

## Signs and Things Signified: Sacramental Hermeneutics in John Jewel's 'Challenge Sermon' and the 'Culture of Persuasion' at Paul's Cross

W.J. Torrance Kirby

*McGill University, Montreal*

torrance.kirby@mcgill.ca

### ABSTRACT

This paper's subject is the recurrent theme of sacramental hermeneutics in preaching at Paul's Cross, London, in the mid-Tudor period, focussing on John Jewel's famous 'Challenge Sermon' delivered soon after Elizabeth I's accession. Significantly, this sermon sets the terms of disputation between reformers and traditionalists about England's religious identity in the so-called 'Great Controversy' of the 1560s. While Jewel appealed to the Reformers' adherence to the authority of Scripture and the primitive Church, the bulk of the sermon concerns the hermeneutics of sacramental presence, namely, how to interpret rightly the relation between a sacramental sign (*signum*) and the mystical reality signified (*res significata*). As the 'Challenge Sermon' is largely an exploration of semiotic principles, we will examine Jewel's theory of signs, its antecedents and its consequences for the definition of England's subsequent religious identity. Considered are implications for 'moral ontology' in its shift away from the assumptions of sacramental culture towards what has been termed a 'culture of persuasion.' Jewel's argument offers a helpful vantage point for examining the issue of the 'Reformation and the disenchantment of the world' and for revisiting the assumptions of revisionist historiography. Finally, we suggest that Jewel's approach provides a means of interpreting the key role of Paul's Cross itself in the public life of the realm.

Keywords: Outdoor preaching; Reformation London; John Jewel; sacramental real presence; semiotics

### The Public Pulpit

In the course of the latter half of the sixteenth century the outdoor pulpit at St Paul's Cross in London contributed greatly to the inauguration of an early-modern public sphere in a deep cultural sense. This was in a way reminiscent of Marshall McLuhan's 'the medium is indeed the message.'<sup>1</sup> Our aims, therefore, in addressing the 'Challenge Sermon' of John Jewel (1522–1571) are first, to analyse the sacramental hermeneutics underlying the radical reconstruction of 'religious identity' in late-Tudor England in the light of recent historiographical concerns about the disenchantment thesis;<sup>2</sup> secondly, to consider the conspicuous expansion of a popular 'culture of persuasion'<sup>3</sup> throughout this period as the chief means of this reconstruction; and thirdly, to explore the emergence of an early-modern 'public sphere' of discourse as a consequence of the unprecedented events associated with the Great Controversy of the 1560s. This is all in the context of the outdoor pulpit at Paul's Cross. England was exceptional in early-modern Europe both for its high concentration of the principal instruments of government and in having a large, well-informed population within a single urban location. Moreover, unlike other European capitals, London enjoyed a virtual monopoly of printing within the country.<sup>4</sup> Consequently, it was relatively more feasible there to engage and cultivate a highly sophisticated and active public opinion.

Of arguably even greater significance than the print medium, however, was the institution of public preaching.<sup>5</sup> Throughout the sixteenth century, at the outdoor pulpits of Paul's Cross, located in the Cathedral churchyard in the very heart of the city, and at St Mary's Spital, authorized preachers addressed the religious and political assumptions of the day. Their sermons contributed enormously to the transformation of England's national identity. Indeed Paul's Cross may be reckoned among the most influential of all public venues in early-modern England. In a world where sermons counted among

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1. The reference is to McLuhan's thesis that the printing press changed civilization by creating a 'new human environment. Cf. Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: the Extensions of Man*, edited by Lewis Lapham (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994), 7–21.
  2. Alexandra Walsham, 'The Reformation and the "Disenchantment of the World" reassessed,' *The Historical Journal* 51(2), (2008): 497–528.
  3. Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
  4. Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, 133–134.
  5. Susan Wabuda, *Preaching during the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 40–48.

the foremost conventional means of adult education, as well as vital instruments of popular moral and social guidance, not to mention political control, Paul's Cross stands out as London's pulpit of pulpits; indeed it lays claim to being the 'public pulpit' of the entire realm, and functioned as a national stage as much as a preaching station.<sup>6</sup> In the course of the sixteenth century it became an arena where 'the conscience of church and nation found public utterance,' particularly in moments of religious transition and political crisis.<sup>7</sup> Large crowds, reputed to number in thousands, gathered here to listen to the weekly two-hour sermons. Following the accession of Elizabeth, John Jewel informed his mentor in Zurich, Peter Martyr Vermigli, that as many as 6,000 people stayed after his first sermon at Paul's Cross to sing metrical psalms. While possibly an exaggerated number, this is indicative nonetheless of the unique consequence of this pulpit.<sup>8</sup>

Recent studies by Peter Lake, Michael Questier and Alexandra Halasz have shown that religious discourse played a critical role in shaping the contours of an emerging civil society in Elizabethan England, and that shifting religious assumptions can be credited in particular with fostering a nascent early-modern 'public sphere.'<sup>9</sup> Concerning the process of transformation

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6. Millar MacLure, *The Paul's Cross Sermons, 1534–1642* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958), pp. 4, 18. For an account of the architecture of the precincts of St. Paul's Cathedral, see P.W.M. Blayney, *The Bookshops in Paul's Cross Churchyard* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1990).
  7. See Mary Morrissey's forthcoming monograph: *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons, 1558–1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
  8. Dated 5 March 1560. *The Zurich Letters; or, the correspondence of several English bishops and others, with some of the Helvetian reformers, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1558–1579*, First Series, ed. H. Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Parker Society, 1842), 71. See Henry Machyn, *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, from A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1563*, edited by John Gough Nichols (London: Printed for the Camden Society by J.B. Nichols and Son, 1848), the entry for 3 March 1560.
  9. Peter Lake and Steve Pincus, *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2007). Peter Lake, 'Rethinking the public sphere in early modern England,' *Journal of British Studies* 45(2), (2006): 270–292. Id. and Michael Questier, 'Puritans, Papists, and the 'Public Sphere': the Edmund Campion Affair in Context,' *Journal of Modern History* 72(3), (2000): 587–627. Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). See also Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1988) and his inaugural lecture on appointment to the Regius chair of modern history at the University of Cambridge, 'De republica Anglorum: or, history with the politics put back,' in Collinson, ed., *Elizabethan essays* (London: Hambledon Press, 1994), 1–29.

from a ritually focussed, late-medieval 'representative' publicity to an early-modern secular, public sphere, as well as in certain recent attempts to define the nature of 'publics,' scholars have tended largely to ascribe primary importance to the medium of print in comparison with the spoken word.<sup>10</sup> At one extreme, Halasz has treated the early-modern public sphere in England as an 'unsituated' or 'virtual' discourse, conducted principally by means of a public 'marketplace of print' operating almost entirely through pamphlets, newsbooks and so on, with authors, printers, booksellers, and readers as the meaningfully engaged participants.<sup>11</sup> On the other side, Pettegree has cautioned that any account of how Protestantism could become a mass movement in an age before mass literacy must be careful to 'relocate the role of the book, as part of a broader range of modes of persuasion' and that preaching in particular should be 'restored to its central place as the 'bed-rock' around which the churches harnessed other communication media.'<sup>12</sup> Natalie Mears proposes a plausible model somewhere between the extremes of an 'un-situated,' imaginary public construct of print, and a physically determinate, 'situated' public gathering for the purposes of actual communication and debate as at the Inns of Court, for example. For Mears 'the Elizabethan public sphere and the concept of the public sphere itself, therefore, have to be seen as a combination of both modes.'<sup>13</sup> Elizabethan popular debate, especially on questions of religious reform, was thus characterized by such 'unsituated discourse' as printed sermons, admonitions, scholarly polemics or the scurrilous screed of Martin Marprelate (*fl.* 1588–1589). At the same time, the subject matter of this printed conversation was discussed locally in the vicinity of pulpits, in coffee houses, workshops, markets, and parish churches. This met a basic test defined by Habermas, namely that the 'public sphere' is an activity typically experienced in a determinate physical locality and in the company of other flesh-and-blood participants.<sup>14</sup>

Certainly none of the sixteenth-century Reformers themselves underesti-

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10. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 14–26.
  11. Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print*, 115–116, 23–34. For a critical view of this approach, see Natalie Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 26, 184.
  12. Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, 39.
  13. Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse*, 268.
  14. Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse*, the chapter: 'The Elizabethan public sphere,' 182–216.

mated the critical importance of preaching and, therefore, of orality to their religious task; the evangelical avant-garde placed enormous emphasis on the claim that faith comes through hearing, to the point where the formula *fides ex auditu* came to be universally regarded as a primary axiom of Reformation.<sup>15</sup> The most conspicuously 'situated' instance of this axiom was undoubtedly public preaching. The outdoor pulpit in Paul's churchyard counts among the most influential of all venues for a situated discourse linking rulers and ruled from the outset of the Henrician Reformation in the early 1530s down to the final years of the reign of Elizabeth and beyond.<sup>16</sup> Our present inquiry proposes an examination of the link between Tudor religious culture and the nascent public sphere in light one of the most popular of all themes to be addressed from the pulpit at Paul's Cross in the mid- to late-sixteenth century, namely the right definition of the nature of the sacrament. MacLure's *Register of Sermons* reveals that this sermon topic was preached with marked frequency from the reign of Edward VI through the first decade after the accession of Elizabeth.<sup>17</sup>

Disputation verged on the feverish in the late 1540s and early 1550s. Richard Smyth, shortly to be replaced by Peter Martyr Vermigli in the Regius Chair at Oxford, recanted his books written in defence of the traditional teaching on the Mass in a formal retraction sermon on 15 May 1547.<sup>18</sup> In

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15. On the complex question of sermon auditory, see Arnold Hunt, 'The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and their Audiences, 1590–1640' (University of Cambridge, PhD thesis, 2001). Cf. Hughes Oliphant Old, *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church* (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans, 1998), 183–184.
  16. Torrance Kirby, 'The Public Sermon: Paul's Cross and the culture of persuasion in England, 1534–1570,' *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme* 31(1), (2008), 3–29.
  17. See Millar MacLure, *Register of Sermons preached at Paul's Cross, 1534–1643*, revised and augmented by Jackson Campbell Boswell and Peter Pauls, CRRS Occasional Publications, no. 6 (Ottawa: Dovehouse Editions, 1989), 28–50.
  18. *A godly and faythfull retraction made and published at Paules crosse in London [...] by mayster Richard Smyth [...]* (London: [R. Wolfe], 1547). Idem, *The assertion and defence of the sacramente of the alter [...]* (London: Iohn Herforde, for Roberte Toye, dwellynge in Paules church yarde at the sygne of the Bell, 1546). Three years later, now residing across the Channel in Louvain where he had been appointed professor of divinity, Smith penned an attack on Cranmer's eucharistic theology. See *A confutation of a certain booke, called a defence of the true, and Catholike doctrine of the sacrame[n]t, &c. sette fourth of late in the name of Thomas Archebysshoppe of Canterburye [...]* [Paris: R. Chaudière, 1550?]. See J. Andreas Löwe, *Richard Smyth and the Language of Orthodoxy: Re-imagining Tudor Catholic Polemicism* (Leiden; Boston:

November of the same year Nicholas Ridley preached against transubstantiation.<sup>19</sup> On 29 June 1548 before an immense audience at Paul's Cross, and in good Henrician style, Stephen Gardiner vigorously upheld both the royal supremacy and the dissolution of the chantries while, in the same sermon and in spite of Somerset's explicit prohibition, he mounted a robust defence of the traditional doctrine of the Mass and soon found himself committed to the Fleet prison for his pains.<sup>20</sup> On 8 July 1548 Richard Cox, Dean of Christ Church and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, answered Gardiner with a vindication of the evangelical sacramental teaching soon to be authorized by statute.<sup>21</sup> Wriothesley notes that 'All thoyes preachers that prechyd at Powlles crosse at that time spake moche agyne the bysshope of Wynchester.'<sup>22</sup> Edmund Bonner was ordered to preach in favour of the vernacular liturgy and the Act of Uniformity at Paul's Cross on 1 September 1549, but 'did spend most of his sermon about the gross, carnell, and papistical presence of Christ's body in the sacrament.'<sup>23</sup> Bonner was shortly thereafter deprived of his bishopric following a trial presided over by Thomas Cranmer. John Hooper, later Bishop of Gloucester, responded to Bonner on the 22 September following.<sup>24</sup> On 1 June 1550 Thomas Kyrkham asserted that there was 'no substance but bread and wine' in the sacrament.<sup>25</sup>

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Brill, 2003), 34–39. Ellen A. Macek, 'Richard Smith: Tudor cleric in defense of traditional belief and practice,' *The Catholic Historical Review* 72(3), (1986): 383–402.

19. John Foxe, *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe: a new and complete edition with a preliminary dissertation by George Townsend*, edited by Stephen Reed Cattle, 8 vols (London: Seeley & Burnside, 1837–1841), 6, 437; 7, 520, 523. MacLure, *Register of Sermons*, 28.
20. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (= CCCC) MS 127.5, 'The sermon of the bishop of Winchester [Stephen Gardiner] before the kings maiestie 29 June 1548, on Matthew XVI.13.' See also CCCC MS 106.175, fol. 487, 'Letter from the duke of Somerset to Gardiner bishop of Winchester charging him not to meddle with any matter of controversy in his sermon, Syon, June 28, 1548.'
21. The Act of Uniformity (1549), 2 and 3 Edward VI, c. 1. See Sir Charles Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England during the reigns of the Tudors, from A.D. 1485 to 1559*, edited by W.D. Hamilton, from a transcript made early in the seventeenth century for the third Earl of Southampton (Westminster: Camden Society, 1875–1877), vol. 2.4; *Chronicle of the Grey friars of London*, ed. John Gough Nichols (London: Camden Society, 1852), 56. MacLure, *Register of Sermons*, 29.
22. Wriothesley. *Chronicle*, 2.4; see also *Chronicle of the Grey friars*, 56.
23. Foxe, *The Acts*, 5.745, 746. See also Wriothesley. *Chronicle*, 2.24.
24. *Chronicle of the Grey friars*, 63. See MacLure, *Register of Sermons*, 31.
25. *Chronicle of the Grey friars*, 67.

Following the death of Edward VI a series of preachers staunchly defended the traditional doctrine of the Mass and transubstantiation at Paul's Cross. On 20 August 1553, shortly after Mary's accession, Thomas Watson, then chaplain to the Bishop of Winchester, surrounded by 200 of the Queen's guard, exhorted his auditory at Paul's Cross not to trust the evangelical preachers, but that they should 'keep the ould faithe, and edifye the ould Temple againe.'<sup>26</sup> Hugh Weston notoriously named the Lord's Table 'an oyster board' two months later on 22 October in a sermon that publicized the eucharistic debate over which he was then presiding as Prolocutor of the lower house of the Convocation of Canterbury.<sup>27</sup> Henry Machyn reports George Coates, Bishop of Chester, defending the traditional sacramental teaching on 16 December 1554.<sup>28</sup> The Queen's chaplain, Hugh Glasier, offered a refutation at Paul's Cross 'of those who would explain the bad weather of the previous two years as God's judgement for the return of the 'idolatrour' Mass.'<sup>29</sup> It would be difficult to identify another *locus* of theology more hotly disputed in the

26. Machyn, *Diary*, 41; Wriotheshley. *Chronicle*, 2.99–100; *Chronicle of the Grey friars*, 83; Foxe, *The Actes*, 6, 768. Cf. MacLure, *Register of Sermons*, 35.

27. Machyn, *Diary*, 46; Foxe, *The Actes*, 541; 7.778. See MacLure, *Register of Sermons*, 35.

28. Machyn, *Diary*, 79.

29. Hugh Glasier, *A notable and very fructefull Sermon made at Paules Crosse the XXV. day of August, by maister Hughe Glasier [...] Perused by [...] Edmond bishop of London, and by him approoved [...]* (London: Robert Caly, within the precinct of the late dissolved house of the graye Freers, nowe conuerted to an hospital, called Christes hospitall, 1555), Bvii<sup>v</sup>-Bviii<sup>v</sup>. [Transcription below from a copy in St Paul's Cathedral Library]: 'But here parcase some wyll say (as some lewedly haue sayd) howe can the people be at unitie, seyng the abhominable ydole of the sacrament of the Aulter is in such price and estimation, in this realme? and howe can any man with a quiet heart and conscience be content with the idolatrie that is used in the masse? Wee se (say they) what a plague and punishment [B.viii.r<sup>o</sup>] almightie God hath sent to this realme, these ii. Yeres last past, syns this idole, and idolatrie hath been restored and set up againe. What a plage (say thei) haue we had the last yere, by exceeding drought and heate? And what a plage (say they) haue wee hadde this present yere, by exceeding rayne and moysture? This do the noughtie heretikes and schimatikes rayle, and blaspheme in corners. No no (good people) wee haue not been, nor be plaged, for hauing of the Masse, or for worshipping and honouring of the blessed sacrament of the aluter, used in the Masse, but rather for the not hauing, not worshipping and honouring of it. For if the sacrmnt be an Idole, and such idolatrie in the masse, as is falsly and untruely surmised, and [B.viii.v<sup>o</sup>] , blasphemously spoken and rayled by these unthriftes. Howe hath God wynked at suche things within this realme, these many hundreth yeres? Hath not the Masse been had, and deuoutly heard and songe: yea, and the sayd sacrament very reuerently used and honoured of all antiquitie within this realme, and the realme in all honour, ryches and welth hath in all conditions flourished, and prospered?'

decade immediately preceding Jewel's Challenge Sermon than the doctrine of the Mass with the attention of all concerned focussed on the semiotics of 'presence.' No other single doctrine had quite the same capacity to bring into clear focus the most profound assumptions of 'moral ontology' whether traditionalist or evangelical.<sup>30</sup>

Our purpose, then, is threefold. First: to demonstrate that for the major participants in the Great Controversy, both reformers and traditionalists, sacramental hermeneutics constitute a primary vehicle in attempts to determine and define religious identity. Secondly: to argue that the hermeneutics of the sacrament provide an invaluable key to interpreting the political significance of the culture of persuasion exemplified by the institution of public preaching at Paul's Cross, and thirdly: to suggest that this hermeneutical shift and the new consequence accorded to preaching serve to elucidate the deep sources of an emerging public sphere by virtue of their being among the most important contemporary indicators of early-modern attempts to formulate a horizon of meaning. Before proceeding further with this proposal, however, it would be of some help to review more closely the broad historiographical context of our inquiry with respect to the thesis of 'disenchantment.'

### **Historiographical context of the inquiry**

In a recent critical survey of the ongoing debate about the role of the Protestant Reformation in a process commonly referred to as the 'disenchantment of the world,' Alexandra Walsham offers a penetrating and helpful account of the development of this thesis from its popularisation by the research of Max Weber.<sup>31</sup> Walsham explores in some detail the relevance of this theme to recent historiography of the English Reformation with particular reference to its evolving assumptions concerning the place of the sacred and the supernat-

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30. See Bodleian Library, Tanner MS 50, fols. 72<sup>r</sup>–72<sup>v</sup> for notes taken by an anonymous observer at Paul's Cross of sermons preached in the period between June 1565 and September 1566 at the height of the 'Great Controversy.' In a sermon preached on St Bartholomew's Day, 23 August 1566, Mr Bullingham refers repeatedly to the divine Word as 'God's precious Jewell' and contrasts 'wonders donne by the Apostles wear donne playnly withouth ledgerdamayne ... we callinge to remembrance the signes and wonders that Antichriste bragged and boasts of, we may be shamed at the hearinge of them ... the wonder of transubstantiation is the greatest wonder for th[ey] haue a substance without his accidents, to haue the forme of a man in the forme of bread it is a wonder, to haue a mans boddy at one tyme in many places it is a wonder, to haue his boddy in heaven and in the prests hand allatone tyme it is a wonder ...'

31. Walsham, 'The Reformation', 498–505.

ural in the context of the religious and political upheavals of the early modern period. On one side there is the familiar narrative of progress offered by Weber, Ernst Troeltsch, and Sir Keith Thomas with its teleological emphasis on the ‘rational religiosity’ of the reformers as a necessary transitional phase through which English society travelled on its way to the modern world.<sup>32</sup> On this view, Protestant iconoclasm motivated by skepticism of the possibility of the external, physical immanence of the holy became the engine of desacralization, and consequently of modernization.<sup>33</sup> With its emphasis on the polarity of traditional religion and the new, evangelical identity, much of earlier twentieth-century historiography of the English Reformation reflects this view. Tending in the contrary direction is the ‘bold revisionist backlash’ against the disenchantment thesis, various in guise but nonetheless approaching what Walsham identifies as the ‘current historical consensus.’<sup>34</sup> Resistance to the disenchantment thesis can be identified, for example, in Robert Scribner’s stress on the underlying continuities between Protestant and Catholic identities,<sup>35</sup> or in the recent tendency to think in terms of a ‘long Reformation’ extended over a period of centuries,<sup>36</sup> or in Eamon Duffy’s extensive, detailed, and influential research on the vitality of late-medieval piety,<sup>37</sup> or

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32. Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, transl. Ephraim Fischhoff (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963); id., *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, transl. Talcott Parsons (New York and London: Scribners, Allen, and Unwin, 1930), 105, 117, 149. Ernst Troeltsch, ‘Renaissance and Reformation,’ transl. and ed. by Lewis W. Spitz, *The Reformation: Basic Interpretations* (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1972), 261–296. Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).
33. Walsham, ‘The Reformation,’ 498–505. See also Euan Cameron, *Enchanted Europe: Superstition, Reason, and Religion, 1350–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 12–14.
34. Walsham, ‘Reformation,’ 500.
35. See Robert Scribner, *Religion and Culture in Germany (1400–1800)*, ed. Lyndal Roper (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 98. See also id., ‘The Reformation, Popular Magic, and the “Disenchantment of the World”’, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 23 (1993): 475–494 and his essays ‘Reformation and Desacralisation: from Sacramental World to Moralised Universe’ and ‘Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Europe,’ both in *Problems in the Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Europe*, edited by Ronald Po-Chia Hsia and Robert Scribner (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997), 11–34; 75–92.
36. Nicholas Tyacke, ed., *England’s Long Reformation, 1500–1800* (London and Bristol, PA: UCL Press, 1998) esp. 1–32.
37. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400–c.1580* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005).

more generally in sustained postmodern critique of any and all claims based upon the assertion of a doctrine of progress founded upon universal rationality. This, of course, is to name but a few currents of current revisionist leaning. In almost every quarter Weber and the neo-Whig historians have been well and truly eclipsed. Revisionism rules, or so at least it would seem. In the context of our present inquiry, however, what is particularly intriguing about Walsham's discussion is the intimation of an alternative path, that is to say a post-revisionist third option. More of this anon.

It is important from the outset to distinguish 'desacralization' understood as a decline of belief in divine immanence, from 'secularization' as a rejection or marginalization of religion as such. In this respect Walsham's analysis appears to be broadly in agreement with Charles Taylor, for whom the formulation of the 'moral ontology of modernity' is thoroughly rooted in religious self-understanding.<sup>38</sup> For Taylor there is definitely irony in the fact that 'the moral sources of emerging modern identity are far richer than the impoverished language of modernity's most zealous defenders.'<sup>39</sup> Taylor's main point is that critical, scientific reason is inclined to neglect the religious, theological, and metaphysical categories which constitute the groundwork or the 'sources' of the modern self. The self-understanding of modernity as Enlightenment is particularly blind when it comes to acknowledging the deep religious foundations upon which its own great project is erected. The 'disenchantment' thesis itself is thus deeply implicated in the critical-scientific proclivity to ignore the moral-ontological 'sources' of modernity. As Jonathan Clark maintains, the defenders of modernity are especially prone to discounting religion as either an explanation or an engine of historical change.<sup>40</sup> At the same time, it is almost equally problematic from a 'high' revisionist standpoint to give a satisfactory account of the origins of modernity. If the forces of de-sacralization and disenchantment are indeed so manifestly unsuccessful and ineffectual, where then does modernity come from? With marked emphasis on the popular failure of Reformation in England, Christopher Haigh, among others, has emphatically dismissed the plausibility of theological discourse as

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38. Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: the making of the modern identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989; repr. 2006), 5–8, 9, 10, 41, *passim*.

39. Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, 3.

40. Jonathan Clark, 'The re-enchantment of the world? Religion and Monarchy in Eighteenth-Century Europe,' in *Monarchy and religion: The Transformation of Royal Culture in eighteenth-century Europe*, edited by Michael Schaich (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), chap. 2; cited by Walsham, 'The Reformation,' 527.

providing a useful or even intelligible explanation of these events.<sup>41</sup> Yet, on the other hand, how are we to account (in Diarmaid MacCulloch's words) for the undeniably 'howling success' of the Reformation by the end of Elizabeth's reign?<sup>42</sup>

Perhaps the problem here is methodological. Is there some way in which an emerging modernity can be grasped with a mode of discourse which is not identifiably modern, which does not know itself as scientific, critical, and enlightened? Walsham implies such a post-revisionist path when she concludes that the 'Reformation must be conceived of as both an intellectual and a social process: we have to recognize the capacity of thought to shape and influence, precipitate and anticipate action and practice and *vice versa*.' In an echo of Thucydides, for whom speeches (*logoi*) and deeds (*erga*) are intimately bound together in the narrative of history,<sup>43</sup> 'both ideas and events must be accorded an element of agency.'<sup>44</sup> Surely it is the historian's task to pursue both. Walsham tellingly concludes with the insight that 'the debate about the 'rationality' or 'modernity' of the Reformation is in this sense both *une question mal posée* and a crippling barrier to clear thinking.'<sup>45</sup> On this view, the Reformation must first be construed according to the principles of its own self-understanding; and this surely requires a patient attempt to uncover the underlying presuppositions and distinctive modes of argument of the principal actors, to honour as far as possible their own primary categories and distinctive terms of reference, and to maintain throughout the highest degree of respect for their alien character. As Euan Cameron argues in his recent monograph: '[m]edieval and early modern Europeans read their world theologically, and we must take their theological readings of it seriously.'<sup>46</sup> In a discussion of honest historiography, Walter Benjamin once observed that it is the task of the ethical historian 'to rescue the past.'<sup>47</sup> Such redemption requires that these sources be

41. Christopher Haigh, 'Success and Failure in the English Reformation,' *Past and Present* 173 (2001): 28–49. Gerald Strauss, 'Success and Failure in the German Reformation,' *Past and Present* 67 (1975): 30–63, both cited by Walsham, 500.

42. Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'The impact of the English Reformation,' *Historical Journal* 38 (1995), 152.

43. Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War* (Book I. 22), transl. by Thomas Hobbes and edited by David Grene (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1959), 13, 14.

44. Walsham, 'Reformation,' 527

45. Walsham, 'Reformation,' 527.

46. Euan Cameron, *Enchanted Europe*, 28.

47. Walter Benjamin, 'Theses on the Philosophy of History,' in *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn, edited by Hannah Arendt (London: Fontana, 1992), 255.

enabled to speak more authentically for themselves.

Just such an approach will assist immensely in our present task. By recognizing in the Reformation a dynamic 'intellectual process' in need of interpretation on its own primary terms, assumptions, and categories (that is to say, through the theological, the moral-ontological, the metaphysical, and the sacral), our point of departure is to acknowledge this alien, pre-scientific *mentalité* and to make every possible effort in seeking to understand both ideas and events by suspending the temptation to make a 'critical' judgement. We must respect the sources and ask what exactly is in dispute *theologically* in the 1560s over this question of sacramental presence. Why is this arcane question concerning corporal divine immanence in the eucharistic elements (or lack thereof, as the case may be) of such high, universally acknowledged significance for the principal actors in these events; and why is this seemingly very particular question so heatedly engaged in the most sustained propaganda campaign hitherto? How are the theological ideas and the public and political events ignited by Jewel's sermon *both* 'elements of agency,' as Walsham suggests, *and* also 'dynamically interactive'? Do the theological ideas underpinning the hermeneutics of sacramental presence shed light on the phenomenon of Jewel's Challenge sermon and the subsequent conduct of the Great Controversy as 'public' events? And do these ideas illuminate in particular the markedly increased significance of the institution of the public outdoor sermon, especially at the venue of Paul's Cross?

If we are to make sense of the rapid proliferation of open and popular public debate in the later sixteenth century (a phenomenon Pettegree has aptly described as the rise of a 'culture of persuasion') we must attend closely to the theological substance of the 'speeches' and their relevance to the remarkable 'events' surrounding them.<sup>48</sup> Nowhere arguably is this dynamic public interplay of speech and event more relevant in the decade following the accession of Elizabeth than at Paul's Cross. To this end, then, we propose to address three matters: first, there will be a discussion of the main theological concern of Jewel's Challenge Sermon. This will be followed by a consideration of the significance of this theology to the interpretation of his public preaching at Paul's Cross, and to the conduct of the subsequent controversy

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48. Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, 8. He has cautioned that any account of how Protestantism could become a mass movement in an age before mass literacy must be careful to 'relocate the role of the book, as part of a broader range of modes of persuasion,' and especially with respect to public preaching: 'Scripturally-based preaching is restored to its central place as the 'bedrock' around which the churches harnessed other communication media.' See p. 39.

more generally, particularly in the light of the central provocative ‘sacramental idea’ which sparked the event. And finally, we will inquire whether such an approach to the interpretation of Elizabethan sacramental hermeneutics and of the noteworthy public events surrounding their diffusion contributes to advancing the discussion of broader methodological and historiographical concerns. What does our probing of the pre-modern assumptions of this sacramental controversy reveal concerning the stand-off between the Weberian disenchantment thesis and the revisionist reaction against it? Is there a possibility of advancing a ‘post-revisionist’ historiographical turn?

### John Jewel’s ‘Challenge Sermon’

On 26 November 1559, John Jewel preached his notorious ‘Challenge’ at Paul’s Cross, certainly the most famous sermon delivered in the early years after the accession of Elizabeth, and arguably one of the most influential of all sermons preached at Paul’s Cross throughout the course of the English Reformation(s). One contemporary observer, Henry Machyn, recorded that the sermon was attended by ‘as grett audyense as [has] bene at Powelles crosse’ and that numerous courtiers were present.<sup>49</sup> Taking as his text 1 Corinthians 11, Jewel employed this decidedly public occasion to take up a theological topic from among those most hotly disputed throughout the sixteenth century, namely the web of doctrine concerning the hermeneutics of the Eucharist, with the focus of his argument chiefly upon the question of sacramental presence.<sup>50</sup> In the course of his sermon Jewel openly addressed defenders of the old religion, and offered to engage any and all combatants in a public trial of the question whether traditional teaching concerning the Mass could be proved ‘out of any old doctor or father, or out of any general council, or out of the holy Scripture, or any one example out of the primitive church for the

49. Machyn, *Diary*, 218. See Gary Jenkins, *John Jewel and the English National Church: the Dilemmas of an Erastian Reformer* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 70–85.

50. John Jewel, *The copie of a sermon pronounced by the byshop of Salisburie at Paules crosse* [...] (London: John Day, 1560) [STC 14599a]. The sermon is published under a divisional title together with Jewel’s reply to Dr Henry Cole, *The true copies of the letters betwene the reuerend father in God Iohn Bisshop of Sarum and D. Cole vpon occasion of a sermon that the said Bishop preached* [...] (London: John Day, 1560), fols 120–177. All references to the ‘Challenge Sermon’ are taken from the edition. This first published version of the sermon refers to the second occasion when Jewel preached the challenge at Court. The epigraph to the sermon refers to 1 Corinthians 11:23 ‘I haue receyued of the lord, that thing whiche I also haue deliuered vnto you: that is, that the Lord Iesus in the nyghte that he was betrayed, tooke breade &c.’

space of six hundred years after Christ.<sup>51</sup> Jewel's challenge triggered a public sensation; the response elicited in both pulpit and press was virtually unprecedented. Breaking the accustomed pattern, Jewel was invited to deliver the sermon a second time before the Queen in the Chapel Royal on 17 March 1560, and he preached an expanded version once again at Paul's Cross two weeks later.<sup>52</sup> Henry Cole, Dean of St Paul's and leading traditionalist, immediately took up Jewel's challenge, and the letters exchanged between the two churchmen were published together with the sermon itself soon afterwards.<sup>53</sup> This was only the beginning. The disputation sparked by Jewel's sermon (an event customarily referred to as the 'Great Controversy' of the 1560s) would consume the theological energies of a legion of scholars and preachers in the course of the ensuing decade. An expanded, polished, and widely circulated adaptation of the sermon, published in both Latin and English under the title *An Apologie of the Church of England*, constituted the government's officially sanctioned response to Pope Pius IV's invitation to England to send an ambassador to attend the Council of Trent.<sup>54</sup>

The published contributions of Jewel himself and his supporters, combined with the counter-offensive led by Thomas Harding and the English recusant exiles at the University of Louvain and Douai, amounted to more than fifty published sermons, treatises, and pamphlets within just eight years of Jewel's initial appearance at Paul's Cross. For England such a sustained spate of printed works devoted to a single scholarly disputation was wholly without precedent.<sup>55</sup> While the controversy swiftly expanded to include a broad selec-

51. Jewel, *The copie of a sermon*, fols 139–140. All references to the 'Challenge Sermon' are taken from this edition.
52. Mary Morrissey notes that by 'cross-referencing the *Register* of Paul's Cross sermons with Peter McCullough's calendar of court sermons reveals no other coincidences like this except for John Jewel's repetition of the 'Challenge' sermon at court in March 1560. This may be due to the fact the bishops were less likely to print their sermons and so we have less information about how often they appeared at Paul's Cross.' See her forthcoming monograph, *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons, 1558–1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), chap. 1, n. 135.
53. See *True copies of the letters* (1560).
54. John Jewel, *An apologie, or aunswer in defence of the Church of England concerninge the state of religion vsed in the same* [...] (London: [Reginald Wolf], 1562). For an account of the gestation of the Apology, see John Booty's Introduction to his edition of John Jewel, *An Apology of the Church of England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press for the Folger Shakespeare Library, 1963; repr. 2002).
55. For a detailed account of the Great Controversy, see John E. Booty, *John Jewel as apologist of the Church of England* (London: Published for the Church Historical Society [by] SPCK, 1963), 58–82. For a full bibliography of the literature see Peter Milward,

tion of theological concerns (Jewel himself enumerated twenty-seven specific topics in his *Apology*) there was, nonetheless, broad agreement on all sides that the essential core of the controversy was the original question concerning the nature of sacramental presence broached in Jewel's initial sermon at Paul's Cross. For early Elizabethan traditionalists and evangelicals alike, the hermeneutics of the sacrament became a touchstone in attempts to formulate religious self-understanding. There were broad implications not only for the definition of the institutions of ecclesiastical and political society, but especially for the deepest assumptions of what Charles Taylor refers to as the 'moral ontology' of a distinctively early-modern civil identity, an identity associated with an emerging public sphere.<sup>56</sup>

In the context of recently intensified debate about the role of the Reformation in the process of 'the disenchantment of the world' with the consequent emergence of a secularized, de-sacralized modernity, Jewel's sermon, together with the remarkable reaction it provoked, invites renewed attention. The sacramental discussion of the Challenge Sermon contains the intriguing possibility of sharply focussing this pivotal question of current Reformation historiography and therefore of shedding light on the questions of both religious identity and the intellectual origins of modernity. When considering the historical significance of deep assumptions about 'enchantment,' claims regarding the possible immanence in the world of the sacred and the supernatural, the *locus par excellence* for such a discussion from a sixteenth-century perspective is undoubtedly sacramental theology, and more specifically the conception of sacramental 'presence.' Jewel's sermon and the controversy it provoked present a valuable test case to address some of the critical questions which face the historian who seeks to come to grips with current issues concerning disenchantment versus re-enchantment, of modernizing versus sacralizing.

In the context of these broader historiographical concerns, our inquiry into the Challenge Sermon and the ensuing theological polemics of the 1560s will seek to address certain key questions: why did the hermeneutics of sacramental presence become the primary focus of debate for defenders and critics of the Elizabethan religious settlement alike? How are we to interpret the remarkably open, public, indeed popular conduct of this disputation over such an ostensibly arcane subject? What significance does the venue of

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*Religious controversies of the Elizabethan age: a survey of printed sources* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977), 1–24.

56. Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 25–89. Id., *Sources of the Self*, 5–8, 9, 10, 41, *et passim*.

Paul's Cross hold as the ignition point of this public theological disputation? Finally, upon closer examination does the rarefied theological content of this controversy of the 1560s enable a better understanding of how the Elizabethan Reformation contributed towards definition of the emerging institutions of modernity, specifically with reference to a nascent public sphere? Our methodological hypothesis is that we should engage very seriously the alien *mentalité* of participants in this controversy. For them, theological principles and deep ontological assumptions implicit in sacramental hermeneutics play a primary role in shaping religious and political institutions and practices. To adopt the more detached perspective of an enlightened critical skepticism might incline us to discount the political import of theological argument, and thus run the risk of erecting a barrier to a satisfactory interpretation of both the event of the 'Great Controversy' and the religious self-understanding of Jewel and his contemporary interlocutors.

### Signs and things signified

The conflicting claims of both traditional and evangelical sacramental theology are most evident in their respective assertions concerning the manner of the divine 'presence' and the mode of its participation on the part of the worshipper. On the traditionalist side, in accordance with the doctrine of transubstantiation, the Mass placed profound emphasis on the ontological immanence of the holy in the consecrated elements of the sacrament. So intimate was the bond between sacramental sign and the divine-human reality signified by it that traditional orthodox teaching upheld an objectified 'real presence' in the physical elements of the sacrament. In 1546 Stephen Gardiner summarized this doctrine in his tract, *A detection of the devils Sophistrie*:

For what can be more evydently spoken of the presence of Christes naturall bodye and bloud, in the moost blessed sacrament of the autler, then is in those wordes of scripture whiche oure Sauioure Christ ones said, and be infalible truth, and styl saith, in consecrations of this most holy Sacrament, by the common minstre of the church. *This is my body.*<sup>57</sup>

In the decrees of the thirteenth session of October 1551, the Council of Trent formally declared 'that wonderful and singular conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the Body, and of the whole substance of the wine into

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57. Stephen Gardiner, *A detection of the Devils sophistrie wherwith he robbeth the unlearned people, of the true byleaf, in the most blessed sacrament of the autler* ([London]: Prynted at London in Aldersgate strete, by Jhon[n?] Herforde, at the costes & charges of Roberthe Toye, dwellynge in Paules Churche yarde, at the sygne of the Bell, 1546), iv<sup>v</sup>.

the Blood, the species [that is, the external appearance] only of the bread and wine remaining, which conversion indeed the Catholic Church most aptly calls Transubstantiation.<sup>58</sup> In the formulation of Thomas Harding, Jewel's principal interlocutor as the controversy unfolded, 'when we speak of this blessed sacrament, we mean specially the thing received to be the very body of Christ, not only a sign or token of his body.'<sup>59</sup> An ontological conversion of the physical elements of bread and wine into the substance of the body and blood of Christ is the exemplar of the notion of 'enchantment': through transubstantiation the sign *becomes* the *res significata*.

According to Jewel's main argument in the Challenge Sermon, such a fusion of *signum* and *res significata* could not be found in Scripture, nor in the teaching of Church Fathers; by his account the word 'transubstantiation' itself was but 'newly deuised & neuer once herd, or spoken of, before the counsell of Laterane, holden at Rome, in the yere of our Lorde. M. ccxv (1215).'<sup>60</sup> Jewel's charge of the novelty of transubstantiation situates the hermeneutics of the sacrament at the forefront of his polemical challenge, namely that:

if any learned man of our aduersaries be able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any old doctor or father, or out of any general council, or out of the holy Scripture, or any one example out of the primitive church for the space of six hundred years after Christ.<sup>61</sup>

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58. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Norman P. Tanner (London: Sheed & Ward; Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1990), vol. 2, Session 13, Canon 2. Latin in Henricus Denzinger, ed., *Enchiridion symbolorum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum. Kompendium der Glaubensbekenntnisse und kirchlichen Lehrentscheidungen*, ed. by Peter Hünermann, fortieth edn (Freiburg: Herder 2005), no. 1652.
59. Thomas Harding, *A confutation of a booke intituled An apologie of the Church of England*, by Thomas Harding Doctor of Diuinitie (Antwerp: Ihon Laet, 1565); *The Works of John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury [...]*, edited for the Parker Society by the Rev. John Ayre, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1850), vol. 1, 465–466. (Hereinafter cited as *Jewel Works*).
60. Jewel, *The true copies of the letters*, 139–140. According to the article on 'Eucharist' in the *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd edn., edited by E.A. Livingstone (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), the earliest known use of the term 'transubstantiation' to describe the change from bread and wine to body and blood of Christ was by Hildebert de Lavardin, Archbishop of Tours (d.1133), and by the end of the twelfth century the term was in widespread use.
61. Jewel, *The true copies of the letters*, 164. See *A defence of the Apologie of the Church of Englande containinge an answere to a certaine booke lately set foorth by M. Hardinge, and entituled, A confutation of &c [...]* (London: In Fleetestreate, at the signe of the Elephante, by Henry VVykes, 1567). The *Defence* went through two further editions in Jewel's lifetime, 1570 and 1571, both published by Wykes. See also *Jewel Works* 1,

In proof of this article of transubstantiation or of any others on his expanding list of contested teachings, Jewel promised ‘to geue ouer and subscribe vnto hym.’

Whereas the doctrine of transubstantiation tended to elide the distinction between signifier and signified in the assertion of an objectified ‘real presence’ through ontological conversion, the sacramental doctrine implicit in Thomas Cranmer’s revised liturgy of the second Book of Common Prayer (1552) adhered to the Augustinian hermeneutic advocated by Vermigli, Cranmer, and Ridley, in upholding a sharp distinction between the two. According to Jewel’s account of sacramental presence in his *Defence of the Apologie*:

three things herein we must consider: first, that we put a difference between the sign and the thing itself that is signified. Secondly, that we seek Christ above in heaven, and imagine not Him to be present bodily upon the earth. Thirdly, that the body of Christ is to be eaten by faith only, and none other wise.<sup>62</sup>

In this précis of the evangelical position, Jewel’s insistence upon ‘a difference between the sign and the thing itself signified’ signals his adoption of the Augustinian approach with its emphasis upon a *figurative* interpretation of sacramental ‘presence,’ a Reformed theological orientation promoted vigorously by Thomas Cranmer<sup>63</sup> and Nicholas Ridley in the previous decade.<sup>64</sup> Indeed Jewel’s precise formulation of the sacramental hermeneutic is almost word for word that of his mentor Peter Martyr Vermigli in the latter’s *Tractatio* on the Eucharist of 1549, a systematic presentation of the Florentine reformer’s position argued in the Oxford Disputation of 1549.<sup>65</sup>

In a tract attacking Cranmer in 1551, Stephen Gardiner had linked the sacramental theology of the English evangelicals to the early medieval teach-

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104. In the latter reference, the challenge is issued in the context of the article against ‘Private Mass.’ The latter edition is cited below.

62. John Jewel, ‘Of Real Presence,’ in *A defense* (1570 edn). Cf. *Jewel Works* 1, 448.
63. Cranmer, *Tractatio de sacramento Eucharistiae* (London: R. Wolfe, 1549). Also in English: *A defence of the true and catholike doctrine of the sacrament of the body and blood of our sauour Christ [...] stablished upon Goddes holy woorde, & approued by ye consent of the moste auncient doctors of the Churche* (London: In Poules churcheyarde, at the signe of the Brasen serpent, by Reynold Wolfe, 1550).
64. Nicholas Ridley, *A brief declaracion of the Lordes Supper [...]* ([Emden: E. van der Erve], 1555), sig. E2<sup>r</sup>—E4<sup>v</sup>.
65. *A discourse or traicteise of Petur Martyr Vermilla [...] concernynge the sacrament of the Lordes supper in the sayde Vniuersitee* (London: Robert Stoughton [E. Whitchurch], 1550), fol. 69<sup>v</sup>.

ings of Berengarius and Ratramnus of Corbie, thus volleying back the charge of theological novelty:

Sens Christes tyme, there is no memorye, more then of sixe, that hath affirmed that doctrine, which this auctour would have called nowe the Catholique doctrine, and yet not written by them of one sorte, neyther receyved in belyefe in publique profession. But secretly, when it happened, begun by conspiracy, and in the ende ever hitherto extincte and quenched. First was Bertrame, Then Berengarius, then Wycliefe, and in our tyme Oecolampadius, Swinglius and Joachimus Vadianus.<sup>66</sup>

A decade later, following Gardiner's lead, Thomas Harding accused Jewel, along with Vermigli, Cranmer, Ridley, and others, of resurrecting the Berengarian 'sacramentary heresy.'<sup>67</sup> Harding was not far off the mark in making this link. In the midst of parliamentary debate on Cranmer's new vernacular liturgy in 1552, two editions of an English translation of a sacramental treatise by the 9th-century Augustinian Ratramnus were published in 1548 and 1549.<sup>68</sup> In his disputation on the sacrament with Richard Smyth, Nicholas Ridley had commended Ratramnus, and John Foxe attributes Ridley's conversion to 'reading of Bertram's book on the Sacrament.'<sup>69</sup> Augustine's insistence upon the necessity of drawing a sharp distinction between *signum* and *res significata* (between the outward, visible sacramental sign and the mystical, invisible reality signified) had a long pedigree of influence. Jewel's invocation of this teaching constitutes the hallmark of his approach to the matter of sacramental presence.

Among English evangelicals of the 1560s there was nothing particularly original in Jewel's interpretation of sacramental presence. The identical argument had been mounted to considerable effect a decade earlier by Jewel's mentor and colleague, Peter Martyr Vermigli, in his *Treatise concernynge the Lordes*

66. Stephen Gardiner, *An explicatio[n] and assertion of the true Catholique fayth, touchyng the moost blessed Sacrament of the aulter* ([Rouen: printed by Robert Caly], 1551), 74r.

67. Thomas Harding, *An answere to Maister Iuelles chalenge* [...] (Antwerpe: At the golden Angel by William Sylvius the Kinges Maiesties printer, 1565), 128. See Jewel's transcription of Harding's reference to Berengarius in *Defence of the Apology*, in *Jewel Works* 1, 457.

68. Ratramnus, *The boke of Barthram priest intreatinge of the bodye and bloude of Christ* [...] (London: Thomas Raynalde and Anthony Kyngstone, 1548; 1549).

69. Foxe's account of the Oxford Disputation of 1555 is reprinted in Nicholas Ridley, *Works*, Parker Society edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1843), vol. 9, 206.

*Supper* of 1549,<sup>70</sup> a work Calvin described as the epitome of the Reformed teaching on the sacraments.<sup>71</sup> When one considers that among the first polemical responses to the Challenge Sermon was Richard Smyth's *Confutatio*,<sup>72</sup> this was clearly a case of a re-match. A decade earlier in 1549, Vermigli had inaugurated his tenure as Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford with a set of lectures on the very text Jewel chose for the Challenge Sermon. Smyth, a staunch traditionalist, had very recently been displaced from the Regius chair by Vermigli's appointment. In the context of Vermigli's inaugural lectures on Corinthians, Smyth challenged the Florentine scholar to a public disputation on the Eucharist only to flee from Oxford and reappear across the Channel at Louvain where he incorporated Master of Arts in April 1549. Shortly thereafter Smyth published an attack on Cranmer's sacramental theology.<sup>73</sup> Smyth's challenge was taken up by three other traditionalist Oxford divines: William Chedsey, President of Corpus Christi College, William Tresham, Canon of

70. Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Tractatio de sacramento Eucharistiae* [...] *Ad hec. Disputatio de eode[m] Eucharistiae Sacramento* [...] (London: [R. Wolfe] ad æneum serpentem, [1549]). The English translation appeared a year later in 1550: *A discourse or traictise of Petur Martyr Vermilla Flore[n]tine* [...] *concernynge the sacrament of the Lordes supper* [...] (London: Robert Stoughton [E. Whitchurch] dwellinge within Ludgate at the signe of the Bysshoppes Miter for Nycolas Udall, [1550]). See also the recent critical edition in the *Peter Martyr Library: The Oxford Treatise and Disputation on the Eucharist, 1549*, translated & edited with Introduction and Notes by Joseph C. McLelland, *Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies*, 56 (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2000).

71. See John Calvin, *Dilucida Explicatio sanae doctrinae de vera participatione carnis*, in *Corpus Reformatorum: Calvini opera* 9, 457–524, esp. 490: 'Porro quum toti mundo plus quam notum esse putarem, consensu veteris ecclesiae doctrinam nostram clare probari, causam hanc retexit Heshusius, et quosdam vetustos scriptores, ut configant nobiscum, quasi erroris sui suffragatores advocat. Equidem hactenus hoc argumentum ex professo tractandum non suscepi: quia nolebam actum agere. Primus hoc Oecolampadius accurate ac dextre praestitit: ut evidenter monstraret commentum localis praesentiae veteri ecclesiae fuisse incognitum. Successit Bullingerus, qui eadem felicitate peregit has partes. Cumulum addidit Petrus Martyr, ut nihil prorsus desiderari queat.' Cited in 'John Calvin and Peter Martyr Vermigli: a reassessment of their relationship,' a paper presented by Emidio Campi at a conference on 'Calvin und Calvinismus—Europäische Perspektiven,' Institut für Europäische Geschichte, Mainz (June, 2009).

72. Richard Smyth, *Confutatio eorum, quae Philippus Melanchthon objicit contra missae sacrificium propitiatorium. Cui accessit & repulsio calumniarum Ioannis Caluini & Musculi, & Ioannis Iuelli contra missam* (Louvain, 1562).

73. Richard Smith, *A confutation of a certen booke, called a defence of the true, and Catholike doctrine of the sacrame[n]t, &c. sette fourth of late in the name of Thomas Archebysshoppe of Canterburie* [...] ([Paris: R. Chaudière, 1550?]).

Christ Church and one of the drafters of *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Chrysten Man*, popularly known as the *King's Book* (1543), and Morgan Phillips, Principal of St Mary Hall.<sup>74</sup> Consequently, Jewel's 'Challenge' at Paul's Cross, delivered just a few months after his return from Zurich where he had accompanied Vermigli in exile, very likely struck at least the learned members of his auditory as a deliberate rekindling of the notorious Oxford disputations on the Eucharist of the previous decade.

Jewel's assertion of the hermeneutical distinction between *signum* and *res significata* was thus characteristic of a distinctive and already well-established evangelical hermeneutic grounded in the authority of Augustine.<sup>75</sup> In interpreting sacramental presence (the dominant theme in Jewel's exchanges with his principal adversary, Thomas Harding, and indeed throughout the controversy of the 1560s) Jewel invokes Augustine's appeal to the formula of *sursum corda* as the liturgical archetype for the distinction between signs and things signified.<sup>76</sup> Retained by Cranmer in the vernacular liturgies of both 1549 and 1552, the ancient response: 'Lift up your hearts / We lift them up unto the Lord,' preceded the words of institution in the Order for the Lord's Supper, as indeed they had in the canon of the Mass.<sup>77</sup> Adhering to an Augustinian hermeneutic of signs, Jewel attaches the highest theological significance to the formula as representing liturgically the preparation of the mind for the act of receiving communion; while the 'figure' of the thing (the *signum*) is not to be confused with that which it represents, the 'thing itself' (*res ipsa*), nonetheless through a dynamic motion within the conscience of the faithful receiver the connection between sign and signified may be effected. Jewel ties the sacramental hermeneutic to the logic of Augustine's account of justification: "How shall I hold him," saith Augustine, "which is absent? How shall I reach my hand up to heaven, to lay hold upon him that sitteth there?" He answereth, "Reach thither thy faith, and then thou hast laid hold on him. Faith had in the sacraments," saith Augustine, "doth justify, and not the sacraments."<sup>78</sup>

74. Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Tractatio de sacramento Eucharistiae*. After reading Vermigli's account Tresham recorded his own version of the event: 'Disputatio de eucharistiae sacramento contra Petrum Martyrem,' British Library, Harleian MS 422.

75. See Augustine, *On Christian Teaching*, translated with an Introduction and Notes by Roger P.H. Green (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 8–44.

76. Augustine, *De dono perseverantiae*, 2.13, text in J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Latina* 45, 993–1034 (there, col. 1013).

77. Gordon P. Jeanes, *Signs of God's promise: Thomas Cranmer's sacramental theology and the Book of Common Prayer* (London; New York: T&T Clark, 2008).

78. *Jewel Works* 3, 533–536.

Jewel also cites Augustine in his further assertion that Christ offered the ‘figure’ (as distinct from the physical ‘substance’) of his body and blood at the Last Supper, and that Christ is not eaten with the ‘bodily mouth,’ yet the ‘thing itself’ (that is, the ‘substance’) whereof the bread is a sacrament (viz. the body of Christ) ‘is received of every man unto life whosoever be partaker of it.’<sup>79</sup> Jewel summarises the Augustinian soteriological foundation of his account of sacramental presence in this manner: ‘That we be thus in Christ, and Christ in us, requireth not any corporal or local being, as in things natural. We are in Christ sitting in heaven, and Christ sitting in heaven is here in us, not by a natural, but by a spiritual mean of being.’<sup>80</sup>

Jewel frames his theology of sacramental participation as an apology of the liturgy of the revised Book of Common Prayer of 1559. Based upon his interpretation of the *sursum corda*, Jewel rejects ontological conversion of the physical elements of bread and wine, but affirms nonetheless a figural mystical presence: ‘with the eyes of our understanding we look beyond these creatures; we reach our spiritual senses into heaven, and behold the ransom and price of our salvation. We do behold in the sacrament, not what it is, but what it doth signify.’<sup>81</sup> Thomas Harding accused Jewel of advocating Zwinglian memorialism with its strong emphasis on the ascension and therefore upon Christ’s ‘real absence’ in the relation to the sacrament.<sup>82</sup> With its sharp separation of *signum* and *res significata* Zwingli’s sacramental hermeneutic is in many respects the mirror antithesis of transubstantiation. While the liturgy of 1552 very decisively shifts the focus away from the elements of the sacrament by replacing the words of distribution ‘The body of our Lorde Jesus Christe whiche was geuen for thee,’ with the formula ‘Take and eate this in remembraunce that Christ dyed for thee, and feede on him in thy hearte by faythe, with thankesgeuing,’<sup>83</sup> Cranmer studiously avoids Zwingli’s stark iconoclastic hermeneutic of the separation of sign and thing. Demonstrating signs rather of Vermigli’s theological influence, the second Edwardine Prayerbook represents presence according to a more subtle version of the Augustinian figural hermeneutic, that is to say a conceptual synthesis of word and elements performed dynamically in the inner, subjective forum

79. *Jewel Works* 3, 64; see also vol. 1, 453, 759; and vol. 2, 1122.

80. *Jewel Works* 1, 477.

81. *Jewel Works*, 2.1117.

82. Harding, *Confutation*, fol. 40<sup>r</sup>.

83. *The First and Second Prayer Books of King Edward VI* (London: Dent; New York: Dutton, 1910), 225, 389.

of the conscience of the worshipper, and thus presence came to be viewed as inseparable from actual reception of the elements.<sup>84</sup>

It is instructive in this connection to note that in the Book of Common Prayer of 1552, as well as in the subsequent revision of 1559, there is a dramatic shift in the liturgical order of the administration of the communion. In the revised order, the worshippers' reception of the sacramental elements occurs at precisely that moment in the liturgy where, according to the traditional Sarum rite, the host was elevated by the priest, signifying thereby the moment of transubstantiation and where, in the earlier 1549 liturgy, the priest was still directed by implicitly 'theurgical' rubrics to take the bread and cup 'into his handes.' In both the Sarum and 1549 rites the blessing of the elements is followed by a lengthy sequence of prayers which intervene between consecration and reception. According to the rubrics in the rites of 1552 and 1559, however, the administration of the communion follows immediately upon the dominical words of institution: 'do this in remembrance of me.' This revised order for reception of the sacrament serves to underline vividly through the dynamic action of the liturgy the difference between the alternative accounts of sacramental 'presence,' namely between the traditional interpretation of an ontological 'real presence' and an Augustinian interpretation of a figural significance; Jewel's subtle dynamic account of presence is thus neither Zwinglian memorialism nor ontological realism. His is a stance now commonly identified as 'instrumental realism.'<sup>85</sup>

Jewel's argument for the distinction between a literal and a figurative interpretation of sacramental 'presence' shifts the locus of 'presence' decisively away from the physical elements of the sacrament and transfers it to the inner, subjective experience of the worshipper.<sup>86</sup> Consequently, sacramental 'presence' is re-interpreted here as a 'figural' or dynamic conceptual synthesis of word and elements situated in the subjective forum of the consciences of the

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84. See, for example, the account of John Bullingham's Bartholomew Day sermon at Paul's Cross, Bodleian Library. Tanner MS 50, 73r: 'An excellent noot surel for vs to learne by, that befor we take in hande to receaue the sacrament, we must go downe into our consciences, and into the bottom of our hartes, to see whether we be dissemlers or no, and whether we be dispatched from dissimulation if we fynde any sparke therof, we are not worthy to come vnto that banket of Jesus Christ.'

85. See Brian Gerrish, *Grace and gratitude: The Eucharistic theology of John Calvin* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993).

86. The 'realist' words of 1549: 'this is my body,' are replaced in 1552 with: 'eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart, by faith, with thanksgiving.' The primary locus of presence is relocated away from the external elements and made inseparable from the worshipping subject.

worshippers; and thus 'real presence' comes to be viewed as inseparable from an internalised, spiritual 'reception' of the consecrated host.<sup>87</sup> The Challenge Sermon is crucially significant for re-instating the sacramental theology of the Edwardine divines (Cranmer, Vermigli, and Ridley) and thus in consolidating the development of a distinctively reformed sacramental hermeneutics in the Elizabethan Church.

Jewel's Challenge Sermon is also pivotal in the defining a horizon of meaning for Elizabethan Protestant religious identity, and ultimately in reforming the deepest assumptions of moral ontology. In Jewel's Augustinian hermeneutics as in Cranmer's reformed liturgy, there is a crucial redefinition of the 'terms of enchantment'; the gap between sacramental sign and the reality signified is no longer understood as mediated primarily by means of an external, theurgical action in the ritual of the Mass with a real, physical presence as formulated according to the doctrine of transubstantiation; rather, presence depends foremost upon an inward, subjective and (most importantly) interpretative act of remembrance; in other words, through an acknowledgement of 'presence' in and through the conscience that serves to connect words with elements in the dynamic action that is the liturgy. This reformulation of the conception of presence entails, moreover, a reconfiguration of the relation between the individual and community. As Timothy Rosendale argues in his recent monograph *Liturgy and Literature*, 'the internalization of this figural sacrament is necessarily an interpretative act; though it takes place in a communal (that is, liturgical) context, it ultimately requires a highly individual mode of understanding the elements as metaphors whose effectuality is dependent on faithful personal reading.'<sup>88</sup> Rosendale goes on to argue that the combining the words of administration of 1549 ('The body of our Lorde Jesus Christe whiche was given for thee, preserve thy bodye and soule unto everlasting lyfe') and 1552 ('Take and eate this, in remembraunce that Christ dyed for thee, and feede on him in thy hearte by faythe, with thankesgeving') in the Elizabethan redaction of 1559 emphasizes even more strongly the new emphasis on the essential role of the individual subject in interpreting the

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87. It is perhaps interesting in this connection to note that in the Book of Common Prayer of 1552, as well as in the subsequent revisions of 1559 and 1662, the administration of the communion occurs at precisely the stage in the liturgy at which the elevation of the host had previously occurred (the moment of transubstantiation) thus serving to underline vividly the difference between the two divergent liturgical accounts of presence.

88. Timothy Rosendale, *Liturgy and Literature in the Making of Protestant England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 96.

meaning of the sacrament. By defusing the clarity of 1552, the Elizabethan compromise on the words of administration serves to extend even further the latitude of the worshipper's hermeneutical responsibility. Interpretation is all! For Rosendale

The *Book of Common Prayer* in both form and content holds in tension two radically different discourses, out of which it endeavours to construct a productive textual synthesis. It discursively constructs the Christian nation characterized centrally by order even as it elevates individual discretion over that order. Its theology simultaneously legitimates and undermines its political discourse of autonomous hierarchical authority... The BCP officially instituted the individual as a primary component of religion, without abrogating the normative claims of the hierarchical socio-politico-ecclesiastical order that had traditionally been the sole determinant of religious affairs.<sup>89</sup>

By means of his Augustinian approach to interpreting the sacrament through a sharpening the distinction between the external visible sign and the inward mystical thing signified, while at the same avoiding a separation of their intrinsic connection in accordance with the concept of figural meaning, Jewel facilitated a thorough deconstruction of the deep assumptions of 'sacramental culture' during the late-Tudor period;<sup>90</sup> yet through his affirmation of a figural 'real presence' as distinct from both transubstantiation and Zwinglian 'real absence,' this deconstruction of medieval sacramental ontology serves not so much to promote 'disenchantment of the world' as to propose a radical reformulation of the 'terms of enchantment'; and here we may detect a glimmer of a post-revisionist path. With the exception of a handful of religious extremists such as Anabaptists, the Family of Love, and various Puritan separatists, once the break with Rome had been accomplished, leading magisterial reformers like Jewel, John Whitgift, and Richard Hooker were intent upon reconstruction of a visible, institutional, hierarchical, and liturgical church order; that is to say, an elaborate and formalised institutional system of religious signs. The reconstitution of the external forms of worship and polity that we know as the Elizabethan Settlement, however, was found-

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89. Rosendale, *Liturgy and Literature*, 111.

90. Euan Cameron identifies the primary assumption of 'sacramental culture' with his observation that '[i]n the medieval West it had become axiomatic to say that the saving work of God was in normal conditions channelled through the rites of the Church. That assumption, inherent in the essence of "Catholic" Christianity, became explicit in the work of the Fourth Lateran council in 1215. The spirit-led Church ministered the sacraments that reliably conferred grace on those who sought them worthily.' Cf. *Enchanted Europe*, 156.

ed upon a distinctly altered ‘moral ontology,’ a re-defined horizon of meaning grounded, as Jewel argues in his Challenge Sermon at Paul’s Cross, in a radical reconfiguration of the hermeneutics of ‘*signum*’ and ‘*res significata*.’<sup>91</sup>

This early Elizabethan reconstruction of theological semiotics entailed an analogous a clarification of the distinction between the visible and invisible church, between the historical and the imagined community of the saints, between individual and community, as corollaries of the distinction between sign and thing signified, as well as a new ‘apologetic’ method to bring about this transformation.<sup>92</sup> This distinction is evident in the two especially prominent genres of later Elizabethan sermons at Paul’s Cross identified by Mary Morrissey, namely the ‘Jeremiads’ and the ‘exhortations to charity,’ the former with their emphasis on the gulf separating the fallen and derelict Church in history from the splendour of the heavenly city, and the latter encouraging the faithful to labour towards a fulfilment of the heavenly promises through a gradual process of habitual sanctification.<sup>93</sup> While the Church as earthly ‘sign’ of the heavenly city must be clearly distinguished from the mystical reality of that ‘signified’ community in the Jeremiad, the union of sign with thing signified is interpreted nonetheless as an object of striving in the exhortation to charity; both clarity of distinction between *signum* and *significatum* and the real possibility of their mediation are proposed by means of an Augustinian hermeneutic of ‘figural presence,’ with attainment of the reality of presence posited via inner ‘persuasion’ of the conscience.

In taking up this sacramental trope Jewel’s protégé, Richard Hooker, also takes considerable pains throughout his own elaborate *apologia* to affirm the existence of a dynamic bond between sign and thing signified, but such a bond as cannot subsist simply in an external, theurgically created reality, *ex*

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91. For a fuller account of the apologetic re-establishment of a semiotic linkage between *signum* and *significatum*, see Torrance Kirby, ‘*Of musique with psalms: the hermeneutics of Richard Hooker’s defence of the ‘sensible excellencie’ of public worship,*’ in *Lutheran and Anglican: Essays in Honour of Egil Grislis*, edited by John Stafford (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2009), 127–151.
92. Richard Helgerson, *Forms of nationhood: the Elizabethan writing of England* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 249–294. See Torrance Kirby, ‘Apocalyptic and Apologetics: Richard Helgerson on Elizabethan England’s religious identity and the formation of the public sphere,’ in *Forms of Association in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Paul Yachnin (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010). [forthcoming].
93. See Mary Morrissey, ‘Ideal Communities and Early Modern London in the Paul’s Cross Sermons,’ paper presented at the meeting of the Renaissance Society of America in Venice, April 2010. Not yet published.

*opere operato*. There is, he says, a sacramental change of substance, but the transubstantiation is not to be found outwardly in the physical elements of the sacrament, but rather within the conscience of the faithful participant in the sacramental action. Signs and the things signified are ‘distinct’; nonetheless, the mystical substance of the sign is not to be ‘separated’ from the sign. This same dialectical tension of semiotic distinction and unity is expressed by Jewel in his *Apology*:

Moreover we allow the sacramentes of the Church, that is to say certaine holy signes and ceremonies whiche Christ Woulde wee should use, that by them he might set before our eyes the mysteries of our salvation, and might more strongly confirme our faith which we have in his bloude, and might seale his grace in our heartes.<sup>94</sup>

It is in this sense that Jewel, following Vermigli and Augustine, asserts that the sacraments are ‘visible words’ of God.<sup>95</sup> In another late-Elizabethan formulation of the hermeneutics of ‘instrumental realism’ Hooker affirms Jewel’s evangelical premise of the necessary distinction of sign and signified, and like Jewel he asserts the necessity of their real connection. Hooker appeals to this same dynamic tension with his use of the language of sacramental ‘instrumentality,’ a language which serves to bridge the distance between the ‘disenchantment’ implied by the sharp distinction of sign and signified, and the ‘re-enchantment’ implied by the hermeneutics of figural presence.<sup>96</sup> Although the signs are by no means to be confused with the things signified,

94. *Apologie* (1564), Sig. Cvii<sup>r</sup>.

95. *Apologie* (1564), Sig. Cvii<sup>r</sup>. See Peter Martyr Vermigli, *The Oxford Treatise and Disputation*, 255. Augustine, *On Christian Teaching* (ed. Green), 31.

96. *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie* V, 67.5; 2:334.17–33. ‘The Bread and Cup are his Body and Blood, because they are causes instrumental, upon the receipt whereof, the Participation of his Body and Blood ensueth. For that which produceth any certain effect, is not vainly nor improperly said to be, that very effect whereunto it tendeth. Every cause is in the effect which groweth from it. Our Souls and Bodies quickned to Eternal Life, are effects; the cause whereof, is the Person of Christ: His Body and Blood are the true Well-spring, out of which, this Life floweth. So that his Body and Blood are in that very subject whereunto they minister life: Not onely by effect or operation, even as the influence of the Heavens is in Plants, Beasts, Men, and in every thing which they quicken; but also by a far more Divine and Mystical kinde of Union, which maketh us one with him, even as He and the Father are one. The Real Presence of Christs most Blessed Body and Blood, is not therefore to be sought for in the Sacrament, but in the worthy Receiver of the Sacrament ... As for the Sacraments, they really exhibite; but, for ought we can gather out of that which is written of them, they are not really, nor do really contain in themselves, that Grace, which with them, or by them, it pleaseth God to bestow.’

nonetheless the former continue to be connected to the latter in a manner that enables the sacramental offering and receiving of the promise signified through the means of the sign. Thus according to the language of ‘instrumental realism,’ there is in the sacrament a dynamic inter-play of word, action, and recognition. As Hooker inimitably formulates this in the fifth book of the *Lawes*:

The Real Presence of Christs most Blessed Body and Blood, is not therefore to be sought for in the [external] Sacrament, but in the worthy Receiver of the Sacrament ... As for the Sacraments, they really exhibite; but, for ought we can gather out of that which is written of them, they are not really, nor do really contain in themselves, that Grace, which with them, or by them, it pleaseth God to bestow.<sup>97</sup>

According to Hooker, therefore, a Reformed hermeneutic redefines the meaning of sacramental presence as an ‘action.’ Real presence presupposes the faithful worshipper who is able to interpret the unity of the three things that ‘make the substance of the sacrament,’ namely the divine gift offered, that is the thing signified; the elements which depict the gift, namely the external visible signs; and finally the scriptural words of institution which articulate the link between the two.<sup>98</sup> Presence is an act of interpretation, and therefore inseparable from the conscience. ‘Whereupon,’ Hooker concludes, ‘there ensueth a kinde of Transubstantiation in us, a true change, both of Soul and Body, an alteration from death to life.’<sup>99</sup> This redefinition of presence cautiously avoids the two extremes of either separating or confusing sign and thing signified. Thus viewed, sacraments become necessarily dynamic events where the instrumentality of signs works through the act of interpretation on the part of the receiver. In this respect the sacraments exemplify Walsham’s concept of the dynamic of idea and action; and they represent moreover an ontological path between the two extremes of enchantment and disenchantment. Conversely, where the sacrament had been designated by Jewel (following Vermigli and Augustine) a ‘visible word’ (*verbum visibile*), the public sermon comes to be regarded as an ‘audible sacrament’ (*sacramentum audibile*).<sup>100</sup>

97. *Lawes*, V. 67.5; 2:334.17–33.

98. *Lawes*, V. 58.2; 2:249.161–250.3.

99. *Lawes*, V. 67.11; 2:338.13–340.1

100. Jewel, *Apologie* (1564), Sig. Cvii<sup>r</sup>. See also Peter Martyr Vermigli, *The Oxford Treatise and Disputation*, 255. Augustine, *On Christian Teaching*, 31. J.C. McLelland, *The Visible Words of God: an Expositon of the Sacramental Theology of Peter Martyr Vermigli*

For Hooker, this sharp semiotic demarcation between the inner, private realm of individual conscience and the outer, public demands of institutional order calls forth an arena of *persuasion* (a ‘forum’ of trial by argument, discussion, and interpretation) as the necessary means of mediation between the ostensibly incommensurable demands of these two realms of existence and religious identity. In an invocation of the nascent public sphere in the Preface to the *Laws*, Hooker states that his purpose in composing the treatise is to address the consciences of those disgruntled with the Elizabethan Settlement and who seek ‘further reformation’:

my whole endeavour is to resolve the conscience, and to shewe as neere as I can what in this controversie the hart is to thinke, if it follow the light of sound and sincere judgement, without cloud of prejudice, or mist of passionate affection.<sup>101</sup>

As an apologist for the 1559 Settlement, Hooker (like Jewel) is intent on defending a vast system of visible ecclesiastical signs which referred to an invisible mystical order of heavenly gifts and promises. The moral-ontological endeavour of this apology, again like Jewel’s, was to maintain a distinction between signs and things signified, while at the same time affirming the dynamic possibility of their conjunction through an appeal to the conscience. To this end Hooker employs all of the persuasive devices of his apologetic as instruments to bridge the gap of disenchantment opened up by the apocalyptic narrative, namely that between the sign and the thing signified, by his assertion of continued possibility of mediation so ‘that posteritie may knowe wee haue not loosely through silence permitted thinges to passe away as in a dreame.’<sup>102</sup>

The primary function of Jewel’s evangelical narrative of the Elizabethan establishment, therefore, is to fashion a new religious identity based upon a deconstruction of the key premise of ‘sacramental culture,’ namely the externalized, ontological union of *signum* and *res significata* as epitomized by the traditional teaching concerning the conversion of substance or transubstantiation. At the same time, Jewel’s recasting of sacramental hermeneutics in the Challenge Sermon cannot be portrayed as a simple shift from ‘enchantment’ to ‘disenchantment,’ from the fusion of sign and thing to their radical sepa-

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(Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957). Carter Lindberg, *The European Reformations* (Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1996), 179.

101. *Laws*, Pref. 7.1;1:34.20–23.

102. *Laws*, Pref. 1.1. On the tension between apocalyptic and apologetic narratives, see Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 249–294.

ration. The apologetic discourse of both Jewel and Hooker aims to redefine religious identity within a reconstructed order wherein the external and visible signs of sacramental and institutional community and hierarchical order are linked to internal and invisible mysteries through the consciences of individuals. In this fashion, the English reformers from Cranmer, Vermigli, and Ridley through Jewel and Hooker, contribute to a distinctively early-modern re-thinking of how to negotiate the space between the inner, private realm of individual conscience and the external, public realm of religious and political community with all of its hierarchical institutions, structures, and coercive demands. In the course of this reformation of religious identity based upon a thorough reform of sacramental hermeneutics with its attending 'culture of persuasion' and revised assumptions of moral ontology, a sense of a 'public sphere' begins to emerge as an indispensable means of mediation between individual and community. Perhaps more than any other Tudor institution Paul's Cross itself comes to exemplify this nascent public sphere in early-modern England.

### Conclusion

The primary achievement of Jewel's proposed reconstruction of the semiotics of sacramental 'presence' was to advocate a decisive reform of England's religious identity based upon a radical critique of the central premise of traditional 'sacramental culture,' namely the assertion of ontological union of *signum* and *res significata* as epitomized by the traditional teaching on transubstantiation. It would be misleading to portray Jewel's refashioning of sacramental hermeneutics by a sharpened semiotic distinction between sign and thing as a shift from 'enchantment' to 'disenchantment' as has been asserted by *both* the Whiggish narratives of progress *and* the revisionist critique. Jewel's deliberate apologetic purpose aims to define religious identity within a reconstituted liturgical and institutional order wherein the external and visible signs of sacrament and polity are linked to supernatural and invisible mysteries through the medium of the conscience, modelled upon his treatment of the question of sacramental presence.

In his Challenge Sermon, Jewel contributes to a distinctively early-modern attempt to re-interpret the fundamental assumptions of 'moral ontology.' By questioning the most basic assumptions of medieval sacramental culture concerning the relation of signs to thing signified, Jewel proposes a new mode of thinking about how to negotiate the space between the inner private realm of individual conscience and the external public realm of religious and politi-

cal community with all of its hierarchical institutions, structures, and coercive demands. In the course of the Great Controversy of the 1560s, Jewel's attempt to recast the hermeneutics of sacramental presence contributed to the promotion of a vigorous 'culture of persuasion' which in turn fostered the emergence of an early instance of a 'public sphere' of discourse as the broadly recognized and necessary means of mediation between individuals and community, between subjects and rulers. By igniting the Great Controversy of the 1560s in his Challenge Sermon, Jewel also draws fitting attention to Paul's Cross as one of the most important institutions in the formation of England's religious and political identity in the Elizabethan era.

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