duns, Gabriel, Durand, with other, do acknowledge that if it had not been for the determination of the Church of Rome, they would have thought otherwise, (which is a most certain argument that this doctrine of transubstantiation came from Rome, and therefore is worthily called a papistical doctrine,) all this must be answered with these words, "as this author reporteth," and "Duns and Gabriel boast what they could do," whereas neither Duns nor any of the other either brag or boast, but plainly and frankly declare what they think. And if I report them otherwise than they say, reprove me therefore, and tell me wherein. But these be but shifts to shake off the matter that you cannot answer unto. Therefore until you have made me a more full and direct answer, I am

* Read Smith, fol. 91, &c. [1580.]

BOOK more confirmed in my assertion to call transubstantiation a
 II. papistical doctrine than I was before.

But here you put me in remembrance of an ignorant reader, whose scholar I was in Cambridge almost forty years past, who when he came to any hard chapter which he well understood not, he would find some pretty toy to shift it off, and to skip over unto another chapter, which he could better skill of. The same is a common practice of you throughout your whole book, that when any thing in my book presseth you so sore that you cannot answer it, then finely, with some merry jest or unseemly taunt, you pass it over, and go to some other thing that you persuade yourself you can better answer; which sleight you use here in two matters together; the one is, where I prove the doctrine of transubstantiation to come from Rome; the other is, that of your said doctrine of transubstantiation it followeth, that Christ every day is made anew and of a new matter. In which two matters you craftily slide away from mine arguments, and answer not to one of them. Wherefore I refer to the judgment of the indifferent reader, whether you ought not to be taken for convinced in these two points, until such time as you have made a full answer to my proofs and arguments.

For where you say that Christ is not made of the substance of bread, as of a matter, this is but a slippery evasion. For if Christ be made of bread, either he is made of the matter of bread, or of the form thereof. But the form, say you, remaineth, and is not turned into Christ's body. Therefore if Christ be made of bread, you must needs grant that he is made of the matter of bread. Now for the answer to the second reason of the papists my book hath thus.

[See vol. ii. p. 337, 338. "Another reason"——"their
 "own heads."]

Winchester.

THE solution to the second reason is almost as fondly handled, alluding from impanation to inaquation, although it was never

said in Scripture, This water is the Holy Ghost, but in baptism to be water and the Holy Ghost also. And of the dove is not said,
 1 This is the Holy Ghost, but, The Holy Ghost descended as in the
 2 resemblance of a dove. The substance of bread is not annihilate, because God's work is no annihilation, who giveth all being; and annihilation is a defection of the creature from God; and yet Christ's body is not augmented by the substance of bread, in which body it endeth by conversion, as in the better without annihilation; which is a changing by miracle. And when this author knoweth this, or should have known it, or hath forgotten it, he writeth like one that were ignorant, and had read nothing in the matter, as it were to make himself popular, to join himself in ignorance with the rude unlearned people.

Canterbury.

As for my solution to the second reason is able to stand against your confutation thereof, and to overthrow it quite. For no more is Christ in the bread and wine, in the Lord's Supper, than the Holy Ghost is in the water of baptism. And therefore if the Holy Ghost be not in a quite, no more
 1 is Christ impanate. And when the Scripture saith, *Upon whomsoever thou shalt see the Holy Ghost coming down;* and also when St. John said, *I saw the Holy Ghost come* John i. *down like a dove;* did he see any thing but the dove? And yet that which he saw, the Scripture there, as well by the voice of God as by the words of St. John, calleth *the Holy Ghost*. Wherefore the Scripture calleth the dove *the Holy Ghost*. For the speech was as much to say as, This which I see come down is the Holy Ghost; and yet was that the dove which he saw. And that the dove which he saw was the Holy Ghost, was as true a speech as we, looking upon the bread which we see, do say, This is the body of Christ. And yet as that speech meaneth not that the Holy Ghost is made a dove, so this speech meaneth not that the body of Christ is impanate. No more than these words of Christ spoken unto his mother Mary, and to St. John, *Lo thy son,* John xix. and, *Lo thy mother,* mean not that John was made Christ, nor that Mary his mother was made his natural mother.
 2 But of your saying it followeth, that the bread is human-

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 John i. ate or incarnate. For if these words of Christ, *This is my body*, mean, as you say, that bread is made Christ's flesh, then as *Verbum caro factum est*, *The Word was made flesh*, concludeth that Christ was incarnate; so *Panis caro factus est*, *The bread is made flesh*, concludeth that the bread is incarnate, seeing (as you say) it is not annihilate.

Annihilation.
 Matt. xxvi. But of annihilation you write so strangely, that it seemeth you have written what you dreamed in your sleep, rather than what you learned of any author, catholic or infidel. For who ever heard that annihilation could be wrought but by the only power of God? For the Gentile philosophers write according to nature, that "Sicut ex nihilo nihil fit, ita nihil in nihilum redigitur," "As nothing can be made of naught, so nothing can be turned into naught:" so that as it is the work of God only to make of naught, so it can be but only his work also to turn things into naught. And what man, being never so rude or popular, having any discretion at all, would define annihilation, (as you do,) that a defection of a creature from God should be annihilation and turning into nothing? For so should all the angels that fell from God be annihilate, and so should likewise all apostates, and all other that by sin relinquish the army of God, and follow his adversary the Devil, and all papists, that, abandoning Christ, (as Judas did,) run to Antichrist, to whom it were better to be annihilate, or never to be born, than eternally to remain in God's indignation.

Now followeth the last reason.

[See vol. ii. p. 338, 339. "Yet a third reason"—
 "holy Supper."]

Winchester.

A third reason this author frameth himself, whereby to take occasion to affirm how the sixth chapter of St. John should not appertain to the sacramental manducation; the contrary whereof appeareth as well by the words of Christ in that sixth chapter, saying, *I will give*, not 'I do give;' which promise was fulfilled in the supper, as also by the catholic writers, and specially by Cyril: and therefore I will not further strive with this author in

that matter, but see how he can assoil the authorities whereunto he entereth with great confidence. BOOK
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Canterbury.

1 The third reason I framed not myself, as you say I did, but had it ready framed out of your own shop, in your book of the Devil's Sophistry. And as for the sixth chapter of John, I have sufficiently showed my mind therein in my answer to Doctor Smith's Preface, which shall suffice also for answer to you in this place.

And as for Cyril is clearly against you, who declareth that when Christ said, *I will give my flesh for the life of the world*, he fulfilled not that promise in his supper, but in the cross. For if Christ had given to us life in his supper, what should he have needed after to die for the same purpose? The words of Cyril be these upon the words of Christ, *Panis quem ego dabo, caro mea est, quam ego dabo pro mundi vita*: "Moriur, inquit, pro omnibus, ut per meipsum omnes vivificem, et caro mea omnium redemptio fiat, morietur enim mors morte mea." Which words mean thus much in English: "I will die for all, that by my death I may give life to all, and that my flesh may be the redemption of all; for death shall die by my death." Thus expoundeth Cyril the words of Christ, that when he said, *I will give*, he did not fulfil that promise in his supper, but in the cross; giving us life by his death, not by eating and drinking of him in his supper, as you most ignorantly say. And yet all men may judge how much I bear with you, when I call it but ignorance. Now followeth mine answer to the authors wrested by the papists.

[See vol. ii. p. 339—341. "Now that I have made" —"before recited."]

Winchester.

1 FIRST, in Cyprian, who speaketh plainly in the matter, this author findeth a fault, that he is not wholly alleged; whereupon this author bringeth in the sentence following, not necessary to be rehearsed for the matter of transubstantiation, and handsome

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to be rehearsed for the overthrow of the rest of this author's new catholic faith; and whether that now shall be added was material in the matter of transubstantiation, I require the judgment of thee, O reader.

The first words of Cyprian be these^a: "This bread which our Lord gave to his disciples, changed in nature, but not in outward form, is by the omnipotency of God's word made flesh." These be Cyprian's words, and then follow these: "As in the person of Christ the humanity was seen and the Divinity hidden, even so the Divinity ineffably infused itself into the visible sacrament." Thus saith Cyprian, as I can English him to express the word *infudit* by Latin English, not liking the English word "shed," because in our English tongue it resembleth spilling and evacuation of the whole; and much less I can agree to use the word "pouring," although *infundo* in Latin may, in the use of earthly things, signify so; because "pouring" maketh a successive working, whereas God's work is in an instant, and for that respect never shedding. But this author had a fancy to use the sound of the word "pouring," to serve instead of an argument to improve transubstantiation; meaning the hearer or reader, in the conceiving of the sense of Cyprian thus termed, should fancy the bread in the visible sacrament to be like a sop, whereupon liquor were poured; which is a kind of depravation, as thou, reader, by consideration of Cyprian's words and meaning, mayest perceive; which Cyprian, having showed how the bread is made flesh by the omnipotency of God's word, and made by change, then, because this mystery of the sacrament in consideration of the two natures, celestial and earthly, resembleth the principal mystery of Christ's person, St. Cyprian saith in sense, that as in the person of Christ the humanity was seen and the Divinity hidden, so likewise in this sacrament visible, is also the divine nature hidden. This is the sense, where for declaration of the work of God presenting his divine nature, there is used the verb *infudit* in Latin; by which word the motion of the divine nature is spoken of in Scriptures, not because it is a liquid substance to be poured, as the author of this book Englisheth it signifying a successive operation; but rather as a word, if we should scan it as this author would, signifying the continuance of the term from

^a [See note, vol. ii. p. 323.]

whence to the term whereunto, without leaving the one by motion to the other; for there is in the godly nature no local motion, and therefore we say, Christ not leaving his Father descended from heaven, and being in earth was also in heaven; which infusion in some part resembleth, but man's words cannot express God's divine operations.

5 To the purpose, the first words of Cyprian show the manner of the constitution of this sacrament to be by mutation of the earthly creatures into the body and blood of Christ. And then by the words following he showeth the truth of the substance of the sacrament, to the intent we might use our repair to it, and frame our devotion according to the dignity of it, esteeming, as St. Paul saith, our Lord's body. For the more evident declaration whereof, St. Cyprian, by example of the mystery in Christ's person, showeth Christ's humanity and Divinity present in the visible sacrament; of which Divinity there is special mention against such which fancied the flesh of Christ to be given to be eaten as divided from the divine nature, which was the heresy of the Nestorians, and such other, denying thereby the perfect unity of the two natures in Christ, which the holy Synod of Ephesus did specially condemn, as other Fathers in their writings did specially prevent with distinct writing against that error. And therefore St. Cyprian, not content to show the presence of Christ's flesh by mutation of the bread, doth after make special mention of Christ's Divinity, not correcting that he had said before, but further opening it. And so utterly condemneth the teaching of the author of this book, touching the presence of Christ to be only figuratively. Cyprian saith, that in the sacrament is the truth, and then there is present the true flesh of Christ and the Godhead truly, which devotion should knowledge. And as for transubstantiation, according to the first words of St. Cyprian, the bread is changed, not in form, but in nature; which is not in the properties of nature, nor in the operation of nature, neither in quantity or quality of nature; and therefore in the inward nature, which is properly substance.

6 This is the plain, direct understanding, not by way of addition, as this author of his imagination deviseth, who useth the word spiritual, as a stop and opposition to the catholic teaching, which is not so; and clearly without learning compareth with this sacrament the water of baptism, of which we read not written that

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it is changed, as we read of the bread; and therefore the resemblance of water in baptism is used only to blind the rude reader, and serveth for a shift of talk to wind out of that matter that cannot be answered; and as evil debtors shake off their creditors with a bye communication, so this author conveyeth himself away at a back door by water, not doing first as he promised to answer, so as he would avoid Cyprian directly by land.

Canterbury.

Where, in my former book, I found a fault in the allegation of Cyprian, it was indeed no little fault to allege those words that speak of the change of bread, and to leave out the example most necessary to be rehearsed, which should declare how it was changed; which change is not by transubstantiation, as the example showeth, but as it is in the person of Christ, whose humanity was not transubstantiated, although it was inseparably annexed unto the Deity.

And the words following do not once touch the real and corporal presence of Christ's flesh in the bread; so far it is from the overthrowing of the true catholic faith by me taught. But Cyprian, in that place, quite and clean overthroweth as well your real presence as your imagined transubstantiation, as hereafter, by God's grace, shall be declared. But, first, it seemeth to me a strange thing, that such a learned man, as you take yourself to be in the tongues, cannot English this verb *infundo*, whereas every grammarian can tell the signification of *fundo*, *effundo*, and *infundo*. But it seemeth you have so dainty a stomach, that you can brook no meat but of your own dressing, though it be never so well dressed of other; yea, you had rather eat it raw, than to take it of another man's dressing. And so much misliketh you all things that other men do, that you be ready to vomit at it.

Infudit.

No English can please you to this word *infundo* but Latin English, as you call it; and that is such English as no Englishman can understand, nor Latin man neither, but only in that sense that I have Englished it. And I pray thee, gentle reader, consider the great weighty cause why no English can please in this place, and thou shalt find it

nothing else but ignorance either of the speech or of God. "Pouring," saith he, "maketh a successive working." So doth "infusion" say I, and therefore in that respect as unfit a term as "pouring." But God's work, saith he, is in an instant. So is his pouring, say I, and all that he doth, even as well as his infusion^b. All man's works be done in succession of time, for a carpenter cannot build a house in a day, but God in one moment could make both heaven and earth. So that God worketh without delay of time such things as in us require leisure and time. And yet God hath tempered his speech so to us in holy Scripture, that he speaketh of himself in such words as be usual to us, or else could we speak here and learn nothing of God. And therefore, whether we say infusion or pouring, all is one thing and one reason: for in us they be done by little and little, but God worketh the same suddenly in one moment.

And yet, if you had well considered the matter, you should not have found the sacraments of God like sops, wherein liquor is poured, but you should have found "pouring" an apt word to express the abundance of God's working by his grace in the ministration of his holy sacraments. For when there cometh a small rain, then we say, it droppeth, or there is a few drops; but when there cometh a great multitude of rain together, for the great abundance of it we use in common speech to say, it poureth down: so that this word "pouring" is a very apt word to express the multitude of God's mercies, and the plentifulness of his grace poured into them whom he loveth, declared and exhibited by his words and sacraments. And howsoever you be disposed by jesting and scoffing to mock out all things, (as your disposition hath been ever given to reprehend things that were well,) yet the indifferent reader may judge by this one place, among many other, that you seek rather an occasion to brabble without cause, and with idle words to draw your book out at length, than to seek or teach any truth.

^b Smith useth the word "pouring." [1580.]

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Infusion.

And if I should play and scoff in such a matter, as you do, I might dally with the word of "infusion," as you do with the word "pouring." For as you reject my word of "pouring," because some fond reader might phantasy the bread in the sacrament to be like a sop, wherein liquor were poured, by like reason may I reject your English Latin of "infuding," because such a reader might phantasy thereby the bread to be like water, wherein the Divinity is steeped or infuded; as infused rhubarb is called, when it is steeped certain hours in stilled water or wine, without seething; and so be roses and violets likewise infused, when they be steeped in warm water to make julep thereof. But as poticaries, physicians, surgeons, and alchymists use words of Greek, Arabic, and other strange languages, purposely thereby to hide their sciences from the knowledge of others, so far as they can; so do you, in many parts of your book, devise many strange terms and strange phrases of speech, to obscure and darken thereby the matter of the sacrament, and to make the same meet for the capacities of very few, which Christ ordained to be understand and exercised of all men.

At the last, as you say, you come to your purpose, not to open the truth, but to hide it as much as you may, and to gather of Cyprian's words your own feigning, and not his meaning; who meant nothing less than either of any transubstantiation, or of the corporal presence of Christ in the bread and wine.

Cyprian's
meaning.

And to set out Cyprian's mind in few words, he speaketh of the eating, and not of the keeping of the bread, which, when it is used in the Lord's holy Supper, it is not only a corporal meat to nourish the body, but an heavenly meat to nourish the souls of the worthy receivers, the divine majesty invisibly being present, and by a spiritual transition and change uniting us unto Christ, feeding us spiritually with his flesh and blood unto eternal life, as the bread, being converted into the nature of our bodies, feedeth the same in this mortal life.

And that this is the mind of St. Cyprian, is evident as well by the words that go before, as by the words following

the sentence by you alleged. For, a little before, Cyprian writeth thus: "There is given to us the food of immortal life, differing from common meats, which retaineth the form of corporal substance, and yet proveth God's power to be present by invisible effect." And again after, he saith, "This common bread, after it is changed into flesh and blood, procureth life and increase to our bodies. And therefore the weakness of our faith, being holped by the customable effect of things, is taught by a sensible argument, that in the invisible sacraments is the effect of everlasting life, and that we be made one by a transition or change, not so much corporal as spiritual. For he is made both bread, flesh, and blood, meat, substance, and life to his Church, (which he calleth his body,) making it to be partaker of him." Note well these words, good reader, and thou shalt well perceive that Cyprian speaketh not of the bread kept and reserved, but as it is a spiritual nourishment received in the Lord's Supper, and as it is fruitfully broken and eaten in the remembrance of Christ's death; and to them that so eat it, Cyprian calleth it the food of immortal life. And therefore when he saith that in the visible sacrament is the effect of everlasting life, he understandeth of them that worthily receive the sacrament; for to the bread and wine pertaineth not eternal life. Nevertheless the visible sacrament teacheth us, that by a spiritual change we be united to Christ's flesh and blood, (who is the meat and sustenance of his Church,) and that we be made partakers of the life everlasting by the power of God, who by his effectual working is present with us, and worketh with his sacraments.

And here is again to be noted, that Cyprian in this place speaketh of no real presence of Christ's humanity, but of an effectual presence of his divine majesty; and yet the bread, saith he, is a food and nourishment of the body. And thus Cyprian proveth nothing against my sayings, neither of the real presence of Christ's flesh and blood, nor of transubstantiation of bread and wine.

6 And where you be offended with this word "spiritual," Spiritual.

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it is not my device, but used of St. Cyprian himself, not past six or seven lines before the words by you cited, where he declareth the spiritual mutation or transition in the sacraments. And of the change in the sacrament of baptism, as well as in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, speaketh not only this author, but also Nazianzen, Emisene, Chrysostome, Ambrose, with all the famous ancient ecclesiastical authors. And this water doth well to delay your hot wine, whereof you have drunken so much out of the cup of the great whore of Babylon, that the true wine, representing to us our whole redemption by the true blood of Christ, you have clearly transubstantiate and taken away.

Now followeth mine answer unto Chrysostome.

[See vol. ii. p. 341—347. “Another authority”——
“before rehearsed.”]

Winchester.

Chrysost. ANSWERING to Chrysostom, this author complaineth, as he did in Cyprian, of malicious leaving out of that, which, when it is brought in, doth nothing impair that went before. Chrysostom would we should consider the secret truth of this mystery, where Christ is the invisible priest, and ministereth in the visible Church by his visible minister, the visible priest; whereof Chrysostome would by his words put us in remembrance, not denying thereby the visible ministry, no more than he doth in his other words deny the visible form of bread; and yet would not we should look only upon that, but whither faith directeth us, that is to say, upon the very body of Christ there invisibly present, which faith knoweth; and knoweth it to be there the very body, and there therefore to be no bread; which bread this true confession of Christ's body present by faith excludeth. But, touching the priest, St. Chrysostome's words do by no mean teach us that there is no visible priest, but to think that the body of Christ is delivered of Christ's hands, which excludeth not in like sort the minister visible, as faith doth the substance invisible of bread in the sacrament. The one saying in Chrysostom is a godly exhortation according to the truth, the other is a doctrine of faith in the truth: we be not taught that the priest is Christ, but we be

taught that the substance of the bread is made Christ's body. And then the question in the words of Chrysostom, "Seest thou bread?" is as much to say as, Rememberest thy faith? as being one of the faithful that know; which term St. Augustine used. And then Chrysostome, to confirm our faith in so high a mystery, declareth how we should think Christ to deliver his body himself, as a thing far exceeding man's power to do it. And with other heavenly words setteth forth the greatness of that mystery, which be words of godly and good meditation, convenient for so high a matter, to adorn it accordingly; which, because they be wholesome and meet allegories, wherewith to draw and lift up our minds to celestial thoughts, we may not thereby esteem the substance of that mystery to be but in allegory.

Here, instead of a solution, the author filleth three whole leaves with proof of that is not necessary, how a denial by comparison is not utterly a denial, which is indeed true. And as one was answered at Cambridge, when he pressed the responsal, "What say ye to mine argument?" which was not indeed of his making, the responsal left his Latin, and told the opponent, before all his country friends, in plain English, "It is a good argument, sir," quoth he, "but nothing to the purpose." And so is the entreating of this matter of denial by comparison good, but nothing to the purpose here; and it is an observation that requireth good judgment, or else may thereby be induced many absurdities. Chrysostome, as I said before, speaking to the Christian man, seemeth to ask, whether he useth his faith or no; for if he seeth bread, he seeth not with faith, which seeth the body of Christ there present, and so no bread. If the Christian man think of passage through him of the celestial food, he hath therein no spiritual thought, such as faith engendereth, and therefore saith Chrysostome, "absit." Here, in these words of Chrysostom, is no denial with comparison, and therefore this author might have spared his treatise in these three leaves. For in those words, when Chrysostome saith, "Think not thou receivest the body of Christ by a man," there this author so neglecteth his own rule, as in his third book he maketh a solemn argument, that by those Chrysostom's words we receive not the body of Christ at all, seeing Chrysostome saith, we may not think we receive it by man. So little substantially is this matter handled, as a man might say, here were many accidental words, without a sub-

BOOK stance or miracle, how strange soever the same seem to this au-
 II. thor otherwise.

Canterbury.

I complained not of your crafty handling of Chrysostom without a just cause; for when you had alleged the words that seemed to make for your purpose, you left out the words that make clearly against you, or which words at the least would open all the whole matter: and yet the words which you leave out follow immediately the words by you alleged.

And where, to discuss this whole matter, you say in the beginning, that Chrysostome doth not deny the visible minister, no more than he doth the visible form of bread, here, at the first chop, you use another policy, not much commendable, altering prettily the words of Chrysostom, making of bread the form of bread. For Chrysostom speaketh of bread and wine, and not of the forms and accidents of them. And if the bread be no more but the visible accidents of bread, then is the minister also no more but the visible accidents of a minister, and so is the priest nothing else but the puppy of a priest. And then the communicants receive no bread of the priest, but a puppy of bread of a puppy of a priest. For Chrysostome speaketh in like form of words of the bread, as he doth of the priest, with these words, "think not:" "Think not that thou seest bread," "think not that thou receivest of a priest." And therefore if this form of speech exclude the substance of bread, it excludeth likewise the substance of the priest. And if the priest remain still, notwithstanding that speech, then may the bread remain also with the same speech. And if your argument be good, there is Christ's body, *ergo*, there is no bread; then may I conclude in the same form of reasoning, there is bread, *ergo*, there is not Christ's body. And so this author maketh nothing for you, but overthroweth your foundation clean, both of transubstantiation and of the real presence.

But to make the mind of Chrysostome somewhat more plain, he teacheth them that come to that holy mystery,

with what things their minds should be chiefly occupied ; not about earthly and visible things, but about things celestial and invisible ; and not to consider so much what we see with our eyes, as what we believe in our hearts ; not so much what we receive bodily, as what we receive spiritually. And he teacheth not only what we should think we receive, but also of whom we should think to receive it ; saying, “ When you come to the mysteries, do not think that you “ receive by a man the body of God, but that you receive “ fire by the angel seraphim.” The thing that we receive, saith he, is not the body of God, and the person of whom we receive is not a man ; like as before immediately he said, that the thing which we see is not bread. Now if it be not bread in deed that is seen, then is it not the body of Christ in deed that is received, nor he is not a priest in deed of whom we receive it. And, on the other side, if it be the very body of Christ that is received, and a very man of whom it is received, then it is very bread in deed that is seen. And where becometh then your transubstantiation.

But, to declare briefly and plainly the very truth, according to the mind of Chrysostome, as we see with our eyes, and eat with our mouths, very bread, and see also and drink very wine ; so we lift up our hearts unto heaven, and with our faith we see Christ crucified with our spiritual eyes ; and eat his flesh, thrust through with a spear, and drink his blood springing out of his side, with our spiritual mouths of our faith. And, as Emissene said, when we go up to the reverend altar to feed upon spiritual meat, with our faith we look upon him that is both God and man, we honour him, we touch him with our minds, we take him with the hands of our hearts, and drink him with the draught of our inward man. So that although we see and eat sensibly very bread and drink very wine ; and spiritually eat and drink Christ’s very flesh and blood : yet may we not rest there, but lift up our minds to his Deity, without the which his flesh availeth nothing, as he saith himself. Further answer needeth not to any thing that you have here spoken ; for every learned reader may see at the first

BOOK II. show, that all that you have spoken is nothing else but very trifling in words. Now followeth St. Ambrose.

[See vol. ii. p. 347—352. “Yet there is another”——
“discretion.”]

Winchester.

Ambrosius. Now let us hear what this author will say to St. Ambrose. He rehearseth him at good length, but translateth him for advantage. As among other in one place where St. Ambrose saith, “This sacrament which thou receivest is made by the word of Christ,” this author translateth, “is done by the word of Christ;” because making must be understood in the substance of the sacrament chiefly before it is received, and doing may be referred to the effect chiefly; for which purpose it should seem the author of this book cannot away with the word “made,” whereat it pleaseth him in another place of this book to be merry, as at an absurdity in the papists; when indeed both St. Ambrose here, St. Cyprian, and St. Hierome also in their places use the same word speaking of this sacrament, and of the wonderful work of God in ordaining the substance of it by such a conversion, as bread is made the body of Christ. But as touching the answer of this author to St. Ambrose, it is diverse. For first he doth traverse the authority of the book, which allegation hath been by other heretofore made, and answered unto in such wise, as the book remaineth St. Ambrose’s still; and Melancthon saith it seemeth not to him unlike his, and therefore allegeth this very place out of him against Œcolampadius. This author will not stick in that allegation, but for answer saith, that St. Ambrose saith not that the substance of the bread and wine is gone; and that is true, he saith not so in syllables, but he saith so in sense, because he speaketh so plainly of a change in the bread into that it was not; whereunto this author, for declaration of change, saith the bread and wine be changed into an higher estate, nature, and condition; which three words of estate, nature, and condition, be good words to express the change of the bread into the body of Christ, which body is of another nature, another state and condition, than the substance of the bread, without comparison higher.

But then this author addeth, “To be taken as holy meats and drinks;” wherein if he mean to be taken so, but not to be so, as his teaching in other places of this book is, the bread to be

never the holier, but to signify an holy thing ; then is the change nothing in deed touching the nature, but only as a coward may be
 4 changed in apparel to play Hercules or Sampson's part in a play ; himself thereby made never the hardier man at all, but only appointed to signify an hardy man ; of which man's change, although his estate and condition might in speech be called changed for the time of the play, yet no man would term it thus to say his nature were changed, whether he meant by the word nature, the substance of the man's nature, or property, for in these two points he were still the same man in Hercules' coat, that he was before the play in his own ; so as if there be nothing but a figure in the bread, then for so much this author's other teaching in this book
 5 where he saith, the bread is never the holier, is a doctrine better than this, to teach a change of the bread to an higher nature, when it is only appointed to signify an holy thing. And therefore this author's answer, garnished with these three gay words of estate, nature, and condition, is devised but for a shift, such as agreeth not with other places of this book, nor itself neither.

And where St. Ambrose marvelleth at God's work in the substance of the sacrament, this author shifteth that also to the effect in him that receiveth ; which is also marvellous indeed ; but the substance of the sacrament is by St. Ambrose specially marvelled at, how bread is made the body of Christ, the visible matter out-
 6 wardly remaining, and only by an inward change, which is of the inward nature, called properly substance in learning, and a substance in deed, but perceived only by understanding ; as the substance present of Christ's most precious body is a very substance in deed of the body invisibly present, but present indeed, and only understood by most true and certain knowledge of faith.

7 And although this author noteth, how in the examples of mutation brought in by St. Ambrose, the substances nevertheless remained the same, that skilleth not ; for the wonder of those marvels serve for an induction to relieve the weak faith of man in this miracle of the sacrament, and to repress the arrogancy of reason, presuming to search such knowledge in God's secret works, whereof if there might be a reason given, it needeth no faith. And where there is a like, there is no singularity, as this miracle in the sacrament is notably singular, and therefore none other
 8 found like unto it. The sacramental mutation which this author newly so termeth, is a mere shift to avoid, among such as be not

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learned, the truth of God's miracle in this change, which is indeed such as St. Ambrose speaketh of, that of bread is made the body of Christ; which St. Ambrose in another place termeth it the grace of the body of Christ, and all is one, for it is a great grace to have the body of Christ for our food present there. And out of Christ's mouth, calling the body of Christ, is making the body of Christ, which words calling, signifying, naming, used in St. Ambrose's writings, do not limit Christ's words, and restrain them to an only calling, an only signifying, or an only naming, but give an understanding agreeable to other of St. Ambrose's words, that show the bread after consecration to be the body of Christ, the calling to be understood a real calling of the thing that so is made, and likewise a real signifying of the thing indeed present, and a real naming as the thing is in deed; as Christ was named Jesus because he is the Saviour of his people in deed. And thus perusing this author's answers, I trust I have noted to the reader, with how small substance of matter this author impugneth transubstantiation, and how slenderly he goeth about to answer such authors as by their several writings confirm the same, besides the consent of Christendom universally receiving the same. And how in the mean way this author hath by his own hands pulled down the same untrue doctrine of the figurative speech, that himself so lately hath devised, or rather because this matter in his book goeth before, he hath in this second book marred his frame, or ever he cometh to the third book to set it up.

Canterbury.

Oh, what a capital crime is here committed, that I have Englished this word "conficere," "to do," whose proper signification is to accomplish or make an end of a thing, which being once brought to pass, we use in common speech to say, 'I have done;' as 'I have done my house,' 'I have done my book,' 'I have done my work,' 'I have done my day's journey,' that is to say, 'I have perfectly done and finished.' And is not this fully as much in speech as to say, 'I have made my day's journey,' or 'I have made my house or my book?' But some fault you must find, where none is, partly to keep in use your old custom of calumny, and partly to satisfy a new toy that you have in your head, that making is in the substance of the sacrament, and doing is in the ef-

fect. But whether it be translate "making" or "doing," St. Ambrose spake of the wonderful effectual working of God in the use and ministration of the sacraments, and that as well in baptism as in the Lord's supper, and not of his working in the substances of the elements reserved. As for the authority of the book, I stand not in it, so that all your words therein be more than needeth, but to length your book, and yet was the book never allowed amongst men learned and of judgment to be St. Ambrose's^c. And Melancthon, whom you allege for the allowance of it, giveth it two nips, which you have left out of purpose, to serve your affection: for he saith not, as you report, that it seemeth not to him unlike, but that it seemeth not to him far unlike; and yet he confesseth that it is confusedly written, which is a slender approbation that it should be St. Ambrose's.

3 And where you confess that St. Ambrose saith not in words, that the substances of bread and wine be gone, and yet saith so in effect, because he speaketh of change, either you know that your argument is naught, and yet bring it in purposely to deceive some simple reader, or your ignorance is more than I would have thought, that of this word "change" would argue change in substance, as though there could be no change but it must be in substance. But if you had well considered the examples of St. Ambrose by me alleged, (which he bringeth forth for the proofs and similitudes of the change of bread and wine in the sacrament,) you should have found, that in all the said examples remain the substances, notwithstanding the change: as in the water of Jordan staying to run after the natural course; in the dry stone that, contrary to his nature, flowed out water; in the bitter water of Marath, that was turned into sweetness; in the iron that, contrary to nature, swam above the water; in the spiritual generation of man, above all natural operation; in the sacramental mutation of the water of baptism; and in the incarnation of our Saviour Christ; which all being brought by St. Ambrose for example of the change in bread and wine, as in them the sub-

BOOK
II.

Changes of
things, the
substances
remaining.

° [See vol. ii. p. 326.]

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II.

stances remained, notwithstanding the changes, so is it in the bread and wine, whereof the other were brought for examples.

But in your handling here of St. Ambrose, you seem to be utterly ignorant, and not to know difference between sacramental signs (in the use whereof Almighty God inwardly worketh) and other vain signs, which be nothing else but outward shows to the eye. For if you understood the matter, would you resemble a knave playing in a prince's coat (in whom nothing is inwardly wrought or altered) unto a man being baptized in water, who hath put upon him outwardly water, but inwardly is apparelled with Christ; and is, by the omnipotent working of God, spiritually regenerated, and changed into a new man? or would you compare him that banqueteth at a feast to represent an anniversary or triumph, unto that man that in remembrance of Christ's death eateth and drinketh at his holy Supper, giving thanks for his redemption, and comforting himself with the benefit thereof? If you have this opinion and veneration of the sacraments, it is well known what spirit you have, how ignorant you be, and what is to be judged of you. And if you have no such opinion, becometh it you then to dally with such profane examples, tending to the profanation of the sacraments, and deceiving of the readers?

Holy bread. And as for the holiness of bread, I say now, as I said before, that neither bread, wine, nor water, have any capacity of holiness; but holiness is only in the receivers, and by the bread, water, and wine, is sacramentally signified. And therefore the marvellous alteration to an higher estate, nature, and condition, is chiefly and principally in the persons, and in the sacramental signs it is none otherwise but sacramentally and in signification. And whether this be matter of truth, or a thing devised only for a shift, let the reader judge.

Visible
matter.
Forms.

And where you say, in your further answer here to St. Ambrose, that the visible matter of the bread outwardly remaineth, it seemeth you have not well marked the words of St. Ambrose, who saith, that the words of Christ changeth "species elementorum." And then if "species," as you

have said before in many places, signify the visible matter, then the visible matter remaineth not, as you say, but is changed, as St. Ambrose saith. And so St. Ambrose's words, that "species elementorum mutantur," be clean contrary to your words, that the visible matter remaineth. I will pass over here, how you call accidents of bread the matter of bread, against all order of speech, because I have touched that matter sufficiently before.

And yet this is not to be passed over, but to be noted by the way, how plainly St. Ambrose speaketh against the papists, which say, that the body and blood of Christ remain "sub speciebus panis et vini," "under the forms of bread and wine." And St. Ambrose saith, that "species elementorum mutantur," "the forms of bread and wine be changed."

7 And where you say, that in the examples of mutation brought in by St. Ambrose, although the substance remain still the same, yet that skilleth not; your answer here seemeth very strange, to say that that thing skilleth not, which skilleth altogether, and maketh the whole matter. For if in the examples the substances remain, notwithstanding the mutation of the natures by benediction, then do not these examples prove that the substance of bread and wine remain not. And if this were singular from the examples, as you say it is, then were not the other examples of this: for if the substances remain in them, how can they be brought for examples to prove that the substances of bread and wine remain not? when they be brought for examples and things that be like, and not that the one should be singular and unlike from the other. And where you allege this place of St. Ambrose for you, nothing can be spoken more directly against you: for the natures, saith St. Ambrose, of bread and wine be changed; and the nature, say you, is the outward visible forms; and that that is changed remaineth not, say you also: and so followeth then, that the substances of bread and wine remain, and not the outward visible forms; which is directly against your feigned transubstantiation, and against all that you said hitherto concerning that matter.

8 And where a sacramental mutation is to you a new term,

BOOK II. it declareth nothing else but your ignorance in the matter. And although you seem to be ignorant in other authors, yet if you had expended diligently but one chapter of St. Ambrose, you should have found three examples of this sacramental mutation, wherein the substances remain entire and whole; one is in the sacrament of Christ's incarnation, another is in a person that is baptized, and the third in the water of baptism; which three examples I alleged in my book, but you thought it better slightly to pass them over, than to trouble your brain with answering to them.

Calling.
Making.

And where you say, that calling bread the body of Christ is making it in deed the body of Christ, as Christ was called Jesus, because he is the Saviour of all men in deed; here it appeareth that you consider not the nature of a sacrament. For when sacraments be named or called by the names of the things which they signify, yet they be not the same things in deed, but be so called, as St. Augustine saith, because they have some similitude or likeness to the things which they be called. But Christ was called Jesus, our Saviour, as the very true Saviour in deed, not as a sacrament or figure of salvation, as the bread is the sacrament of Christ's flesh, and wine the sacrament of his blood; by which names they be called, and yet be not the very things in deed. Thus have I answered to the chief authors which you allege for transubstantiation, making your own authors not only to overthrow your building, but to dig up your foundation clean from the bottom; and nothing is left you but arrogance of mind, and boasting of words, (as men say that you still fancy with yourself and brag that you be Bishop of Winchester;) even as a captain that glorieth in his folly, when he hath lost his castle, with ordnance and all that he had.

And at length you be driven to your Church, which you call the consent of Christendom universal, when it is no more but the papistical Church that defendeth your transubstantiation. Now declareth my book the absurdities that follow the error of transubstantiation.

[See vol. ii. p. 352. "And now I will rehearse"—
"ancient authors."]

Winchester.

IN the second column of the forty-third leaf, the author goeth about to note six absurdities in the doctrine of transubstantiation, which I intend also to peruse. The first is this :

“ First, if the papists be demanded, what thing it is that is broken, what is eaten, what is drunken, and what is chewed with the teeth, lips, and mouth in this sacrament, they have nothing to answer but the accidents. For, as they say, bread and wine be not the visible elements in this sacrament, but only their accidents ; and so they be forced to say, that accidents be broken, eaten, drunken, chawen, and swallowed, without any substance at all : which is not only against all reason, but also against the doctrine of all ancient authors.”

This is accounted by this author the first absurdity and inconvenience, which is by him rhetorically set forth with “ lips,” and “ mouth,” and “ chawing,” not substantial terms to the matter, but accidental. For opening of which matter I will repeat some part again of that I have written before, when I made the scholar answer the rude man in declaration of substance ; which is, that albeit that sensible thing, which in speech uttered after the capacity of common understanding, is called substance, be comprehended of our senses, yet the inward nature of every thing which is in learning properly called substance, is not so distinctly known of us, as we be able to show it to the senses, or by words of difference to distinct in divers kinds of things one substance from another. And herein, as Basill saith ^c, if we should go about by separation of all the accidents to discern the substance by itself alone, we should in the experience fail of our purpose, and end in nothing indeed. There is a natural consideration of the abstracts that cannot be practised in experience. And to me, if it were asked of common bread, when we break it, whether we break the substance, or only the accidents, first I must learnedly say, if the substance be broken, it is by mean of the accident in quantity ; and then if it liked me to take my pleasure without learning in philosophy, as this author doth in divinity against the catholic faith, to say, in division we break not the substance of bread at all, the heresy in philosophy were not of such absurdity as this author maintaineth in divinity ; for I have some probable matter to say for me, whereas he hath none. For my strange answer I would say, that albeit a natural thing as bread, consist-

^c Basilius, Hom. i. Hexameron.

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II.

ing of matter and essential form, with quantity, and thereby other accidents cleaving and annexed, may be well said to be in the whole broken, as we see by experience it is; yet, speaking of the substance of it alone, if one should ask whether that be broken, and it should be answered yea, then should the substance appear broken and whole all at one time, seeing in every broken piece of bread is a whole substance of bread; and where the piece of bread broken is so little a crumb as can no more in deed be divided, we say, nevertheless, the same to be in substance very bread, and for want of convenient quantity bread indivisible; and thus I write to show that such an answer, to say the accidents be broken, hath no such clear absurdity as this author would have it seem. But leaving of the matter of philosophy to the schools, I will grant that accidents to be without substance is against the common course of natural things, and therefore therein is a special miracle of God. But when the accidents be by miracle without substance, as they be in the visible part of the sacrament, then the same accidents to be broken, eaten, and drunken, with all the additions this author for his pleasure maketh therein, is no miracle or marvel, and as for absurdity no point at all, for by quantity which remaineth is all division. We ought to confess, and good Christian men do profess the mystery of the sacrament to be supernatural, and above the order of nature, and therefore it is a travail in vain to frame the consideration of it to agree with the terms in philosophy. But where this author saith, that nothing can be answered to be broken but the accidents: yea verily, for in time of contention, as this is, to him that would ask what is broken, I would in other terms answer thus, That thou seest is broken. And then if he would ask further what that is, I would tell him, The visible matter of the sacrament, under which is present invisibly the substance of the most precious body of Christ. If he will ask yet further, Is that body of Christ broken? I will say, No. For I am learned in faith, that that glorious body, now impassible, cannot be divided or broken, and therefore it is whole in every part of that is broken, as the substance of bread is in common bread in every part that is broken: according whereunto it is in the Book of Common Prayer^d set forth, how in each part of that is broken of the consecrate bread, is the whole body of our Saviour Christ. If this questioner be further curious, and say, Is not that that is broken, bread? I would answer as a believing

The Book
of Common
Prayer.
[1580.]

^d [See above, p. 114. for the rubric referred to.]

man by faith, Truly no. For in faith I must call it, because it is truly so, the body of Christ invisibly there, and the breaking to
 9 be not in it, but in the visible figure. Yea, ye will call it so, saith this questioner, but yet it is bread. Nay, quoth I, my faith is a most certain truth, and believeth things as they verily be, for Christ's word is of strength, not only to show and declare as other men's words do, but therewith effectual to make it so to be, as it is by him called. And this I write, because, howsoever clerks soberly entreat the matter, such as mind well I mean, to consider accidents and substance, which terms the rude understand not,
 10 it is not necessary therefore in those terms to make answer to such as be contentiously curious, who labour with questions to dissolve the truth of the mystery, in declaration whereof if we as men stumble and term it otherwise than we should, that is no inconvenience in the mystery, but an imperfection in us that be not able to express it, not having such gifts of God as other have, nor studying to attain learning as other have done. And whatsoever in schools with a devout mind to answer all captious
 11 questions hath for the exercitation of men's senses been moved soberly and by way of argument objected, that is now picked out by this author, and brought to the common people's ears, in which it might sound evil, they not being able to make answer thereunto, whereby they might be snarled and entangled with vain fancies against that truth, which before, without curiosity of questions, they truly and constantly believed. Finally, the doctrine of the sacrament is simple and plain, to have the visible forms of bread and wine for signification, the thing whereof is the very body and blood of Christ, which being the truth of the whole, it is no absurdity to confess truly the parts as they be, if occasion require, howsoever it soundeth to the ethnic or carnal man's ears, for whose satisfaction there is no cause why the truth should be altered into a lie, wherewith to make melody to their understandings. For howsoever carnal reason be offended with spiritual truth, it forceth not; but against the whole consent of the ancient doctors, no doctrine can be justified; with whose testimony how the faith of the Church in the sacrament now agreeth, it is manifest, howsoever it liketh this author to report the contrary.

Canterbury.

Here may the reader perceive how much you sweat and

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II.

labour, so that it pitieth me to see, what travail you take, babbling many things nothing to the purpose, to answer my first absurdity. And yet at the end you be enforced to affirm all that I charge you withal, that is to say, that accidents be broken, eaten, drunken, chewed, and swallowed without any substance at all. And more I need not to say here, than before I have answered, to your clerkly dialogue between the scholar and the rude man, saving this, that you make all men so wise, that they judge accidents in their common understanding to be called substances, and that no man is able to know the difference of one substance from another.

Substances
cannot be
without ac-
cidents.

And here you fall into the same folly that Basill speaketh. For if he that goeth about to separate accidents from their substance, fail of his purpose, and end in nothing indeed, then you, separating the accidents of bread from their substance, and the substance of Christ's body from the accidents, by your own saying alleged of Basill, you must fail of your purpose, and in the end bring both the bread and body of Christ to nothing indeed. For the abstraction of accidents from their proper substances, and of substances from their proper accidents, as you truly say in that point, cannot be practised in experience, but is a corruption or annihilation of both.

And where to excuse this absurdity, that accidents in the sacramental bread should be broken alone without any substance, you bring in another absurdity, that in common bread the substance is not broken at all: this is no taking away of the first absurdity, but of one absurdity to make two, as once I knew a man, that when he had made a lie, and perceived that he was suspected, by and by he would make two or three much greater lies to excuse the first withal. But if you should say, that we break not the substance of bread at all, it were no more unlearnedly said in philosophy than it is untruly said in divinity.

And where you say, that you have probable matter for you, and I have none for me, it is clean contrary; for you have utterly nothing for you, but all the whole world against you,

if you say that the substance of common bread is not broken at all. And I have for me the very plain words of Christ, of the Apostle, and of the Evangelists. *The bread which we break*, saith St. Paul; and *Christ took bread, and brake it*, say the three Evangelists. But there is no bread, say you, nor no substance of bread is broken. And this probable matter have you for yourself, if men will believe yourself alone, better than the Apostle and the Evangelists.

BOOK
II.

1 Cor. x.

Matt. xxvi.

Mark xiv.

Luke xxii.

- 5 And what should you talk in vain of substance alone, to dazzle the eyes of the ignorant, when there is no such thing, nor never was sithence the world began; and seeing your question in that place is of common bread, where the substance is never alone without accidents? And if the substance of bread might be alone, yet your reason against the breaking of it is so far from all reason, that it should prove as well that the substance joined to the quantity and accidents cannot be broken, as the substance alone; for in every piece of bread is a whole substance, and then by your argument it cannot be broken.
- 6 And where you grant, that accidents to be without substance is against the common course of natural things, but it is done by a spiritual miracle, this is but a cloud to darken the light. For accidents to be without substances is not only against the common course of natural things, but also against the very nature of accidents, which have none other being but in substances, as they be defined “accidentis esse, est inesse;” and is also against all philosophy, reason, and working of God sithence the world began: for God never created nor made, with miracle nor without miracle, substances without accidents, nor accidents without substances, as some vainly phantasy “de materia prima.” It is against also the doctrine of the old catholic authors, for never none wrote that accidents were without substances, until the Bishop of Rome, with his monks and friars, defined the contrary.
- 7 But note well here, good reader, the end of wit, when it is not stayed by God’s word, but shooteth at rovers, or runneth at large, as it were a young colt without a bridle. That

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II.

nothing is broken but the accidents, this is denied. Then would I fain learn of this great wise man, that so well can dissever substances from accidents, what substance it is that is broken. Not the body of Christ, saith he, for that is whole in every part, nor the bread is not broken, saith he, for our faith teacheth us contrary; then must it be either Christ's Divinity or soul that is broken, or else is some other substance there which never man heard of before.

Note also, good reader, how well this author agreeth with himself, which within a little compass denieth so many things, and affirmeth the same again. For first he saith, that to separate substances from the accidents is to bring it to nothing, and yet he separateth from their accidents as well the substances of bread and wine, as of the body of Christ. Before he said, that nothing was broken but the accidents; now he denieth it. Before he saith, the body of Christ is not broken; and shortly after he saith, that which is broken is no bread, but the body of Christ. And here it appeareth, how falsehood neither agreeth with truth nor with itself.

The Book
of Common
Prayer.

And where you allege that in the Book of Common Prayer it is set forth, how in each part of that is broken of the consecrated bread is the whole body of our Saviour Christ, what could you have alleged more against yourself? For if the consecrated bread be broken in parts, how can you answer truly by faith, as a believing man, (which answer you make straightways after,) that that which is broken, is no bread? And if you would answer, as you be wont to do, that the accidents of bread be called bread, yet that collusion will not serve you in this place. For seeing that this place speaketh of consecrated bread, answer me to this, whether the substance or accidents be consecrated? And if you say the accidents, then forasmuch as consecration by your doctrine is conversion, it must follow that the accidents of bread be converted, and not the substance, and so should you call it transaccidentation, and not transubstantiation. And if you say that the substance of bread is consecrated, then forasmuch as that which is consecrated is divided into parts, and in every part is the whole body of

Christ, you must confess that the substance of bread remaineth with the parts thereof, wherein is received the body of Christ.

But yet will you say, peradventure, that although this make against transubstantiation, yet it proveth the real presence of Christ's body, seeing that it is whole in every part of the bread. It is whole indeed in every part of the bread divided, as it is in the whole bread undivided, which is sacramentally, not really, corporally, carnally, and naturally, as you feign and imagine, and would constrain other to believe. And faith denieth not the bread, but teacheth it to remain as a sacrament. And calling of it Christ's body is not making of it to be really so, no more than the calling of the blessed Virgin, John's mother, made not her to be naturally so in deed, nor him to be her son. For although Christ's word effectually spoken, be an effectual making, yet his words sacramentally and figuratively spoken, declare not the figure or sacrament to be in deed the thing that is signified.

10 And if the rude and simple people understand not substance from accidents, as you here affirm, then this thing they may at the least wise understand, how little they be beholden to you papists, that would bind them to believe, under peril of damnation, such things as they be not able to understand, making articles of their faith to snare them rather than to save them. But what skilleth that to the papists, how many men perish, which seek nothing else but the advancement of their Pope, whom they say no man can find fault withal^c? For though he neither care for his own soul's health, nor of his Christian brother, but draw innumerable people captive with him into hell, yet, say the papists, no man may reprehend him, nor ask the question why he so doeth.

11 And where you speak of the soberness and devotion of the school authors, whom before you noted for boasters, what soberness and devotion was in them, being all in manner monks and friars, they that be exercised in them do know, whereof you be none. For the devotion that they

^c Distin. 40. "Si Papa."

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II.

had, was to their god that created them, which was their Pope, by contention, sophistication, and all subtle means they could devise by their wit or learning, to confirm and establish whatsoever oracle came out of their god's mouth. They set up their Antichrist directly against Christ, and yet under pretence of Christ, made him his vicar general, giving him power in heaven, earth, and in hell. And is not then the doctrine of transubstantiation, and of the real and sensual presence of Christ in the sacrament, to be believed, trow you, seeing that it came out of such a god's mouth, and was set abroad by so many of his angels?

Simple and
plain doc-
trine.

And is not this a simple and plain doctrine, I pray you, that visible forms and substances be transubstantiated, and yet accidents remain? A plain doctrine, be you assured, which you confess yourself, that the simple and plain people understand not, nor yourself with the help of all the papists is not able to defend it; where the true doctrine of the first catholic Christian faith is most plain, clear, and comfortable, without any difficulty, scruple, or doubt; that is to say, that our Saviour Christ, although he be sitting in heaven in equality with his Father, is our life, strength, food, and sustenance, who by his death delivered us from death, and daily nourisheth and increaseth us to eternal life. And in token hereof he hath prepared bread to be eaten and wine to be drunken of us in his holy Supper, to put us in remembrance of his said death, and of the celestial feeding, nourishing, increasing, and of all the benefits which we have thereby; which benefits, through faith in the Holy Ghost, are exhibit and given unto all that worthily receive the said holy Supper. This the husbandman at his plough, the weaver at his loom, and the wife at her rock, can remember, and give thanks unto God for the same. This is the very doctrine of the gospel, with the consent wholly of all the old ecclesiastical doctors, howsoever the papists, for their pastime, put vizors upon the said doctors, and disguise them in other coats, making a play and mocking of them. Now followeth the second absurdity.

“Secondly, these transubstantiators do say, contrary to all

“ learning, that the accidents of bread and wine do hang
 “ alone in the air without any substance wherein they may
 “ be stayed. And what can be said more foolishly?”

BOOK
 II.

Winchester.

1 THE Master of the Sentences^f showing divers men's sayings in
 discussion (as they can) of this mystery, telleth what some say
 that had rather say somewhat than nothing, which this author
 rehearseth as a determination of the Church, that indeed maketh
 no doctrine of that point so, but acknowledgeth the mystery to
 exceed our capacity. And as for the accidents to be stayed, that
 is to say, to remain without their natural substance, is without dif-
 2 ficulty believed of all men that have faith, considering the almighty
 power of Christ, whose divine body is there present. And shall
 that be accounted for an inconvenience in the mystery that any
 one man saith, whose saying is not as a full determination ap-
 proved? If that man should encounter with this author, if he
 were alive so to do, I think he would say it were more tolerable
 in him of a zeal to agree with the true doctrine, to utter his conceit
 fondly, than of a malice to dissent from the true doctrine
 3 this author so fondly to improve his saying. But if he should
 oppose this author in learning, and ask him how he will under-
 stand “ fiat lux” in creation of the world, where the light stayed
 4 that was then create? But I will proceed to peruse the other dif-
 ferences.

Canterbury.

1 The doctrine that even now was so simple and plain, is
 now again waxed so full of ambiguities and doubts, that
 learned men, in discussing thereof, as they can, be fain to
 say rather something than nothing, and yet were they bet-
 ter to say nothing at all, than to say that is not true or no-
 thing to purpose. And if the Master of the Sentences' say-
 ing in this point vary from the common doctrine of the
 papists, why is not this his error rejected among other,
 wherein he is not commonly held? And why do yourself
 after approve the same saying of the Master, as a thing be-
 lieved without difficulty, that the accidents be stayed with-
 2 out their natural substance? And then I would know of

^f *Sententiarum*, dist. ix. q. 10.

BOOK
II.

you, wherein they be stayed, seeing they be not stayed in the air, as in their substance, nor in the bread and wine, nor in the body of Christ? For either you must appoint some other stay for them, or else grant (as I say) that they hang alone in the air, without any substance wherein they may be stayed. And either I understand you not in this place, (you speak so diffusely,) or else that thing which the Master spake, and yourself have here affirmed, you call it a tolerable conceit, fondly uttered. And whereas, to answer the matter of the staying of the accidents, you ask, wherein the light was stayed at the creation of the world: this is a very easy opposal, and soon answered unto. For first God created heaven and earth, and after made light, which was stayed in them as it is now, although not divided from the darkness in such sort as it was after. Now followeth the third absurdity.

“ Thirdly, that the substance of Christ’s body is there really, corporally, and naturally present, without any accidents of the same. And so the papists make accidents to be without substances, and substances to be without accidents.”

Winchester.

Really, corporally, naturally.
[1580.]

How Christ’s body is in circumstance present, no man can define, but that it is truly present, and therefore really present, corporally also and naturally, with relation to the truth of the body present, and not to the manner of presence, which is spiritual, exceeding our capacity; and therefore therein, without drawing away accidents or adding, we believe simply the truth, howsoever it liketh this author without the book to term it at his pleasure, and to speak of substance without accidents, and accidents without substance, which perplexity in words cannot jest out the truth of the catholic belief. And this is on the author’s part nothing but jesting with a wrong surmise and supposal, as though men had invented and imagined that which by force and truth of the Scripture all good men have and must believe, that is to say, the true presence of the substance of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, according to the words of Christ, *This is my body*, which exclude the substance of

bread, declaring the substance of the body of Christ to be acknowledged and professed in the sacrament by the true faith of a Christian man. Compare with this what this author writeth in his ninth difference, in the 47th leaf of his book^s, and so consider 5 the truth of this report, and how this author agreeth with himself.

Canterbury.

I suspect not the judgment of the indifferent reader so much, but that he can perceive how undirectly you answer to this third absurdity, and be loth as it seemeth to answer any thing at all. But it is no little confirmation of the 1 catholic faith to see you papists vary so much among yourselves, and you alone to devise so many things contrary to all the rest, and yet you be uncertain yourself what you may say. They say all with one accord, (saving only Smyth and you,) that in the sacrament be not the qualities and quantities of Christ's body; (for he is not there visible and sensible, with his voice to be heard, his colours to be seen, his softness to be felt, his quantities to be extended, and to be local in place, with his other accidents;) so that they take away his accidents from the sacrament. Smith saith, Smyth. that he is there (not naturally, as you say, but against nature) with all his qualities and accidents. You dare neither add them, nor draw them away, being uncertain whether they be there or no, and being also uncertain whether in the sacrament he have distinction of members or no. But telling 2 the truth is but jesting and railing to you, which, for lack of answer, be glad to shift off the truth as a matter of jesting.

And it is not my terming without the book and at my 3 pleasure to speak of substances without accidents, and accidents without substances; for I speak none otherwise therein than as it hath pleased the papists before to term the same in all their books of that matter; but I termed this matter so upon the papistical books, as they at their pleasure devised or dreamed without all manner of books 4 written before their time. And the force of Scripture constraineth no man to the belief of transubstantiation, although the body of Christ were really, corporally, and carnally pre-

^s [See vol. ii. p. 357.]

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sent, who by his omnipotent power can be present, as well with the substances as with the accidents of bread and wine, as fully is declared before.

And where you allege the disagreeing of me with myself, if you would have taken the pain to read some of the school authors, you should have learned that there is no disagreement in my sayings at all. For they say, that the body of Christ that is in the sacrament hath his proper forms and quantities, as I said in the 47th leaf. But yet those accidents (say they) be in heaven, and not in the sacrament, as I say in this place, not varying one mite from mine other saying. But ignorance in you thinketh a difference where none is at all. Now followeth the fourth absurdity.

“ Fourthly, they say, that the place where the bread and wine be, hath no substance there to fill that place, and so must they needs grant *vacuum*, which nature utterly abhorreth.”

Winchester.

THIS author goeth about to find so many absurdities, that he speaketh he wotteth not what, and where he seeth and feeleth quantity, accounteth the place void for want of substance, as though, in consideration of common natural things severally as they be in nature, it were the substance that filled the place and not rather quantity; although in the natural order of things there is no quantity without substance, and is in this sacrament only by miracle. There wanted a substance in consideration of this absurdity, and was such a *vacuum*, as nature plainly endureth.

Canterbury.

All the authors that write what *vacuum* is, account a place that is not filled with a substance which hath quantity in it, to be void and empty. So that my saying is not grounded upon ignorance, but upon the mind of all that write in that matter. Whereas your saying, that quantity alone filleth place without substance, hath no ground at all, but the papists' bare imagination. And if quantity in the sacraments be without substance by miracle, it is marvel that none ancient writer in no place of their books made any

mention of such a miracle. But yourself grant enough for my purpose in this place, that it is an absurdity in nature, and wrought only by miracle, that quantity occupieth a place alone without substance. Which absurdity followeth not of the true and right faith, but only of your error of transubstantiation. Now to the fifth absurdity.

“Fifthly, they are not ashamed to say, that substance is made of accidents, when the bread mouldeth, or is turned into worms, or when the wine soureth.”

Winchester.

TRUE believing men are not ashamed to confess the truth of their faith, whatsoever arguments might be brought of experience in nature to the contrary. For Christ's works we know to be true by most certain faith; what mouldeth in bread, or soureth in wine, we be not so assured, or whereon worms engender, it is not so fully agreed on among men. The learned lawyer Ulpian writeth, as I have before alleged, that wine and vinegar have in manner one substance, so as when wine soureth and is vinegar, in manner the same substance remaineth, in whom it is thought no absurdity to say by that means that the accidents only sour. And if we agree with the philosophers that there is *materia prima*, which in all things is one and altereth not, but as a new form cometh, taketh a new name, fancying that as one wave in the water thrusteth away another, so doth one form another, it should seem by this conclusion all alteration to be in accidents, and the corruption of accidents to be the generation of new accidents, the same *materia prima* being as it were *substantia*, that altereth not. And this I write that may be said as it were to make a title to this author's certainty, which is not so sure as he maketh it. Amonges men have been marvellous fancies in consideration of natural things, and it is to me a very great absurdity of that secret, and therefore to our knowledge an uncertain work, to deduce an argument, wherewith to impugn our certain faith.

But to come nearer to the purpose, it is wrong borne in hand that we affirm worms to be engendered of accidents, but when the worms be engendered, we grant the worms to be, and will rather say, whereof they be we cannot tell, than to say that substance is made of accidents; and that doctrine is not annexed to

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the faith of transubstantiation, and such as entreat those chances and accidents do not induce that conclusion, but do reasonably avoid it. And yet by the way, in moulding and souring it should, me seemeth, be properly said that the accidents mould, and the accidents sour, because we call mouldy bread, bread, sour wine, wine, and in wine, as I said before, made vinegar, the former substance hath been in learning accounted in manner to remain ; so as this author overshooteth himself, when he matcheth generation of worms with moulding and souring, which differ so far in their speculation. But even as this author's wit is overturned in consideration of the true faith, so doth it appear perverted in consideration of natural things.

Canterbury.

I know not to what purpose you have written all this fond matter, except it be that you would the world should know how ignorant you be in philosophy, which have not learned so much, as to know the diversity between the six kinds of movings, generation, corruption, augmentation, diminution, alteration, and moving from place to place ; whereof the four last be from accident to accident, and the two first from substance to substance. So that all mutation is not in accidents, and the corruption of accidents to be the generation of new accidents, as you unlearnedly imagine, both of that and of *materia prima*, which never was no such thing in deed, but by imagination.

But because you bear me in hand, that I bear the papists wrong in hand that they affirm worms to be engendered of accidents, I shall rehearse their own words, that the readers may know your ignorance herein, or else how loud a lie you make willingly. " Ex speciebus sacramentalibus," say they, " generantur vermes, si putrefiant." " Of the sacramental forms, if they be rotten, be gendered worms." But it is no point of true meaning men, now to deny that ever they said any such things, as they have taught in their schools these four or five hundred years, as their own books do plainly testify. And be these papists to be credited, which have taught untruly so many years, and now when they be pressed with all, go clean from it, and say they never said so, but be wrong borne in hand ?

And because Smith denieth here the same that you do, **BOOK II.**
 that worms be engendered of the accidents in the sacrament, Smythe.
 let him help you to answer this matter. And forasmuch as he saith, that when the host reserved beginneth to mould or putrefy, and should engender worms, then another substance succeedeth it, of which such things are made; let him tell what substance that is which succeedeth, and whereof the substance is made.

But to return to you again: such philosophy as you make here, learned I never in Aristotle, Plato, nor Pliny; nor I trow none such is to be found in any that ever wrote. But as you delight all in singularity, and have made strange divinity, so must you invent as strange philosophy. For who ever heard that *terminus a quo* is changed, or *terminus ad quem*? And whatsoever seemeth to you, as commonly it seemeth to you that seemeth to no man else, yet it seemeth to no man else that ever was learned, that accidents be properly changed, but that the substances or subjects be changed from accident to accident.

And it is the simplest reason that ever was made, that the 3 accidents mould and sour because the substance remaineth, so as moulded bread is called bread, and sour wine is called wine. For so is cold water and hot water both called water. And yet it is the water that is now hot, now cold, and not the accidents. For neither can hot be cold nor cold be hot, nor heat go into coldness nor coldness into heat, but the subject that receiveth them is now hot, now cold, by alteration, as iron that is now cold is soon made hot, but coldness can never be hotness by no art nor science, forasmuch as they be contrary qualities. And likewise pureness cannot mould, nor sweetness cannot be sour, but wine that is sweet may turn into sour wine, and bread that is pure may be changed into mouldy bread. But the more you strive in the matters of philosophy, the more appeareth your ignorance therein, even as it did before in the matters of our faith. And who can condemn your doctrine more clearly 4 than your own Ulpian doth, as you do here allege him, that in vinegar remaineth in manner the same substance that was in the wine; whereof it must follow, that when the sacra-

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mental wine is turned into vinegar, there must be a substance remaining, which is in manner the same with the substance of the vinegar. The sixth absurdity.

“ Sixthly, that substance is nourished without substance by accidents only, if it chance any cat, mouse, dog, or any other thing, to eat the sacramental bread, or drink the sacramental wine.”

[See vol. ii. p. 352—354. “ These inconveniences” — “ hereafter.”]

Winchester.

It hath been heard without fables of certain men that have lived and been nourished with savours only; and in gold and certain precious stones, that they give a kind of nurture to another substance without diminution of their substance; experience hath showed it so, and therefore the principle or maxim that this author gathereth hath no such absurdity in it, as he noteth, to say that substance is nourished without substance. But when vermin by chance happen to devour any host, as I am sure they cannot violate Christ's most precious body, so what effect followeth of the rest, what needeth it be discussed? If it nourisheth, then doth that effect remain, although the substance be not there: if every nurture must needs be of substance, then would those that discuss those chances say the substance to return; but hell gates shall not make me speak against my faith. And if I be asked the question, whether the visible matter of the sacrament nourish, I will answer, yea. *Ergo*, saith he, there is substance. I deny it. He shall now from the effect to the cause argue by physic. I shall disprove the conclusion by the authority of faith. Who is it most meet should yield to other? And if in nature many things be in experience contrary to the general rules, why may not one singular condition be in this visible matter of the sacrament, that the only substance being changed, all other parts, properties, and effects may remain? Is it an absurdity for a maid to have a child, because it is against the rules of nature? Is it an absurdity the world to be made of nothing, because the philosopher saith, ‘ Of nothing cometh nothing?’ The principle of nature is, that whatsoever hath a beginning hath an end, and yet it is no absurdity to believe our souls to have a beginning without end, and to be immortal. Wherefore to conclude this matter, it is a great absurd-

dity in this author to note that for an absurdity in our faith, which repugneth only to the principles of philosophy or reason, when that is only to be accounted for an absurdity, that should repugn to the Scripture and God's will, which is the standard to try the rule of our faith. Howsoever reason or philosophy be offended, it forceth not, so God's teaching be embraced, and persuaded in faith, which needeth no such plasters and salves as this author hath devised, to make a sore where none is, and to corrupt that is whole.

Canterbury.

- 1 Men may here see what feigned fables be sought out, to defend your errors and ignorance, which is now so manifest that it appeareth you never read, or else have forgotten the very principles and definitions of philosophy. Of which this is one, that nutrition is a conversion of substance into substance, that is to say, of the meat into the substance of the thing that is fed. Another is thus: "Ex eisdem sunt et nutriuntur omnia." "All things be nourished of things like themselves." And so I grant you, that a man made of savours, and a man made of the virtue of gold and precious stones, may be nourished by the same, because he is made of the same. And yet it may be, that some certain savour, or the virtue of some precious stone, may increase or continue some humour, whereof a man may be nourished, as we read of some men or certain people that have lived no small time by the savour of apples.
- 2 But still in your book you cry faith! faith! and catholic faith! when you teach but your own inventions clean contrary to the true catholic faith and express word of God. And in all your arguments here you commit the greatest vice that can be in reasoning, called *petitio principii*, taking that thing which is chiefly in controversy, to be a principle to induce your conclusion. Faith! faith! say you, where is no faith, but your bare feigning. I have disproved your faith by God's word, by the universal consent of all Christendom, a thousand years together, and you cry out still, faith! faith! which is not the faith of Christ, but of Antichrist. Let Christian men now judge who should yield to other. If you had proved your doctrine by faith, founded upon God's word, I would condescend unto you that it is

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no absurdity that accidents remain when the substance is gone. But God's word is clearly against you, not only in your doctrine of transubstantiation, but also in the doctrine of the real presence, of the eating and drinking, and of the sacrifice of Christ's flesh and blood.

Winchester.

THE best plaster and medicine that could now be devised were to leave apart questions and idle talk, and meekly to submit our capacities to the true faith, and not to overwhelm our understandings with search and inquiry, whereof we shall never find an end, entering the bottomless secrecy of God's mysteries. Let us not seek that is above our reach, but that God hath commanded us let us do. Each man impugneth another's learning with words, none controlleth another's living with better deeds. Let all endeavour themselves to do that God commandeth, and the good occupation thereof shall exclude all such idleness as is cause and occasion of this vain and noisome curiosity. And now to return to this author, whiles he seeth a mote in another man's eye, he feeleth not a beam in his own: who recommendeth unto us specially Theodorete, whom he calleth an holy bishop, and with him doth bring forth a piece of an Epistle of St. Chrysostome. The doctrine of which two joined with the doctrine of this author in such sense as this author would have all understood to be called catholic, touching the faith of the sacrament, hath such an absurdity in it, as was never heard of in religion. For this author teacheth for his part, that the body of Christ is only really in heaven, and not in deed in the sacrament; according whereunto this author also teacheth the bread to be very bread still; which doctrine, if it be true, as this author will needs have it, then join unto it the doctrine of the secret Epistle of Chrysostome, and Theodorete, whose doctrine is, that after consecration, that is consecrate shall be called no more bread but the body of Christ. By these two doctrines joined together it shall appear, that we must call that is consecrate by a name of that we be learned by this author it is not, and may not by the doctrine of Theodorete call it by the name of that which this author teacheth us in deed it is. As thus, 'It is in deed bread,' quoth this author, 'but call it not 'so,' quoth this Theodorete: 'It is not in deed the body of Christ,' quoth this author, 'but yet in any wise call it so,' quoth Theodorete. Here is plain simulation and dissimulation both together.

For by forbearing the name of bread, according to Theodore's teaching, we dissemble and hide that it is by this author's teaching, and by using the name of our Lord's body, according to Theodore's teaching, we feign it to be that it is not by this author's teaching, which saith, there is only a figure; and by this means in so high a mystery we should use untruths on both sides, in simulation and dissimulation, which is a marvellous teaching.

I deny not but things signifying may have the name of that they signify by a figure of speech, but we read not in any doctrine
 4 given that the thing signifying should have the name by figure, and be delivered from the name of that it is in deed. And yet this is now the teaching of this author in defence of his new catholic faith, joined with the teaching of Theodore, and the secret Epistle of St. Chrysostom, as this author would have them understood. But those men, Theodore and Chrysostom, in the sense they meant, as I understand them, taught a true doctrine.
 5 For they take the name of the body of Christ in the sacrament to be a real naming of the body of Christ there present in deed, and therefore a true perfect name, which as St. Chrysostome's secret Epistle saith, the thing is worthy to have, declaring by that worthiness the thing named to be there in deed. And likewise I understand the other name of bread worthily done away, because the substance whereupon in reason the name was grounded, is changed according to the true doctrine of transubstantiation; therefore that name of bread in their doctrine is truly laid away,
 6 although Theodore writeth the visible matter of bread and wine to be seen and felt as they were before, and therefore saith their substance, which there signifieth the outward nature, is seen and felt to remain; which terms with convenient understanding may
 7 thus agree with the catholic teaching of transubstantiation, and so in the sacrament on every part, both in the heavenly and earthly part to be a full, whole, and perfect truth, as the high mystery being the sacrament of our perfect unity in body and soul with Christ doth require. Whereby in my judgment, as this author hath against his own determination in this enterprise uttered that
 8 confirmeth the truth of the real presence of Christ's most precious body in the sacrament, (which he doth in special entreating the words of St. Augustine in the 27th leaf of his book ^b, besides that in divers other places he doth the like :) so bringing us forth this Theodore and his secret Epistle of St. Chrysostome, he hath

^b [See vol. ii. p. 328.]

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brought forth that may serve to convince him in transubstantiation. Howbeit, as for transubstantiation, Zuinglius taketh it truly for a necessary consequence of the truth, if there be in the sacrament the real presence of Christ's body, as there is in deed. For as a carnal man not instructed by faith, as well after consecration as before, as he is of the earth, speaketh and calleth it bread, and asking him what it is, will never answer otherwise, and if one asked him whether it were the body of Christ, would think the questioner mocked him, so the faithful spiritual man, answering to that question what it is, would after consecration according to faith, answer, 'the body of Christ,' and think himself mocked if he were asked 'Is it not bread?' unless he had been taught Christ to have said it had been both his body and bread. As for calling it by the name of bread, which it was, he would not greatly stick, and one thing may have many names, but one thing is but one substance, whereby to answer to the question what it is, saving only in the person of Christ, wherein we know united the two substances of God and man. And this matter I repeat and summarily touch again, to leave in the reader's breast the principal point of our belief of this mystery, to be of the real presence, that is to say, unfeigned, substantial presence, and therefore the true presence of Christ's most precious body in the sacrament, which hath been in all ages taught, and been, as it is, the catholic faith of Christendom, as appeareth by the testimony of the old authors in all ages.

Canterbury.

For the conclusion of all these questions, when you see that you can make no answer, but that you be driven to so many absurdities, and that I have answered so plainly unto every one, that there is left neither absurdity nor difficulty at all; then you devise the best way and most easy for your self, to lay apart all questions and idle talk, when all these questions and idle talk needed not, if the papists of their idle brains had not devised their transubstantiation, and thereupon moved this idle talk themselves, which hath been occasion, not only of much dissension in all Christian realms, but of the effusion also of much innocent blood.

But when the papists, like unto Lucifer, have ascended into heaven, and searched by vain and arrogant questions the bowels and secrets of God's majesty and his wisdom,

yea, even whether God have made the world so well as he might have done, then they command other to keep silence, and not to enter into the bottomless secrecy of God's mysteries, nor to seek that is above their reach, but to endeavour themselves to do that God commandeth; which counsel, as it is most godly and wholesome, so if the papists themselves had observed in the beginning, no man should have needed to have troubled his brains with such frivolous questions and idle talk. But the papists do like boys in the school, that make rods to beat other, and when they should be beaten with the rods which they made themselves, then they wish that all rods were in the fire. So the papists, when they see themselves overthrown in their own questions, which they first devised themselves, and to be beaten with their own rods, then they cry, Peace, Hold hands, and Question no more.

But to answer the absurdities laid unto the papists' charge, you recompense me again with two great huge absurdities. One is, that Christ is really but in heaven only; the other is, that bread is still bread. Here thou mayest judge, gentle reader, what errors I defend, that am by force driven to such two absurdities, that I am fain to say as I have written in my book, and as the Apostles and Evangelists said. But beware, I would advise thee, that thou say not as God's word teacheth; for if thou doest, thou mayest be sure to be taken of the papists for an heretic.

Finally, you come to your contradictions of bread and no bread, the body and not the body, simulation and dissimulation, wherein when you have well practised yourself in all your book through, at the last you make as it were a play in a dialogue between Chrysostome, Theodorete, and me. But Chrysostome, Theodorete, and I shall agree well enough, for they tell not, what in no wise may be, but what was commonly used; that is to say, not to call the bread by his proper name after consecration, but by the name of the body of Christ. And if you had well considered what I wrote in my book concerning figurative speeches and negatives by comparison, (which you also have allowed,) you should have well perceived your labour here spent all in vain. For in all figures and sacraments, the signs remaining in their

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Why the names of the sacraments be changed.

own proper natures, change nevertheless their names, and be called by the names of the more high and excellent things which they signify. And both Chrysostome and Theodoret show a cause thereof, which is this, that we should not rest in the sight of the sacraments and figures, but lift up our minds to the things that be thereby represented. And yet in the sacraments is neither simulation nor dissimulation, except you will call all figurative speeches simulation, and say that Christ simulated, when he said he was a vine, a door, a herdsman, the light of the world, and such like speeches. But it pleaseth you for refreshing of your wit (being now so sore travailed with impugning of the truth) to devise a pretty merry dialogue of "quoth he" and "quoth he;" and if I were disposed to dally and trifle, I could make a like dialogue of simulation or dissimulation, of "quoth he" and "quoth you," even between you and Christ.

But, as I have declared before, all things which be exalted to an higher dignity, be called by the names of their dignity, so much that many times their former names be forgotten; and yet nevertheless they be the same things that they were before, although they be not usually so called. As the surnames of kings and emperors, to how many be they known? or how many do call them thereby? but every man calleth them by their royal and imperial dignities. And in like manner is it of figures and sacraments, saving that their exaltation is in a figure, and the dignities royal and imperial be real and in deed. And yet he should not offend that should call the princes by their original names, so that he did it not in contempt of their estates. And no more should he offend that did call a figure by the name of the thing that it is in deed, so that he did it not in contempt of the thing that is signified. And therefore Theodoret saith not, that the bread in the sacrament may not be called bread, and that he offendeth that so calleth it, for he calleth it bread himself, but with this addition of dignity, calling it the bread of life, which it signifieth. As the cap of maintenance is not called barely and simply a cap, but with addition of maintenance. And in like manner we use not in common speech to call

bread, wine, and water in the sacraments, simple and common water, bread, and wine; but, according to that they represent unto us, we call them the water of baptism, the water of life, sacramental water, sacramental and celestial bread and wine, the bread of life, the drink that quencheth our thirst for ever. And the cause Theodorete showeth, why they be so called, that we hearing those names should lift up our minds unto the things that they be called, and comfort ourselves therewithal. And yet neither in the sacraments, in the cap of maintenance, nor in the imperial or royal majesties, is any simulation or dissimulation, but all be plain speeches in common usage, which every man understandeth.

5 But there was never man that understood any author further from his meaning, than you do Theodorete and Chrysostome in this place: for they meant not of any real calling, by changing of substances, but of a sacramental change of the names, remaining the substances. For Theodorete saith in plain words, that as Christ called bread his body, so he called his body corn, and called himself a vine. Was therefore the substance of his body transubstantiated, and turned into corn, or he into a vine? And yet this must needs follow of your saying, if Christ's calling were a putting away of the former substance, according to the doctrine of transubstantiation. But that Theodorete meant not of any such changing of substances, but of changing of names, he declareth so plainly, that no man can doubt of his meaning. These be Theodorete's own words: "Our Saviour, without doubt, changed the names, and gave to his body the name of the sign, and to the sign the name of his body; and yet," saith he, "they kept their former substance, fashion, and figure." And the cause wherefore Christ doth vouchsafe to call the sacramental bread by the name of his body, and to dignify so earthly a thing by so heavenly a name, Theodorete showeth to be this; that the godly receivers of the sacrament, when they hear the heavenly names, should lift up their minds from earth unto heaven, and not to have respect unto the bread outwardly only, but principally to look upon Christ, who with his

BOOK II. heavenly grace and omnipotent power feedeth them inwardly.

But there was never such untruth used as you use in this author, to hide the truth, and to set forth your untruth. For you alter Theodorete's words, and yet that sufficeth not, but you give such new and strange significations to words, as before was never invented. For where Theodorete saith that the sacraments remain, you turn that into the visible matter; and then that visible matter, as you take it, must signify accidents. And where Theodorete saith in plain terms that the substance remaineth, there must substance also, by your saying, signify accidents, which you call here outward nature, contrary to your own doctrine, which have taught hitherto that substance is an inward nature, invisible and insensible. And thus your saying here neither agreeth with the truth, nor with yourself in other places.

And all these cautels, and false interpretations, altering of the words, and corrupting of the sense both of all authors and also of Scripture, is nothing else but shameless shifts to deceive simple people, and to draw them from the old catholic faith of Christ's Church unto your new Romish errors, devised by Antichrist, not above four or five hundred years passed.

And where you say, that in the sacrament, in every part, both in the heavenly and earthly part, is an whole and perfect truth, how is perfect truth in the earthly part of the sacrament, if there be no bread there at all, but the colour and accidents of bread? For if there be none other truth in the heavenly part of the sacrament, then is not Christ there at all, but only his qualities and accidents.

And as concerning your unjust gathering of mine own words upon St. Augustine, I have answered thereunto in the same place.

And where you have set out the answer of the carnal and spiritual man, after your own imagination, you have so well devised the matter, that you have made two extremities, without any mean. For the true faithful man would answer, not as you have devised, but he would say, according

to the old catholic faith and teaching of the apostles, evangelists, martyrs, and confessors of Christ's Church, that in the sacrament or true ministration thereof be two parts, the earthly and the heavenly. The earthly is the bread and wine; the other is Christ himself. The earthly is without us; the heavenly is within us. The earthly is eaten with our mouths, and carnally feedeth our bodies; the heavenly is eaten with our inward man, and spiritually feedeth the same. The earthly feedeth us but for a time; the heavenly feedeth us for ever. Thus would the true faithful man answer, without leaning unto any extremity, either to deny the bread, or inclosing Christ really in the accidents of bread; but professing and believing Christ really and corporally to be ascended into heaven, and yet spiritually to dwell in his faithful people, and they in him, unto the world's end. This is the true catholic faith of Christ, taught from the first beginning, and never corrupted but by Antichrist and his ministers.

And where you say that one thing is but one substance, saving only in the person of Christ, your teaching is untrue, not only in the person of Christ, but also in every man, who is made of two substances, the body and soul. And if you had been learned in philosophy, you should have found your saying false also in every corporal thing, which consisteth of two substances, of the matter and of the form. And Gelasius showeth the same likewise in this matter of the sacrament. So untrue it is that you most vainly boast here, that your doctrine hath been taught in all ages, and been the catholic faith, which was never the catholic, but only the papistical faith, as I have evidently proved by holy Scripture and the old catholic authors, wherein truly and directly you have not answered to one.

Winchester.

IN whose particular words, although there may be sometime cavillations, yet I will note to the reader four marks and tokens, imprinted rather in those old authors' deeds than words, which be certain testimonies to the truth of their faith of the real presence

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of Christ's most precious body in the sacrament. The first mark, is the process of arguing used by them to the conviction of heretics by the truth of this sacrament; wherein I note not their particular sentences, which sometime be dangerous speeches, but their whole doings. As Irene, who was in the beginning of the Church, argueth against the Valentinians, that denied the resurrection of our flesh; whom Irene reproveth by the feeding of our souls and bodies with the divine glorified flesh of Christ in the sacrament; which flesh, and it be there but in a figure, then it should have proved the resurrection of our flesh slenderly, and as it were but figuratively. And if the catholic faith had not been then certainly taught and constantly believed without variance Christ's very flesh to be in deed eaten in that mystery, it would have been answered of the heretics, it had been but a figure; but that appeareth not, and the other appeareth; which is a testimony to the truth of matter in deed.

Hilary, reasoning of the natural conjunction between us and Christ by mean of this sacrament, expresseth the same to come to pass by the receiving truly the very flesh of our Lord in our Lord's meat^k, and thereupon argueth against the Arrians; which Arrians, if it had not been so really in deed, would have answered, 'But all was spiritually,' so as there was no such natural and corporal communion in deed as Hilary supposed, but, as this author teacheth, a figure, and it had been the catholic doctrine: so that argument of Hilary had been of no force. St. Chrysostome, Gelasius, and Theodoret argue of the truth of this³ mystery to convince the Apollinarists and Eutychians; which were none argument, if Christ's very body were not as really present in the sacrament, for the truth of presence, as the Godhead is in the person of Christ; being the effect of the argument this, that as the presence of Christ's body in this mystery doth⁴ not alter the property of the visible natures, no more doth the Godhead in the person of Christ extinguish his humanity, which against those heretics served for an argument to exclude confusion of natures in Christ, and had been a dangerous arguing to be embraced of the Nestorians, who would thereby have furthered their heresy, to prove the distinction of natures in Christ, without any union; for they would have said, As the earthly and heavenly natures be so distinct in the sacrament, as the one is not spoken of

^k Hilarius, *De Trin.* lib. viii.

the other, so be the natures of the humanity and Godhead not united in Christ; which is false: and in the comparing we may not look that all should answer in equality, but only for the point that it is made for; that is, as in the sacrament the visible element is not extinguished by the presence of Christ's most precious body, no more is Christ's humanity by his Godhead; and yet we may not say, that as in the sacrament be but only accidents of the visible earthly matter, that therefore in the person of Christ be only accidents of the humanity: for that mystery requireth the whole truth of man's nature, and therefore Christ took upon him the whole man, body and soul. The mystery of the sacrament requireth the truth of the accidents only, being the substance of the visible creatures converted into the body and blood of Christ. And this I write to prevent such cavillations as some would search for. But to return to our matter, all these arguments were vain, if there were not in the sacrament the true presence of Christ's very body, as the celestial part of the sacrament; being the visible forms the earthly thing: which earthly thing remaineth in the former property with the very presence of the celestial thing. And this sufficeth concerning the first mark.

Canterbury.

- 1 As for your four marks and tokens, if you mark them well, you shall perceive most manifestly your ignorance and error, how they note and appoint, as it were with their fingers, your doctrine to be erroneous, as well of transubstantiation as of the real presence.
- 2 And to begin with your first mark, Irene indeed proved Irenæus. the resurrection of our bodies unto eternal life, because our bodies be nourished with the everlasting food of Christ's body. And therefore as that food is everlasting, so it being joined unto his eternal Deity, giveth to our bodies everlasting life. And if the being of Christ's body in any creature should give the same life, then it might peradventure be thought of some fools, that if it were in the bread, it should give life to the bread. But neither reason, learning, nor faith beareth that Christ's body, being only in bread, should give life unto a man. So that if it were an article of our faith, to believe that Christ is present in the

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The mean-
ing of Irene
and other.
John vi.

forms of bread and wine, it were an unprofitable article, seeing that his being in the bread should profit no man.

Irene therefore meaneth, not of the being of Christ in the bread and wine, but of the eating of him. And yet he meaneth not of corporal eating, (for so Christ saith himself, that his *flesh availeth nothing*;) but of spiritual eating by faith. Nor he speaketh not of spiritual eating in receiving of the sacrament only; for then our life should not be eternal, nor endure no longer than we be eating of the sacrament: for our spiritual life continueth no longer than our spiritual feeding. And then could none have life but that receive the sacrament, and all should have perished that died before Christ's supper and institution of the sacrament, or that die under age before they receive the sacrament.

But the true meaning of Irene, Hilarie, Cyprian, Cyrill, and other that treated of this matter, was this; that as Christ was truly made man, and crucified for us, and shed his blood upon the cross for our redemption, and now reigneth for ever in heaven, so as many as have a true faith and belief in him, chewing their cud, and perfectly remembering the same death and passion, (which is the spiritual eating of his flesh and drinking of his blood,) they shall reign in everlasting life with him; for they spiritually and truly by faith eat his flesh and drink his blood, whether they were before the institution of the sacrament or after. And the being or not being of Christ's body and blood really and corporally in the sacrament, under the forms of bread and wine, neither maketh nor marreth, nor is to no purpose in this matter. But for confirmation of this our faith in Christ's death and passion, and for a perpetual memory of the same, hath Christ ordained this holy sacrament, not to be kept, but to be ministered among us, to our singular comfort, that as outwardly and corporally we eat the very bread and drink the very wine, and call them the body and blood of Christ, so inwardly and spiritually we eat and drink the very body and blood of Christ. And yet carnally and corporally he is in heaven, and shall be until the last judgment, when he shall come to judge both the quick and

the dead. And in the sacrament (that is to say, in the due ministrations of the sacrament) Christ is not only figuratively, but effectually unto everlasting life.

And this teaching impugneth the heresies of the Valentianians, Arrians, and other heretics; and so doth not your feigned doctrine of transubstantiation, of the real presence of Christ's flesh and blood in the sacrament under the forms of bread and wine; and that ungodly and wicked men eat and drink the same, which shall be cast away from the eternal life, and perish for ever. And for further answer to Hilarie, I refer the reader to mine other answer made to him before.

- 3 And for St. Chrysostom, Gelasius, and Theodorete, if there be no bread and wine in the sacrament, their arguments serve for the heretics' purpose, and clean directly against themselves. For their intent against the heretics is to prove, that to the full perfection of Christ, is required a perfect soul and a perfect body, and to be perfect God and perfect man; as to the full perfection of the sacrament is required pure and perfect bread and wine, and the perfect body and blood of Christ. So that now turning the argument, if there be no perfect bread and wine, as the papists falsely surmise, then may the heretics conclude against the catholic faith, and convince Chrysostom, Gelasius, and Theodorete with their own weapon, that is to say, with their own similitude, that as in the sacrament lacketh the earthly part, so doth in Christ lack his humanity. And as to all our senses seemeth to be bread and wine, and yet is none in deed, so shall they argue by this similitude, that in Christ seemed to all our senses flesh and blood, and yet was there none in very deed. And thus by your devilish transubstantiation of bread and wine, do you transubstantiate also the body and blood of Christ, not convincing, but confirming most heinous heresies. And this is the conclusion of your ungodly feigned doctrine of transubstantiation.
- 4 And where you would gather the same conclusion, if Christ's flesh and blood be not really present, it seemeth that you understand not the purpose and intent of these

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authors. For they bring not this similitude of the sacrament for the real presence, but for the real being: that as the sacrament consisteth in two parts, one earthly and another heavenly, (the earthly part being the bread and wine, and the heavenly the body and blood of Christ,) and these parts be all truly and really in deed, without colour or simulation, (that is to say, very true bread and wine in deed, the very true body and blood of Christ in deed,) even likewise in Christ be two natures, his humanity and earthly substance, and his Divinity and heavenly substance; and both these be true natures and substances, without colour or dissembling. And thus is this similitude of the sacrament brought in for the truth of the natures, not for the presence of the natures. For Christ was perfect God and perfect man, when his soul went down to hell and his body lay in the grave, (because the body and soul were both still united unto his Divinity;) and yet it was not required, that his soul should be present with the body in the sepulchre: no more is it now required, that his body should be really present in the sacrament; but as the soul was then in hell, so is his body now in heaven. And as it is not required, that wheresoever Christ's Divinity is, there should be really and corporally his manhood; so it is not required, that where the bread and wine be, there should be corporally his flesh and blood.

But as you frame the argument against the heretics, it serveth so little against them, that they may with the same frame and engine, overthrow the whole catholic Church. For thus you frame the argument: As the presence of Christ's body in this mystery doth not alter the property of the visible natures, no more doth the Godhead in the person of Christ extinguish his humanity. Mark well now, good reader, what followeth hereof. As the presence of Christ's body in this mystery doth not alter, say you, the property of the visible natures, no more doth the Godhead in the person of Christ extinguish his humanity. But the presence of Christ's body in this mystery doth so alter the visible natures, as the papists say, that the substances of

bread and wine be extinguished, and there remaineth no substance but of the body of Christ; *Ergo*, likewise in the mystery of Christ's incarnation the humanity is extinguished by the presence of his Godhead, and so there remaineth no more but the substance of his Divinity, as the Eutychians said.

And thus the similitude of Chrysostome, Gelasius, and Theodorete, joined to the saying of the papists, frameth a good argument for the heretics. But those authors framed their argument clean contrary, on this wise, that the bread and wine be not transubstantiate or extinguished, but continue still in their own substances, figures, fashion, and all natural properties, and therefore doth the humanity of Christ likewise endure and remain in his proper substance with his natural properties, without extinction or transubstantiation. For those authors take not bread and wine for the visible properties only of bread and wine, but for very true bread and wine, with all their natural qualities and conditions.

5 And the heretics shall soon find out your cavillation, where, to avoid the matter, you say that the mystery of the sacrament requireth not the truth of the substance. For why should the authors bring them forth, to prove the truth of the substance in Christ, if there were no true substance in them? Thus all your shifts and sophistications be but wind, or colours cast over the truth to blear men's eyes; which colours rubbed off, the truth appeareth clear and plain. And your first mark is not clearly put out, but turned to a mark and spectacle for yourself, wherein you may clearly see your own error, and how foul you have been deceived in this matter, and open your eyes, if God will give you grace to put away your indurate heart, to see the clear truth.

Winchester.

ANOTHER certain token is the wondering and great marvelling that the old authors make, how the substance of this sacrament is wrought by God's omnipotence. Baptism is marvelled at, for the wonderful effect that is in man by it; how man is regenerate,

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not how the water or the Holy Ghost is there. But the wonder in this sacrament is specially directed to the work of God in the visible creatures, how they be so changed into the body and blood of Christ, which is a work wrought of God before we receive the sacrament. Which work Cyprian¹ saith is ineffable, that is to say, not speakable, which is not so, if it be but a figure, for then it may be easily spoken, as this author speaketh it with ease, I think, he speaketh it so often. Of a presence by signification, if it may so be called, every man may speak and tell how, but of the very presence in deed, and therefore the real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, no creature can tell how it may be, that Christ ascended into heaven with his human body, and therewith continually reigning there, should make present in the sacrament the same body in deed, which Christ in deed worketh, being nevertheless then at the same hour present in heaven, as St. Chrysostome doth with a marvel say. If the marvel were only of God's work in man in the effect of the sacrament, as it is in baptism, it were another matter; but I said before the wonder is in the work of God, in the substance of the sacrament, before it be received, which declareth the old authors that so wonder, to understand the real presence of Christ's very body, and not an only signification, which hath no wonder at all. And therefore seeing St. Cyprian wondereth at it, and calleth the work ineffable, St. Chrysostome wondereth at it, St. Ambrose wondereth at it, Emissene wondereth at it, Cyrill wondereth at it; what should we now doubt, whether their faith were of a signification only, as this author would have it, which is no wonder at all; or of the real presence, which is indeed a wonderful work. Wherefore where this manifest token and certain mark appeareth in the old fathers, there can no construction of syllables or words dissuade or pervert the truth thus testified.

Canterbury.

As touching this your second mark in the ministration of the sacraments, as well of the Lord's holy Supper as of baptism, God worketh wonderfully by his omnipotent power in the true receivers, not in the outward visible signs. For it is the person baptized that is so regenerate, that he is made a new creature, without any real alteration of the water.

¹ Cyprian, *De Cæna Domini*.

And none otherwise it is in the Lord's Supper, for the bread and wine remain in their former substance, and neither be fed nor nourished, and yet in the man that worthily receiveth them, is such a wonderful nourishment wrought by the mighty power of God, that he hath thereby everlasting life. And this is the ineffable work of God, whereof Cyprian speaketh.

So that as well in the Lord's Supper as in baptism the marvellous working of God, passing the comprehension of all man's wit, is in the spiritual receivers, not in the bread, wine, and water, nor in the carnal and ungodly receivers. For what should it avail the lively members of Christ that God worketh in his dead and insensible creatures? But in his members he is present, not figuratively, but effectually, and effectually and ineffably worketh in them, nourishing and feeding them so wonderfully, that it passeth all wits and tongues to express.

2 And nevertheless corporally he is ascended into heaven, and there shall tarry until the world shall have an end. And therefore saith Chrysostome, that Christ is both gone up into heaven, and yet is here received of us, but diversely. For he is gone up to heaven carnally, and is here received of us spiritually. And this wonder is not in the working of God in the substance of the sacrament before it be received, as you feign it to be, nor in them that unworthily receive it carnally, but in them that receive Christ spiritually, being nourished by him spiritually as they be spiritually by him regenerated, that they may be fed of the same thing whereof they be regenerated, and so be throughly *Os ex ossibus ejus, et caro ex carne ejus: Bone of his bones, and flesh of his flesh.* Ephes. v.

3 And considering deeply this matter, Cyprian wondereth as much at God's work in baptism, as in the Lord's Supper; Chrysostom wondereth as much, Emissene wondereth as much, Cyrill wondereth as much, all catholic writers wonder as much, as well how God doth spiritually regenerate us to a new life, as how he doth spiritually feed and nourish us to everlasting life. And although these things be out-

The wonder
in the sa-
craments.

BOOK wardly signified unto us by the sacramental bread, wine,
II. and water, yet they be effectually wrought in us by the omnipotent power of God. Therefore you had need to seek out some other mark or token for your purpose, for this serveth you nothing at all. For by his wonderful working Christ is no more declared to be present in the bread and wine, than in the water of baptism.

Winchester.

A third token there is by declaration of figures, as for example St. Hierom when he declareth upon the Epistle *Ad Titum*, so advisedly at length how *Panes propositionis* were the figure of the body of Christ in the sacrament: that process declareth the mind of that author to be, that in the sacrament is present the very truth of Christ's body, not in a figure again, to join one shadow to another, but even the very truth to answer the figure, and therefore no particular words in St. Hierome can have any understanding contrary to his mind declared in this process.

Canterbury.

To St. Hierome I have answered sufficiently before to your confutation of my third book, almost in the end, which should be in vain to repeat here again, therefore I will go to your last mark.

Winchester.

FOURTHLY, another certain mark is, where the old authors write of the adoration of this sacrament, which cannot be but to the things godly, really present. And therefore St. Augustine writing in his book *De Catechizandis Rudibus*, how the invisible things be honoured in this sacrament, meaning the body and blood of Christ, and in the ninety-eighth Psalm speaketh of adoration; Theodoretus also speaking specially of adoration of this sacrament; these authors by this mark, that is most certain, take away all such ambiguities as men might, by suspicious divination, gather sometime of their several words, and declare by this mark of adoration plainly their faith to have been, and also their doctrine understood as they meant, of the real presence of Christ's very body and blood in the sacrament, and Christ himself God

and man to be there present ; to whose Divine nature, and the humanity unite thereunto, adoration may only be directed of us. And so to conclude up this matter, forasmuch as one of these four marks and notes may be found testified and apparent in the ancient writers, with other words and sentences conformable to the same, this should suffice to exclude all arguments of any by sentences and ambiguous speeches, and to uphold the certainty of the true catholic faith in deed, which this author by a wrong name of the catholic faith impugneth to the great slander of the truth, and his own reproach.

Canterbury.

Your fourth mark also of adoration proveth no more that Christ is present in the Lord's Supper, than that he is present in baptism. For no less is Christ to be honoured of him that is baptized, than of him that receiveth the holy communion. And no less ought he that is baptized to believe, that in baptism he doth presently in deed and in truth put Christ upon him, and apparel him with Christ, than he that receiveth the holy communion ought to believe, that he doth presently feed upon Christ, eating his flesh and drinking his blood ; which thing the Scripture doth plainly declare, and the old authors in many places do teach. And moreover the form of baptism doth so manifestly declare Christ to be honoured, that it commandeth the Devil therein to honour him by these words: *Da honorem Deo ; Da gloriam Jesu Christo*, with many other words declaring Christ to be honoured in baptism. And although our Saviour Christ is specially to be adored and honoured, when he by his holy word and sacraments doth assure us of his present grace and benefits, yet not only then, but always in all our acts and deeds, we should lift up our hearts to heaven, and there glorify Christ with his celestial Father and coeternal Spirit. So untrue it is that you say, that adoration cannot be done to Christ, but if he be really present. The papists teach us to have in honour and reverence the forms and accidents of bread and wine, if they be vomited up, after the body and blood of Christ be gone away, and say that they must be had in great reverence, because the body and blood

Gal. iii.

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II.

of Christ had been there. And not only the forms of bread and wine, say they, must be kept with great reverence, but also the ashes of them (for they command them to be burned into ashes) must be kept with like reverence. And shall you then forbid any man to worship Christ himself, when he doth spiritually and effectually eat his very flesh and drink his very blood, when you will have such honour and reverence done to the ashes, which come not of the body and blood of Christ, but only, as you teach, of the accidents of bread and wine? Thus have I confuted your confutation of my second book, concerning transubstantiation, wherein you be so far from the confutation of my book, as you promised, that you have done nothing else but confounded yourself, studying to seek out such shifts and cavillations, as before your time were never devised, and yet constrained to grant such errors and monstrous speeches as to Christian ears be intolerable. So that my former book, as well concerning the real presence of Christ's flesh and blood, as the eating and drinking of the same, and also transubstantiation, standeth fast and sure, not once moved or shaken with all your ordnance shot against it. But is now much stronger than it was before, being so mured and bulwarked, that it shall never need hereafter to fear any assault of the enemies. And now let us examine your confutation of the last part of my book, containing the oblation and sacrifice of our Saviour Christ.

THE END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

The Confutation of the Fifth Book.

AS touching the fifth book, the title whereof is of the oblation and sacrifice of our Saviour Christ, somewhat is by me spoken before, which although it be sufficient to the matter, yet somewhat more must also be now said, wherewith to encounter the author's imaginations and surmises with the wrong construing of the Scriptures and authors, to wrest them beside the truth of the matter and their meaning.

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V.

1 This is agreed, and by the Scriptures plainly taught, that the oblation and sacrifice of our Saviour Christ was and is a perfect work once consummate in perfection, without necessity of reiteration, as it was never taught to be reiterate, but a mere blasphemy to presuppose it. It is also in the catholic teaching, grounded upon the Scripture, agreed, that the same sacrifice, once consummate, was ordained by Christ's institution in his most holy Supper to be in the Church often remembered and showed forth in

2 such sort of showing, as to the faithful is seen present the most precious body and blood of our Saviour Christ, under the forms of bread and wine, which body and blood the faithful Church of Christian people grant and confess according to Christ's words to have been betrayed and shed for the sins of the world, and so in the same Supper represented and delivered unto them, to eat and feed of it according to Christ's commandment, as of a most precious and acceptable sacrifice, acknowledging the same precious

3 body and blood to be the sacrifice propitiatory for all the sins of the world, whereunto they only resort, and only account that the very perfect oblation and sacrifice of Christian people, through which all other sacrifices necessarily be accepted and pleasant in the sight of God. And this manner of showing Christ's death and keeping the memory of it, is grounded upon the Scriptures, written by the Evangelists and St. Paul, and according thereunto preached, believed, used, and frequented in the Church of Christ universally and from the beginning. This author uttering many words at large besides Scripture and against

The sacrifice of our Saviour Christ was never taught to be reiterate, but to be often remembered. [158o.]

The body and blood of Christ is the only sacrifice propitiatory for all the sins of the world. Christ's body is the Christian man's sacrifice. [158o.]

BOOK V. Scripture to deprave the catholic doctrine, doth in a few words, which be indeed good words and true, confound and overthrow all his enterprise; and that issue will I join with him, which shall suffice for the confutation of this book. The few good words of the author, which words I say confound the rest, consist in these two points. One, in that the author alloweth the judgment of Petrus Lombardus, touching the oblation and sacrifice of the Church. Another, in that the author confesseth the Council of Nice to be an holy council, as it hath been in deed confessed of all good Christian men. Upon these two confessions I will declare the whole enterprise of this fifth book to be overthrown.

Canterbury.

My fifth book hath so fully and so plainly set out this matter of the sacrifice ^a, that for answer to all that you have here brought to the confutation thereof, the reader need to do no more, but to look over my book again, and he shall see you fully answered beforehand. Yet will I here and there add some notes, that your ignorance and craft may the better appear.

Thus far you agree to the truth, that the sacrifice of Christ was a full and perfect sacrifice, which needed not to be done no more but once, and yet it is remembered and showed forth daily. And this is the true doctrine according to God's word. But as concerning the real presence in the accidents of bread and wine, is an untrue doctrine, feigned only by the papists, as I have most plainly declared; and this is one of your errors here uttered.

The sacrifice propitiatory not Christ's very body, but his death in that same body. [1580.] Another is, that you call the most precious body and blood of Christ, the sacrifice propitiatory for all the sins of the world, which of itself was not the sacrifice, but the thing whereof the sacrifice was made, and the death of him upon the cross was the true sacrifice propitiatory, that purchased the remission of sin; which sacrifice continued not long, nor was made never but once; whereas his flesh and blood continued ever in substance from his incarnation, as well before the said sacrifice as ever sithence. And that sacrifice propi-

^a De sacrificio lege Roffen. et Ecolamp. lib. iii. cap. 2 and 3. [1580.]

tiatory, made by him only upon the cross, is of that effect to reconcile us to God's favour, that by it be accepted all our sacrifices of lauds and thanksgiving. BOOK
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Now before I join with you in your issue, I shall rehearse the words of my book, which, when the indifferent reader seeth, he shall be the more able to judge truly between us. My book containeth thus.

[See vol. ii. p. 331, to the end. "The greatest blasphemy"—"Amen."]

Thus having rehearsed the whole words of my last book, I shall return to your issue, and make a joinder or demur Mine issue. [1580.] with you therein. And if you cannot prove your propitiatory sacrifice of the priests by Petrus Lombardus and Nicene Council, then must you confess by your own issue, that the verdict must justly pass against you, and that you have a fall in your own suit. As for the sacrifice of lauds and thanksgiving, I have set it forth plainly in my book, but the sacrifice propitiatory, devised to be made by the priest in the mass only, is a great abomination before God, how glorious soever it appear before men. And it is set up only by Antichrist, and therefore worthy to be abhorred of all that truly profess Christ.

And first as concerning Nicene Council, because you begin Nicene Council. with that first, I will rehearse your words.

Winchester.

1 FIRST to begin with the Council of Nice; the same hath opened the mystery of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ in this wise, that Christian men believe the Lamb that taketh away
2 the sins of the world to be situate upon God's board, and to be sacrificed of the priests not after the manner of other sacrifices. This is the doctrine of the Council of Nice, and must then be called an holy doctrine, and thereby a true doctrine, consonant to the Scriptures, the foundation of all truth. If the author will deny this to have been the teaching of the Council of Nice, I shall allege therefore the allegation of the same by Œcolampadius, who being an adversary to the truth, was yet by God's providence ordered to bear testimony to the truth in this point, and by his mean is pub-

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lished to the world in Greek as followeth, which nevertheless may otherwise appear to be true. Ἐπὶ τῆς θείας τραπέζης πάλιν κἀνταῦθα μὴ τῷ προκειμένῳ ἄρτῳ καὶ τῷ ποτηρίῳ ταπεινῶς προσέχωμεν, ἀλλ' ὑψώσαντες τὴν διάνοιαν, πιστεῖ νοήσωμεν κείσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐκείνης τραπέζης τὸν ἄμνον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν αἶροντα τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου, ἀθίτως ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων θυόμενον, καὶ τὸ τίμιον αὐτοῦ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα ἀληθῶς λαμβάνοντας ἡμᾶς, πιστεῖν ταῦτα εἶναι τὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀναστάσεως σύμβολα. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ οὔτε πολὺ λαμβάνομεν ἀλλ' ὀλίγον, ἵνα γνῶμεν ὅτι οὐκ εἰς πλησμονὴν, ἀλλ' εἰς ἁγιασμόν. “ Iterum etiam hic in di-
“ vina mensa ne humiliter intenti simus ad propositum panem et
“ poculum, sed mente exaltata, fide intelligamus, situm esse in
“ sacra illa mensa illum Dei agnum qui tollit peccata mundi, sa-
“ crificatum a sacerdotibus, non victimarum more : et nos pretio-
“ sum illius corpus et sanguinem vere sumentes, credere hæc esse
“ resurrectionis nostræ symbola. Ideo enim non multum acci-
“ pimus sed parum, ut cognoscamus quoniam non in satietatem,
“ sed sanctificationem.” These words may be Englished thus :
“ Again in this godly table we should not in base and low con-
“ sideration direct our understanding to the bread and cup set
“ forth, but having our mind exalted, we should understand by
“ faith to be situate in that table the Lamb of God which taketh
“ away the sins of the world, sacrificed of the priests not after the
“ manner of other sacrifices ; and we receiving truly the precious
“ body and blood of the same Lamb, to believe these to be the
“ tokens of our resurrection ; and for that we receive not much
“ but a little, because we should know that not for saturity and
“ filling, but for sanctification^b.” This holy Council of Nice hath
been believed universally in declaration of the mystery of the Trinity,
and the sacraments also. And to them that confess that Council to
be holy, as the author here doth, and to such as profess to believe
the determination of that Council in the opening of the mystery of
the Trinity with other words than Scripture useth, although they
express such sense as in the Scripture is contained : why should
not all such likewise believe the same Council in explication of
the sacraments, which to do the author hath bound himself,
granting that Council holy. And then we must believe the very

^b [This passage is from the History of the Council of Nice by Gelasius of Cyzicus, a work in no repute. It is not found in the more authentic accounts of the proceedings of the Council. See *Concilia*, Labbe, vol. ii. pp. 103. 233. Cave, *Hist. Literaria*.]

presence of Christ's body and blood on God's board, and that priests do there sacrifice, and be therefore called and named sacrificers. So as those names and terms be to be honoured and religiously spoken of, being in an holy Council uttered and confessed, because it was so seen to them and the Holy Ghost, without whose presence assisting and suggestion believed to be there, the Council could not nor ought not to be called holy. Now if we confer with that Council of Nice the testimony of the Church beginning at St. Dionyse, who was in the time of the Apostles, and after him coming to Irene, who was near the Apostles, and then Tertulliane, and so St. Cyprian, St. Chrysostome, St. Cyrill, St. Hierom, St. Augustine, and from that age to the time of Petrus Lombardus, all spake of the sacrament to the same effect, and termed it for the word sacrifice and oblation to be frequented in the Church of the body and blood of Christ, as may be in particularity showed, whereof I make also an issue with the author.

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V.
Priests' sacrifices.
[1580.]

An issue.

Canterbury.

1 For answer to Nicene Council, it speaketh of a sacrifice of lauds and thanksgiving, which is made by the priest in the name of the whole Church, and is the sacrifice as well of the people as of the priest: this sacrifice, I say, the Council of Nice speaketh of, but it speaketh not one word of the sacrifice propitiatory, which never none made, but only Christ, nor he never made it any more than once, which was by his death. And wheresoever Christ shall be hereafter, in heaven or in earth, he shall never be sacrificed again, but the Church continually in remembrance of that sacrifice maketh a sacrifice of laud and praise, giving evermore thanks unto him for that propitiatory sacrifice. And in the third chapter of my book here recited, the difference of these two sacrifices is plainly set out.

2 And although Nicene Council call Christ the Lamb that taketh away the sins of the world, yet doth it not mean that by the sacrifice of the priest in the mass, but by the sacrifice of himself upon the cross. But here, according to your accustomed manner, you alter some words of the Council, and add also some of your own. For the Council said not, that the Lamb of God is sacrificed of the priests not after the

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manner of other sacrifices, but that he is sacrificed not after the manner of a sacrifice. And in saying that Christ is sacrificed of the priest not like a sacrifice, or after the manner of a sacrifice, the Council in these words signified a difference between the sacrifice of the priest, and the sacrifice of Christ, which upon the cross offered himself to be sacrificed after the manner of a very sacrifice, that is to say unto death, for the sins of the world. Christ made the bloody sacrifice which took away sin, the priests with the Church make a commemoration thereof with lauds and thanksgiving, offering also themselves obedient to God unto death^c. And yet this our sacrifice taketh not away our sins, nor is not accepted but by his sacrifice. The bleeding of him took away our sins, not the eating of him.

And although that Council say that Christ is situate in that table, yet it saith not that he is really and corporally in the bread and wine; for then that Council would not have forbid us to direct our minds to the bread and cup, if they had believed that Christ had been really there. But forasmuch as the Council commandeth, that we shall not direct our minds downward to the bread and cup, but lift them up to Christ by faith, they give us to understand by those words, that Christ is really and corporally ascended up into heaven, unto which place we must lift up our minds, and reach him there by our faith, and not look down to find him in the bread. And yet he is in the bread sacramentally, as the same Council saith that the Holy Ghost is in the water of baptism. And as Christ is in his Supper present to feed us, so is he in baptism present to clothe and apparel us with his own self, as the same Council declareth, whose words be these: "He that is baptized goeth down into the water, being subject to sin and held in the bands of corruption, but he riseth up free from bondage and sin, being made by the grace of God his son and heir and coinheritor with Christ,

^c *De Consecrat.* dist. 2. "Semel:" et est Prosperi. "Semel immolatus est Christus in semet ipso, et tamen quotidie immolatur in sacramento." Glossa ibidem: "id est, ejus immolatio representatur et fit memoria passionis." [1580.]

“and apparelled with Christ himself, as it is written: *As* BOOK V.
 “*many of you as be baptized unto Christ, you have put* Gal. iii.
 “*Christ upon you.*” These words of the Council I rehearse only in English, because I will not let nor encumber the reader with the Greek or Latin, as you do, which is nothing else but to rehearse one thing thrice, without need or profit. If I had list, I could have rehearsed all the Greek authors in Greek, and the Latin writers in Latin, but unto Englishmen, unto whom only I write, it were a vain labour or glory without fruit or profit, or any other cause, except I intend to make my book long for gain of the printer, rather than for profit to the reader.

But to return to the matter, Christ is present in his holy Supper, as that holy Council saith, even as he is present in baptism; but not really, carnally, corporally, and naturally, as you without ground imagine. And if he were so present, yet is he not there sacrificed again for sin. For then were his first sacrifice upon the cross in vain, if it sufficed not therefore.

3 And as for Dionyse, Irenee, Tertullian, with all your other authors, I have answered them in the thirteenth chapter of this my last book. And what need you make an issue in this thing, which is not in controversy, and which I affirm in my whole last book? The matter in question, is of the sacrifice propitiatory, and you make your issue of the sacrifice generally. Now let us see how you entreat Petrus Lombardus.

Winchester.

FOR the other point, in that the author approveth the judgment of Petrus Lombardus in the matter, what should I more do but write in the words of Petrus Lombardus as he hath them? which be these in the fourth book the twelfth chapter, alleged by the author. “*Post hæc quæritur, si quod gerit sacerdos, proprie dicatur sacrificium vel immolatio, et si Christus quotidie immoletur, vel semel tantum immolatus sit. Ad hoc breviter dici potest, illud quod offertur et consecratur a sacerdote, vocari sacrificium et oblationem, quia memoria est et representatio veri*” Petrus Lombardus.

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“ sacrificii et sanctæ immolationis factæ in ara crucis, et semel
 “ Christus mortuus in cruce est, ibique immolatus est in semet-
 “ ipso, quotidie autem immolatur in sacramento, quia in sacra-
 “ mento recordatio fit illius, quod factum est semel : unde Augus-
 “ tinus: ‘ Certum habemus, quia Christus resurgens ex mortuis jam
 “ ‘ non moritur, &c. tamen ne obliviscamur, quod semel factum est,
 “ ‘ in memoria nostra omni anno fit. Scilicet quotiens pascha cele-
 “ ‘ bratur, nunquid totiens Christus occiditur? sed tamen anni-
 “ ‘ versaria recordatio quasi repræsentat quod olim factum est, et
 “ ‘ sic nos facit moveri, tanquam videamus in cruce pendentem Do-
 “ ‘ minum^d;’ Item, ‘ Semel immolatus est Christus in semet ipso,
 “ ‘ et tamen quotidie immolatur in sacramento^e.’ Quod sic intelli-
 “ gendum est: quia in manifestatione corporis et distinctione
 “ membrorum, semel tantum in cruce pependit, offerens se Deo
 “ Patri hostiam redemptionis efficacem, eorum scilicet quos præ-
 “ destinavit. Item Ambrosius: ‘ In Christo semel oblata est hos-
 “ ‘ tia ad salutem potens. Quid ergo nos? Nonne per singulos dies
 “ ‘ offerimus? Et si quotidie offeramus, ad recordationem ejus mor-
 “ ‘ tis fit, et una est hostia, non multæ. Quomodo una et non mul-
 “ ‘ tæ? Quia semel immolatus est Christus, hoc autem sacrificium
 “ ‘ exemplum est illius, id ipsum et semper id ipsum offertur, proinde
 “ ‘ hoc idem est sacrificium; alioquin diceretur quoniam in multis locis
 “ ‘ offertur, multi sunt Christi; non, sed unus ubique est Christus, et
 “ ‘ hic plenus existens, et illic plenus, sicut quod ubique offertur
 “ ‘ unum est corpus, ita et unum sacrificium. Christus hostiam obtu-
 “ ‘ lit, ipsam offerimus et nunc; sed quod nos agimus, recordatio est
 “ ‘ sacrificii: nec causa suæ infirmitatis reperitur, quia perficit ho-
 “ ‘ minem, sed nostræ, quia quotidie peccamus.’ Ex his colligitur
 “ esse sacrificium et dici, quod agitur in altari, et Christum semel
 “ oblatum et quotidie offerri, sed aliter tunc, aliter nunc; et etiam
 “ quæ sit virtus hujus sacramenti ostenditur, remissio scilicet pec-
 “ catorum venialium, et perfectio virtutis.” The English hereof
 is this. “ After this it is asked, whether that the priest doth may
 “ be said properly a sacrifice or immolation, and whether Christ
 “ be daily immolate, or only once: whereunto it may be shortly
 “ answered, that which is offered and consecrate of the priest, is
 “ called a sacrifice and oblation, because it is a memory and re-
 “ presentation of the true sacrifice and holy immolation done in
 “ the altar of the cross. And Christ was once dead on the cross,

^d August. In *Psal.* xxi. *Enarr.* 2.

^e August. *Ad Bonif.*

“ and there was offered in himself, but he is daily immolate in the
 “ sacrament, because in the sacrament there is made a memory
 “ of that is once done. Whereupon St. Augustine: ‘ We are as-
 “ sured that Christ rising from death dieth not now, &c. Yet
 2 “ lest we should forget that is once done, in our memory every
 “ year is done: viz. as often as the pascha is celebrate, is Christ
 “ as often killed? only a yearly remembrance representeth that
 “ was once done, and so causeth us to be moved, as though we
 “ saw our Lord on the cross.’ Also, ‘ Christ was once offered in
 “ himself, and yet is offered daily in the sacrament:’ which is thus
 “ to be understood, that in open showing of his body and dis-
 “ tinction of his members, he did hang only once upon the cross,
 “ offering himself to God the Father an host of redemption effec-
 “ tual for them whom he hath predestinate. Also St. Ambrose:
 “ ‘ In Christ the host was once offered, being of power to health.
 “ ‘ What do we then? do we not offer every day? And if we offer
 “ ‘ every day, it is done to the remembrance of the death of him,
 “ ‘ and the host is one, not many. How one, and not many? Be-
 “ ‘ cause Christ is once offered, this sacrifice is the example of that,
 “ ‘ the same and always the same is offered, therefore this is the
 “ ‘ same sacrifice; or else it may be said, because it is offered in
 “ ‘ many places, there be many Christs; which is not so, but one
 “ ‘ Christ is each where, and here full and there full, so as that
 “ ‘ which is offered every where is one body, and so also one sacri-
 “ ‘ fice. Christ hath offered the host, we do offer the same also
 “ ‘ now; but that we do is a remembrance of the sacrifice, nor
 “ ‘ there is no cause found of the own invalidity, because it perfect-
 “ ‘ eth the man, but of us, because we daily sin.’ Hereof it is ga-
 “ thered that to be a sacrifice, and to be so called that is done in
 “ the altar, and Christ to be once offered and daily offered, but
 “ otherwise then, and otherwise now; and also it is showed what
 4 “ is the virtue of this sacrament, that is to say, remission of
 “ venial sin and perfection of virtue.”

Thus writeth Petrus Lombardus, whose judgment, because this
 author alloweth, he must grant that the visible Church hath priests
 in ministry, that offer daily Christ’s most precious body and blood
 in mystery; and then must it be granted that Christ so offer-
 ed himself in his supper. For otherwise than he did, cannot now
 be done. And by the judgment of Petrus Lombardus, the same
 2 most precious body and blood is offered daily, that once suffered

BOOK V. and was once shed. And also by the same Petrus's judgment, which he confirmeth with the sayings of other, this daily offering by the priest is daily offered for sin, not for any imperfection in the first offering, but because we daily fall. And by Petrus's judgment appeareth also, how the priest hath a special function to make this offering, by whose mouth God is prayed unto (as Hesychius saith) to make this sacrifice, which Emissen noteth to be wrought by the great power of the invisible priest. By Petrus Lombardus also, (if his judgment be true, as it is indeed, and the author confesseth it so to be,) that is done in the altar is not only called a sacrifice, but also is so, and the same that is offered once and daily to be the same, but otherwise then, and otherwise now. But to the purpose, if the author will stand to the judgment of Petrus Lombardus, all his fifth book of this treaty is clearly defaced. And if he will now call back that again, he might more compendiously do the same in the whole treatise, being so far overseen as he is therein.

Canterbury.

How is it possible to set out more plainly the diversity of the true sacrifice of Christ made upon the altar of the cross, (which was the propitiation of sin) from the sacrifice made in the sacrament, than Lombardus hath done in this place? For the one he calleth the true sacrifice, the other he calleth but a memorial or representation thereof, likening the sacrifice made in the Lord's Supper to a year's mind or anniversary, whereat is made a memorial of the death of a person, and yet it is not his death in deed. So in the Lord's Supper according to his commandment we remember his death, preaching and commanding the same until his return again at the last day.

The diversity of Christ's sacrifice and ours. The sacrifice of Christ.

And although it be one Christ that died for us, and whose death we remember, yet it is not one sacrifice that he made of himself upon the cross, and that we make of him upon the altar or table. For his sacrifice was the redemption of the world, ours is not so: his was death, ours is but a remembrance thereof. His was the taking away the sins of the world, ours is a praising and thanking for the same; and therefore his was satisfactory, ours is gratulatory. It is but

one Christ that was offered then, and that is offered now, and yet the offerings be diverse, his was the thing, and ours is the figure. His was the original, and ours is as it were a platform. Therefore concludeth Lombardus, that Christ was otherwise offered then, and otherwise now. And seeing then that the offerings and sacrifices be diverse, if the first was propitiatory and satisfactory, ours cannot be so, except we shall make many sacrifices propitiatory. And then, as St. Paul reasoneth, either the first must be insufficient, or the other in vain. And as Christ only made this propitiatory sacrifice, so he made but one, and but once. For the making of any other, or of the same again, should have been (as St. Paul reasoneth) a reproving of the first, as unperfect and insufficient. And therefore at his last supper, although Christ made unto his Father sacrifices of lauds and thanksgiving, as these words *εὐχαριστήσας* and *ὑμνήσαντες* do declare, yet he made there no sacrifice propitiatory, for then either the sacrifice upon the cross had been void, or the sacrifice at the supper unperfect and unsufficient. And although he had at his supper made sacrifices propitiatory, yet the priests do not so, who do not the same that Christ did at his supper. For he ministered not the sacrament in remembrance of his death, (which was not then brought to pass,) but he ordained it to be ministered of us in remembrance thereof. And therefore our offering, after Lombardus' judgment, is but a remembrance of that true offering wherein Christ offered himself upon the cross. And so did Christ institute it to be.

Heb. vii.
and viii.

And Lombardus saith not, that Christ is daily offered for propitiation of our sins, but because we daily sin, we daily be put in the remembrance of Christ's death, which is the perfect propitiation for sin. And the priest, as Lombardus saith, maketh a memorial of that oblation of Christ, and, as Hesychius saith, he doth it in the name of the people, so that the sacrifice is no more the priest's than the people's. For the priests speak the words, and the people should answer *Amen*, as Justinus saith. The priest should declare the death and passion of Christ, and all the people should look upon the cross in the mount of Calvary, and see Christ

The sacrifice of the Church.

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there hanging, and the blood flowing out of his side into their wounds to heal all their sores; and the priest and people altogether should laud and thank instantly the chirurgion and physician of their souls. And this is the priest's and people's sacrifice, not to be propitiators for sin, but as Emisene saith, "to worship continually in mystery that which was but once offered for the price of sin:" and this shortly is the mind of Lombardus, that the thing which is done at God's board is a sacrifice, and so is that also which was made upon the cross, but not after one manner of understanding. For this was the thing in deed, and that is the anniversary or commemoration of the thing.

And now have I made it evident, that Petrus Lombardus defaceth in no point my saying of the sacrifice, but confirmeth fully my doctrine, as well of the sacrifice propitiatory made by Christ himself only, as of the sacrifice commemorative and gratulatory made by the priests and people. So that in your issue taken upon Lombard, the verdict cannot but pass with me, by the testimony of Lombard himself. And yet I do not fully allow Lombard's judgment in all matters, (who with Gratian his brother, as it is said, were two chief champions of the Romish see, to spread abroad their errors and usurped authority,) but I speak of Lombard only to declare, that yet in his time they had not erred so far, to make of their mass a sacrifice propitiatory. But in the end of this process Lombard speaketh without the book, when he concludeth this matter thus; that the virtue of this sacrament is the remission of venial sin, and perfection of virtue; which if Lombard understand of the sacrifice of Christ, it is too little to make his sacrifice the remission but of venial sin: and if he understand it of the sacrifice of the priest, it is too much to make the priest's sacrifice, either the perfection of virtue or the remission of venial sin, which be the effects only of the sacrifice of Christ. Now let us consider the rest of your confutation.

Winchester.

THE catholic doctrine teacheth not the daily sacrifice of Christ's most precious body and blood to be an iteration of the once per-

fected sacrifice on the cross, but a sacrifice that representeth that sacrifice, and showeth it also before the faithful eyes, and refresheth the effectual memory of it ; so as in the daily sacrifice, without shedding of blood, we may see with the eye of faith the very body
 3 and blood of Christ by God's mighty power, without division distinctly exhibite, the same body and blood that suffered and was shed for us, which is a lively memorial to stir up our faith, and to consider therein briefly the great charity of God towards us declared in Christ. The catholic doctrine teacheth the daily sacrifice to be the same in essence that was offered on the cross once,
 4 assured thereof by Christ's words when he said, *This is my body that shall be betrayed for you.* The offering on the cross was and
 1 is propitiatory and satisfactory for our redemption and remission of sin, whereby to destroy the tyranny of sin, the effect whereof is given and dispensed in the sacrament of baptism, once likewise ministered, and never to be iterate, no more than Christ can be
 5 crucified again ; and yet by virtue of the same offering, such as fall be relieved in the sacrament of penance.

Canterbury.

After your wilful wrangling without any cause, at the last of your own swing you come to the truth, purely and sincerely professing and setting forth the same, except in few words here and there cast in, as it were cockle among clean
 1 corn. The offering on the cross, say you, was and is propitiatory and satisfactory for our redemption and remission of sin, the effect whereof is given and dispensed in the sacrament of baptism, once likewise ministered and never to be
 2 iterate ; but the catholic doctrine teacheth not that the daily sacrifice is an iteration of the once perfected sacrifice on the cross, but a representation thereof, showing it before the faithful eyes, and refreshing our memory therewith, so that we may see with the eye of faith the very body and blood of Christ, by God's mighty power exhibite unto us, the same body and blood that suffered and was shed for us. This is a
 3 godly and catholic doctrine : but of the cockle, which you cast in by the way, of distinction without division, I cannot tell what you mean, except you speak out your dreams more plainly. And that it is the same body in substance, that is

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Acts i.
Eph. iv.

daily, as it were, offered by remembrance, which was once offered in the cross for sin, we learn not so plainly by these words, *This is my body, Hoc est corpus meum*, as we do by these: *Hic Jesus assumptus est in cœlum*, and, *Qui descendit, ipse est et qui ascendit supra omnes cœlos*. *This Jesus was taken up into heaven*, and, *He that descended was the same Jesus that ascended above all the heavens*.

Penance.

And where you say, that by virtue of Christ's sacrifice such as fall be relieved in the sacrament of penance, the truth is, that such as do fall be relieved by Christ, whensoever they return to him unfeignedly with heart and mind. And as for your words concerning the sacrament of penance may have a popish understanding in it. But at length you return to your former error, and go about to revoke, or at the least evil-favouredly to expound that which you have before well spoken. Your words be these.

Winchester.

The mass is
a sacrifice
propitiatory.
[1580.]

THE daily offering is propitiatory also, but not in that degree of propitiation, as for redemption, regeneration, or remission of deadly sin, which was once purchased, and by force thereof is in the sacraments ministered, but for the increase of God's favour, the mitigation of God's displeasure provoked by our infirmities, the subduing of temptations, and the perfection of virtue in us.

Good works
sacrifices
propitiatory.
[1580.]

All good works, good thoughts, and good meditations, may be called sacrifices; and the same be called sacrifices propitiatory also, for so much as in their degree God accepteth and taketh them through the effect and strength of the very sacrifice of Christ's death, which is the reconciliation between God and man, ministered and dispensed particularly as God hath appointed, in such measure as he knoweth. But St. Paul to the Hebrews, ex-

Heb. xiii.

horting men to charitable deeds, saith, *with such sacrifices God is made favourable*, or God is propitiated, if we shall make new English. Whereupon it followeth, because the priest in the daily sacrifice doth as Christ hath ordered to be done, for showing forth and remembrance of Christ's death, that act of the priest, done according to God's commandment, must needs be propitiatory and provoke God's favour, and ought to be trusted on to have a

propitiatory effect with God to the members of Christ's body particularly, being the same done for the whole body, in such wise as God knoweth the dispensation to be meet and convenient; according to which measure God worketh most justly and most mercifully, otherwise than man can by his judgment discuss and
 3 determine. To call the daily offering a sacrifice satisfactory, must have an understanding that signifieth not the action of the priest, but the presence of Christ's most precious body and blood; the very sacrifice of the world once perfectly offered, being propitiatory and satisfactory for all the world. Or else the word "satisfac-
 4 tory" must have a signification and meaning, as it hath sometime, that declareth the acception of the thing done, and not the proper countervail of the action: after which sort man may satisfy God, that is so merciful as he will take in good worth, for Christ's sake, man's imperfect endeavour; and so the daily offering may be called a sacrifice satisfactory, because God is pleased with it, being a manner of worshipping of Christ's passion according to his institution. But otherwise the daily sacrifice, in respect of the action of the priest, cannot be called satisfactory; and it is a word indeed that soundeth not well so placed, although it might be saved by a signification; and therefore think that word rather to be well expounded, than by captious understanding brought in slander when it is used, and this speech to be frequented, that the only immolation of Christ in himself upon the altar of the cross is the very satisfactory sacrifice for reconcilia-
 5 tion of mankind to the favour of God. And I have not read the daily sacrifices of Christ's most precious body to be called a sacrifice satisfactory; but this speech hath indeed been used, that the priest should sing "satisfactorie," which they understood in the satisfaction of the priest's duty, to attend the prayer he was required to make, and for a distinction thereof they had prayer sometime required without special limitation, and that was called to pray not "satisfactorie." Finally, man by any his action to presume to satisfy God by way of countervail, is a very mad and furious blasphemy.

Canterbury.

1 To defend the papistical error, that the daily offering of the priest in the mass is propitiatory, you extend the word "propitiation" otherwise than the Apostles do, speaking of that matter. I speak plainly, according to St. Paul and

The mass is
a sacrifice
satisfac-
tory. [1580.]

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Rom. iii.
r John ii.
The differ-
ence be-
tween a sa-
crifice propi-
tiatory
and gratifi-
catory.

Psalm xlix.
Heb. xiii.

St. John, that only Christ is the propitiation for our sins by his death. You speak, according to the papists, that the priests in their masses make a sacrifice propitiatory. I call a sacrifice propitiatory, according to the Scripture, such a sacrifice as pacifieth God's indignation against us, obtaineth mercy and forgiveness of all our sins, and is our ransom and redemption from everlasting damnation. And, on the other side, I call a sacrifice gratificatory, or the sacrifice of the Church, such a sacrifice as doth not reconcile us to God, but is made of them that be reconciled, to testify their duties, and to show themselves thankful unto him. And these sacrifices in Scripture be not called propitiatory, but sacrifices of justice, of laud, praise, and thanksgiving. But you confound the words, and call one by another's name, calling that propitiatory which the Scripture calleth but of justice, laud, and thanking. And all is nothing else but to defend your propitiatory sacrifice of the priests in their masses, whereby they may remit sin, and redeem souls out of purgatory.

And yet all your wiles and shifts will not serve you; for by extending the name of a propitiatory sacrifice unto so large a signification as you do, you make all manner of sacrifices propitiatory, leaving no place for any other sacrifice. For, say you, all good deeds and good thoughts be sacrifices propitiatory; and then be the good works of the lay people sacrifices propitiatory, as well as those of the priest. And to what purpose then made you, in the beginning of this book, a distinction between sacrifices propitiatory and other? Thus, for desire you have to defend the papistical errors, you have not fallen only into imaginations contrary to the truth of God's word, but also contrary to yourself.

But let pass away these papistical inventions, and let us humbly profess ourselves, with all our sacrifices, not worthy to approach unto God, nor to have any access unto him, but by that only propitiatory sacrifice which Christ only made upon the cross. And yet let us with all devotion, with whole heart and mind, and with all obedience to God's will, come unto the heavenly Supper of Christ, thanking

him only for propitiation of our sins. In which holy communion the act of the minister and other be all of one sort, none propitiatory, but all of lauds and thanksgiving. And such sacrifices be pleasant and acceptable to God, as St. Paul saith, done of them that be good; but they win not his favour and put away his indignation from them that be evil: for such reconciliation can no creature make, but Christ alone.

Rom. iii.
and v.
Acts iv.

And where you say, that to call the daily offering a sacrifice satisfactory, must have an understanding that signifieth not the action of the priest; here you may see what a business and hard work it is to patch the papists' rags together, and what absurdities you fall into thereby. Even now you said, that the act of the priests must needs be a sacrifice propitiatory, and now, to have an understanding for the same, you be driven to so shameful a shift, that you say either clean contrary, that it is not the action of the priest, but the presence of Christ; or else that the action of the priest is none otherwise satisfactory, than all other Christian men's works be: for otherwise, say you, the daily sacrifice, in respect of the action of the priest, cannot be called satisfactory. Wherefore at length, knowledging your popish doctrine to sound evil-favouredly, you confess again the true catholic teaching, that this speech is to be frequented and used, "that the only immolation of Christ in himself upon the altar of the cross, is the very satisfactory sacrifice for reconciliation of mankind to the favour of God."

And where you say, that you have not read the daily sacrifice of Christ's most precious body to be called a sacrifice satisfactory; if you have not read of satisfactory masses, it appeareth that you have read but very little of the school authors. And yet not many years ago you might have heard them preached in every pardon. But because you have not read thereof, read Doctor Smithe's book of the Sacrifice of the Mass, and both your ears and eyes shall be full of it. Whose furious blasphemies you have with one sentence here most truly rejected, wherefore yet remaineth in you some good sparks of the Spirit, that you so much detest such abominations.

And yet such blasphemies you go about to salve and

BOOK V. plaster, as much as you may, by subtle and crafty interpretations. For by such exposition as you make of the satisfactory singing of the priest, in doing his duty in that he was required to do, by this exposition he singeth as well satisfactory in saying of matins as in saying of mass, for in both he doth his duty that he was required unto; and so might it be defended, that the player upon the organs playeth satisfactory, when he doth his duty, in playing as he is required. And all the singing men in the church, that have wages thereto, sing satisfactory as well as the priests, when they sing according to that they be hired unto. And then as one singing man or player on the organs, receiving a stipend of many men to play or sing at a certain time, if he do his duty, satisfieth them all at once; so might a priest sing satisfactory for many persons at one time, which the teachers of satisfactory masses utterly condemn. But if you had read Duns, you would have written more clerkly in these matters than you now do. Now let us hear what you say further.

Winchester.

WHERE the author, citing St. Paul, Englisheth him thus, that Heb. vii. *Christ's priesthood cannot pass from him to another*: these words, thus framed, be not the simple and sincere expression of the truth of the text; which saith, that Christ hath a perpetual priesthood: and the Greek hath a word *ἀπαράβατον*, which the Greek schools express and expound by the word *ἀδιάδοχον*, signifying the priesthood of Christ endeth not in him to go to another by succession, as in the tribe of Levi, where was among mortal men succession in the office of priesthood; but Christ liveth ever, and therefore is a perpetual, everlasting priest; by whose authority priesthood is now in this visible Church, as St. Paul ordered to Timothee and Tite, and other places also confirm; which priests, visible ministers to our invisible priest, offer the daily sacrifice in Christ's Church, that is to say, with the very presence, by God's omnipotency wrought, of the most precious body and blood of our Saviour Christ; showing forth Christ's death, and celebrating the memory of his supper and death, according to Christ's institution; so with daily oblation and sacrifice of the selfsame sacrifice to kindle in us a thankful remembrance of all Christ's benefits unto us.

Priests in the mass offer, that is, show forth Christ's death. [1580.]

Canterbury.

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V.

Heb. vii.

Where you find yourself grieved with my citing of St. Paul, that *Christ's priesthood cannot pass from him to another*; which is not, say you, the truth of the text, which meaneth that the priesthood of Christ endeth not in him to go to another by succession; your manner of speech herein is so dark, that it giveth no light at all. For it seemeth to signify, that Christ's priesthood endeth, but not to go to other by succession, but by some other means; which thing if you mean, then you make the endless priesthood of Christ to have an end. And if you mean it not, but that Christ's priesthood is endless, and goeth to no other by succession, nor otherwise; then, I pray you, what have I offended in saying that Christ's priesthood cannot pass from him to another? And as for the Greek words *ἀπαράβατον* and *ἀδιάδοχον* signify any manner of succession, whether it be by inheritance, adoption, election, purchase, or any other means. And he that is instituted and inducted into a benefice after another, is called his successor. And Erasmus calleth *ἀπαράβατον*, "quod in alium transire non potest." And so doth *ἀδιάδοχον* signify, "quod successionem caret;" that is to say, a thing that hath no succession, nor passeth to none other. And because Christ is a perpetual and everlasting priest, (that by one oblation made a full sacrifice of sin for ever,) therefore his priesthood neither needeth nor can pass to any other: wherefore the ministers of Christ's Church be not now appointed priests to make a new sacrifice for sin, (as though Christ had not done that at once sufficiently for ever,) but to preach abroad Christ's sacrifice, and to be ministers of his words and sacraments. And where but a little before you had truly taught, that the only immolation of Christ by himself upon the altar of the cross is the very satisfactory sacrifice for our reconciliation to God; now in the end, like a cow that casteth down her milk with her own feet, you overthrow all again in few words, saying, that priests make daily the selfsame sacrifice that Christ made; which is so foul an error and blasphemy, that, as I said in mine other book, if

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V.

the priests daily make the selfsame sacrifice that Christ did himself, and the sacrifice that he made was his death and the effusion of his most precious blood upon the cross, then followeth of necessity that every day the priests slay Christ and shed his blood, and be worse than the Jews, that did it but once. Now followeth in your confutation thus.

Winchester.

Christ is offered really, not his sacrifice remembered or re-presented only. [1580.]

AND where the author would avoid all the testimony of the Fathers by pretence it should be but a manner of speech, the Canon of the Council of Nice, before rehearsed, and the words of it, where mysteries be spoken of in proper terms for doctrine, avoideth all that shift; and it hath no absurdity to confess, that Christ in his supper did institute for a remembrance of the only sacrifice the presence of the same most precious substance to be (as the Canon of the Council in proper terms teacheth) sacrificed by the priests to be the pure sacrifice of the Church there offered for the effect of increase of life in us, as it was offered on the cross to achieve life unto us. And St. Cyrill^o, who for his doctrine was in great authority with the Council Ephesine, writeth the very body and blood of Christ to be the lively and unbloody sacrifice of the Church, as likewise in the old Church other commonly termed the same, and among other Chrysostome P, whom the author would now have seem to use it but for a manner of speech, which in deed Chrysostome doth not, but doth truly open the understanding of that is done in the Church, wherein by this sacrifice, done after the order of Melchisedech, Christ's death is not iterate, but a memory daily renewed of that death, so as Christ's offering on the cross once done and consummate to finish all sacrifices after the order of Aaron, is now only remembered according to Christ's institution, but in such wise as the same body is offered daily on the altar, that was once offered on the altar of the cross; but the same manner of offering is not daily, that was on the altar of the cross, for the daily offering is without bloodshed, and is termed so to signify that bloodshedding once done to be sufficient. And as St. Chrysostome openeth it by declaration of what manner our sacrifice is, that is to say, this daily offering to be a remembrance of the other manner of sacrifice once done, and therefore saith rather we make a remembrance of

^o Cyrill, *Epist. ad Nestorium.*

^P Chrysostom, *Hom. 17. ad Hcbr.*

it ; this saying of Chrysostome doth not impair his former words, where he saith, the host is the same offered on the cross and on the altar, and therefore by him the body of Christ that died but once is daily present in deed, and, as the Council of Nice saith, sacrificed not after the manner of other sacrifices, and, as Chrysostome saith, offered, but the death of that precious body only daily remembered and not again iterate.

Canterbury.

1 For answer hereto, read the thirteenth chapter of my fifth book, and that which I have written here a little before of Nicene Council. And where you say that the effect of the sacrifice of Christ's body, made by the priests, is to increase life in us : as the effect of the sacrifice of the same body made by himself upon the cross is to give life unto us, this is not only an absurdity, but also an intolerable blasphemy against Christ. For the sacrifice made upon the cross doth both give us life, and also increase and continue the same, and the priest's oblation doth neither of both. For our redemption and eternal salvation standeth not only in giving us life, but in continuing the same for ever. As Christ said, that he came not only to give us life, but also to make us increase and abound therein. And St. Paul said, *The life which I now live in flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me.* And therefore if we have the one by the oblation of Christ, and the other by the oblation of the priest, then divide we our salvation between Christ and the priest. And because it is no less gift to continue life for ever, than to give it us, by this your mad and furious blasphemy we have our salvation and redemption as much by the sacrifice made by the priest, as we have by the sacrifice made by Christ himself. And thus you make Christ to be like an unkind and unnatural mother, who, when she hath brought forth her child, putteth it to another to nurse, and maketh herself but half the mother of it ; and thus you teach Christian people to halt on both sides, partly worshipping God, and partly Baal, partly attributing our salvation to Christ, the true perfect eternal priest, and partly to Antichrist and his priests.

The effect of Christ's sacrifice is both to give life and to continue the same.

John x.
Gal. ii.

BOOK
V.

Cyril, in
Ephesine
Council.
What is,
and where-
in standeth
the sacri-
fice of the
Church.

And concerning Cyril, he speaketh not of a sacrifice propitiatory in that place, as I have more plainly declared in mine answer to Doctor Smithe's prologue.

And whereas you call the daily sacrifice of the Church an unbloody sacrifice, here it were necessary, if you would not deceive simple people, but teach them such doctrine as they may understand, that you should in plain terms set forth and declare what the daily offering of the priest without bloodshedding is; in what words, deeds, crosses, signs, or gestures it standeth, and whether it be made before the consecration or after, and before the distribution of the sacrament or after, and wherein chiefly resteth the very pith and substance of it. And when you have thus done, I will say you mean frankly, and walk not colourably in cloaked words not understood, and then also shall you be more fully answered, when I know better what you mean. And to Chrysostom needeth no further answer than I have made already in the thirteenth chapter of my fifth book. But let us hear the rest of your book.

Winchester.

AND where the author saith the old Fathers, calling the Supper of our Lord a sacrifice, meant a sacrifice of laud and thanksgiving: Hippinus of Hamborough, no papist, in his book dedicate to the King's Majesty that now is, saith otherwise, and noteth how the old Fathers called it a sacrifice propitiatory, for the very presence of Christ's most precious body there, (thus saith he,) which presence all Christian men must say requireth on our part lauds and thanksgiving, which may be and is called in Scripture by the name of sacrifice; but that sacrifice of our lauds and thanks cannot be a sacrifice giving life, as it is noted by Cyrill the sacrifice of the Church to do, when he saith it is "vivificum," which can be only said of the very body and blood of Christ. Nor our sacrifice of lauds and thanksgiving cannot be said a pure and clean sacrifice, whereby to fulfil the prophecy of Malachie; and therefore the same prophecy was in the beginning of the Church understood to be spoken of the daily offering of the body and blood of Christ for the memory of Christ's death, according to Christ's

Mal. i.

ordinance in his supper, as may at more length be opened and declared. Thinking to the effect of this book sufficient to have encountered the chief points of the author's doctrine, with such contradiction to them as the catholic doctrine doth of necessity require, the more particular confutation of that is untrue on the adversary part, and confirmation of that is true in the catholic doctrine, requiring more time and leisure than I have now, and therefore offering myself ready by mouth or writing to say further in this matter as shall be required, I shall here end for this time, with prayer to Almighty God to grant his truth to be acknowledged and confessed, and uniformly to be preached and believed of all, so as all contention for understanding of religion avoided, which hindereth charity, we may give such light abroad as men may see our good works and glorify our Father who is in heaven, with the Son and Holy Ghost, in one unity of Godhead, reigning without end. Amen.

Canterbury.

- 1 Hipinus saith that the old Fathers called the Supper of our Lord a sacrifice: but that the old Fathers should call it a sacrifice propitiatory, I will not believe that Hipinus so said, until you appoint me both the book and place where he so saith. For the effect of his book⁹ is clean contrary, which he wrote to reprove the propitiatory sacrifice, which the papists feign to be in the mass. Thus indeed Hippinus writeth in one place: "Veteres Eucharistiam propter corporis et sanguinis Christi præsentiam, primo vocaverunt sacrificium, deinde propter oblationes et munera quæ in ipsa Eucharistia Deo consecrabantur et conferebantur, ad sacra ministeria, et ad necessitatem credentium." In which words Hipinus declareth that the old Fathers called the Supper of our Lord a sacrifice for two considerations, one was for the presence of Christ's flesh and blood, the other was for the offerings which the people gave there of their devotion, to the holy ministration, and relief of the poor. But Hipinus speaketh here not one word of corporal presence, nor of propitiatory sacrifice, but generally of presence and sacrifice, which maketh nothing for your purpose, nor

⁹ [See p. 55.]

BOOK against me, that grant both a presence and a sacrifice. **But**
V. when you shall show me the place where Hipinus saith
 that the old Fathers called the Lord's Supper a propitiatory
 sacrifice, I shall trust you the better, and him the worse.

Cyrill. And as for Cyrill, if you will say of his head, that the
 sacrifice of the Church giveth life, how agreeth this with
 your late saying, that the sacrifice of the Church increaseth
 life, as the sacrifice on the cross giveth life. And if the sa-
 crifice made by the priest both give life and increase life,
 then is the priest both the mother and nurse, and Christ
 hath nothing to do with us at all, but as a stranger.

Mal. i. And the sacrifice that Malachie speaketh of, is the sacri-
 fice of laud and thanks, which all devout Christian people
 give unto God, whether it be in the Lord's Supper, in their
 private prayers, or in any work they do at any time or
 place, to the glory of God: all which sacrifices, not of the
 priests only, but of all faithful people, be accepted of God
 through the sacrifice of Christ, by whose blood all their
 filth and unpureness is clean sponged away.

Inconstancy. But in this last book it seemeth you were so astonied and
 amazed, that you were at your wits' end, and wist not where
 to become. For now the priest maketh a sacrifice propitia-
 tory, now he doth not: now he giveth life, now he giveth
 none: now is Christ the full Saviour and satisfaction, now
 the priest hath half part with him, now the priest doth all.
 And thus you are so inconstant in yourself, as one that had
 been nettled, and could rest in no place, or rather as one
 that had received such a stroke upon his head, that he
 staggered withal, and reeled here and there, and could not
 tell where to become.

And your doctrine hath such ambiguities, such perplexi-
 ties, such absurdities, and such impieties in it, and is so un-
 certain, so uncomfortable, so contrary to God's word and
 the old catholic Church, so contrary to itself, that it de-
 clareth from whose spirit it cometh, which can be none other
 but Antichrist himself.

Whereas on the other side the very true doctrine of
 Christ and his pure Church from the beginning is plain,

certain, without wrinkles, without any inconvenience or absurdity, so cheerful and comfortable to all Christian people, that it must needs come from the Spirit of God, the Spirit of truth and all consolation. For what ought to be more certain and known to all Christian people, than that Christ died once and but once, for the redemption of the world? And what can be more true, than that his only death is our life? And what can be more comfortable to a penitent sinner that is sorry for his sin, and returneth to God in his heart and whole mind, than to know that Christ dischargeth him of the heavy load of his sin, and taketh the burden upon his own back? And if we shall join the priest herein to Christ in any part, and give a portion hereof to his sacrifice, (as you in your doctrine give to the priest the one half at the least,) what a discouragement is this to the penitent sinner, that he may not hang wholly upon Christ? what perplexities and doubts rise hereof in the sinner's conscience? And what an obscuring and darkening is this of the benefit of Christ? Yea, what injury and contumely is it to him?

And furthermore when we hear Christ speak unto us with his own mouth, and show himself to be seen with our eyes, in such sort as is convenient for him of us in this mortal life to be heard and seen: what comfort can we have more? The minister of the Church speaketh unto us God's own words, which we must take as spoken from God's own mouth, because that from his mouth it came, and his word it is, and not the minister's. Likewise when he ministereth to our sights Christ's holy sacraments, we must think Christ crucified and presented before our eyes, because the sacraments so represent him, and be his sacraments and not the priest's. As in baptism we must think, that as the priest putteth his hand to the child outwardly, and washeth him with water, so must we think that God putteth to his hand inwardly and washeth the infant with his holy Spirit, and moreover that Christ himself cometh down upon the child, and apparelleth him with his own self. And as at the Lord's holy table the priest distributeth wine and bread to feed the body, so must we think that inwardly by faith we see

Christ feeding both body and soul to eternal life. What comfort can be devised any more in this world for a Christian man? And on the other side, what discomfort is in your papistical doctrine? what doubts, what perplexities, what absurdities, what iniquities? What availeth it us that there is no bread, nor wine? or that Christ is really under the forms and figures of bread and wine, and not in us? or if he be in us, yet he is but in the lips or the stomach, and tarrieth not with us? Or what benefit is it to a wicked man to eat Christ, and to receive death by him that is life? From this your obscure, perplex, uncertain, uncomfortable, devilish, and papistical doctrine, Christ defend all his, and grant that we may come often and worthily to Christ's holy table, to comfort our feeble and weak faith, by remembrance of his death, who only is the satisfaction and propitiation of our sins, and our meat, drink, and food, of everlasting life. Amen.

HERE ENDETH THE ANSWER OF THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD THOMAS, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, &C. UNTO THE CRAFTY AND SOPHISTICAL CAVILLATION OF DE. STEVEN GARDYNER, DEvised BY HIM TO OBSCURE THE TRUE, SINCERE, AND GODLY DOCTRINE OF THE MOST HOLY SACRAMENT OF THE BODY AND BLOOD OF OUR SAVIOUR CHRIST.

*^a Matters wherein the Bishop of Winchester varied
from other Papists.*

OTHER say, that the body of Christ is made of bread. He saith, that the body of Christ is not made of bread, nor was never so taught, but is made present of bread, p. 72. l. 14. and p. 178. l. 10. [vol. iii. p. 145. 303.]

He saith, that Christ made the demonstration of the bread, and called it his body, when he said: *This is my body*, p. 257. l. 27. [vol. iii. p. 369.] And in the *Devil's Sophistry*, fol. 27. Other say contrary. And Smith, fol. 53.

He saith, that, *This is my body*, is as much to say as This is made my body; and so he taketh "est" for "fit." p. 295. l. 35. [vol. iii. p. 425.] Other say, that "est" is taken there substantively, that is to say, only for "is," and not for "is made," *Marcus Antonius*, fol. 171. fac. 2.

He saith, that Christ is present in the sacrament after the same manner that he is in heaven, p. 141. l. 6. [vol. iii. p. 213.] Other say contrary, that he is in heaven after the manner of quantity, and that he is not so in the sacrament.

He saith, that where the body of Christ is, there is whole Christ, God and man, and that when we speak of Christ's body, we must understand a true body, which hath both form and quantity, p. 71. l. 37. [vol. iii. p. 132.] Smith saith, that Christ's body in the sacrament hath not his proper form and quantity, fol. 106.

He saith, we believe simply that Christ's body is natu-

^a [The following Collection of extracts is taken from the edition of Cranmer's *Answer* published in 1580, where it is thus described in the title page: "In the end is added certaine Notes, wherein Gardiner varied both from himselfe and other Papistes, gathered by the sayd Arch-bishop." And it would appear from a passage in the *Answer*, p. 221 of this volume, that something of the kind was designed by Cranmer. Foxe, however, who has printed great part of these Notes in his *Acts and Monuments*, attributes them to Ridley. See Foxe, *Acts*, &c. vol. iii. p. 533.]

rally and corporally in the sacrament, without drawing away his accidents or adding, p. 353. l. 1. [vol. iii. p. 502.] Smith saith, we say that Christ's body is in the sacrament against nature with all his qualities and accidents, fol. 105.

He saith, that God's works be all seemliness without confusion, although he cannot locally distinct Christ's head from his foot, nor his legs from his arms, p. 70. l. 27. [vol. iii. p. 115.] Other say, that Christ's head and foot and other parts be not indeed locally distinct in the sacrament, but be so confounded, that wheresoever one is, there be all the rest.

He saith, that Christ's body is in the sacrament sensibly, naturally, carnally, and corporally, p. 159. l. 9. [vol. iii. p. 240.] Other say contrary. Smith, fol. 39.

Other say, that Christ's feet in the sacrament be there where his head is. He saith, that whosoever say so may be called mad, p. 61. l. 34. [vol. iii. p. 115.]

Other say, that corporally Christ goeth into the mouth or stomach, and no farther. He saith contrary, p. 52. l. 36. [vol. iii. p. 99.]

He saith, that Christ dwelleth corporally in him that receiveth the sacrament worthily, so long as he remaineth a member of Christ, p. 53. l. 1. p. 56. l. 31. [vol. iii. p. 106.]

Other say contrary, but that Christ flieth up into heaven so soon as the bread is chewed in the mouth or changed in the stomach. Smith, fol. 64.

He saith, that no creature can eat the body of Christ, but only man, p. 66. l. 30. [vol. iii. p. 123.] Other say clean contrary.

He saith, that an unrepentant sinner receiving the sacrament hath not Christ's body nor spirit within him, p. 225. l. 36. [vol. iii. p. 328.] Smith saith, that he hath Christ's body and Spirit within him, fol. 136.

He saith, that of the figure it may not be said, adore it, worship it, and that is not to be adored which the bodily eye seeth, p. 178. l. 40. p. 239. l. 32. [vol. iii. p. 269.] *Marcus Antonius*, fol. 136. fac. 2. Smith saith contrary, fol. 145. fac. 2.

He saith, that reason will agree with the doctrine of transubstantiation well enough, p. 264. l. 47. [vol. iii. p. 382.] Smith saith, that transubstantiation is against reason and natural operation, fol. 60.

Other say, that worms in the sacrament be gendered of accidents. He saith, that they be wrong borne in hand to say so, p. 355. l. 3. [vol. iii. p. 505.]

He saith, that the accidents of bread and wine do mould, sour, and wax vinegar, p. 265. l. 11. and 355. l. 8. [vol. iii. p. 382.] and *Marcus*, fol. 168. fac. 1. Smith saith thus: I say that the consecrated wine turneth not into vinegar, nor the consecrated bread mouldeth nor engendereth worms, nor is burned, nor receiveth into it any poison, as long as Christ's body and blood are under the forms of them, which do abide there, so long as the natural qualities and properties of bread and wine tarry there in their natural disposition and condition, (that the bread and wine might be naturally there if they had not been changed into Christ's body and blood,) and also as long as the host and consecrated wine are apt to be received of man, and no longer, but go and depart thence by God's power as it pleaseth him; and then a new substance is made of God, which turneth into vinegar, engendereth worms, mouldeth, is turned, feedeth men and mice, receiveth poison, &c. fol. 64 and 105.

He saith, every yea containeth a nay in it naturally, so as whosoever saith, *This is bread*, saith it is no wine; for in the rule of common reason the grant of one substance is the denial of another: and therefore reason hath these conclusions throughly, whatsoever is bread is no wine, whatsoever is wine is no milk, &c. So Christ saying, *This is my body*, saith it is no bread, p. 256. l. 38. and p. 265. l. 5. [vol. iii. p. 369.] Smith saith, a boy which hath only learned the sophistry will not dispute so fondly, fol. 77.

Other say, that the mass is a sacrifice satisfactory by devotion of the priest, and not by the thing that is offered. He saith otherwise, p. 80. l. 43. [vol. iii. p. 150.]

He saith, that the only immolation of Christ in himself

upon the altar of the cross is the very satisfactory sacrifice for the reconciliation of mankind to the favour of God, p. 437. l. 1. [vol. iii. p. 543.] Smith saith, what is it to offer Christ's holy body and blood at mass to purchase thereby everlasting life, if it be not, the mass to be a sacrifice to pacify God's wrath for sin and to obtain his mercy, fol. 24. 148. and 164. Priests do offer for our salvation to get heaven and to avoid hell, fol. eodem.

Matters wherein the Bishop varied from himself.

The body of Christ in the sacrament is not made of bread, but is made present of bread, p. 79. l. 6. [vol. iii. p. 145. 303.]

Of bread is made the body of Christ, p. 344. l. 8. [vol. iii. p. 488.]

The catholic faith hath from the beginning confessed truly Christ's intent to make bread his body, p. 26. l. 40. [vol. iii. p. 72.] Christ gave that he made of bread, p. 257. l. 50. [vol. iii. p. 371.] And of many breads is made one body of Christ, p. 144. l. 23. [vol. iii. p. 217.] And faith showeth me that bread is the body of Christ, that is to say, made the body of Christ, p. 295. l. 30. [vol. iii. p. 425.]

Christ spake plainly, *This is my body*, making demonstration of the bread when he said, *This is my body*. In the *Devil's Sophistry*, fol. 27. I will pass over the phantasies of them who wrote the principal chief text, *This is my body*, from consecration of the sacrament to the demonstration of Christ's body, &c. In the devilish *Devil's Sophistry*, fol. 70.

The demonstration "this" may be referred to the invisible substance, p. 106. l. 42. [vol. iii. p. 178.] The "is" was of his body and blood, and not of the bread and wine, p. 251. l. 8. [vol. iii. p. 364.]

Illis verbis, *Hoc est corpus meum*, substantia corporis significatur, nec de pane quicquam intelligitur, quum corpus de

substantia sua, non aliena prædicetur. *Marc. Ant. Constant.*
fol. 24. fac. 2.

When Christ said, *This is my body*, the truth of the literal sense hath an absurdity in carnal reason, p. 138. l. 19. [vol. iii. p. 210.]

What can be more evidently spoken of the presence of Christ's natural body and blood in the most blessed sacrament of the altar, than is in these words, *This is my body?* In the *Devil's Sophistry*, fol. 5.

Where the body of Christ is, there is whole Christ, God and man, and when we speak of Christ's body, we must understand a true body, which hath both form and quantity, p. 71. l. 47. [vol. iii. p. 132.] And he is present in the sacrament as he is in heaven, p. 141. l. 6. [vol. iii. p. 213.]

We believe simply the substance of Christ's body to be in the sacrament without drawing away of accidents or adding. p. 353. l. 1. [vol. iii. p. 502.]

Christ is not present in the sacrament after the manner of quantity, but under the form and quantity of bread and wine, p. 71. l. 50. p. 90. l. 43. [vol. iii. p. 132.]

In such as receive the sacrament worthily, Christ dwelleth in them corporally, and naturally, and carnally, p. 166. l. 19. p. 173. l. 54. p. 191. l. 47. [vol. iii. p. 251. 262. 287.]

The manner of Christ's being in the sacrament is not corporal, not carnal, not natural, not sensible, not perceptible, but only spiritual, p. 159. l. 17. p. 197. l. 32. [vol. iii. p. 241. 295.]

We receive Christ in the sacrament of his flesh and blood, if we receive him worthily, p. 167. l. 9. p. 174. l. 1. [vol. iii. p. 252. 262.]

When an unrepentant sinner receiveth the sacrament, he hath not Christ's body within him, p. 225. l. 43. [vol. iii. p. 328.]

He that eateth verily the flesh of Christ, is by nature in

Christ and Christ is naturally in him, p. 17. l. 38. [vol. iii. p. 62.]

An evil man in the sacrament receiveth indeed Christ's very body, *ibid.*

Evil men eat verily the flesh of Christ, p. 225. l. 47. [vol. iii. p. 328.]

Christ giveth us to be eaten the same flesh that he took of the Virgin, p. 241. l. 27. [vol. iii. p. 348.]

We receive not in the sacrament Christ's body that was crucified, p. 243. l. 16. [vol. iii. p. 351.]

St. Augustine's rule, *De Doctrina Christiana*, pertaineth not to Christ's supper, p. 117. l. 21. [vol. iii. p. 190.]

The sixth of John speaketh not of any promise made to the eating of a token of Christ's flesh. p. 4. l. 40. [vol. iii. p. 48.]

St. Augustine meaneth of the sacrament, p. 119. l. 24. [vol. iii. p. 194.]

The sixth of John must needs be understand of corporal and sacramental eating, p. 17. l. 48. [vol. iii. p. 62.]

Reason in place of service, as being inferior to faith, will agree with the doctrine of transubstantiation well enough, p. 265. l. 1. [vol. iii. p. 382.] And as reason received into faith's service, doth not strive with transubstantiation, but agreeth with it, so man's senses be no such direct adversaries to transubstantiation, as a matter whereof they can no skill, for the senses can no skill of substances, p. 271. l. 24. [vol. iii. p. 391.]

Thine eyes say there is but bread and wine; thy taste saith the same; thy feeling and smelling agree fully with them: hereunto is added the carnal man's understanding, which, because it taketh the beginning of the senses, proceedeth in reasoning sensually. In the *Devil's Sophistry*, fol. 6. The Church hath not forborne to preach the truth, to the confusion of man's senses and understanding, fol. 15.

It is called bread because of the outward visible matter, p. [392.]

When it is called bread, it is meant Christ, the spiritual bread, p. 284. l. 25. [vol. iii. p. 411.]

The fraction is in the outward sign, and not in the body of Christ, p. 144. l. 39. p. 348. l. 21. [vol. iii. p. 218.] And in the *Devil's Sophistry*, fol. 17.

'That which is broken is the body of Christ, p. 348. l. 18. [vol. iii. p. 494.]

The inward nature of the bread is the substance, p. 286. l. 23. [vol. iii. p. 414.]

Substance signifies the outward nature, p. 359. l. 22. [vol. iii. p. 511.]

The substances of bread and wine be visible creatures, p. 285. l. 48. p. 286. l. 44. [vol. iii. p. 414.]

Accidents be the visible natures and visible elements, p. 363. l. 39. [vol. iii. p. 518.]

Christ is our satisfaction wholly and fully, and hath paid our whole debt to God the Father for the appeasing of his wrath against us, p. 81. l. 39. [vol. iii. p. 150.]

The act of the priest done according to God's commandment must needs be propitiatory, and ought to be trusted on to have a propitiatory effect, p. 387. l. 13. [vol. iii. p. 542.]

The demonstration "this" may be referred to the invisible substance, p. 106. l. 44. [vol. iii. p. 178.] The "is" was of his body and blood, and not of the bread and wine, p. 251. l. 8. [vol. iii. p. 364.] Contrary in the *Devil's Sophistry*, 27. 70.

When Christ said, *This is my body*, the truth of the literal sense hath an absurdity in carnal reason, p. 138. l. 19. [vol. iii. p. 210.] Contrary in the *Devil's Sophistry*, 5.

And it is a singular miracle of Christ understood as the plain words signify in their proper sense, *ibid.*

The sacrifice of our Saviour Christ was never reiterate, p. 368. l. 46. [vol. iii. p. 529.]

Priests do sacrifice Christ, p. 381. l. 42. [vol. iii. p. 533.]
And the catholic doctrine teacheth the daily sacrifice to be the same in essence that was offered on the cross, p. 436. l. 11. [vol. iii. p. 541.]

The Nestorians granted both the Godhead and manhood always to be in Christ continually, p. 309. l. 18. [vol. iii. p. 447.]

The Nestorians denied Christ conceived God or born God, but that he was afterward God, as a man that is not born a bishop is after made a bishop, so the Nestorians said that the Godhead was an accession after by merit, and that he was conceived only man, p. 309. l. 12. [vol. iii. p. 449.]

Christ useth us as familiarly as he did his Apostles, p. 83. l. 54. [vol. iii. p. 152.]

Christ is not to be said conversant in earth, p. 101. l. 16. [vol. iii. p. 173.]

Concessa.

On what part thou, reader, seest craft, slight, shift, obliquity, or in any one point an open manifest lie, there thou mayest consider, whatsoever pretence be made of truth, yet the victory of truth not to be there intended, p. 12. l. 19. [vol. iii. p. 52.]

When Christ had taught of the eating of himself being the bread descended from heaven, declaring that eating to signify believing, then he entered to speak of the giving of his flesh to be eaten, p. 27. l. 7. [vol. iii. p. 72.]

Christ must be spiritually in a man before he receive the sacrament, or he cannot receive the sacrament worthily,

p. 48. l. 46. p. 140. l. ult. p. 172. l. 28. p. 181. l. 28. [vol. iii. p. 94.]

How Christ is present, p. 61. l. 10. p. 71. l. 41. p. 90. l. 44. p. 57. l. 17. p. 197. l. 30. [vol. iii. p. 114.]

By faith we know only the being present of Christ's most precious body, not the manner thereof, p. 61. l. 43. [vol. iii. p. 114.]

What we speak of Christ's body, we must understand a true body, which hath both form and quantity, p. 71. l. 34. [vol. iii. p. 132.]

Although Christ's body have all those truths of form and quantity, yet it is not present after the manner of quantity, p. 71. l. 37. [vol. iii. p. 132.]

For the worthy receiving of Christ we must come endued with Christ, and clothed with him seemly in that garment, p. 92. l. 31. [vol. iii. p. 169.]

Really, that is to say, verily, truly, and in deed, not in phantasy or imagination, p. 140. l. 21. [vol. iii. p. 212.]

All the old prayers and ceremonies sound as the people did communicate with the priest, p. 145. l. 90. [vol. iii. p. 219.]

Really and sensibly the old authors in syllables used not, for so much as I have read, but corporally and naturally they used, speaking of this sacrament, p. 155. l. 13. [vol. iii. p. 235.]

Christ may be called sensibly present, p. 155. l. 26. p. 159. l. 10. [vol. iii. p. 240.]

By faith Christ dwelleth in us spiritually, p. 158. l. 16. [vol. iii. p. 239.]

Our perfect unity with Christ is to have his flesh in us, and to have Christ bodily and naturally dwelling in us by his manhood, p. 166. l. 30. p. 17. l. 34. [vol. iii. p. 251.]

Evil men eat the body of Christ, but sacramentally, and not spiritually, p. 222. l. 47. [vol. iii. p. 323.]

Christ's flesh in the sacrament is given us to eat spiritually, and therefore there may be no such imaginations to eat Christ's body carnally after the manner he walked here, nor drink his blood as it was shed upon the cross, but spi-

ritually understood it giveth life, p. 241. l. 18. [vol. iii. p. 347.]

To eat only in faith, is specially to remember Christ's flesh as it was visibly crucified, p. 243. l. 28. [vol. iii. p. 351.]

Falsum. We eat not Christ as he sitteth in heaven reigning, p. 243. l. 32. [vol. iii. p. 351.]

The word transubstantiation was first spoken of by public authority in a General Council where the Bishop of Rome was present, p. 250. l. 28. [vol. iii. p. 363.]

The word "nature" signifieth both the substance and also property of the nature, p. 291. l. 27. [vol. iii. p. 421.]

Falsum. The sensible thing after the capacity of common understanding is called substance, but the inward nature in learning is properly called substance, p. 338. l. 31. [vol. iii. p. 493.]

Falsum. In common bread the substance is not broken at all, p. 257. l. 32. [vol. iii. p. 371.]

The catholic doctrine teacheth not the daily sacrifice of Christ's most precious body and blood to be an iteration of the once perfected sacrifice on the cross; but a sacrifice that representeth the sacrifice, and showeth it also before the faithful eyes, p. 386. l. 20. [vol. iii. p. 540.]

The effect of the offering on the cross is given and dispensed in the sacrament of baptism, p. 386. l. 30. [vol. iii. p. 541.]

By virtue of the same offering on the cross, such as fall be relieved in the sacrament of penance, *ibid.*

The daily sacrifice of the Church is also propitiatory, but not in that degree of propitiation, as for redemption, regeneration, or remission of deadly sin (which was once purchased, and by force thereof is in the sacraments ministered) but for the increase of God's favour, the mitigation of God's displeasure provoked by our infirmities, the subduing of temptations, and the perfection of virtue in us, p. 387. l. 15. [vol. iii. p. 542.]

All good works, good thoughts, and good meditations may be called sacrifices, and sacrifices propitiatory also; for-

asmuch as in their degree God accepteth and taketh them through the effect and strength of the very sacrifice of Christ's death, p. 387. l. 15. [vol. iii. p. 542.]

To call the daily offering a sacrifice satisfactory, must have an understanding that signifieth not the action of the priest, but the presence of Christ's most precious body and blood, the very sacrifice of the world once perfectly offered being propitiatory and satisfactory for all the world, *ibid.* [vol. iii. p. 543.]

Or else the word satisfactory must have a signification and meaning that declareth the acception of the thing done, and not the proper countervail of the action. For otherwise the daily sacrifice in respect of the action of the priest cannot be called satisfactory, and it is a word indeed that soundeth not well so placed, although it might be saved by a signification, *ibid.*

I think this speech to be frequented, that the only immolation of Christ in himself upon the altar of the cross, is the very satisfactory sacrifice for the reconciliation of mankind to the favour of God, *ibid.*

I have not read the daily sacrifice of Christ's most precious body to be called a sacrifice satisfactory, *ibid.*

But this speech hath in deed been used, that the priest should sing satisfactory, which they understood of the satisfaction of the priest's duty to attend the prayer he was required to make, *ibid.*

In the sacrifice of the Church Christ's death is not iterated, but a memory daily renewed of that death, so as Christ's offering on the cross once done and consummate is now only remembered, p. 391. l. 5. [vol. iii. p. 549.]

The same body is offered daily on the altar that was once offered upon the cross, but the same manner of offering is not daily that was on the altar of the cross. For the daily offering is without bloodshedding, and is termed so, to signify that bloodshedding once done to be sufficient, *ibid.*

*Matters wherein the Bishop varieth from the truth
and from the old authors of the Church.*

If we eat not the flesh of the Son of man we have not life in us, because Christ hath ordered the sacrament, p. 17. l. 12. [vol. iii. p. 61.]

When Christ said, *Take eat, this is my body*, he fulfilled that which he promised in the sixth of John, that he would give his flesh for the life of the world, p. 27. l. 28. [vol. iii. p. 72.] *Marc. Ant.* fol. 168.

When Christ said *the flesh profiteth nothing*, he spake not of his flesh as it is united into his divinity, p. 27. l. 53. p. 329. l. 24. [vol. iii. p. 72.]

God in baptism giveth only the spirit of Christ, and in the sacrament of the altar the very body and blood of Christ, p. 34. l. 44. [vol. iii. p. 85.]

Unworthy receivers of the sacrament receive Christ's body in mouth only, the worthy receivers both with mouth and heart, p. 54. l. 47. [vol. iii. p. 103.]

We must believe Christ's works to be most perfectly true according to the truth of the letter, where no absurdity in Scripture drive thus from it, howsoever it seem repugnant to reason, p. 62. l. 20. [vol. iii. p. 116.]

The Fathers did eat Christ's body, and drink his blood in truth of promise, not in truth of presence, p. 74. l. 23. [vol. iii. p. 137.]

The Fathers did eat Christ spiritually, but they did not eat his body present spiritually and sacramentally, *ibid.*

Their sacraments were figures of the things, but ours contain the very things, *ibid.*

Albeit in a sense to the learned men it may be verified, that the Fathers did eat the body of Christ and drink his blood, yet there is no such form of words in Scripture. And it is more agreeable to the simplicity of Scripture to say, the Fathers before Christ's nativity did not eat the body and drink the blood of Christ, *ibid.*

And although St. Paul in the tenth to the Corinthians be

so understood of some, that the Fathers should eat and drink the spiritual meat and drink that we do, yet to that understanding all do not agree, p. 74. l. 23. [vol. iii. p. 137.]

Their sacraments contained the promise of that which in our sacraments is given, *ibid.*

And although that willing obedience was ended and perfected upon the cross, (to the which it continued from the beginning,) yet as in the sacrifice of Abraham, the earnest will and offering was accounted for the offering in deed, so the declaration of Christ's will in his last supper was an offering of himself to God the Father, p. 82. l. 2. [vol. iii. p. 150.]

In that mystery he declared his body and blood to be the very sacrifice of the world by the same will that he said his body should be betrayed for us, *ibid.*

As Christ offered himself upon the cross in the execution of his will, so he offered himself in his supper in declaration of his will, p. 82. l. 13. [vol. iii. p. 151.]

Christ's body in the Supper, or communion, is represented unto us as a sacrifice propitiatory for all the sins of the world, and it is the only sacrifice of the Church, and the pure and clean sacrifice whereof Malachie spake, p. 84. l. 4. p. 88. l. ult. [vol. iii. p. 154.]

As Christ declareth in the supper himself an offering and sacrifice for our sin, offering himself to his Father as our mediator; so the Church, at the same supper, in their offering of lauds and thanks, join themselves with their head Christ, representing and offering him, p. 89. l. 10. [vol. iii. p. 154.]

The sunbeams be of the same substance with the sun, p. 92. l. 5. [vol. iii. p. 168.]

We have in earth the substantial presence of the sun, *ibid.*

When Christ said *This is my body*, this word "This" may be referred to the invisible substance, p. 106. l. 44. [vol. iii. p. 178.]

To eat Christ's flesh and drink his blood is of itself a proper speech, p. 112. l. 35. [vol. iii. p. 185.] Carnally, *ibid.* with teeth and mouth, *ibid.* and p. 34. l. 38.

To eat Christ's body carnally may have a good signification, p. 113. l. 4. [vol. iii. p. 186.]

Origen doth not mean to destroy the truth of the letter in these words of Christ, *Except you eat the flesh of the Son of man*, &c. p. 114. l. 40. [vol. iii. p. 188.]

St. Augustine taketh the same for a figurative speech, because it seemeth to command in the letter carnally understood, an heinous and wicked thing to eat the flesh of man, p. 116. l. 40. [vol. iii. p. 190.]

The said words of Christ, *Except you eat*, &c. is to the unfaithful a figure, but to the faithful they be no figure, but spirit and life, *ibid.*

The Fathers called it a figure by the name of a figure, reverently to cover so great a secrecy, apt only to be understand of men believing, p. 117. l. 3. [vol. iii. p. 190.]

That is spiritual understanding to do as is commanded, *ibid.*

The word "Represent" in St. Hierome and Tertullian signifieth a true real exhibition, p. 120. l. 27. p. 128. l. 11. [vol. iii. p. 196.]

Nota.

The word *Eucharistia* cannot be well Englished, p. 161. [vol. iii. p. 231.]

In God's word, and in baptism, we be made participant of Christ's passion by his spirit, but in the Lord's Supper we be made participant of his Godhead, by his humanity exhibit to us for food: so as in this mystery we receive him as man and God, and in the other by mean of his Godhead we be participant of the effect of his passion suffered in his manhood. In this sacrament, we receive a pledge of the regeneration of our flesh to be in the general resurrection spiritual with our soul: in baptism we have been made spiritual by regeneration of the soul, p. 158. l. 45. [vol. iii. p. 240.]

Concessum
etiam.

In baptism Christ's humanity is not really present, though the virtue and effect of his most precious blood be there, p. 159. l. 4. [vol. iii. p. 240.]

The manner of Christ's being in the sacrament is only spiritual, *ibid.*

To understand Christ's words spiritually, is to understand them as the spirit of God hath taught the Church, p. 159.

l. 4. [vol. iii. p. 240.]

Our perfect unity with Christ is to have his flesh in us, and to have Christ bodily and naturally dwelling in us by his manhood, p. 166. l. 32. [vol. iii. p. 251.]

By Christ's flesh in the sacrament we be naturally in him, Conces-
sum. and he is naturally in us, *ibid.*

Christ dwelleth naturally in us, and we be corporally in Conces-
sum. him, *ibid.*

Christ's flesh is very spiritual, and in a spiritual manner Conces-
sum etiam. delivered unto us, p. 167. l. 12. p. 243. l. 11 and 28. p. 295.

l. 33. [vol. iii. p. 252.]

Christ dwelleth in us naturally, for the natural com-Conces-
sum. munication of our body and his, p. 167. l. 19. [vol. iii. p. 252.]

When Christ united himself unto us as man, (which he doth, giving his body in the sacrament to such as worthily receive it,) then he dwelleth in them corporally, p. 172. l. 27. [vol. iii. p. 259.]

In baptism man's soul is regenerate in the virtue and effect of Christ's passion and blood, Christ's Godhead present there without the real presence of his humanity, p. 181. l. 16. [vol. iii. p. 273.]

In baptism our unity with Christ is wrought without the real presence of Christ's humanity, only in the virtue and effect of Christ's blood, *ibid.*

In baptism our soul is regenerate and made spiritual, but not our body in deed, but in hope only, *ibid.*

In baptism we be united to Christ's manhood by his Divinity, but in the Lord's Supper we be in nature united to Christ as man, and by his glorified flesh made partakers also of his Divinity, *ibid.*

Christ's body and flesh is a spiritual body and flesh, and Conces-
sum. is present in the sacrament after a spiritual manner, and is spiritually received, *ibid.* and p. 351. l. 19.

In this sacrament Christ's humanity and Godhead is really present, and in baptism his Godhead, with the effectual vir-

tue of his blood, (in which we be washed,) not requiring any real presence thereof, p. 191. l. 35. [vol. iii. p. 287.]

Spirit and life may fall upon naughty men, although for their malice it tarrieth not, p. 211. l. 17. [vol. iii. p. 314.]

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All the naming of bread by Christ and St. Paul and all other, must be understand before sanctification, and not after, p. 258. l. 15. [vol. iii. p. 372.]

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No man knoweth the difference between substance of bread, cheese, and ale, p. 271. l. 39. p. 272. l. 23. p. 339. l. 33. [vol. iii. p. 392, 393.]

The accidents of bread may be called the visible part of bread, the outward kind and form of bread, the appearance of bread, a true sensible part of bread, bread, the nature of bread, the matter of bread, the visible matter of bread; not that it is properly bread, but after the common speech and capacity of men, p. 272. l. 16. p. 273. l. 25. p. 283. l. 11. p. 289. l. 31. p. 290. l. 7. p. 292. l. 16. p. 396. l. 43. p. 305. l. 44. p. 243. l. 45. p. 359. l. 22. [vol. iii. p. 392.]

The accidents of bread do corrupt, putrefy, and nourish, p. 273. l. 30. p. 290. l. 7. p. 296. l. 48. p. 358. l. 28. [vol. iii. p. 395.]

The glorified body of Christ is of the own nature, neither visible nor palpable, p. 273. l. 40. [vol. iii. p. 395.]

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The soul only of man is the substance of man, *ibid.*

The soul only is made the son of God, *ibid.*

It is called meat, because of the outward visible matter, p. 290. l. 9. [vol. iii. p. 419.]

As really and as truly as the soul of man is present in the body, so really and so truly is the body of Christ present in the sacrament, p. 296. l. 5. p. 396. l. 15. [vol. iii. p. 430.]

The sacrifice of the Church is perfected before the reception, p. 396. l. 15. [vol. iii. p. 540.]

In the sacrament being a mystery ordered to feed us, is the truth of the presence of the natures earthly and celestial. The visible matter of the earthly creature in his property and nature, for the use of signification, is necessarily required, p. 310. l. 44. [vol. iii. p. 450.]

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