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A collection of the
principal liturgies

A
COLLECTION
OF THE
PRINCIPAL LITURGIES,
USED IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN THE CELEBRATION OF THE
HOLY EUCHARIST:

Particularly the Ancient,

VIZ.

THE CLEMENTINE, AS IT STANDS IN THE BOOK CALLED THE APOSTOLICAL
CONSTITUTIONS;

THE LITURGIES OF ST. JAMES, ST. MARK, ST. CHRYSOSTOM, ST. BASIL, &c.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY SEVERAL HANDS.

WITH

A DISSERTATION UPON THEM,

SHewing THEIR USEFULNESS AND AUTHORITY, AND POINTING OUT THEIR SEVERAL
CORRUPTIONS AND INTERPOLATIONS.

BY

THOMAS BRETT, LL. D.

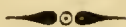
BUT BEFORE ALL THINGS, THIS WE MUST BE SURE OF ESPECIALLY, *that this Supper be in
such wise done and ministered, as our Lord and Saviour did and commanded to be done,
as his holy Apostles used it, and THE GOOD FATHERS IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH FRE-
QUENTED IT.*—Church of England's Homily concerning the Sacrament, part I.

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P R E F A C E .



OF the many controversies, which of late years have exercised and divided the Christian Church, this now under our consideration is not the least significant: For the dispute is concerning the matter of the Christian sacrifice, and the form of administering that sacred ordinance: and last, how diffused our charity ought to be, when we offer the memorial of our dying Saviour, whether confined to the *Militant Church on earth*, or extended to those also *who have fought the good fight*, and are departed from us with the sign of faith. It is urged on the other hand,

1st. That water is an essential part of the Eucharistic Cup.

2dly. That the oblation of the elements to God the Father; and,

3dly. The invocation of the Holy Spirit upon them, are essential parts of consecration; and,

4thly. That the faithful departed ought to be recommended in the eucharistic commemoration.

The advocates of these usages have appealed,

1st. To Scripture interpreted by early Fathers.

2dly. To universal Tradition, for the proof of their assertions.

Their opponents on the other hand, who deny the essentiality of these things, have endeavoured to wrest the Holy Scriptures from them, and draw those sacred records to their own party ; and then argue, that tradition without Scripture is not of authority enough to establish a doctrine, or found a necessary practice upon : and likewise, that the tradition pleaded for these usages, is not so full and unexceptionable as it is pretended to be. In proof of which, a learned author has laid down these two propositions, which he endeavours to maintain ;

*1st. Scripture, not Tradition, is prescribed by our Lord to his disciples as the rule they are to walk by, and which we are necessarily to adhere to.**

2dly. The tradition pleaded for the four controverted points, is not so full and unquestionable as it is represented to be. If either of these propositions, says he, much more if both of them can be proved to be true, the pleas brought for the essentiality of the usages now contended for, must necessarily be acknowledged to be false. And by consequence, the practices built upon those pleas, must be erroneous and ill-grounded.

I shall leave the reader to judge of the truth of this last proposition, when he shall have perused the following sheets ; for I am persuaded he will think the following Liturgies sufficient evidences for the *fulness* of the tradition pleaded on behalf of the controverted points. But because they may not be thought by some people to be *unquestionable* ones too, as not being early enough in point of time, or as having undergone some

* No Sufficient Reason, &c. part 1. page 2.

alterations since they were first composed and used in the several churches to which they are said to have belonged; the learned Dr. Brett has added a dissertation upon them, wherein he has proved, that what they contain, relating to the present controversy, was the doctrine and practice of the first ages of Christianity, and likewise of the ages in which they are allowed by all to have been wrote; which is a sufficient answer to the foregoing objections. But because this author is pleased frequently to call the tradition upon which he supposes them founded, and the usages themselves, unscriptural, it would be but of little use to the learned doctor to have proved the antiquity and universality of them, and the consent with which they were received, if that gentleman's first proposition holds true. I shall beg leave therefore to make some remarks upon it; and the rather, because so much depends upon it, more I fear than the learned author designed there should.

And here, before I enter upon it, I think proper to declare, that I hold the Holy Scriptures in as high esteem and value as this gentleman, or any other person living. I believe them to be the Word of GOD, and consequently true, and that if controversies do arise concerning religion, there is no appeal from their determination; for whatever testimony, how positive or universal soever, can be brought in contradiction to them, must be false, because truth cannot belong both to the affirmative and negative side of the same proposition; and therefore the Scriptures being true, such other testimony produced in contradiction to them, must be false. I believe likewise the Scriptures of the

New Testament to be as assuredly the Word of God, as those of the Old, and consequently of as much credit, notwithstanding the Scriptures of the Old Testament have the attestation of the New ; but those of the New neither *do* nor *can* witness for themselves, nor have they any Revelation, either before or since their being collected into a canon, to speak for them. I know not how far that learned gentleman agrees with me, but so much being premised, I shall proceed to examine his first proposition, which stands thus :

Scripture, not Tradition, is prescribed by our Lord to his disciples as the rule they are to walk by, and which we are necessarily to adhere to.

Here the reader may observe two propositions clapped together, one affirmative, and the other negative. I will therefore take the liberty to separate them, and then I think they will stand thus :

1st. *Scripture is prescribed by our Lord to his disciples as the rule they are to walk by.*

2dly. *Tradition is not prescribed by our Lord to his disciples as the rule they are to walk by.*

Again. Our author's design being to prove that our Lord prescribed *Scripture*, exclusive of all other things, as the rule to his disciples, I will take the liberty to insert the word *only*, i. e. *only rule*. And this I think I am authorized to do ; because after having produced his citations from the Scriptures and the fathers to prove his assertion, he concludes : *Thus have we the authority of the Scriptures taught from time to time, as the only rule prescribed by our blessed Lord, &c.* This then is the proposition he is to prove :

Scripture is prescribed by our Lord to his disciples as the only rule they are to walk by.

If this be true, I am afraid it will very much sink the credit of the New Testament. For if Scripture is prescribed by our Lord to his disciples as the only rule they are to walk by, it must be such Scripture as was in being at the time when he gave that direction; consequently the Scripture of the Old Testament, for the New could be no part of that rule, because not any one book of it was wrote till several years after our Lord was ascended to the right hand of the Father, and had ended his conversation with his disciples on earth.

This I think is so plain, that I need not offer any proof of it. However if it need any, I shall give you the passages of Scripture produced by that gentleman, as the foundation upon which he builds his hypothesis. The first is,* *To the law and to the testimony; if they speak not according to this word, it is, because there is no light in them.* Isaiah viii. 20. And again, *Seek ye out of the book of the Lord, and read.* Ch. xxxiv. 16. Whoever reads must be surprised to find these texts brought to point out the *rule which our Lord prescribed to his disciples to walk by*, forasmuch as they were wrote long before he appeared in the flesh, and consequently before he had any disciples to prescribe to; nor were they at any time afterwards, that I know, quoted by him, for this or any other end. But supposing he had quoted them, he could have designed no more for them, than what the prophet before had done; for if he had designed more, that would have been to establish some-

* No Sufficient Reason, part I. p. 2.

thing upon their authority which they did not enjoin. But if no more had been designed by them, the doctrine founded thereupon would be, that the same *law*, the same *testimony*, the same *book of the Lord*, were to be the only rule both to the Jews before his coming, and to those which were to confess his name afterwards; consequently that *law*, that *testimony*, must be contained in the Old Testament, there being no other *book of the Lord* to which the prophet could refer, because none else was stamped with that authority, or could plead a sanction from Divine Revelation. However, notwithstanding this author's arguments, which if they proved any thing to his purpose, must conclude against the authority of the New Testament; we firmly believe it to be the Word of God, and written by the assistance of his Holy Spirit; and therefore if we find any thing decisive in it relating to the dispute between us, we must acquiesce in its determination. I shall therefore examine what advantage he can reap from thence, since he is willing to call that in to his assistance. Here he tells us, that our Saviour says, *Search the Scriptures.* (John v. 39.) and that the Jews at Berea are commended by St. Paul, *as more noble, of a milder and better temper and disposition than those at Thessalonica, and for this reason, because they received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the Scriptures daily.* Acts xvii. 11. I need do nothing more than transcribe the whole passages from whence our author has picked what he conceived most to his purpose, to convince the world that they do not speak what he would have them. *Search the Scriptures, says our Saviour, for in them*

ye think ye have eternal life, and they testify of me. And the brethren immediately sent away Paul and Silas by night into Berea: who coming thither, went into the synagogue of the Jews. These were more noble than those of Thessalonica, in that they received the Word with all readiness of mind, and searched the Scriptures daily, whether those things were so.

In the first of these passages we find our Saviour expostulating with the unbelieving Jews, who received him not as the Messiah, but sought to kill him, *because he had broken the sabbath, and said that God was his Father, making himself equal with God.* Ver. 18. Whereupon, in defence of himself, and as a proof of his being the person he pretended to be, he appeals to what they had heard from John, (v. 33) to the miracles which he wrought (v. 36.) to the witness which the Father himself had borne of him, (v. 37.) and lastly, to the Scriptures. Search these, says he, for ye take them to be your guides to eternal happiness; therefore you will not reject their testimony, *and they testify of me.* And they must be the same Scriptures to which St. Paul refers in the second passage, where he commends the Bereans for searching them, in order to judge whether the doctrines he taught concerning our Lord were true, for in them were several prophecies of him, and the characteristics by which he might be known at his appearance. We may easily guess what Scriptures they were then, which our Saviour and St. Paul appealed to, first because those of the Old Testament were alone in being. And secondly, supposing some parts of the New to have been wrote when St.

Paul was at Berea, I cannot think he would have referred the Jews to them for the truth of our Lord's being the Messiah, lest he should seem to beg the question, by offering a proof, the force of which depended upon the truth of his assertion. For our Lord was not the Messiah and Saviour of the world, because his disciples taught that he was; but because he really was so, they taught it; and after the authority of the Lawgiver was owned, they proceeded to teach his law. It may suffice, that as in these just mentioned, so in all other places of the New Testament, where we read any thing concerning the Scriptures, those of the Old are meant; so that our author's cause will gain nothing from thence. But if he still insists that they do speak up to his purpose, I must desire him to consider, that it must be at the expence of their own authority; for, as they speak not of themselves, but of the Old Testament, that only can be the rule which they prescribe; and whatever declares something besides itself to be the only rule, must at the same time declare itself to be no rule. He must therefore quit his pretensions to Scripture in this case, or stand by these consequences if he appeals to it.* But our author informs us, that he has been told before that the Scripture produced by him in the dispute related only to the Scriptures of the Old Testament. To which he answers: *And no wonder if that were all that were referred to before the New Testament was written; but this is no evidence that the whole Canon of Scripture was not more to be depended upon when it was once completed and settled.* Here I must own I am at a loss to

* No Just Grounds, &c. p. 15.

find out what this learned author means; for in the foregoing paragraph he tells us, “that the answer had brought a good number of authorities both from Scripture and Tradition, to prove the Scripture to be the only Christian rule left by our Saviour for the direction of his disciples.” But the Scripture brought by him to prove it, he owns, refers only to the Old Testament; and yet, says he, *this is no evidence that the whole Canon of Scripture* (where I suppose he understands both the Old and New Testament) *was not more to be depended upon, when it was once completed and settled.* If this objection be no evidence that it was not more to be depended upon, I suppose he thinks the Scripture produced by it an evidence that is more to be depended upon. And then his argument will run thus: *The authorities brought from Scripture, to prove the Scripture to be the only Christian rule left by our Saviour for a direction to his disciples, refer only to the Old Testament. And therefore are evidences that the whole Canon of Scripture* (viz. the Old and New Testament) *was more to be depended upon, when it was once completed and settled.* So that *something*, in this gentleman’s opinion, was *more to be depended upon*, than what he was able to prove our Saviour left his disciples as the *only rule* for their direction, which *something* was not *completed and settled* when he left them. I must leave the reader to reconcile these things, it being, I confess, past my skill to do it.

In the next place, our author proceeds to give us his authorities from the fathers, from whence he might have learnt how vain his pretensions to the Scripture he has

produced were in the present case. For if the fathers, as he conceives they did, wrote those passages in defence of the opinion he maintains, they would not probably have failed to argue as this gentleman does from Scripture, if that were to their purpose. But that they have not done, and therefore he can claim no advantage from them, he having declared * *that he could never learn that bare tradition was sufficient of itself to make any thing a necessary indispensable duty, that has no foundation at all in Scripture.* The use of tradition being, as he is a little afterwards adds, *to confirm what is delivered in Scripture, though not so fully and clearly as some other doctrines are.* But this gentleman's doctrine having no *foundation in the Scriptures*, cannot be *confirmed* by them. And therefore he must either give it up, or acknowledge that he does receive it *barely upon tradition.*

The reader will meet with his collections from the fathers in the 6th. and following pages of "No Sufficient Reason," &c., part I., which I desire him to compare with passages from most of the same fathers in p. 156., &c. of a book entitled, "The necessity of an alteration," &c., by which he will perceive, that so much is not to be concluded from the former, as that author does conclude from them. But supposing them to speak home to his purpose, these same fathers, especially the earliest of them, speak as fully for one or more of the four usages contended for by us: all *communicated* with those Churches which used them all, they being in those early ages universally received, as will appear by the

* No Sufficient Reason, part 1. p. 3.

following sheets. So that if the fathers did believe Scripture to be the only rule prescribed for their direction, they must likewise believe those usages to be enjoined by it. And, therefore, as the same testimony must be of the same credit in one case as in another, our author must reject his own hypothesis, or receive with us the controverted usages.

2dly. The other proposition is :

Tradition is not prescribed by our Lord to his disciples, as the rule they are to walk by.

Now if our author means, (as he must do, if Scripture is prescribed as the *only rule*) that our Lord excluded tradition from being any part of the rule, I must beg leave to dissent from him : and for this reason, because I am persuaded the Apostles would not so soon have forgotten it, as I find they did : for,

1st. St. Paul commands the Corinthians, *to keep the ordinances as he delivered them unto them.* 1 Cor. xi. 2. To evade this, our learned author has recourse to criticism, and tells us, “That it is to be remembered, that the word *παραδόσεις* (which is here translated ordinances) denotes doctrines, and may be applied to such as are either written or unwritten.”* I shall not dispute his criticism ; but let us see what he concludes from it. “So that nothing more,” says he, “can be meant by tradition in these places (i.e. the places quoted by him for the support of his criticism) but the doctrines the Apostles had taught the Christians, whether by writing or word of mouth. And if no more be intended by the ordinances here referred to, I know no occasion there is

* No Sufficient Reason, part 1. p. 23.

for any dispute about them." Nor do I know any occasion for dispute, if so much be intended by them. For if the Apostles taught some doctrines by word of mouth, that is, by tradition, which they did not commit to writing, as this gentleman owns ; I shall conclude, that our Lord did not exclude tradition from being a part of the rule which Christians were to walk by. I am moreover of opinion, that all our Lord's ordinances were founded upon doctrines, and therefore might be handed down to us by the same conveyance as some doctrines are. The same may be said,

2dly. Of the exhortation the Apostle gives to the Thessalonians :—*Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions you have been taught, whether by word, or by our epistle.* 2 Thess. ii. 15. And,

3dly. *The things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also.* 2 Tim. ii. 11. Whatever these *things* were which Timothy had heard from St. Paul, it is plain they were to be taught to succeeding generations ; and I suppose this gentleman will not deny, but that those who learnt them from the *faithful men* to whom Timothy committed them, were as much obliged to the observance of them, as Timothy was who had heard them from St. Paul.

But lastly. If tradition is excluded by our Lord from being any part of the rule Christians are to walk by, all Scripture written barely upon a traditionary account of things must likewise be excluded from being a part of that rule ; consequently St. Luke's gospel can be no

part of it, because he declares he received what he there wrote from others : chap. i. 2.

So I shall leave the reader to choose, whether he will take part with this gentleman in the support of his assertion, or with St. Luke for the authority of his gospel.



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- This Liturgy altered a year or two after, purely to please Calvin and his followers, and a new one established in the room of it by Act of Parliament only, without any authority of convocation.—The second Communion Office, which is almost the same with that still continued in the Common Prayer Book, by no means so agreeable to the primitive standard as the former.—A particular account of the alterations made in the second Communion Office 396
- §. 42. The reason why some Bishops and Divines amongst the Non-jurors thought it proper to compile a new Communion Office here also published.—What was my own practice some time before I quitted the public Communion, and afterwards till this new Communion Office was set forth.—How this Communion Office came to be drawn up.—That those of the public Communion have as much reason to enquire into these matters as the Non-jurors, some of their own Communion having maintained the necessity at least of some of these things as well as the Non-jurors.—The restoring primitive usages more likely to gain over the Dissenters than the present form, which wants them.—By doing what we have done, we have only followed the directions of Dr. Hammond in his Practical Catechism.—The testimonies of Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, Irenæus, and St. Cyprian, not insufficient to prove the universality of the practice in their times to mix water with the sacramental wine, as a late author has asserted them to be.—This author, and not we, undervalues our evidence for the Canon of Scripture.—The Liturgies all agree in the four points contended for, but disagree in those things which are discovered to be corruptions.—Those things wherein all Liturgies agree in sense, if not in words, are of apostolical appointment: this asserted by Archbishop Wake.—In doing what we have done, we have only put in practice the doctrine taught by Dr. Hammond, Mr. Thorndike, Bishop Hiekes, Archbishop Wake, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Bingham, and other eminent Bishops and Divines of the Church of England, and by the Church of England itself..... 404
- §. 43. The method observed in this new Communion Office.—We departed from nothing prescribed in the Communion Office of the Church of England as now established, but in such things where we thought the necessity or expediency to be apparent.—And the alterations made are agreeable to the first reformed Liturgy of King Edward VI. or the most ancient Liturgies.—For being, as we thought, obliged to separate, by being denied, what we conceived necessary, we judged ourselves also at liberty to consider what was expedient, though we would not have separated for matters of expedience only. The objection of our adversaries, that the prayer of invocation used in this new Office favours transubstantiation, shewn to have been lately produced by Mr. Spinckes as a clear evidence against that doctrine.—This new Office as agreeable to the ancient Liturgies, as it could be made without deviating more from the Communion Office of the Church of England than appeared either necessary or expedient.—Our making more alterations than at first we declared we would be contented with, no argument of our unsteadiness, nor gives any one a just reason to expect we may proceed farther 422
- §. 44. I desire those who are learned, would impartially examine the Scriptures and fathers, and judge which has most fairly represented

- their sense in this controversy : for this is a matter of moment, wherein all the members of the Church of England are concerned no less than the Non-jurors.—Those that are unlearned are directed where they may find eminent persons of the Church of England, that have clearly declared themselves of our side in this controversy.—Why I appeal to these as the most impartial judges.—First as to the necessity of obeying apostolical traditions, and that such traditions as are attested by the earliest fathers, and are found to have been universally practised by the Catholic Church are apostolical, we are taught by Dr. Hammond, Mr. Thorndike, and Bishop Taylor; who all died above fifty years before this controversy was started 434
- §. 45. In the next place we have the like testimony for all the points we contend for, that they are apostolical, and may be proved by primitive and universal tradition : as Bishop Hiekes, Mr. Johnson, and Archbishop Wake, whose judgment may be esteemed impartial, because they all wrote what I here quote from them before this controversy arose amongst us: these give their testimony to the antiquity and universality of all the four points.—There are others who have given their testimony, some to one point, some to another.—Mr. Spinekes allows us the testimony of Justin Martyr for the mixture, which our adversaries have endeavoured by criticism to deprive us of.—Mr. Thorndike gives us his testimony for the primitive and universal usage of the praying for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the bread and cup, and for prayers for the dead.—Bishop Barrow also gave his dying testimony for prayers for the dead.—And Mr. Bingham, as I before observed, has given very full proof for three of the points we contend for 445
- §. 46. A brief recapitulation of what I have endeavoured to prove in the preceding discourse 456

THE
CLEMENTINE LITURGY,

AS IT STANDS IN THE BOOK CALLED THE APOSTOLICAL
CONSTITUTIONS, BOOK VIII. CHAP. 12.

The Deacon shall say,

LET none of the Catechumens, none of the hearers, none of the unbelievers, none of the heterodox stay. You who have prayed the former prayer, depart. Mothers, take up your children. Let no one have ought against any man. Let us stand upright, to present unto the Lord our offerings with fear and trembling.

¶ *When this is done, let the deacons bring the gifts to the bishop at the altar; and let the priests stand on his right hand, and on his left, as disciples by their Master. But let two of the deacons on each side of the altar hold a fan made up of thin membranes, or peacock's feathers, or fine cloth; and let them silently drive away flies and gnats, that they may not fall into the cups. Then the bishop, after having prayed secretly, (and likewise the priests) and having put on his splendid vestment, and standing at the altar, and signing himself with the sign of the cross upon his forehead, let him say,*

The grace of Almighty God, and the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with you all.

And let all with one voice say,

And with thy Spirit.

Bishop. Lift up your mind.

People. We lift it up unto the Lord.

Bishop. Let us give thanks to the Lord.

People. It is meet and right so to do.

Bishop. It is indeed meet and right to sing praises to thee, the true God, from everlasting, of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named; who alone art unbegotten, without beginning, the supreme Lord, Almighty King, and self-sufficient; the author and giver of all good things, without cause, without generation, self-existing; the same yesterday, to day, and for ever. At thy word, as from a necessary original, all things started into being. For thou art everlasting knowledge, sight before all objects, hearing before all sounds, wisdom without instruction; the first in nature, the fountain of being, the eternal one, exceeding all number, incomprehensible. Thou createdst all things out of nothing by thine only begotten Son, begotten before all ages by no other means than thy will, thy power, and thy goodness; God the Word, the living wisdom, the first-born of every creature, the angel of thy great counsel, thy high priest, but the Lord and King of all sensible and intellectual creatures, who was before all things, and by whom all things were made. Thou, O eternal God, didst make all things by him, and by him too dispensest thy providence over them; for by the same that thou broughtest all things into being, by him thou continuest all things in well being. The God, and Father of thine only begotten Son; who by him didst make first the cherubim and seraphim, the ages, and all the heavenly hosts, the principalities and powers, thrones and dominions, angels and archangels, and after these didst by him create this visible world, and all things which are therein. For it is thou who hast fixed the heaven like an arch, and stretched it out like the covering of a tent; who hast laid the foundation of the earth, which resteth upon nothing but thy will; who hast established the firmament, and prepared the night and the day, bringing light out of thy treasures, and darkness to overshadow it, that under its covert the living creatures of this world might take their repose. Thou hast appointed the sun to rule the day, and the moon to govern the night; and moreover, hast imprinted in the heavens a choir of stars for the honour of thy glorious Majesty. Thou hast made water for drink, and for cleansing, the vital air for respiration, and conveyance of sounds by the tongue's striking of it, and the hearing which co-operates with it, so as to perceive the voice when it is received by it, and falls upon it. Thou madest fire for our consolation in darkness, and for the relief of our necessities, that we might be both warmed

and enlightened by it. Thou didst divide the sea from the land, making the one navigable, and the other a basis for our feet in walking; the former thou hast replenished with small and great beasts, the latter too both with tame and wild; and hast moreover furnished it with various plants, crowned it with herbs, beautified it with flowers, and enriched it with seeds. Thou hast collected together the great deep, and cast a mound about it; seas of salt waters stand as an heap bounded on every side with barriers of sand; sometimes thou dost swell it by the wind, so as to equal the high mountains, and sometimes smooth it into a plain; now making it rage with a tempest, then stilling it with a calm, for the ease of mariners in their voyages. The earth, which was made by thee through Christ, thou hast encompassed with rivers, watered with currents, and moistened with springs which never fail; thou hast girt it about with mountains, that it may not be moved at any time; thou hast replenished and adorned it with fragrant and medicinal herbs, with many and various kinds of living creatures, strong and weak, for food and for labour, tame and wild; with the dull harsh noises of those creatures which move upon the earth, and the soft sprightly notes of the gaudy many coloured birds which wing the air; with the revolution of years, the number of months and days, the regular succession of the seasons; with the courses of the clouds big with rain, for the production of fruits, the support of living creatures; where also the winds take their stand, which blow at thy command, and for the refreshment of trees and plants. And thou hast not only created the world, but man likewise the citizen of it; manifesting in him the beauty and excellency of that beautiful and excellent creation. For thou saidst to thine own Wisdom, Let us make man in our own image, and after our likeness, and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air. Wherefore thou madest him of an immortal soul, and mortal body, the soul out of nothing, the body out of the four elements; this endued with five senses, and a power of motion; that with reason, and a faculty of distinguishing between religion and irreligion, just and unjust. Thou, O Almighty God, didst also by thy Christ, plant a garden eastward in Eden, adorned with every plant that was fit for food; into this thou didst put him, a rich and magnificent habitation; having given him a law in his nature, and such powers that without the assistance of other means, even in

himself he might have the principles of divine knowledge. And when thou didst put him into this Paradise of pleasure, thou gavest him the privilege of enjoying all its delights, with this only exception, that he should not out of vain curiosity in hopes of bettering his condition, taste of one tree, and immortality was to be the reward of his obedience to this command; but when he had broken through it, and eaten of the forbidden fruit, overreached by the subtilty of the serpent, and the counsel of the woman, thou didst justly drive him out of Paradise; but in thy goodness didst not despise him, nor suffer him utterly to perish; for he was the work of thine own hands: but thou gavest him dominion over all things, and by his labour, and the sweat of his face, to procure his food, thy providence co-operating with him, so as to make the fruits of the earth to spring up, increase, and ripen. And having subjected him for a while to a temporary death, thou didst bind thyself by an oath to restore him to life again; loosing the bands of that death, by the promise of a resurrection to the life which is eternal. Nor was this all; but thou didst likewise multiply his posterity without number, glorifying as many of them as were obedient unto thee, and punishing those who rebelled against thee. Thou didst accept the sacrifice of Abel upon account of his righteousness, and reject the offering of Cain who slew his brother, because of his unworthiness. And besides these, thou didst receive Seth and Enos, and translate Enoch. For thou art the creator of men, the author of life, the supplier of our wants, the giver of laws, the rewarder of those who keep them, and the avenger of those who transgress them. Who didst bring a flood upon the world because of the multitude of the ungodly, but didst deliver righteous Noah from it with eight souls in the ark, the last of the foregoing, and the first of the succeeding generations. Who didst kindle a dreadful fire in the five cities of Sodom, and turn a fruitful land into a salt lake for the wickedness of them that dwelt therein; but didst snatch holy Lot out of the conflagration. Thou art he, who didst preserve Abraham from the idolatry of his forefathers, and appoint him the heir of the world, manifesting unto him thy Christ. Who didst ordain Melchisedeck an high priest for thy worship. Who didst approve thy servant Job by his patience and long suffering, the conqueror of that serpent, who is the author and promoter of all wickedness. Who madest Isaac the son of the promise, and

Jacob the father of twelve sons, whom thou didst multiply exceedingly, bringing him into Egypt with seventy-five souls. Thou, O Lord, didst not overlook Joseph, but gavest him as the reward of his chastity for thy sake, the government over the Egyptians. Neither didst thou, O Lord, overlook the Hebrews when in bondage under the Egyptians, but according to thy promises made to their fathers, thou didst deliver them, and punish the Egyptians. And when men had corrupted the law of nature, and esteemed the creation, sometimes the effect of chance, and sometimes to be worthy of honour equal to thine, who art the God of all, thou didst not suffer them to wander in error; but didst raise up thy holy servant Moses, and by him give a written law to strengthen the law of nature, and shew the creation to be thy work, and that there were no other Gods besides thee. Thou didst adorn Aaron and his posterity with the honour of the priesthood. Thou didst punish the Hebrews when they sinned, and receive them again when they returned to thee. Thou didst torment the Egyptians with ten plagues, and divide the sea for the Israelites to pass through, overwhelming the Egyptians in their pursuit after them with the waves thereof. Thou didst sweeten the bitter water with wood, and bring water out of the rock of stone. Thou didst rain manna from heaven, and quails out of the air for food. Thou madest a pillar of fire to give them light in the night, and a pillar of a cloud to shadow them from the heat in the day. Thou didst raise up Joshua to be general of their armies, and by him destroy seven nations of the Canaanites. Thou didst divide Jordan, and dry up the rivers of Etham. Thou didst overthrow walls without battering rams, or any assistance of human force. For all these things, glory be to thee, O Lord Almighty; thee the innumerable hosts of angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, principalities, authorities, powers, thine everlasting armies adore. The cherubim and seraphim with six wings, with twain they cover their feet, with twain their heads, and with twain they fly, and say, together with thousand thousands of archangels, and ten thousand times ten thousand of angels, crying incessantly with uninterrupted shouts of praise; and let all the people say with them,

Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Sabaoth, heaven and earth are full of his glory. Blessed be he for evermore. *Amen.*

After this, let the Bishop say,

THOU art indeed holy, and most holy ; the highest, and most highly exalted for ever. Holy is also thine only begotten Son Jesus Christ, our Lord and God. Who always ministering to thee his God and Father, not only in the various works of the creation, but in the providential care of it, did not overlook lost mankind. But after the law of nature, the admonitions of the positive law, the prophetic reproofs, and the superintendency of angels, when men had perverted both the positive and natural law, and had forgotten the flood, the burning of Sodom, the plagues of the Egyptians, the slaughter of the Philistines, and were now ready to perish universally ; he, who was man's Creator, was pleased with thy consent to become man ; the priest to be himself the sacrifice ; the shepherd a sheep, to appease thee his God and Father, to reconcile thee to the world, and deliver all men from the impending wrath. He was incarnate of a virgin, God the Word, the beloved Son, the first-born of every creature ; and, as he himself had foretold by the mouth of the prophets, of the seed of David, and of Abraham, and of the tribe of Juda. He, who forms all that are born in the world, was himself formed in the womb of a virgin, became flesh ; and he who was begotten from eternity, was born in time. He was holy in his conversation, and taught according to the law ; he cured diseases, and wrought signs and wonders amongst the people ; he who is the feeder of the hungry, and fills every living creature with his goodness, became partaker of his own gifts, and eat, and drank, and slept amongst us ; he manifested thy name to them that knew it not ; he dispelled the cloud of ignorance, restored piety, fulfilled thy will, and finished thy work which thou gavest him to do. And when he had regulated all these things, he was seized by the hands of a disobedient people, and wicked men abusing the office of priests and highpriests, being betrayed to them by one who excelled in wickedness ; and when he had suffered many things from them, and been treated with all manner of indignity, he was by thy permission delivered to Pilate the governor ; the judge of all the world was judged, and the Saviour of mankind condemned ; although impassible, he was nailed to the cross ; and although immortal, died. The giver of life was laid in the grave, that he

might deliver those from the pains of death, for whose sake he came; and that he might break the bands of the devil, and rescue mankind from his deceit. He arose from the dead the third day; and after continuing forty days with his disciples, he was taken up into heaven, and is set down on the right hand of thee his God and Father.

Calling therefore to remembrance those things which he endured for our sakes, we give thanks unto thee, O God Almighty, not as we ought, but as we are able, to fulfil his institution. For in the same night that he was betrayed, taking bread into his holy and immaculate hands, and looking up to thee his God and Father, and breaking it, he gave it to his disciples, saying; This is the mystery of the New Testament; take of it; eat; this is my body, which is broken for many for the remission of sins. Likewise also having mingled the cup with wine and water, and blessed it, he gave it to them, saying: This is my blood, which is shed for many for the remission of sins; do this in remembrance of me; for as often as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye do shew forth my death till I come.

Wherefore having in remembrance his passion, death, and resurrection from the dead, his return into heaven, and his future second appearance, when he shall come with glory and power to judge the quick and dead, and to render to every man according to his works; we offer to thee our King and our God, according to this institution, this bread and this cup; giving thanks to thee through him, that thou hast thought us worthy to stand before thee, and to sacrifice unto thee. And we beseech thee, that thou wilt look graciously on these gifts now lying before thee, O thou self-sufficient God; and accept them to the honour of thy Christ. And send down thy Holy Spirit, the witness of the sufferings of the Lord Jesus, on this sacrifice, that he may make this bread the body of thy Christ, and this cup the blood of thy Christ. That all who shall partake of it, may be confirmed in godliness, may receive remission of their sins, may be delivered from the devil and his wiles, may be filled with the Holy Ghost, may be made worthy of thy Christ, and may obtain everlasting life; thou, O Lord Almighty, being reconciled to them.

We farther pray unto thee, O Lord, for thy holy church, spread from one end of the world unto the other, which thou hast pur-

chased by the precious blood of thy Christ, that thou wilt keep it stedfast and immoveable unto the end of the world ; and for every episcopate rightly dividing the word of truth. Farther we call upon thee for my unworthiness, who am now offering ; and for the whole presbytery ; for the deacons, and all the clergy ; that thou wouldst endue them with wisdom, and fill them with the Holy Ghost. Farther we call upon thee, O Lord, for the king and all that are in authority, for the success of the army, that they may be kindly disposed towards us ; that leading our whole life in peace and quietness, we may glorify thee through Jesus Christ our hope. Farther we offer to thee for all the saints, who have pleased thee from the beginning of the world ; the patriarchs, prophets, righteous men, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops, priests, deacons, sub-deacons, readers, singers, virgins, widows, laymen, and all whose names thou knowest. We farther offer to thee for this people ; that for the glory of thy Christ thou wilt render them a royal priesthood, an holy nation ; for the virgins, and all that live chastely ; for the widows of the church ; for those that live in honourable marriage, and child bearing ; for the young ones among thy people ; that thou wilt not permit any of us to become cast-aways. Farther we pray unto thee for this city, and the inhabitants thereof ; for the sick ; for those that are in slavery ; for those that are in banishment ; for those that are in prison ; for those that travel by land or by water ; that thou wilt be to all of them an helper, strengthener, and supporter.

We farther beseech thee also for those who hate us, and persecute us for thy name's sake ; for those that are without, and wander in error ; that thou wouldst convert them to that which is good, and appease their wrath against us. Farther we pray unto thee for the catechumens of the church ; for those who are under possession, and for those our brethren who are in the state of penance : that thou wilt perfect the first in thy faith, deliver the second from the power of the wicked one, accept the repentance of the last, and grant unto them and to us the remission of our sins. Farther we offer unto thee for seasonable weather, and that we may have plenty of the fruits of the earth ; that receiving the abundance of thy good things, we may incessantly praise thee who givest food to all flesh. Farther we pray unto thee for all those who are absent upon a just cause ; that thou wilt preserve all of us in godliness, and gather us together in the

kingdom of thy Christ our king, the God of every sensible and intelligent being. And that thou wilt keep us stedfast, unblamable and unreprouable. For to thee is due all glory, adoration, and thanksgiving, honour and worship to the Father, and to the Holy Ghost, both now and ever, and world without end.

¶ *And let all the people say, Amen.*

¶ *And let the Bishop say, 'The peace of God be with you all.*

¶ *And let all the people say, And with thy Spirit.*

¶ *And let the Deacon again proclaim,*

LET us farther pray to God through his Christ, in behalf of the gift that is offered to the Lord God; that the good God will receive it through the mediation of his Christ at his heavenly altar for a sweet-smelling savour. Let us pray for this church and people. Let us pray for every episcopate, for the whole presbytery, for all the deacons and ministers in Christ, for the whole congregation; that the Lord will preserve and keep them all. Let us pray for kings and all that are in authority, that they may be peaceable towards us; so that enjoying a quiet and peaceable life, we may spend our days in all godliness and honesty. Let us commemorate the holy martyrs, that we may be deemed worthy to be partakers of their trial. Let us pray for all those who have died in the faith. Let us pray for the good condition of the air, and the ripening of the fruits. Let us pray for those that are newly baptized, that they may be confirmed in the faith, that all may be mutually comforted by one another. Raise us up, O God, by thy grace; and being raised up, let us devote ourselves to God through Jesus Christ.

¶ *And let the Bishop say,*

O God who art great, great in name and counsel, powerful in thy works, the God and Father of thy holy Son Jesus Christ our Saviour, look upon us and upon this thy flock, which thou hast chosen through him to the glory of thy name; sanctify us in body and soul; and grant that we being purified from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, may partake of the mystic blessings now lying before thee, and judge none of us unworthy of them, but be thou our supporter, our helper, and defender, through thy Christ, with whom glory, honour, laud, praise, and thanksgiving be to thee and the Holy Ghost for ever. *Amen.*

¶ *And after all have said, Amen, let the Deacon say,*
Let us attend.

¶ *And the Bishop shall speak aloud to the people in this manner :*
Holy things are for holy persons.

And let the people answer : There is one Holy, one Lord, one Jesus Christ to the glory of God the Father, blessed for evermore. *Amen.* Glory be to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men. Hosanna to the Son of David. Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord ; he is our God and Lord, and hath appeared to us. Hosanna in the highest.

¶ *After this, let the bishop receive, then the presbyters, and deacons, and subdeacons, and readers, and singers, and asceticks, and of the women the deaconesses, virgins, and widows. Afterwards the children, and then all the people in order, with fear and reverence, without tumult or noise. And the bishop shall give the oblation, saying,*

The body of Christ.

¶ *And let him that receives say, Amen.*

¶ *And the deacon shall hold the cup, and when he gives it, let him say,*

The blood of Christ, the cup of life.

¶ *And let him that drinks say, Amen.*

THE
LITURGY OF ST. JAMES,

WHICH WAS ANCIENTLY USED IN THE CHURCH OF JERUSALEM,
THE FIRST CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

*Translated from the original Greek, as published in the Bibliotheca Patrum,
Tom. 2. Paris 1624.*

Priest. LET us lift up our minds and hearts.

People. It is meet and right so to do.

Then the Priest prays.

It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should praise and bless, worship, glorify, and give thanks to thee, the maker of all visible and invisible beings, the treasure of eternal happiness, the fountain of life and immortality, the God and governor of the universe. To whom the heavens sing praise, and all their powers; the sun and moon, and the whole choir of stars; the earth and sea, and all their inhabitants; Jerusalem the heavenly assembly and church of the firstborn that are written in heaven; the spirits of just men and prophets; the souls of martyrs and apostles, angels, and archangels, thrones, dominions, principalities, authorities, and tremendous powers; the many-eyed seraphim with six wings, who with twain cover their faces, and with twain their feet, and with twain they fly, crying incessantly one to another, and with uninterrupted shouts of praise.

THE EXCLAMATION.

Saying with a loud voice the triumphal hymn to thine exalted glory, shouting, glorifying, crying aloud, and saying:

People. Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth; heaven and earth are full of thy glory: hosanna in the highest: blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord; hosanna in the highest.

The Priest signing the Gifts, says.

HOLY art thou, O eternal King, the Lord and Giver of all holiness; holy is thine only begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom thou hast made the worlds; holy is thy Holy Spirit, who searcheth all things, even the deep mysteries of thy godhead. Holy art thou, who alone art Almighty, a God of goodness, terror, and compassion, remarkably indulgent to the work of thine own hands. Thou formedst man out of the earth to thine own image and similitude, and gavest him the pleasures and satisfaction of Paradise. And when he had lost his happiness by transgressing thy commandment, thou of thy goodness did not abandon and despise him, but correctedst him in mercy as a father, recalledst him by the law, and instructedst him by the prophets; and last of all didst send thine only begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ into the world, for the renovation and revival of thy lost image. Who came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary and mother of God, conversed with mankind, and directed all his dispensations to our salvation; and when the hour was come, that he, who had no sin, was to suffer a voluntary and life-giving death upon the cross for us sinners; in the same night that he was offered, or rather offered up himself for the life and salvation of the world,

Then the Priest taking the Bread into his hands:

Taking bread into his holy, immaculate, pure, and immortal hands, looking up to heaven, and presenting it to thee his God and Father, he gave thanks, sanctified, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples and apostles, saying,

The Deacons say, For the remission of sins, and for everlasting life.

Then he says with a loud voice, Take, eat, this is my body, which is broken and given for you for the remission of sins.

The People. Amen.

Then he takes the cup and says,

Likewise after supper he took the cup and mixed it with wine and water, and looking up to heaven, and presenting it to thee his God and Father, he gave thanks, sanctified and blessed it, and filled it with the Holy Ghost, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Drink ye all of this; This is my blood of the New Testa-

ment, which is shed and given for you and for many, for the remission of sins.

The People. Amen.

The Priest. Do this in remembrance of me: for as oft as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew forth the death of the Son of man, and confess his resurrection until his coming again.

People. O Lord, we shew forth thy death, and confess thy resurrection.

The Priest. Wherefore having in remembrance his life-giving passion, salutary cross, death, burial, and resurrection on the third day from the dead; his ascension into heaven, and sitting at the right hand of thee his God and Father; and his second bright and terrible appearance, when he shall come with glory to judge the living and the dead, and shall render to every man according to his works; we sinners offer to thee, O Lord, this tremendous and unbloody sacrifice, beseeching thee not to deal with us after our sins, nor reward us according to our iniquities; but according to thy clemency and ineffable love to mankind, overlook and blot out the handwriting that is against us thy servants, and grant us thine heavenly and eternal rewards, such as eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor have entered into the heart of man, even such as thou hast prepared for them that love thee; and reject not this people for me and my sins, O Lord.

Then he says three times,

For this people and thy church make their supplication before thee.

People. Have mercy upon us, O Lord God, Almighty Father.

The Priest says again,

Have mercy upon us, O God, the Almighty. Have mercy upon us, O God our Saviour. Have mercy upon us, O God, according to thy great mercy, and send down upon these gifts, which are here set before thee, thy most Holy Spirit.

Then bowing down his head, he says,

Even the Lord and giver of life, who with thee, O God the Father, and with thine only begotten Son, liveth and reigneth a consubstantial and co-eternal person; who spake by the law, by the prophets, and by the new testament; descended in the form of a dove upon our Lord Jesus Christ in the river Jordan, and rested upon him; and came down in the shape of fiery tongues

upon thy apostles, when they were assembled on the day of Pentecost, in the upper room of holy and glorious Sion. Send down, O Lord, this thy most Holy Spirit upon us, and upon these holy gifts here set before thee.

And raising himself up, he says with a loud voice;
That by his holy, good, and glorious presence, he may sanctify and make this bread the holy body of thy Christ.

People. Amen.

Priest. And this cup the precious blood of thy Christ.

People. Amen.

The Priest standing by himself.

That all, who are partakers thereof, may obtain remission of their sins and eternal life, may be sanctified in soul and body, and bring forth the fruit of good works; for the confirmation of thy holy catholic and apostolic church, which thou hast founded upon the rock of faith, that the gates of hell may not prevail against it. Delivering it from all heresy and scandal, and from the workers of iniquity, preserving it to the consummation of the world.

And bowing, he says: We offer also to thee, O Lord, for thy holy places which thou hast glorified with the divine presence of thy Christ, and the appearance of thy most Holy Spirit; but chiefly for glorious Sion, the mother of all churches, and for thy holy catholic and apostolic church dispersed throughout the world. Give her even now, O Lord, a large portion of thy Holy Spirit. Remember our holy fathers and brethren in the same, and all bishops wheresoever dispersed, that rightly dispense the word of thy truth. Remember, O Lord, every city and country, and their inhabitants, who are of the number of the faithful, and preserve them in peace and security. Remember, O Lord, all that travel by land or by water; our christian fathers and brethren that are in chains and imprisonment, in captivity and banishment, that are condemned to the mines, and live in misery and servitude. Remember, O Lord, all sick persons, and such as are vexed with unclean spirits, and make haste to heal and deliver them. Remember, O Lord, every christian soul under affliction and calamity, imploring thy divine mercy and assistance. And forget not the conversion of those who are in error. Remember, O Lord, for thy name's sake, our fathers and brethren, who of their own labours minister to our necessities. Remember us all, O

Lord God. Have mercy upon us, and be reconciled to us. Give thy peace to all thy people. Remove all occasions of sin. Put an end to our wars. Stop the violence of heresies. Grant us thy peace and love, O God our Saviour, the hope of all the ends of the earth. Forget not, O Lord, to bless us with temperate seasons, with moderate showers and a fruitful harvest, and to crown the year with thy goodness. For the eyes of all hope in thee, and thou givest them food in due season. Thou openest thy hand, and fillest all things with good. Remember, O Lord, all those who work righteousness, and are benefactors to thy holy churches, who consider the poor, the widow, the fatherless, and the stranger, and such as are in necessity; and all who desire to be remembered in our prayers. Vouchsafe, O Lord, to remember those who have this day offered these oblations at thine holy altar, and those for whom they have offered or have designed to offer them, all before commemorated. Remember me also, O Lord, thy unworthy and unprofitable servant, according to the multitude of thy mercies and compassions, and the deacons that compass thine holy altar. Endue them with purity of life, and preserve their ministry unreprouvable, and purchase them a good degree, that we may find mercy and favour with all thy saints, who from the beginning of the world have pleased thee in their generations, even with our fathers and fore-fathers; with the patriarchs and prophets; apostles, martyrs and confessors; teachers and saints; and every just spirit departed in the faith of thy Christ.

Hail, Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb; for of thee was born the Saviour of our souls.

Then the Priest says with a loud voice.

But chiefly of our most holy, immaculate, superlatively blessed and glorious lady, the mother of God, and ever virgin Mary.

The Singers. It is meet that we should truly magnify thee, the ever-blessed immaculate parent and mother of our God, who art of more honour than the cherubim, and incomparably more glorious than the seraphim. Thee we extol, who broughtest forth the Divine Logos without corruption, and art truly the parent of God.

And again they sing; Thou, O full of grace, art the joy of the whole creation, both of angels and men, a temple of holiness, a spiritual paradise, and the glory of virginity; of whom the Deity

was incarnate ; and our God, whose being is from eternity, was made a child. For thy womb was his throne, the seat of him whom the heavens contain. Thou, O full of grace, art the joy of the universe, praise be to thee.

The Deacons. Remember, O Lord, our God.

The Priest bowing, says ; Remember, O Lord, the God of spirits and of all flesh, the faithful whom we have commemorated, or whom we have not mentioned, from just Abel unto this day. Make them to rest in the region of the living in thy kingdom, in the delights of Paradise, in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, our holy fathers ; where there is no sorrow, grief, and lamentation ; and where the light of thy countenance continually shines upon them ; and as for us, O Lord, let Christian peace, thy favour and the strictest virtue accompany our last periods. Gather us to the number of thine elect at what time and in what manner thou pleasest ; only let us be faultless and without reproach, through thine only begotten Son, our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ : for he alone appeared without sin upon the earth.

The Deacon. We offer also for the peace and tranquillity of the whole world, and of thy holy churches, O God, and for those for whom the oblation has any where been made, or designed, for the people that stand round thine altar, and for all men and women.

The People. And for all men and women.

The Priest says with a loud voice : Spare both us and them, according to thy goodness and love to mankind.

People. Release, pardon and forgive, O God, all our voluntary and involuntary sins, such as we have committed in action and in word, knowingly and ignorantly, by night and by day, in mind and thought, forgive us all in goodness and love.

Priest. By the grace, mercy and compassion of thine only begotten Son, good and life-giving Spirit, thou art blessed and glorified now and for ever.

People. Amen.

Priest. Peace be with you all.

People. And with thy Spirit.

The Deacon. Let us incessantly and for ever pray to the Lord in peace. Let us pray to our Lord God for the holy, precious,

supercelestial, ineffable, immaculate, glorious, tremendous, and divine oblation.

Let us pray, that our Lord God would receive it upon his holy, supercelestial, spiritual, and intellectual altar for a sweet-smelling savour, and send down the divine grace, and the gift of his Holy Spirit upon us.

Let us pray for the unity of the faith, and the communion of his most holy, adorable Spirit, commending one another, and our whole life to Christ our God.

People. Amen.

The Priest prays.

O GOD, the Father of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, great in name, happy in nature, and infinite in goodness, the God and governor of all things, who art blessed to eternal ages, that sittest upon the cherubim, and art glorified by the seraphim, upon whom attend thousands of thousands, and ten thousand times ten thousands of angels, and multitudes of archangels; thou hast received the gifts, oblations and sacrifices offered to thee for a sweet-smelling savour, and out of thy goodness hast vouchsafed to sanctify and consecrate them by the grace of thy Christ, and the descent of the most Holy Spirit. Sanctify also, O Lord, our souls, bodies, and spirits; examine our minds, and search our consciences; take from us all evil imaginations, all impurity of thought, all inclinations to lust, all deformity of conception; all envy, pride, and hypocrisy; all falsehood, deceit, and irregular living; all covetousness, vain glory and sloth; all malice, anger and wrath; all remembrance of injuries, all blasphemy, and every motion of the flesh and spirit that is contrary to the purity of thy will.

THE EXCLAMATION.

And grant, O Lord, that we may boldly, and without blame, with a pure heart and contrite mind, without shame and confusion, and with sanctified lips, presume to call upon thee our God and heavenly Father, and say,

People. Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses,

as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation ; but deliver us from evil. *Amen.*

The Priest bowing his head, says :

And lead us not into temptation, O Lord, thou God of power, who knowest our infirmity ; but deliver us from the evil one and his works, and from all his insults and contrivances, for the sake of thy holy name, which we call upon to supply our insufficiency.

THE EXCLAMATION.

For thine is the kingdom, the power and glory of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, now and ever.

People. Amen.

Priest. Peace be with you all.

People. And with thy Spirit.

Deacon. Let us bow down our heads unto the Lord.

People. To thee, O Lord.

The Priest prays, and says thus :

To thee, O Lord, we thy servants bow down our heads before thy holy altar, in expectation of the riches of thy mercy. Send down upon us, O Lord, thine abundant grace and benediction, and sanctify our souls, and bodies, and spirits, that we may be made worthy communicants and partakers of thy holy mysteries, for the remission of our sins, and for eternal life.

THE EXCLAMATION.

For to thee, our God, is due all worship, and to thine only begotten Son, and thine Holy Spirit, both now and ever.

People. Amen.

The Priest says with a loud voice,

And the grace and mercy of the holy, consubstantial, uncreated, and adorable trinity be with us all.

People. And with thy Spirit.

Deacon. Let us attend in the fear of God.

The Priest lifting up the gifts, says by himself,

O holy Lord, who dwellest in the seat of holiness, sanctify us by the word of thy grace, and the descent of thy Holy Spirit. For thou, Lord, hast said, Ye shall be holy, as I am holy. O

Lord our God, the incomprehensible Word of God, of one eternal and inseparable substance with the Father and the Holy Ghost, accept the immortal and seraphic hymn at thy holy and unbloody sacrifice from me a sinner, crying and saying,

THE EXCLAMATION.

Holy things are for holy persons.

People. There is but one that is holy, one Lord Jesus Christ, to the honour of God the Father; to whom be glory for ever and ever.

Deacon. For the remission of our sins, and the reconciliation of our souls, for all that are under affliction and calamity, and that want the mercy and assistance of God; for the conversion of those that are in error, and the recovery of the sick; for the deliverance of captives, and for the repose of our fathers and brethren that are gone before us, let us pray earnestly, and say, Lord have mercy.

People. Lord have mercy, *Three times.*

Then the Priest breaks the bread, and taking one half in his right hand, and the other in his left, he dips the right hand piece into the cup, and says,

The union of the most holy body and precious blood of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Then he signs the left hand piece, and after that, the other half; and immediately begins to break and to distribute a part into each cup, saying,

The union is made, sanctified, and completed, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, now and ever.

And when he signs the bread, he says,

Behold the Lamb of God, the Son of the Father, that takes away the sins, and was sanctified for the life and salvation of the world.

And when he distributes a piece into each cup, he says,

This is a portion of Christ's holy body, full of grace and truth, of the Father and the Holy Ghost; to whom be honour and power for ever and ever.

Then he begins to break it in pieces, and say,

The Lord is my shepherd, therefore can I lack nothing. He shall feed me in a green pasture. *And the rest of the psalm.*

Then he says,

I will always give thanks unto the Lord :

And what follows.

Then, I will magnify thee, O Lord my King :

And what follows.

Then, O praise the Lord, all ye heathen.

And what follows

Deacon. Sir, bless us.

Priest. The Lord bless and preserve us unblamable in the participation of his immaculate gifts, now, and for ever, to eternal ages.

And when it is finished, the Deacon says,

Sir, bless us.

Priest. The Lord bless us, and make us worthy to take the burning coal off thy altar with unpolluted hands, and to put it into the mouths of the faithful, for the purification and renewal of their souls and bodies, now and ever.

Then he says,

Taste and see how gracious the Lord is, who is broken, and not divided ; is given to the faithful, and not consumed ; for the remission of sins, and for everlasting life, now and for ever, to eternal ages.

Deacon. Let us sing in the peace of Christ.

The singers. Taste and see the goodness of the Lord.

The Priest says the following prayer just before the communion.

O LORD our God, the bread that came down from heaven is the life of the world. I have sinned against heaven, and before thee, and am not worthy to partake of the immaculate mysteries. But, O merciful God, do thou make me worthy by thy grace, that I may receive thy holy body, and precious blood, not to my condemnation, but for the remission of my sins, and eternal life.

Then he communicates to the clergy. And when the deacons take away the patens and the chalices to deliver the sacrament to the people, he that takes away the first paten, says.

Sir, bless us.

The Priest answers :

Glory be to God, who has sanctified, and does sanctify us all.

The Deacon says,

Be thou exalted above the heavens, and thy glory above all the earth: for thy kingdom endureth throughout all ages.

And when the Deacon is going to place it upon the side-table, the Priest says,

Blessed be the name of the Lord our God for ever.

Deacon. Draw near in the fear of God, with faith and love.

People. Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.

And again, when he taketh away the paten from the side-table, he says,

Sir, bless us.

Priest. O God, save thy people, and bless thine inheritance.

The Priest says again,

Glory be to our God, who has sanctified us all.

And when he places the cup upon the holy table, the Priest says,

Blessed be the name of the Lord, for ever and ever.

The Deacons and People say,

Fill our mouths with thy praise, O Lord, and our lips with joy, that we may sing and glorify thy majesty all the day long.

And again:

We give thanks to thee, O Christ our God, that thou hast vouchsafed to make us partakers of thy body and blood, for the remission of our sins, and for eternal life. Keep us, we beseech thee, without blame, according to thy great goodness, and love of mankind.

THE
LITURGY OF ST. MARK,

BEING THE ANCIENT LITURGY OF THE CHURCH OF ALEXANDRIA, OF
WHICH ST. MARK WAS THE FIRST BISHOP, AND WHICH WAS
USED THROUGHOUT THAT PATRIARCHATE, CONTAINING
EGYPT, LYBIA, PENTAPOLIS, AND ETHIOPIA.

Translated from the edition of Renaudotius, published in Greek and Latin, at Paris, 1716.

*The creed being ended, the Priest signs the People with
the sign of the cross, and says with a loud voice :*

The Lord be with you all.

People. And with thy spirit.

Priest. Lift up your hearts.

People. We lift them up unto the Lord.

Priest. Let us give thanks to the Lord.

People. It is meet and right.

The Priest begins the anaphora.

It is very meet and right, holy and becoming, as well as profitable to our souls, to sing praises, to give thanks, to make our humble confession, night and day, with heart and voice, to Thee, who art from everlasting, O Lord God, Father Almighty; who didst create the heaven, the earth, the sea, the fountains, rivers, lakes, and all things which are therein: who madest man in thine own image, and after thine own likeness, and didst put him into Paradise, to lead his life in delicacy and ease: and when by his disobedience he had forfeited his claim to happiness, thou didst not abandon or despise him; but didst reclaim him by the law, instruct him by the prophets, restore and receive him by this tremendous, life-giving, heavenly sacrament. Thou createdst all things by thy wisdom, the true light, thine only-begotten Son, our Lord, our God and Saviour Jesus Christ. Wherefore, giving thanks through him to thee, together with him and the Holy

Ghost, we offer this reasonable and unbloody worship, which is offered to thee by all nations, from the rising to the setting of the sun; from the north unto the south. For thy name is great among all nations, and in every place incense, sacrifice, and oblations are offered to it.

We most earnestly beseech thee, O thou lover of mankind, to be mindful of the one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, which is spread over the face of the whole earth: be mindful, O Lord, of all thy people, the flocks of thy fold.

Send down from heaven into our hearts that peace which the world cannot give, and that too of this world.

Guide in peace the king, the armies, the commanders, the senate, the councils, the people, the neighbourhood, our coming in and our going out.

O King of peace, give us thy peace, keep us in love and charity; be our God, for we know none besides thee; we call upon thy name: grant unto our souls the life of righteousness, that the death of sin may not prevail against us, or any of thy people.

Visit, O Lord, and heal those who are sick, according to thy pity and compassion; turn from them and from us all sickness and diseases; restore them to, and confirm them in their strength. Raise up those who have lingered under long and tedious indispositions; succour those who are vexed with unclean spirits. Relieve those who are in prisons, or in the mines; under accusations, or condemnations; in exile, or in slavery, or loaded with grievous tribute; deliver them all, for thou art our God, who loosest those who are in bonds, and raisest up those who are oppressed; the hope of the hopeless, the helper of the helpless, the lifter up of those who are fallen, the haven of those who are shipwrecked, the avenger of those who are injured. Give thy pity, pardon, and refreshment to every christian soul, whether in affliction or in error. And, O Lord, thou Physician of soul and body, heal all our infirmities both of soul and body; O thou who art the overseer of all flesh, watch over us, and heal us by thy saving health. Be a guide at all times and in all places to our brethren who are travelling, or about to travel whether by land or by water, whatever way they pursue their journey, bring them all to a quiet and safe port; be with them in their voyages, and on their road, restore them to their friends, and let them receive

each other in joy and health. Preserve us also, O Lord, in our pilgrimage through this life, from hurt and danger. Send rain out of thy treasures upon those places which stand in need of it; renew and make glad the face of the earth by its descent, that bringing forth, it may rejoice in the drops thereof. Raise the waters of the river to their just height, renew and make glad the face of the earth by the ascent of them, water its furrows, and increase its produce. Bless, O Lord, the fruits of the earth, and preserve them incorrupt for our use, that we may sow and reap from them. Bless also, O Lord, and crown the year with the riches of thy goodness, for the sake of the poor, the widow, the fatherless, and the stranger: for the sake of all us who put our trust in thee, and call upon thy holy name: for the eyes of all wait upon thee, O Lord, and thou givest them meat in due season. O thou, that givest food to all flesh, fill our hearts with joy and gladness; give us always what is sufficient for the relief of our necessities, that we may abound in every good work in Jesus Christ our Lord.

King of kings, and Lord of lords, defend thy servant our king, who rightly believes in thee and thy Christ; that, as thou hast appointed him to reign over us here upon earth, he may do it in peace, in power, and in justice. Subdue all his enemies and adversaries both at home and abroad: take the sword and buckler, and stand up to help him: bring forth the spear, and stop the way against them which persecute him: cover his head in the day of battle, and grant that the fruit of his body may sit upon his throne. Incline his heart to be favourable and gracious to thy holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, and to all christian people; so that in his peace we may enjoy peace, and live quietly in all godliness and honesty.

Give rest, O Lord our God, to the souls of our fathers and brethren, who are departed in the faith of Christ; be mindful of our forefathers from the beginning of the world, of the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops, saints, just men, and the soul of every one who is gone before us in the faith of Christ; especially of those whom we this day commemorate, and of our holy father Mark the apostle and evangelist, who shewed unto us the way of salvation.

Hail thou that art full of grace, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb,

because thou broughtest forth the Saviour of our souls. *With a loud voice*: especially of the most holy, immaculate, blessed lady, the mother of God, and the ever Virgin Mary.

Deacon. Sir, your blessing.

Priest. The Lord bless thee with his grace, now, henceforth, and for evermore.

The Deacon reads the dypticks of the dead.

The Priest bows down, and prays:

GIVE rest to the souls of all these, O Lord, our God, in the tabernacles of thy saints; dispense unto them in thy kingdom those good things which thou hast promised, which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man; which thou hast prepared, O God, for those who love thy holy name. Give rest to their souls, and vouchsafe them the kingdom of heaven: but grant unto us, that we may finish our lives as christians, well-pleasing to thee, and free from sin, and that we may have our portion and lot with all thy saints. Receive, O God, unto thy holy heaven, and intellectual altar in the heaven of heavens, by the ministry of archangels, the eucharistical praises of those that offer sacrifices and oblations to thee; of those who would offer much or little, privately or openly, but have it not to offer; of those who have this day brought their offerings. Receive them as thou didst the gifts of thy righteous Abel, [*here the Priest casts on the incense, and says,*] the sacrifice of our father Abraham, the incense of Zacharias, the alms of Cornelius, and the widow's mites. Receive their offerings of praise and thanksgiving, and for their earthly things give them heavenly, for their temporal, eternal. In a more especial manner preserve our most holy and blessed Pope N. whom thou didst foreknow, and ordain to govern thy holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, and our most holy Bishop N. preserve them many years in peace and quietness, that they may faithfully discharge the duties of thy High Priesthood committed to them; rightly dispensing, according to thy holy will the Word of Truth. Be mindful also of all orthodox bishops, wheresoever they be, and all priests, deacons, subdeacons, readers, singers, monks, virgins, widows, and laics. Be mindful also of the holy city, of Christ our God, of the imperial city, of this our city, and of every other city and country, and all that dwell therein, rightly professing the faith of Christ;

keep them all in peace and safety. Be mindful, O Lord, of every christian soul that is afflicted or distressed, and stands in need of the assistance of thy divine mercy ; be mindful too of bringing back those who have wandered out of the way. Remember also, O Lord, our brethren which are in captivity ; grant that they may find pity and compassion from those that have led them away captive. Remember us also, O Lord, who are vile sinners, and thy unworthy servants, and in thy merciful goodness blot out our offences. Remember even me also, O Lord, thy lowly, sinful, and unworthy servant, and in thy merciful goodness blot out mine offences. Be present with us who minister to thy holy name. Bless, O Lord, our congregations. Root out idolatry from the world. Beat down satan, with all his wicked contrivances, under our feet. Humble, O Lord, the enemies of thy church, as thou hast always been wont to do. Expose their pride, convince them of their weakness, discover their snares, and confound all their devices which they have imagined against us. Arise, O Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered ; let them be turned backward, and put to confusion, who hate thy holy name : but to thy faithful people, which do thy will, give thousand thousands, and ten thousand times ten thousand of blessings.

Deacon. All you who are sitting, rise up.

The Priest says this prayer :

RELEASE those that are in bonds, relieve those that are in necessity, feed the hungry, comfort the feeble-minded, bring back those that are gone astray, give light to them that are in darkness, raise up those that are fallen, fix the unstable, heal the sick : direct all, O God, into the way of salvation, and gather them into thy fold ; but deliver us from our iniquities, and be in all things our protection and defence.

Deacon. To the East

The Priest bows down, and prays :

FOR thou art above all principality and power, might and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come ; thousand thousands, and ten thousand times ten thousand of angels, and archangels, thine armies stand before thee, as likewise do those two most honourable kind of creatures the many-eyed cherubim, and the six-winged

seraphim, who with twain cover their faces, and with twain their feet, and with twain they fly, calling one to another, never ceasing from divine praises, singing, crying out, and glorifying; lifting up their voices, and saying that triumphal and most holy hymn to thy great glory.

Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth, heaven and earth are full of thy glory. *Exalting his voice:* It is thou, indeed, who dost make all holy, nevertheless, O Lord, together with all those that hallow thee, accept our holy song, which we sing together with them, saying,

People. Holy, holy, holy, Lord.

The Priest signs the holy elements with the sign of the cross, saying,

HEAVEN and earth are indeed full of thy glory, by the manifestation of our Lord, our God, and Saviour Jesus Christ: sanctify also, O God, this sacrifice with thy benediction, by the descent of thine Holy Spirit upon it. For our Lord himself, our God, and supreme king Jesus Christ, in the same night wherein he delivered himself for our sins, and was about to suffer death for mankind, sitting down to supper with his disciples, he took bread in his holy, spotless, and undefiled hands, and looking up to thee his Father, but our God, and the God of all, he gave thanks, he blessed, he sanctified, and brake it, and gave it to them, saying, *Exalting his voice,* Take, eat.

Deacon. Attend.

Priest with a loud voice:

For this is my body, which is broken, and given for the remission of sins.

People. Amen.

The Priest praying, says,

IN like manner he took the cup after supper, and mixing it with wine and water, and looking up to heaven, to thee his Father, but our God, and the God of all, he gave thanks, he blessed, he filled it with the Holy Ghost, and gave it to his holy and blessed disciples, saying, *Exalting his voice,* Drink ye all of this.

Deacon. Attend again.

The Priest with a loud voice.

FOR this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed and given for you, and for many, for the remission of sins.

People. Amen.

The Priest goes on, praying thus :

Do this in remembrance of me: for as often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shew forth my death, and confess my resurrection and ascension, till my coming again. Shewing forth therefore, O Lord Almighty, heavenly king, the death of thine only begotten Son our Lord, our God, and Saviour Jesus Christ, and confessing his blessed resurrection from the dead on the third day, his ascension into heaven, and his session at the right hand of thee his God and Father; and also looking for his second terrible and dreadful appearance, when he shall come in righteousness to judge both the quick and the dead, and to render to every man according to his works, we, O Lord God, have set before thee thine own, out of thine own gifts. And we pray and beseech thee, O thou lover of mankind, to send down from thy holy heaven, the habitation of thy dwelling, from thine infinite bosom, the Paraclete, the Spirit of Truth, the Holy One, the Lord, the giver of life, who spake in the law, in the prophets, and in the apostles; who is everywhere, and fills all things, sanctifying whom he pleases, not ministerially, but according to his own will; simple in nature, but various in operation; the fountain of all divine graces; consubstantial with thee, proceeding from thee, and sitting with thee in the throne of thy kingdom, together with thy Son our Lord, our God and Saviour Jesus Christ. Send down thine Holy Spirit upon us, and upon these loaves, and these cups, that the Almighty God may sanctify, and throughly consecrate them; *Exalting his voice*; making the bread the body.

People. Amen.

The Priest with a loud voice :

And the cup the blood of the New Testament of our Lord himself, our God, our Saviour, and supreme King Jesus Christ.

Deacon Descend, ye deacons.

Priest with a loud voice :

THAT they may be to us, who partake of them, the means of faith, sobriety, health, temperance, sanctification, the renewing of our soul, our body, and spirit; the communion of the blessedness of eternal life and immortality; the glorifying of thy holy name; and the remission of sins: that as well in this, as in all things else, thy holy, honourable, and glorious name may, together with Christ, and the Holy Ghost, be hallowed, praised, and glorified.

People. As was, and is.

Priest. Peace be with you all.

Deacon. Pray ye.

The Priest prays privately :

O God of light, Father of life, Author of grace, Maker of ages, Fountain of knowledge, Giver of wisdom, Treasure of holiness, Teacher of uncorrupt prayer, Benefactor of the soul, who givest to those who are poor in spirit, and put their trust in thee, such things as the very angels desire to look into; who hast brought us out of darkness into light, from death to life, from bondage into liberty, and hast dispelled the cloud of sin which hung about us, by the coming of thine only begotten Son. Even now, O Lord, do thou so enlighten our understanding by the coming of thy Holy Spirit upon us, that we may partake of this immortal, heavenly food, not to our condemnation; but so thoroughly sanctify us in soul, in body, and in spirit, that we may say with thy holy disciples and apostles this prayer:

Our Father, which art in heaven, &c. *with a loud voice.* And vouchsafe, O Lord, thou lover of mankind, that with boldness, uncondemned, with a pure heart, an enlightened soul, and cheerful countenance, we may dare to call upon thee, O God the Father, and say,

People. Our Father, which art in heaven, &c.

The Priest prays.

O LORD, LORD, lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. For thy abundant pity knoweth, that we are not able to withstand it, by reason of our manifold infirmities. With the temptation therefore make a way to escape, that we may be able to withstand it; for thou hast given us power to tread

upon serpents and scorpions, and all the strength of the enemy.
Exalting his voice : For thine is the kingdom, and the power.

People. Amen.

Priest. Peace be with you all.

Deacon. Bow down your heads to the Lord Jesus.

The Priest prays :

O LORD God Almighty, that sittest between the cherubim, and art glorified by the seraphim, who hast stretched out the heaven from the waters, and beautified it with a choir of stars ; who hast placed on high armies of incorporeal angels for thine eternal glory ; we bow down ourselves, both soul and body, before thee, testifying thereby our subjection to thee, and beseech thee to defend us from all the secret attacks of sin, and to make us glad with the Divine Influence of thine Holy Spirit ; so that being filled with the knowledge of thee, we may worthily partake of the good things lying before us, the spotless body, the precious blood of thine only begotten Son our Lord, our God, and Saviour Jesus Christ ; thou, of thy manifold and unsearchable goodness, forgiving all our sins, through the grace, mercy, and goodwill of thine only begotten Son. *Exalting his voice ;* Through whom, and with whom, together with the holy, good, and life-giving spirit, glory and power be unto thee. \

Priest. Peace be with you all.

Deacon. With the fear of God.

The Priest prays :

O HOLY, high, and terrible Lord, who dwellest in thy holy places, sanctify us with thy grace and the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit. For thou, Lord, hast said, Be ye holy, as I am holy. O Lord, our God, the incomprehensible Word, consubstantial, co-eternal, and co-equal with the Father and the Holy Ghost, receive the immortal hymn which is proclaimed aloud, and said, with the cherubim and the seraphim, by me a sinner, thy unworthy servant, and my unhallowed lips.

The Priest with a loud voice :

Holy things for holy persons.

People. There is one Holy Father, one Holy Son, One Holy Ghost ; in the unity of the Holy Spirit. *Amen.*

Deacon. For salvation and defence.

The Priest signing the people with the sign of the cross,
says aloud,
The Lord be with you all.

Here the Priest breaks the bread, saying to them that assist him,
The Lord bless you, and of his great goodness be with you in
your ministrations.

Here the Priest says, command.

The Clergy. May the Holy Ghost command, and sanctify.

Priest. Behold it is sanctified, it is consecrated.

Clergy. One Holy Father, one Holy Son, one Holy Ghost.

Priest. The Lord be with you all.

Clergy. And with thy Spirit.

Priest. He has blessed it.

The Priest receives, and says a prayer, &c.

As the hart desireth the rivers of waters, so longeth my soul
after thee, O God.

And when he gives the bread to the Clergy, he says,
The holy body.

And when he delivers the cup, he says,
The precious blood of our Lord, our God and Saviour.

THE
LITURGY OF ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM,

WHICH IS THE LITURGY USED IN THE PATRIARCHATE OF
CONSTANTINOPLE.

*As it is published by Goar, in his Euchologium, or Collection of the offices of the Greek Church.
Printed at Paris, 1647.*

AFTER the bread and cup have been placed upon the altar, into which cup the deacon had poured wine and water,

The Priest shall say with a loud voice,

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with you all.

People. And with thy spirit.

Priest. Let us lift up our hearts.

People. We lift them up unto the Lord.

Priest. Let us give thanks unto the Lord.

People. It is meet and right to worship the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the consubstantial, undivided trinity.

The Priest bowing down, prays with a low voice :

It is meet and right to praise Thee, to bless Thee, to glorify Thee, to give thanks to Thee, to worship Thee, in all places of thy dominion ; for thou art God ineffable, inconceivable, invisible, incomprehensible, from everlasting to everlasting, the same thou, and thine only begotten Son, and Holy Spirit. Thou broughtest us out of nothing into being ; and when (by our disobedience) we were fallen, thou didst raise us again, and try if by any means thou couldst bring us to heaven, and give us an inheritance in thy kingdom. For these and all other thy mercies, whether known to us or unknown, whether public or private, we give thanks to thee, and thine only begotten Son, and Holy

Spirit. We likewise give thee thanks, that thou dost vouchsafe to receive this worship from our hands, seeing thou art encompassed with thousands of archangels, and ten thousands of angels, the cherubim, and seraphim, with six wings, and many eyes, who aloft, upon the wing, *with a loud voice*, sing, proclaim, cry out, and say that triumphal hymn.

People. Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth, heaven and earth are full of thy glory, hosanna in the highest; blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord, hosanna in the highest.

Then the Deacon takes the asterisk, and making a cross over the paten with it, and wiping it with the corporal, kisses it, and lays it down with the air. Then he goes to the right side, and reverently fans the holy things with a fan; but if there be no fan, he does it with the veil.

The Priest prays with a low voice:

WITH these blessed powers, we, O Lord, thou lover of mankind, cry out, and say, Holy art thou, most holy thou, thine only begotten Son, and Holy Spirit. Holy art thou, most holy and great is thy glory; who didst so love the world, that thou gavest thine only begotten Son, that every man who believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. He came into the world, and fulfilled whatever was appointed him to do for our sakes, and in the same night wherein he was delivered up, or rather he delivered up himself, to suffer death for the life of the world; he took bread into his holy, spotless, and undefiled hands; he gave thanks, and blessed it; he sanctified, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples and apostles, saying,

The Priest bows his head, and devoutly lifting up his right hand, blesses the holy bread, saying with a loud voice,

Take, eat; this is my body, which is broken for you, for the remission of sins.

People. Amen.

The Deacon taking hold of his orarium, points, together with the Priest, to the holy paten; the same is done afterward to the cup. This is done in like manner when the Priest pronounces these words:

Thine own, of thine own, &c.

The Priest with a low voice :

Likewise the cup after supper, saying,

The Priest devoutly lifting up his hand, and blessing it, says,

Drink ye all of this ; this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for you, and for many, for the remission of sins.

People. Amen.

The Priest bowing his head, says with a low voice :

IN remembrance therefore of this command of our Saviour, and all those things which he did for us, his cross, his burial, his resurrection on the third day, his ascension into heaven, his sitting down at thy right hand, and his second coming in great glory.

With a loud voice. Through all, and in all things, we offer to thee thine own, out of thine own gifts.

People. We praise thee, we bless thee, we give thanks to thee, O Lord, and supplicate thee, O our God.

The Priest bowing down, says with a low voice :

We offer to thee this reasonable and unbloody worship, and beg, pray, beseech thee to send down thine Holy Spirit upon us, and upon these gifts lying before thee.

The Deacon lays down the fan, or the veil which he had in his hand ; and going nearer to the Priest, they both bow down three times before the holy table, and pray privately :

O GOD, be merciful to me a sinner, *three times.*

O Lord, who didst send thy Holy Spirit upon thy apostles at the third hour, take him not from us.

And

Make me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me.

Then the Deacon bowing down his head, points with the orarium to the holy bread, and says with a low voice :

Bless, sir, the holy bread.

And the Priest standing upright, signs three times the holy gifts with the cross, and says with a low voice :

Make this bread the precious body of thy Christ.

Deacon. Amen.

The Deacon again :

Bless, sir, the holy cup.

And the Priest blessing it, says,

And what is in this cup, the precious blood of thy Christ.

Deacon. Amen.

The Deacon again pointing to both with the orarium, says,

Bless, sir.

And the Priest blessing both with his hand, says,

Changing them by thy Holy Spirit.

Deacon. Amen, Amen, Amen.

The Deacon bowing down to the Priest, says,

Holy sir, remember me a sinner.

*Then he returns to the place where he stood before,
and takes the fan into his hand.*

The Priest prays with a low voice :

THAT it may be to those who partake of it for sobriety, the remission of sins, the communication of the Holy Ghost, the fulness of the kingdom of heaven ; for confidence in thee, and not for judgment or condemnation.

We offer moreover this reasonable worship, for those who are departed from us in faith, our forefathers, fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, preachers, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, chaste persons, and every spirit perfected in faith : *With a loud voice :* especially the most holy, immaculate, blessed above all, most glorious lady, the mother of God, and ever Virgin Mary.

The People sing, It is indeed meet to call thee blessed, who art the mother of God, most highly blessed for ever, beyond exception ; more honourable than the cherubim, and more glorious than the seraphim, who by an immaculate conception didst bear God the Word : we magnify thee, mother of God.

Or else they sing something proper for the day.

The Deacon burns frankincense round the altar, reads the dypticks, and remembers so many of the dead and living as he thinks fit.

The Priest bowing down, says with a low voice :

ST. JOHN the prophet, the forerunner of our Saviour, and the Baptist; the holy and renowned apostles, *N.* whom we commemorate, and all other thy saints : for the sake of whose prayers, O God, look upon us ; and be mindful of those who rest in hope of a resurrection to eternal life.

Here the Priest remembers whom he pleases, whether living or dead.

For the living he says :

For health, protection, and remission of the sins of *N.* the servant of God.

For the dead he says :

For the rest and forgiveness of the soul of thy servant *N.* Give it rest, O God, in a pleasant place, where there is no sorrow or mourning, but where it may rejoice in the light of thy countenance. We beseech thee likewise, O Lord, to remember all orthodox bishops, and those who rightly divide the Word of Truth, the presbyters and deacons in Christ, and all others of the ministerial order. We offer likewise this reasonable worship for the whole world ; for the holy catholic and apostolic church ; for all who lead their lives in chastity and holiness ; for our emperors who live in the faith and love of Christ, for their court and camp. Give them, O Lord, a peaceable reign, that in their peace we also may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty.

Then the Deacon turns to the door of the sacred place, and holding his orarium in three fingers, says,

And for all men and women.

The People sing. And for all men and women.

The Priest aloud. In the first place, remember, O Lord, our most sacred Metropolitan *N.* Preserve him for the sake of thy holy church in safety, honour, health, long life, rightly dividing the Word of Truth.

The Deacon standing at the door, says,

For *N.* our most sacred Metropolitan, or Bishop, *whoever he be.* And for the most devout priest *N.* who is now offering these

holy gifts. For the safety of our most religious emperors, who are God's more especial care ; and for all men and women.

People. For all men and women.

The Priest prays with a low voice :

Remember, O Lord, this city wherein we dwell, and every other city and country, and all the faithful who dwell in them. Remember, O Lord, all that travel by land or by water, all that labour under sickness or slavery ; remember them for health and safety. Remember, O Lord, those in thy holy church who bring forth good works, and forget not the poor. Grant unto us all thy mercy and loving kindness.

With a loud voice :

And grant that we may with one mouth, and one heart, praise and glorify thy great and glorious name, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now, henceforth, and for ever.

People. Amen.

The Priest turns to the door, and blessing with a loud voice, says,

'The blessing of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, be with you all.

People. And with thy spirit.

The Deacon taking this opportunity of going without the door and standing in the accustomed place, says,

Being mindful of all saints, let us again and again pray unto the Lord.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us.

Deacon. Let us pray unto the Lord for the sake of the precious gifts now offered and consecrated.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us.

Deacon. Let us pray unto the Lord, that our God, the lover of mankind, who has received them upon his holy, heavenly, and intellectual altar for a sweet smelling savour, would send down upon us his divine grace, the gift of his Holy Spirit.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us.

Deacon. Let us pray unto the Lord, that we may be delivered from all affliction, wrath, danger, and necessity.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us.

The Priest prays with a low voice:

To thee, O gracious Lord, we commend our life and hope, and pray, beseech, and implore thee, to make us worthy to communicate of the heavenly and tremendous mysteries of this sacred and spiritual table with a pure conscience, for the remission of our sins, for the pardon of our manifold offences, for the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, for an inheritance in the kingdom of heaven, for sure confidence in thee, and not for judgment and condemnation.

Deacon. Receive, preserve, have mercy upon us, and keep us, O God, of thy goodness.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us.

Deacon. Let us beseech the Lord, that we may spend all our days in holiness, in peace, and free from sin.

People. Grant this, O Lord.

Deacon. Let us beseech the Lord to appoint unto us an angel of peace, for a faithful guide, and guardian both of our souls and bodies.

People. Grant this, O Lord.

Deacon. Let us beseech the Lord for pardon and forgiveness of our sins and offences.

People. Grant this, O Lord.

Deacon. Let us beseech the Lord for those things which are good and profitable for our souls, and for the peace of the world.

People. Grant this, O Lord.

Deacon. Let us beseech the Lord that we may lead the residue of our lives in peace and repentance.

People. Grant this, O Lord.

Deacon. Let us commend ourselves, and one another, to Christ our God, beseeching him to grant us unity in faith, and the communion of the Holy Ghost.

People. We commend ourselves and one another to thee, O Lord.

The Priest with a loud voice:

And grant, O Lord, that we may boldly, and without blame, presume to call upon thee our God, and heavenly Father, saying,

People. Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name, &c.

The Priest with a loud voice :

For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now, henceforth, and for ever.

People. Amen.

Priest. Peace be with you all.

People. And with thy spirit.

Deacon. Bow down your heads to the Lord.

People. To thee, O Lord.

The Deacon bowing his head a little, and seeing the Priest worship, worships also himself.

The Priest in a bowing posture, prays with a low voice :

WE give thanks to thee, O invisible King, who of thine infinite power hast created all things, and of the multitude of thy mercy hast brought all things out of nothing into being. Look down from heaven, O Lord, upon those who have bowed down their heads to thee; for they have not bowed down to flesh and blood; but to thee a terrible God. Dispense therefore, O Lord, these mysteries lying before thee, to all of us for good, and according to the several necessities of each of us. Be present with all who travel by land, or by water, and heal all who are diseased, O thou, who art the physician both of soul and body. *With a loud voice :* Through the grace, mercies, and loving kindness of thine only begotten Son, with whom, together with the holy, good, and life giving Spirit, blessed art thou, now, henceforth, and for ever.

People. Amen.

The Priest prays with a low voice :

Draw near, O Lord Jesus Christ our God, from the habitation of thy dwelling, and the throne of glory in thy kingdom, and come and sanctify us, O thou, who sittest on high at the right hand of the Father, and at the same time art invisibly present with us here below: and vouchsafe to impart to us, by thy mighty hand, thine immaculate body, and most precious blood; and by us to all the people.

Then the Priest worships, and likewise the Deacon, in the place where he stands; both of them saying three times,

Lord, be merciful to me a sinner.

All the people in like manner worship devoutly.

The Deacon when he sees the Priest stretching forth his hands, and touching the holy bread, in order to make the elevation, says with a loud voice,

Let us draw near.

Priest. Holy things for holy persons.

People. There is one holy, one Lord Jesus Christ in the glory of God the Father. *Amen.*

Then the people sing the antiphon of the day, or of the saint whose feast is celebrated.

And the Deacon girds himself with the orarium in the form of a cross, and standing at the right hand of the Priest who holds the bread, says,

Divide, sir, the holy bread.

Then the Priest carefully and devoutly breaks it into four parts, and says,

The Lamb of God, the Son of the Father, is broken and divided; he is divided, but not diminished; he is always eaten, but not consumed: but sanctifies all who are partakers of him.

Then he takes one piece of the holy bread, and holds it in his hand. And the Deacon pointing with the orarium to the holy cup, says,

Fill, sir, the holy cup.

The Priest says,

The fulness of faith is of the Holy Ghost.

And making the sign of the cross, puts it into the holy cup.

Deacon. Amen.

And taking warm water, he says to the Priest,
Bless, sir, this holy warm water.

The Priest blessing it, says,

Blessed be the fervent zeal of thy saints, now, henceforth, and for evermore. *Amen.*

Then the Deacon pours it in the form of a cross into the holy cup, saying,

The fervency of faith is full of the Holy Ghost. *Amen.*

And this he does three times. Then setting away the vessel of warm water, he stands at a little distance: but the Priest says,

Deacon, come near.

The Deacon comes near with reverence, makes his confession, and desires forgiveness. The Priest holding out the holy bread, gives it to the Deacon, and the Deacon kissing the hand which holds it out to him, takes it, saying,

Make me partaker, sir, of the precious and holy body of our Lord, our God and Saviour Jesus Christ.

The Priest says,

I do make you partaker of the precious, holy, and immaculate body of our Lord, our God and Saviour Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins and eternal life.

Then he withdraws behind the holy table, bowing his head, and prays in the same manner that the Priest does. For the Priest also receives the holy bread, bowing his head before the holy table, and prays in this manner:

I believe, Lord, and confess that thou art Christ the Son of the living God, who didst come into the world to save sinners, of which I am chief, &c.

And, Receive me, O Son of God, who have now communicated of thy mystical supper. For I will not divulge this mystery to thine enemies; I will not give thee a deceitful kiss, as Judas did; but as the thief will confess to thee: Remember me, O Lord, in thy kingdom.

And, I am not worthy, Lord, that thou shouldst come unto me: but as thou didst vouchsafe to lodge in a den, and stable of brute beasts; and in the house of Simon the leper; and didst receive the harlot, a sinner like unto me, when she came to thee: vouchsafe in like manner to enter into the stable of my brutish soul, my defiled body, who am dead in sin, a spiritual leprosy. And forasmuch as thou didst not disdain the foul mouth of the harlot, when she kissed thy unpolluted feet; disdain not me who am a sinner, O Lord my God. But as thou art good and gracious, make me worthy to partake of thy most holy body and blood.

Remit, pardon, and forgive, O God, all the sins which I have

committed against thee, whether knowingly or ignorantly, whether by word or deed; according to thy goodness and pity forgive them all, through the intercessions of thy spotless and ever virgin mother. Suffer me not to fall under condemnation, but to receive thy precious and immaculate body, for the healing of my soul and body. For thine is the kingdom, power, and glory, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now, henceforth, and for evermore. *Amen.*

In the same manner as they received the holy bread, they receive the holy cup. The Priest takes the holy cup, and drinks of it three times, bowing down all the time; the first time he drinks, he says,

In the name of the Father,
the second, and Son,
the third, and Holy Ghost.

After he has received, he decently and reverently wipes the holy cup and his own lips with the veil, saying,

This has touched my lips, and shall take away mine iniquities, and shall purge me from my sins, from this time forth, and for evermore. *Amen.*

Still holding in his hand the holy cup, he calls the Deacon, saying,

Deacon, draw near.

The Deacon draws near, and bowing down once, says,
Behold, I draw near to the immortal king.
And, I believe, Lord, and confess, &c. as before.

The Priest says,

Thou, O deacon, the servant of God, receivest the precious and holy body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and eternal life.

Whilst the Deacon communicates, the Priest says,

This has touched thy lips, and shall take away thine iniquities, and shall purge thee from thy sins; *as he said of himself.*

Then the Deacon taking the holy paten, and holding it over

the cup, wipes with the sponge all the crumbs into it, and then carefully and reverently covers the holy cup with the veil, and puts the asterisk with another veil over the paten. They open the door, and the Deacon bowing with reverence, takes the holy cup, and goes to the door; then lifting it up, shews it to the people, saying,

Draw near in the faith and fear of God.

People. Amen, Amen, Amen; blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.

[*Here undoubtedly the communion is to be distributed to the people; although in the Liturgy, as published by Goar, it is not mentioned. For immediately after the people have said Amen, Amen, Amen, &c. it follows:*]

And the Priest blesses the people with a loud voice, saying,

Save thy people, O God, and bless thine inheritance.

People. For many years, O Lord. *And the Deacon and Priest return to the holy table.*

THE
LITURGY OF ST. BASIL,

WHICH IS USED UPON SOME OF THE GREAT FESTIVALS THROUGHOUT
THE PATRIARCHATE OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

Published by Goar, in his Euchologium.

The Priest with a loud voice :

THE grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God the Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all.

People. And with thy spirit.

Priest. Let us lift up our hearts.

People. We lift them up unto the Lord.

Priest. Let us give thanks unto the Lord.

People. It is meet and right to worship Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the consubstantial and undivided Trinity.

The Priest bowing down, prays with a low voice :

O SOVEREIGN Lord, God the Father, who art Almighty and adorable ; it is indeed very meet, right, and agreeable to the majesty of thy holiness, that we should sing praises to thee, bless thee, worship thee, give thanks to thee, glorify thee, the only true God ; and with a contrite heart and humble spirit offer to thee this our reasonable service. For it is thou who hast called us to the knowledge of thy truth. But who is able to talk of thy power, to shew forth thy praise, and tell of all thy wondrous works ? O thou governor of all things, Lord of heaven and earth, and of every creature, whether visible or invisible, who sittest upon the throne of glory, and from thence beholdest the vast abyss, self-existing, invisible, incomprehensible, and immutable ; the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the great God and Saviour of our hope ;

who is the express image of thy goodness, and the lively representation of thee his Father; the living Word, God before all ages, wisdom, life, holiness, power, the true light from whence proceeded the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of truth, the grace of adoption, and pledge of our future inheritance, the first fruits of eternal good things, the life-giving power, and the fountain of holiness, by whom all reasonable and intelligent creatures are empowered to serve and praise thee: for all things do serve thee, angels, arch-angels, thrones, dominions, principalities, authorities, powers, the many eyed cherubim, and seraphim, with six wings, who with twain cover their faces, and with twain their feet, and with twain they fly, crying one to another incessantly, and with uninterrupted praises, *the Priest with a loud voice*, singing, shouting, crying aloud, and saying the triumphal hymn.

People. Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth, heaven and earth are full of thy glory, hosanna in the highest; blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord, hosanna in the highest.

Then the Deacon performs the same things which are prescribed in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom.

The Priest prays with a low voice :

WITH those blessed powers, O merciful Lord, we, unworthy sinners, cry aloud, and say; Thou art indeed truly holy, thy holiness is perfect, infinite, manifesting itself in all thy works; for in righteousness and true judgment hast thou done all things. When thou hadst formed man out of the dust of the earth, and honoured him, O God, with thine own image impressed upon him; thou didst place him in a Paradise of pleasure, with a promise of rewarding his obedience to thy commands with immortality and eternal happiness. But when, overreached by the subtilty of the serpent, he became disobedient to thee, and by his transgressions was made subject to death; thou, O God, in thy just judgment, didst drive him out of Paradise, and reduce him again to earth from whence he was taken, preparing for him however a new birth to everlasting life, which is in thy Christ. For thou wast not always wroth with thy creature, or for ever unmindful of the work of thine own hands, but in thine abundant pity didst in divers manners visit him with a providential care. Thou didst send thy prophets, and shew mighty works through thy saints,

who pleased thee in all ages. Thou spakest to us by the mouth of thy servants the prophets, who foretold us of a salvation to come. Thou appointedst the law for our direction, and guardian angels for our preservation. And when the fulness of time was come, thou spakest unto us by thy Son, by whom thou hadst made the worlds. Who being the brightness of thy glory, and the express image of thy person, upholding all things by the word of his power, thought it no robbery to be equal to thee his God and Father. Nevertheless he who was God from all eternity, came down from heaven, conversed with mankind, was incarnate of the Virgin Mary, debased himself to the form of a servant, making himself in his humiliation like unto us, that he might raise us to the likeness of the image of his glory. For as by man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; it seemed good to thine only-begotten Son, who is in the bosom of thee his God and Father, being made of a woman, the holy Mother of God, and ever Virgin Mary, and under the law to triumph over sin in his own flesh, that those who died in Adam, might be made alive in him, thy Christ. He conversed in the world, instructed us in the way of salvation, brought us from our idolatry, to the knowledge of thee our true God and Father, purchasing us to himself for a peculiar people, a royal priesthood, an holy nation; and having baptized us with water for the remission of our sins, and sanctified us with the Holy Ghost, he gave himself a ransom to redeem us from death, by which we were detained, being by our sins become his prey; and descending through the cross into hell, that he might fulfil all things in himself, he loosed the pains of death; and rising again the third day, he led the way to a resurrection of all flesh from the dead, forasmuch as it was impossible for the author of life to be held of corruption: He became the first fruits of them that slept, and the first-begotten from the dead, that he might be the first of all in all things. And ascending up into heaven, he sat down at the right hand of thy Majesty on high, who shall likewise come again to render to every man according to his works. But he has left to us a memorial of his saving passion, these gifts which we have now offered according to his command: for when he was just going out to his voluntary, glorious, and life-giving death, in the same night wherein he gave up himself for the life of the world, taking bread into his holy and immaculate hands, and presenting it to

thee his God and Father, He gave thanks, blessed, sanctified, and brake it.

The Priest bows down his head, and devoutly holding up his right hand, he blesses the holy bread, saying with a loud voice ;

He gave it to his holy disciples and apostles, saying, Take, eat ; this is my body, which is broken for you for the remission of sins.

The people sing. Amen.

Then the Priest and Deacon do and say the same things which are prescribed in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom.

Priest with a low voice :

In like manner taking, mixing, giving thanks, blessing, sanctifying the cup of the fruit of the vine.

The Priest holding up his right hand devoutly, and blessing it, says with a loud voice :

He gave it to his holy disciples and apostles, saying, Drink ye all of this ; this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you, and for many, for the remission of sins.

The people sing. Amen.

The Priest bowing down his head, prays with a low voice :

Do this in remembrance of me : for as oft as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shew forth my death, and confess my resurrection. Wherefore we also, O Lord, having in remembrance those things which he suffered for our salvation, his life-giving cross, his lying in the grave for three days, his resurrection from the dead, his ascension into heaven, his session at the right hand of thee his God and Father, and his glorious and terrible second appearance, *the Priest with a loud voice :* through all, and in all, offer to thee thine own, out of thine own gifts.

The people sing. We praise thee, we bless thee, we give thanks to thee, O Lord, and make our supplications to thee, O our God.

The Priest bowing his head, prays with a low voice :

Wherefore, O most holy Lord, we sinners, thy unworthy ser-

vants, to whom thou hast vouchsafed the honour to minister unto thee ; not upon account of our own righteousness, (for we have done nothing praise-worthy) but according to thy mercies and compassions which thou hast liberally bestowed upon us, approach thy holy altar : and laying before thee these symbols of the holy body and blood of thy Christ, we pray and beseech thee, O thou Holy of holies, of thy gracious goodness to send down thine Holy Spirit upon us, and upon these gifts, to bless, to sanctify, and to perfect them.

The Deacon lays down the fan, or veil which he held, and comes nearer to the Priest ; and both of them bow down thrice before the holy table, and pray privately :

God be merciful to me a sinner, *thrice with a low voice.*

O Lord, who sentest thy Holy Spirit to thy apostles at the third hour, take him not from us, O merciful God.

And, Make me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me.

Then the Deacon bowing his head, points with his orarium to the holy bread, and says with a low voice :

Bless, sir, the holy bread.

The Priest standing upright, signs the holy gifts thrice, and says with a low voice :

Make this bread the precious body of our Lord, our God and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Deacon. Amen.

The Deacon again :

Bless, sir, the holy cup.

The Priest blessing it, says,

And this cup the precious blood of our Lord, our God and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Deacon. Amen.

Priest. Which was shed for the light of the world.

Deacon. Amen.

The Deacon pointing again with the orarium to both the holy things, says,

Bless, sir.

The Priest blessing both with his hand, says,

Changing them by thy Holy Spirit.

Deacon. Amen, Amen, Amen.

The Deacon bowing to the Priest, says,

Sir, be mindful of me a sinner.

Then he returns to the place where he stood at first, and takes again his fan.

The Priest prays :

UNITE all us who partake of this one bread, and one cup, in the communion of one Holy Spirit, and suffer none of us to partake of the holy body and blood of thy Christ to our judgment and condemnation ; but that we may find mercy and grace with all thy saints who have pleased thee from the beginning of the world, our forefathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, preachers, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, teachers, and every just soul departed in the faith. *With a loud voice ;* especially the most holy, immaculate, blessed above all, most glorious lady, the mother of God, and ever Virgin Mary.

The People sing :

We rejoice in thee.

But if it be Maundy Thursday, they sing :

Receive me, O Son of God, who this day communicate of thy mystical supper ; for I will not divulge this mystery to thine enemies ; I will not give thee a deceitful kiss, as Judas did, but as the thief confess to thee : remember me, O Lord, in thy kingdom.

But if it be the great sabbath, they sing :

Let all flesh be silent, and stand with fear and trembling, laying aside all earthly thoughts ; for the King of kings, and Lord of lords, comes forth to be sacrificed, and given for food to the faithful ; preceded by choirs of archangels, principalities, and powers, the many eyed cherubim, and six winged seraphim, who covering their eyes, sing aloud, Hallelujah.

Here the Deacon burns incense round about the holy table, and reads out of the dypticks the names of so many of the dead and living as he thinks fit..

The Priest prays with a low voice :

ST. JOHN the prophet, the forerunner of our Saviour, and the Baptist ; the holy and renowned apostles ; *N.* whom we commemorate, and all other thy saints : for the sake of whose prayers, O God, look upon us ; and be mindful of those who rest in hope of a resurrection to eternal life.

Here the Priest remembers whom he pleases, whether living or dead.

For the living, he says :

For health, protection, and remission of the sins of *N.* the servant of God.

For the dead, he says :

For the rest, and forgiveness of the soul of thy servant *N.* Give it rest, O God, in a pleasant place, where there is no sorrow or mourning.

This prayer with a low voice :

GIVE it rest where it may rejoice in the light of thy countenance. Farthermore, we beseech thee, O Lord, to be mindful of thy holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, which is spread over the face of the whole earth ; grant it peace, forasmuch as it was purchased by the precious blood of thy Christ ; and establish this holy building that it may continue to the end of the world. Remember, O Lord, those who have offered these gifts, for whom, and by whom, and for what ends they have offered them unto thee. Remember, O Lord, those in thy holy Church who bring forth good fruit, are rich in good works, and forget not the poor ; reward them with the abundant riches of thine heavenly grace ; for their earthly things give them heavenly, for their temporal eternal, for their corruptible those which will not decay. Remember, O Lord, those who are in deserts, mountains, dens, and caves of the earth. Remember, O Lord, those who live in

virginity, piety, holy meditations, and a virtuous course of life. Remember, O Lord, our most religious and faithful emperors, whom thou hast appointed to reign over us here upon earth; defend them with the shield of truth, and of thy loving kindness, cover their head in the day of battle; strengthen their arm, and exalt their right hand; establish their kingdom, and subdue unto them all barbarous nations who delight in war. Grant unto them a profound and lasting peace; incline their heart to be favourable and gracious to thy Church, and all thy people; that in their peace, we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. Remember, O Lord, all in power and authority, and our brethren in court and camp; those that are good, preserve in goodness, and of thy mercy convert the wicked. Remember, O Lord, those who are here present, and those who upon a just account are absent, have mercy upon them, and us, according to the multitude of thy loving kindnesses: fill their garners with all manner of store, preserve their marriage in peace and love, feed the infants, instruct the youth, confirm the aged, strengthen the feeble minded, bring back those who are gone out of the way, and unite them all to thine holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. Succour those who are vexed with unclean spirits; be present with all those who travel by land or by water; be a husband to the widow, a father to the fatherless; deliver those who are in captivity, and heal the sick. Remember, O Lord, those who are called to judgment, and those who are in exile, distress, necessity, or any other adversity: remember all who stand in need of thy pity, those who love us, and those who hate us, and those who desire the prayers of us who are unworthy to offer them unto thee. Remember, O Lord our God, all thy people, and pour upon them the abundance of thy goodness, grant the petitions which they make unto thee for help and salvation. Do thou, O God, remember those whom we have not remembered, either through our ignorance, forgetfulness, or the multitude of their names; for thou knowest the age and condition of them all, even from their mother's womb. For thou, Lord, art the helper of the helpless, the hope of the hopeless, the Saviour of those who are tossed to and fro by tempests, the port of the sailors, and the physician of the sick. Be thou all things to all men, for thou knowest them all, their petitions, their habitations, and their several necessities. Preserve, O Lord, this city, and

every other city and country from famine, plague, earthquakes, inundations, fire, sword, incursion of strangers, and civil wars.

Then the Deacon turns to the door of the sacred place, and holding his orarium in three fingers, says,

And all men and women.

The People sing.

And all men and women.

The Priest aloud.

In the first place, remember, O Lord, our Archbishop N. preserve him for the sake of thy Church, in peace, safety, honour, health, long life, rightly dividing the word of truth.

The Deacon standing at the door, says,

For N. our most sacred metropolitan, or Bishop, *whoever he be*, and for the most devout Priest N. who is now offering these holy gifts; for the safety of our most religious emperors, who are God's more especial care; and for all men and women.

The Priest prays with a low voice:

REMEMBER, O Lord, all orthodox Bishops, rightly dividing the word of truth: remember, according to the multitude of thy mercies, my unworthiness, and forgive me all my offences, whether voluntary or involuntary; nor do thou, upon account of my sins, withhold the grace of thy Holy Spirit from these gifts now lying before thee. Remember, O Lord, all presbyters and deacons in Christ, and all others of the ministerial order, and put us not to dishonour who officiate at thy holy altar. Look upon us in thy loving kindness, and manifest thyself to us, O Lord, in thine abundant mercies. Send us seasonable weather, and rains for the production of fruits, and crown the year with thy goodness. Heal the schisms in thy Church; abate the rage of the heathen, and put a stop to growing heresies by the power of thine Holy Spirit; receive us all into thy kingdom, and make us the children of light. Grant us, O Lord our God, thy peace and love, for it is thou who bestowest all things upon us.

The Priest with a loud voice:

And grant that we may with one mouth, and one heart, praise

and glorify thy great and glorious name, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now, henceforth, and for evermore.

People. Amen.

The Priest turns to the door, and blessing them, says with a loud voice :

The mercies of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, be with you all.

Then the Deacon goes out, if he be present; if not, the Priest; and standing in the accustomed place, says,

Be mindful of all saints, let us again and again pray unto the Lord.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us.

Deacon. Let us pray unto the Lord for the sake of the precious gifts now offered and consecrated.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us.

Deacon. Let us pray unto the Lord, that our God, the lover of mankind, who has received them upon his holy, heavenly, and intellectual altar for a sweet smelling savour, would send down upon us his divine grace, the gift of his Holy Spirit.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us.

Deacon. Let us pray unto the Lord, that we may be delivered from all affliction, wrath, danger, and necessity.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us.

The Priest prays with a low voice :

O our God, the God of salvation, teach us worthily to return our thanks to thee, for all the benefits which thou hast at any time conferred, and dost still continue to confer upon us. O God, who hast received these gifts, purge us from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, and teach us so to perfect holiness in thy fear, that we receiving these thy holy mysteries, with the testimony of a good conscience, may be partakers of the most holy body and blood of thy Christ; and that receiving them worthily, we may have Christ dwelling in our hearts, and may become the temple of thy Holy Spirit. But, O our God, make us not guilty either in soul or body of thy tremendous, and heavenly sacrament, by our unworthy receiving of it. But grant that to the end of our lives we may worthily receive these means of sanctification, for a pass-

port to eternal life, and an acceptable plea at the dreadful tribunal of thy Christ: that we, with all thy saints, who have pleased thee from the beginning of the world, may be made partakers of those good things which thou hast prepared for them who love thee.

Deacon. Receive, preserve, and have mercy upon us, &c. *as in St. Chrysostom.*

The Priest with a loud voice :

And grant, O Lord, that we may boldly, and without blame, presume to call upon thee, our heavenly God and Father, and say,

People. Our Father, &c.

With a loud voice :

For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, Father, &c.

Priest. Peace be with you all.

Deacon. Bow down your heads to the Lord.

The Priest prays :

O ALMIGHTY Lord, Father of mercies, and God of all comfort, bless, sanctify, keep, strengthen, and confirm those who have bowed down their heads to thee; turn them from every evil work, and fit them for every good one; and grant that they may without blame partake of these immaculate and life giving mysteries, for the remission of their sins, and the communion of the Holy Spirit; *with a loud voice :* through the grace, mercy, and loving kindness, of thine only begotten Son, with whom, together with thy holy, good, and life giving Spirit; blessed art thou now, henceforth, and for evermore.

People. Amen.

The Priest prays :

DRAW near, O Lord Jesus Christ, our God, from the habitation of thy dwelling, and the throne of glory in thy kingdom, and come and sanctify us, O thou who sittest on high at the right hand of the Father, and at the same time art invisibly present with us here below; and vouchsafe to impart to us by thy mighty hand, thine immaculate body, and most precious blood; and by us to all thy people.

Deacon. Let us draw near.

Priest. Holy things for holy persons.

Then the distribution.

THE
LITURGY OF ST. BASIL,

AS IT IS USED THROUGHOUT THE PATRIARCHATE OF
ALEXANDRIA.

Translated from the edition of Renaudotius, published in Greek and Latin, Paris, 1716.

The Priest with a loud voice :

THE Lord be with you all.

People. And with thy spirit.

Priest. Let us lift up our hearts.

People. We lift them up unto the Lord.

Priest. Let us give thanks unto the Lord.

People. It is meet and right.

Priest. It is meet and right, meet and right, it is indeed very meet and right.

The beginning of the oblation.

O ALMIGHTY Lord, thou God of truth, who existest from eternity, and reignest for evermore, who dwellest on high, and from thence beholdest the depths below : who hast made the heaven, the earth, the sea, and all things which are therein. The Father of our Lord, our God, and Saviour Jesus Christ, by whom thou madest all things both visible and invisible : who sittest upon the throne of glory in thy kingdom, and art worshipped by all the heavenly host.

Deacon. You who are sitting, rise up.

Priest. Who art attended by angels and archangels, principalities and powers, thrones, authorities, and dominions.

Deacon. Look towards the East.

The many eyed cherubim, and six winged seraphim, who always praise thee, crying aloud, and saying,

Deacon. Draw near.

People. Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth.

HOLY, holy, holy, art thou, O Lord our God, who didst form us, and place us in a paradise of pleasure; and when, over reached by the subtlety of the serpent, we had transgressed thy commands, and thereby forfeited our eternal life, and so were dispossessed of that paradise of pleasure, thou didst not for ever cast us off; but didst instruct us by thy prophets, and in the latter days appear to us who sat in darkness and the shadow of death, by thine only begotten Son, our Lord, our God, and Saviour Jesus Christ. Who became flesh, and was made man of the Holy Ghost, and our holy lady the mother of God, and ever Virgin Mary. He shewed unto us the way of salvation, regenerated us by water of the Spirit, and adopted us a peculiar people to himself, sanctifying us by thy Holy Spirit. He so loved his own who were in the world, that he gave himself a ransom to redeem us from death, who had gotten the dominion over us, by whom we were held, being bound by sin; he by the cross descended into hell, and rose again the third day from the dead; he ascended into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of thee his Father, having appointed a day of retribution, when he will appear to judge the world in righteousness, and to render to every man according to his works.

People. According to thy mercy, O God, and not according to our sins.

Priest. He has left to us this great mystery of godliness. For when he was about to deliver up himself to die for the life of the world;

People. We believe.

Taking bread into his holy, spotless, and blessed hands, and looking up to heaven to thee his Father, our God, and the God of all: he gave thanks,

People. Amen.

He blessed it,

People. Amen.

He sanctified it,

People. Amen.

He brake it, and gave it to his holy disciples and apostles,

saying, Take, eat, this is my body which is broken and given for you, and for many, for the remission of sins. Do this in remembrance of me.

Likewise the cup after supper; and having mixed it with wine and water, he gave thanks,

People. Amen.

He blessed it,

People. Amen.

He sanctified it,

People. Amen.

He tasted it, and then gave it to his holy disciples and apostles, saying, Take, drink ye all of it; this is my blood of the New Testament which is shed for you, and for many, for the remission of sins. Do this in remembrance of me. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shew forth my death, and confess my resurrection and ascension till my coming again.

People. Amen, Amen, Amen. We shew forth thy death, O Lord, and confess thy resurrection, &c.

Priest. In remembrance therefore of his most holy sufferings, his resurrection from the dead, his ascension into heaven, his sitting down at the right hand of thee his God and Father, and his glorious and terrible second appearance: we for all, through all, and in all, offer to thee thine own, out of thine own gifts.

People. We praise thee, we bless thee.

Deacon. Bow down to the Lord with fear.

The Priest privately.

O merciful and good Lord, we thy sinful and unworthy servants pray, beseech, and bow down ourselves to thee, that of thy gracious goodness thou wilt send down thine Holy Spirit upon us thy servants, and upon these gifts lying before thee, to bless them, and make them the holy of holies.

Deacon. Attend.

People. Amen.

The Priest with a loud voice.

That he may make this bread the holy body of our Lord, our God, and Saviour Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and life everlasting, to all those who partake of it.

People. Amen.

Priest. And this cup the precious blood of our Lord, our God, and Saviour Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and life everlasting, to all those who partake of it.

People. Amen. Lord, have mercy upon us, *three times.*

And make us worthy, O Lord, to partake of these holy mysteries to the sanctification of our souls, our bodies, and spirits, that we may be one body, and one spirit, and may have our portion and lot with all thy saints who have pleased thee from the beginning of the world.

Remember, O Lord, thy one, holy, Catholic Church; grant it peace, forasmuch as thou hast purchased it with the precious blood of thy Christ.

In the first place, remember, O Lord, our holy father *N.* the Archbishop, Pope, and Patriarch of the great city Alexandria; preserve him for the sake of thy Church in safety, honour, health, long life, rightly dividing the word of truth, and feeding the flock in peace.

Remember, O Lord, the presbyters, deacons, and other ministers; all virgins, and other thy faithful people.

Remember us, O Lord, and have mercy upon all who are here met together.

People. O God, Father Almighty, have mercy upon us.

Priest. O God Almighty, have mercy upon us, *three times.*

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, *three times.*

Priest. Remember, O Lord, this our city, and protect the faithful who dwell therein.

Remember, O Lord, the temperature of the air, and the fruits of the earth.

Remember, O Lord, seasonable showers, and a kindly seed time.

Remember, O Lord, the overflowing of the river to its just height.

Renew and make glad the face of the earth; water its furrows; increase its produce; give us thereof what may be sufficient both for seed and harvest, even in blessing bless it. Direct our lives, crown the year with thy goodness, for the sake of the poor, the widow, the fatherless, and the stranger; for the sake of all of us who put our trust in thee, and call upon thy holy name; for the eyes of all wait upon thee, and thou givest them meat in due season. Deal with us according to thy goodness, O thou who

givest food to all flesh. Fill our hearts with joy and gladness, that having in all things what is sufficient for the relief of our necessities, we may abound in every good work, and do thy holy will.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us.

Priest. Remember, O Lord, those who have offered these precious gifts, for whom, and by whom, and for what ends they have offered them unto thee, and recompence them with an heavenly reward. Forasmuch as it is the command of thine only begotten Son, that we should communicate to the memorial of the saints; vouchsafe, O Lord, to remember those who have pleased thee from the beginning of the world, the holy fathers, patriarchs, apostles, prophets, preachers, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, and all just spirits, departed in the faith of Christ.

Especially the most holy, immaculate, blessed above all, most glorious lady, the mother of God, and ever Virgin Mary.

St. John, the glorious prophet, the forerunner of our Saviour, the baptist and martyr.

St. Stephen, the first deacon and martyr.

And our holy and blessed father, Mark, the apostle and evangelist; and our holy father, Basil, the worker of miracles.

The holy *N.* whom we this day commemorate; and all other thy saints; for the sake of whose prayers and intercessions have mercy upon us, and save us for the sake of thy holy name, which is called upon on our behalf.

The Deacon reads the dypticks.

REMEMBER also, O Lord, all those of the sacerdotal order, and those of the laics who are already at rest; grant rest to their souls in the bosom of our holy fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; gather them together in a green pasture, and lead them forth beside the waters of comfort, in a paradise of pleasure, far from all grief, sorrow, and mourning, in the glorious light of thy saints.

After the dypticks, the Priest says,

Receive their souls, O Lord, grant them rest, and vouchsafe them thine heavenly kingdom. But for us who remain upon earth, keep us in thy faith, and bring us to thy kingdom; give us always thy peace, that in this, as well as other things, thy holy,

glorious, and blessed name, may be hallowed, glorified, praised, blessed, and sanctified, together with Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost.

People. As was.

Deacon. Descend ye deacons.

Priest. Peace be with you all.

The preface before the breaking of the bread.

Let us give thanks to the Almighty God, the Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, for that he has thought us worthy to stand in this place, to lift up our hands, and minister unto his holy name. Let us therefore beseech him, our Almighty Lord and God, to make us worthy to communicate and partake of his holy mysteries, the immaculate body, and precious blood of his Christ.

Deacon. Pray ye.

Priest. Peace be with you all.

The prayer of St. Basil at the breaking of the bread.

O OUR God, the God of salvation, teach us worthily to return our thanks to thee for all the benefits which thou hast at any time conferred, and dost still continue to confer upon us. O God, who hast received these gifts, purge us from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, and teach us so to perfect holiness in thy fear, that we receiving these thy holy mysteries with the testimony of a good conscience, may be partakers of the most holy body and blood of thy Christ; and that receiving them worthily, we may have Christ dwelling in our hearts, and may become the temple of thy Holy Spirit. But, O our God, make us not guilty, either in soul or body, of this tremendous and heavenly sacrament by our unworthy receiving of it. But grant that to the end of our lives we may worthily receive these means of sanctification, for a passport to eternal life, and an acceptable plea at the dreadful tribunal of thy Christ: that we, with all thy saints, who have pleased thee from the beginning of the world, may be partakers of those good things which thou hast prepared for those who love thee; and grant, O Lord, that we may boldly, and without blame, presume to call upon thee, our heavenly God and Father, and say,

People. Our Father which art in heaven, &c.

Priest. For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now, henceforth, and for evermore.

Deacon. Bow down your heads to the Lord.

The prayer at the bowing down the head.

O ALMIGHTY Lord, Father of mercies, and God of all comfort, bless, sanctify, keep, strengthen, and confirm those who have bowed down their heads to thee; turn them from every evil work, and fit them for every good one; and grant that they may without blame partake of these immaculate and life giving mysteries, for the remission of their sins, and the communion of the Holy Spirit; *with a loud voice*: through the grace, mercy, and loving kindness of thine only begotten Son; with whom, together with thy holy, good, and life giving Spirit, blessed art thou, now, henceforth, and for evermore.

Deacon. Draw near with fear.

Priest. Peace be with you all.

O SOVEREIGN Lord God, Father Almighty, the Physician of our souls, our bodies, and our spirits, who said to Peter, the chief of thy holy disciples and apostles, by the mouth of thine only begotten Son our Lord, our God, and Saviour Jesus Christ, thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven: grant therefore that we thy servants, my fathers and brethren, the priests and levites, and all thy faithful people who humble ourselves before thy glory at this holy time, and bear thy precious cross, may all be freed and cleansed from our iniquities by my mouth, but through the inspiration of thy holy, good, and gracious Spirit. Accept, O God, the sincere repentance of thy servants for the sake of thy Son, who takes away the sins of the world; accept it for an enlightening of our understandings, and an atonement for our sins: for thou willest not the death of a sinner, but rather that he be converted, and live. For thou art the Lord, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and of great pity and truth; taking away our transgression, our iniquities, and our sins. And if we have offended thee either in word or deed, remit, pardon, and

forgive us, according to thy goodness and loving kindness. For if thou art extreme to mark what is done amiss, O Lord, who may abide it? But with thee is gracious redemption, for thou art the propitiation for our sins, the light and Saviour of our souls. Deliver us, and all thy people, O God, from all manner of sin, from apostacy and blasphemy, from evil speaking and cursing, from magic and witchcraft, from idolatry and perjury, from excommunication and schism, from the flying arrows, and the groans of the just and the unjust; from all fellowship with heretics or heathens. Give us, O Lord, the knowledge, the will and courage to fly from our great adversary, and to do that which is well pleasing unto thee. Write our names with those of all thy saints in the kingdom of heaven, through Jesus Christ our Lord, by whom and with whom, &c.

The Priest elevates the largest piece of the bread, and says with a loud voice,

Holy things for holy persons.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, *thrice.*

There is one Holy Father, one Holy Son, one Holy Ghost.

Priest. The Lord be with you all.

People. And with thy spirit.

Priest. Blessed be the Lord for evermore. *Amen.*

People. Amen.

Priest. Peace be with you all.

People. And with thy spirit.

The Priest says this confession, or one of these sentences, when he distributes the consecrated elements:

The holy body and precious blood of Jesus Christ, the Son of God. *Amen.*

People. Amen.

The holy precious body and true blood of Jesus Christ, the Son of God. *Amen.*

People. Amen.

This is, in truth, the body and blood of Emmanuel, our God. *Amen.*

People. Amen.

THE
LITURGY OF THE CHURCH OF ETHIOPIA,

A GREAT COUNTRY BEYOND EGYPT, SUBJECT TO THE PATRIARCH OF
ALEXANDRIA, SO FAR AS ALWAYS TO APPLY TO HIM FOR THE
CONSECRATION OF THEIR METROPOLITAN IN A VACANCY,
BUT WHICH IN OTHER MATTERS SEEMS TO
HAVE NO DEPENDENCY ON HIM.

*Translated from the Ethiopic language into Latin, by Renaudotius, and published at
Paris, 1716. Vol. 1. p. 513.*

WHEN the Priest mingles the water with the wine, he uses a particular prayer, appointed to be said at that time.

Priest. The holy of holies, the holy of holies, the holy of holies, the Lord be with you. We render thanks to thee, O Lord, through thine only begotten Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord, God, and Saviour, whom thou sentest unto us in the last days: thy Son, our Saviour and Redeemer, the Angel of thy counsel, the Word, who proceeds from thee, and by whom thou madest all things according to thy will.

Deacon. For our blessed and holy patriarch, Gabriel, or *N.* and for our venerable father *N.* our metropolitan, who in their prayers render praise and thanks to thee.

Through Stephen the proto-martyr, Zachary the priest, and John the Baptist: through all the saints and martyrs, who are at rest in the faith of Christ: through Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, the four evangelists: and through Mary, the mother of God, hear us, O Lord. Through Peter, Andrew, James and John, Philip and Bartholomew, Thomas and Matthew, Thaddæus and Nathanael, James the son of Alpheus, and Matthias; through these twelve apostles: through the apostle James, the

brother of our Lord, and bishop of Jerusalem the sanctuary: through Paul and Timothy, Silas, Barnabas, Titus, Philemon, and Clement; the seventy-two disciples, their five hundred companions, and the three hundred and eighteen orthodox: may all their prayers for us be accepted.

Remember also, O Lord, the Catholic and Apostolic Church, which was founded in peace by the precious blood of thy Christ. Remember likewise the patriarchs, metropolitans, bishops, priests, and deacons, who have continued in the right way, and maintained the truth.

People. Have mercy, O Lord, upon the souls of thy servants and handmaids, who have eaten thy body, and drunk thy blood, and are at rest in thy faith.

Priest. Again let us put up our prayers to the Almighty Lord, the Father of Jesus Christ, our Lord, our God, and Saviour. Remember, O Lord, the one, holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, which is preserved from the one end of the world even to the other.

Remember, O Lord, our father and patriarch *N.* and our blessed metropolitan *N.* preserve him among us for many years, and let his days be peaceful.

Remember, O Lord, the orthodox priest, deacons, and sub-deacons.

Remember, O Lord, Lebna Dinghil, our king; preserve him to us in peace.

O Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, bless thy people, the society of beloved christians, with heavenly blessings; send down the grace of thy Holy Spirit upon us, and grant that the gates of thy Church may be open to us, that we may obtain thy mercy, and enjoy thy protection. Confirm us in the faith of the Trinity to the last moment of our lives. O Jesus Christ, our high priest, look upon the sick among thy people: be thou a guide to our fathers and brethren who are travelling, and conduct them to their own habitations in peace and health. Bless the winds of the heavens, the rains, and this year's fruits of the earth, according to thy goodness: may thy joy and gladness overspread the face of the earth, and grant us thy peace.

Turn the hearts of powerful kings towards us for good: grant, that the bishops of the holy Church, and all others according to every one's name and station, may obtain favour in the sight of

powerful kings: and, O Lord, make the princes who rule over them, to be kind and gracious to them.

Give rest to our fathers and brethren, who are fallen asleep, and departed from us in the orthodox faith: bless those who take care of the incense, the bread of the oblation, the wine, the oil, the veils, the books which are read in the Church, and the vessels of the sanctuary, that Christ our God may conduct them to the heavenly Jerusalem, and all those who are assembled with us, and wait for the mercy of Christ our God. Have mercy upon them, and upon all who have given us alms, when they stand before thy dreadful tribunal, and be gracious unto them. O our God, according to the multitude of thy mercies, save all who are in trouble and affliction, all prisoners and captives, all exiles, those who are carried away into slavery, and all who are confined to bitter labours.

O Christ our God, remember all those in thy heavenly kingdom, O Jesus Christ, our High Priest, who have desired us to remember them. O Lord, save thy people, and bless thine heritage; govern them, and lift them up for ever: preserve them in the orthodox faith, and in good reputation all the days of their life: fill their hearts with charity above all things: through the prayers and supplications, which shall be offered in our behalf by the lady of all, the holy and pure Mary, the mother of God: through the prayers of the glorious inhabitants of heaven, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Suriel; of the four incorporeal animals, and the twenty-four priests of heaven; of St. John Baptist; of our fathers the patriarchs, apostles, the seventy-two disciples, and the three children: of St. Stephen, the chief of the deacons, St. George, St. Theodorus, St. Mercurius, St. Menna, St. Philotheus, St. Basilides, the holy father Nob, and all the martyrs: of our great lord and holy father Anthony: of our holy fathers the three Macarii, our father Bichoi, John, Cyrus, and Barsoma; of our father Salama, John Kemi; our righteous father Paul; and of the holy Greek fathers, Maximus, Demetrius, Moses the holy father, and the forty martyrs; and of our father Tecla Haimanoth; of our venerable father N. our patriarch; of Claudius our king; of all the just and elect who are signed with the sign of the cross, and of the angel of this holy day. Their prayers, blessings, intercessions, and peace, and the love of God be with us for ever and ever. *Amen.*

Priest. Have mercy, O Lord, upon us, and upon all who are at rest; thou, who sentest thy Son to be conceived in the womb of a virgin

Deacon. You that are sitting, rise.

Priest. Thy Son was carried in the womb, made flesh, and manifested by the Holy Spirit.

Deacon. Look to the East.

Priest. Thousands of thousands of holy angels and archangels stand before thee.

Deacon. Let us attend.

Priest. The venerable creatures having six wings, seraphim and cherubim, who with twain cover their faces, with twain their feet, and with twain fly from one end of the world unto the other: and as they always praise and sanctify thee, so do thou receive these our lauds and thanksgivings, which we offer to thee, saying, holy, holy, holy.

Deacon. Answer.

People. Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth, heaven and earth are full of the holiness of thy glory.

Priest. Heaven and earth are indeed full of the holiness of thy glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, with the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. *Amen.* Thy holy Son, who came down from heaven, and was born of a virgin, that he might perform thy will, and establish an holy people unto thee.

Here the Priest shall lay his hands upon the censor, and then extend them over the oblation.

People. According to thy mercy, O God, and not according to our iniquities. *And this is said thrice.*

Priest. He extended his hands at his passion; he suffered, that he might release those from sufferings who trust in thee: of his own free will he delivered himself up to suffer, that he might destroy death, break the bonds of satan, and trample upon hell; that he might establish his testament, and manifest his resurrection. In the same night in which he was betrayed, he took bread into his holy, blessed, and immaculate hands; he looked up to heaven, to thee his Father; he gave thanks, he blessed, sanctified it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat ye all of this; this bread is my body, which is broken for you for the remission of sins. *Amen.*

People. Amen, Amen, Amen. We believe, and are certain; we praise thee, O Lord our God; this is truly thy body, and so we believe.

Priest. Likewise also he blessed and sanctified the cup of thanksgiving, and said to them, Take, drink ye all of this; this is the cup of my blood, which shall be shed for you, for the redemption of many. *Amen.*

People. Amen. This is truly thy blood, and we believe it.

Priest. And as often as ye do this, ye shall do it in remembrance of me.

People. We shew forth thy death, O Lord: we believe thy holy resurrection, thy ascension and second coming; we beseech thee, O Lord our God; we believe this to be true.

Priest. And now, O Lord, celebrating the memorial of thy death and resurrection, we offer to thee this bread and this cup; giving thanks to thee, that by them thou hast made us worthy to stand before thee, and perform the priestly office unto thee. We pray thee, O Lord; we beseech thee to send down the Holy Spirit and power upon this bread and upon this cup, that he may make them both the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

Priest. Thou hast mixed, &c. Grant, that all the partakers thereof may by them obtain the sanctification and fulness of the Holy Spirit, that their faith may be strengthened, that they may sanctify thee with the Holy Spirit, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

Deacon. Let us most fervently beseech our Lord God, that he will be graciously pleased to grant us the good union of the Holy Spirit.

Priest. Grant that we may be united in thy Holy Spirit, and heal us by this oblation, that we may live with thee for ever and ever. *Amen.* Blessed be the name of the Lord; blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord; and blessed be the name of his glory. So be it, so be it, so be it. *The people repeat the same.*

Priest. Send down the grace of thy Holy Spirit upon us.

Deacon. Rise up to prayer.

The Priest says the prayer at breaking the bread.

I HUMBLY give thanks to thee, O Lord my God, who reignest

over the universe; who sittest upon a throne of cherubim; who dwellest in the heights above, and art glorified in the depths beneath; thou, whose eternal habitation is in the glorious light of thine own substance, hast condescended to acquaint us with the hidden mystery of the cross. What God is merciful and holy, like thee? Thine is the power, which is not set at a distance from us, for thou hast bestowed authority upon thy apostles, upon those who serve thee with a sincere heart, and upon those who offer sacrifices to thee for a sweet smelling savour, through Jesus Christ our Lord and God. To him therefore, to thee, and to the Holy Ghost, thanksgiving, glory, and praise, is due for ever and ever. *Amen.*

Deacon. You who stand, bow down your heads.

Priest. O Lord, who sittest upon the cherubim, and beholdest thy people and thine inheritance; bless thy servants and handmaids, and their children, and bestow upon every one, who with a pure conscience shall partake of thy wonderful table, remission of sins, which is always accompanied by thy Holy Spirit, that they may be healed both in body and soul, and obtain the inheritance of the heavenly kingdom: through the grace and good pleasure of thine only begotten Son, through whom, to thee, together with him, and the Holy Ghost, be glory and power, now, and for ever, and world without end. *Amen.*

The Sub-deacon and the people shall say: Hosts of angels stand before the Saviour of the world, and surround the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: let us humbly approach before his presence, and worship Christ with faith.

Deacon. Adore God and fear.

The Priest says the penitential prayer:

O ALMIGHTY Lord, who healest our souls and bodies, who by the voice of thine only begotten Son Jesus Christ, our Lord, God, and Saviour, didst say to Peter our Father, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it to shake it; and to thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven. May thy servants therefore and handmaids be absolved by the mouth of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; and by the mouth of me

a sinner, thy unworthy servant. O Lord our God, thou art he who takest away the sins of the world; accept the repentance of thy servants and handmaids: let the light shine upon them; and forgive them their sins, for thou art good and gracious, O Lord our God, long-suffering, of great mercy, and perfectly just. Whatever we have sinned against thee, O Lord, in word, deed, or thought, pardon, release, and forget, for thou art the gracious lover of mankind. O Lord our God, grant absolution to us all, and with us absolve all thy people.

Absolve, O Lord our Patriarch *N.* and our holy and blessed Metropolitan *N.* and all patriarchs, bishops, priests, and deacons, every one according to his name. Preserve them to us with justice and peace; may their years be many, and their days happy. Absolve, O Lord, our king from every bond of sin.

Remember, O Lord, all those who are fallen asleep and are at rest in the faith of Christ; conduct their souls into the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Deliver us also from all sin and wickedness; from all apostacy and perjury, from all fellowship with the perfidiousness of heretics and heathens. Give us courage and understanding, that we may fly from all the works of Satan; grant that we may perform thy will at all times, write our names in the kingdom of heaven, and record us with all the martyrs and righteous persons: through Jesus Christ our Lord, by whom, with him and the Holy Spirit, glory and power be unto thee, now, and for ever, and world without end. *Amen.*

Deacon. Let us lift up our eyes.

Priest. Holy things for holy persons.

People. There is one Holy Father, one Holy Son, and one Holy Ghost.

Priest. The Lord be with you.

People. And with thy Spirit.

Priest. O Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy upon us. *And this is thrice repeated by the people.*

Priest. The holy, precious, living, and true body of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which is given for the remission of sins and eternal life to all who receive it with faith. *Amen.* 'The holy, precious, life-giving, and true blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which is given for the remission of sins, and to eternal life to all who receive it with faith. *Amen.* This is, in truth, the body and blood of Emmanuel. *Amen.* I believe, I

believe, I believe, from this time forth, now, and for evermore. *Amen.* This is the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which he received of the Lady of us all, the holy and pure Virgin Mary, and made it one with his Divinity, without any commixtion or confusion, any division or alteration of the Divinity. He witnessed a good confession in the days of Pontius Pilate, and of his own free will delivered himself up for us upon the wood of the holy cross. *Amen.* I believe, I believe, I believe, that his Divinity was not separated from his humanity; no, not for an hour, or so much as the twinkling of an eye: he delivered himself up for us, and purchased salvation, remission of sins, and eternal life, for all who receive them with faith. *Amen.* I believe, I believe, I believe, from this time forth, now, and for evermore. *Amen.*

And after the Priest has communicated of the body of Christ, he shall distribute the communion to the people, saying,

This is the bread of life, which came down from heaven, the truly precious body of Emmanuel our God. *Amen.*

And he that receives shall say, Amen.

The Deacon shall give the cup, saying,

This is the cup of life, which came down from heaven, the precious blood of Christ.

And he that receives shall say, Amen. Amen.

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THE
LITURGY OF NESTORIUS,

WHICH IS A LITURGY USED BY THE NESTORIAN HERETICS, A SECT
WHO REVOLTED FROM THE CHURCH BEFORE THE MIDDLE
OF THE FIFTH CENTURY, AND CONTINUE TO THIS
DAY IN SEVERAL PARTS OF THE EAST.

*Translated from the Syriac language into Latin, by Renaudotius, and published at
Paris, 1716. Vol. 2. p. 626.*

PRIEST. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of
God the Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with
us all, now, henceforth, and for evermore.

Answer. Amen.

He signs the mysteries, and proceeds.

Lift up your minds to the highest heavens, the glorious and
awful region where the cherubim always upon the wing, and the
seraphim, never cease their grateful hymns and songs of praise.

Answer. We lift them up to thee, O God of Abraham, Isaac,
and Israel, thou King of glory.

*He exalts his voice, lifts up his hands, and sings the third
canon, and then proceeds.*

We offer to thee, the Lord and God of all, for all our fellow
creatures, a lively and reasonable oblation of our first fruits, the
unbloody and acceptable sacrifice of the Son of man, which the
prophets taught in mysteries, the apostles plainly, and the martyrs
became partakers of by their blood; which our teachers have
explained to us, and our Priests offered and sacrificed upon the
holy altar, our levites carried in their arms, and the people com-
municated of for the remission of their sins.

Answer. It is meet and right.

Deacon. Call to mind the wonderful purpose of Christ our Saviour, which he accomplished for us, and by his resurrection raised us from our fears; stand therefore reverently and pray: peace be with you all.

Priest. O Lord God Almighty, grant that with sure confidence we may stand before thee.

And goes on, bowing down, and with a low voice:

For it is meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should praise, confess, adore, and magnify thee, O powerful Lord, self-existing, eternal, God the Father Almighty, who art the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. For thou art the true God, incomprehensible, infinite, ineffable, invisible, uncreated, unsearchable, immortal, most highly exalted above the knowledge or most enlarged conceptions of thy creatures; who art in every place, not circumscribed by place thyself, thou, thine only begotten Son, and Holy Spirit. Instruct us, O Lord, how to open our mouths before thee, that with a contrite heart, and humble spirit, we may offer to thee the fruits of our lips, our reasonable service: for thou art our God, and Father of our Lord, our King and Saviour Jesus Christ, our Hope, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, and through whom we have received the knowledge of the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Truth, who proceeded from thee the Father, and is from the hidden nature of thy godhead. It is he who confirms, sanctifies, and makes perfect all rational beings, whether visible or invisible; who at all times, forasmuch as all of them are the work of thy hands, offer to thee, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, their continual praises; for thou didst create and bring us out of nothing into being: we transgressed thy command, and fell; thou didst again renew in us what was impaired by age: thou didst raise us up again, reclaim us, and visit us with thy providential care, till thou broughtest us to heaven, and in thy mercy gavest us an inheritance in thy kingdom to come. And for this thy goodness towards us, we give thanks to thee, O God the Father, and to thine only begotten Son, and Holy Spirit; and adore thee for all the benefits which thou hast vouchsafed unto us, those we know, and those we know not, both open and private. We give thee thanks likewise for this ministry, beseeching thee to receive it from our hands: but, who is able to tell of the greatness of thy power, and

shew forth all thy praise? for if all thy creatures were one mouth, and one tongue, they would not be able to express thy majesty.

People. For before thee, three persons, but one God, stand thousand thousands, and ten thousand times ten thousands of angels, who never rest, but for ever flying with loud uninterrupted voices sing, rejoice, crying out and answering one to another, holy, holy, holy, &c.

The Priest bowing very low, says,

Holy, holy, holy, Lord of hosts, who fillest heaven and earth.

Bowing down, he says this prayer with a low voice :

WITH those heavenly powers we, O good and gracious Lord God, cry out, and say, Thou art truly holy, to be glorified, magnified, and exalted; who hast vouchsafed to make thy worshippers on earth like unto those who glorify thee in heaven. Holy also is thine only begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Holy Ghost, who existed with thee from eternity, partaker of thy nature, and the maker of all things. We bless, O Lord God, the Word, the Son of thy bosom, who being thy likeness, and the express image of thy person, thought it no robbery to be equal to thee; yet so humbled himself, that he took upon him the form of a servant, a perfect man, of a reasonable, intelligent, and immortal soul, and a mortal human body subsisting, and joined him passible in his own nature, and united him to himself in glory, power, and honour. He was formed by the power of the Holy Ghost for the salvation of all; was made of a woman, and under the law, that he might redeem those who were under the law, that all who died in Adam, might live in him: he destroyed sin in his own flesh, and abrogated the precepts of the law by precepts of his own: he opened the eyes of our understanding, which before were darkened, and made plain the way of salvation, enlightening us by his divine knowledge. To those who received him, he gave the liberty to become the sons of God. He washed and cleansed us by the baptism of water, and sanctified us by his grace through the gifts of the Holy Spirit; and, according to his promise, raised, exalted, and placed with himself in heaven, those who were buried with him in baptism. And loving his own which were in the world, he loved them unto the end, and underwent for them the punishment due to our sins, giving him-

self to die for all whom death had dominion over ; whose servants we were, having by our sins subjected ourselves to him ; those he redeemed and saved by his most precious blood : he descended into hell, and loosed the bonds of devouring death. And because it was not fitting that the Captain of our salvation should be held there by death, he rose again the third day, and became the first fruits of them that slept, that he might be the first in all things ; he ascended into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of thy majesty, O God. And he left to us a memorial of our salvation, even this mystery which we offer unto thee. For when the time drew near in which he was delivered up for the life of the world, after the Paschal Supper of the law of Moses, he took bread into his holy, spotless, and undefiled hands ; he blessed, and brake it ; he eat of it, and gave to his disciples, saying, Take eat ye all of this : this is my body which is broken for you, for the remission of sins. In like manner he mixed the cup with wine and water, and blessed it ; he drank of it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Drink ye all of it : this is my blood of the New Testament which is shed for many for the remission of sins : do this in remembrance of me until my coming again ; for as oft as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye do shew forth my death till my coming again. Grant, therefore, that whoever shall come near with a true faith, and partake of them, they may, O Lord, be to him for the pardon of his offences, the remission of his sins, a lively hope of a resurrection from the dead, to a new life in the kingdom of heaven.

People. And we will return praise, honour, thanksgiving, and adoration to thee, O invisible Father, and to thy glorious Son, and to thy living, holy, and life-giving Spirit, now, henceforth, and for evermore.

He signs the mysteries. The Deacon says,

Behold, with the eye of an enlightened understanding, and a pure obedient mind, the meekness, humility, and obedience of Christ our Saviour. Let us look and see the only begotten Son of the Father led forth to his passion on the cross.

Deacon. Let us pray : Peace be with us.

The Priest says this prayer :

O our Lord, and God, restrain our thoughts, that they wander not upon the vanities of this world.

The Priest bowing down, says this prayer with a low voice :

WE, O Lord God, Almighty Father, have in remembrance this command, and the salvation which was wrought for us : above all things, we believe and confess thee, O God the Father, and the eternal and only begotten Son of thy godhead, who is of thee, and con-substantial with thee ; his admirable purpose, which was effected through our human nature, and applied to our salvation ; his cross and passion ; death and burial ; his resurrection the third day, and ascension into heaven ; the sitting down at thy right hand, and the second and glorious coming again of our Lord Jesus Christ ; in which he shall judge both the quick and the dead, and render to every man according to his works. We confess likewise the Holy Ghost, who is of the glorious substance of thy godhead, and with thee and thine only begotten Son worshipped and glorified. We offer to thee this lively, holy, acceptable, excellent, and unbloody sacrifice, for all thy creatures ; and for thy holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, which is spread over the face of the whole earth ; that thou wilt preserve it in peace, free from scandal, without blemish, spot, wrinkle, or the like : for thou hast promised by thine only begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And for all bishops, of whatever place or country, who rightly preach the word of sound faith. And for all priests who execute their priestly office before thee in righteousness and true holiness. And for all deacons who keep the mystery of thy faith in a pure conscience. And for all conditions of thy pious and holy people, wheresoever they be. And for all who have knowingly or ignorantly sinned, and offended against thee. And for thy sinful and unworthy servant, whom, through thy grace, thou hast thought worthy to offer this sacrifice unto thee. And for all who are praise-worthy, and adorn thy Church by works of righteousness. And for all who bestow their charity on the poor. And for all faithful kings, and the establishment of their kingdom. And for all princes and potentates in the world. We pray and beseech thee, O Lord, to preserve them in thy fear, confirm them in thy truth, and subject all barbarous nations unto them. We beseech, O Lord, thy divine majesty, that thou wilt make wars to cease in all the world, and scatter those nations that delight therein, that we may live peaceably and quietly in all temperance

and fear of thee. And for the fruits of the earth, and the temperature of the air, that the year may be crowned with thy goodness. And for this and all other countries, and those that dwell in them, that thou wilt have mercy upon them, and bless, keep, and protect them, through thy tender mercy. And for all who travel by land or by water. And for all who are in bonds, distresses, persecutions, or oppressions for thy name's sake. And for all who are in banishment, tribulation, imprisoned in remote islands for a perpetual punishment, or condemned to hard slavery. And for all our brethren who are in captivity. We beseech thee also, O Lord, to comfort and relieve all who are grieved with pain or sickness. And we commend unto thy mercy, O Lord, all our enemies, all who hate us, and all who imagine evil against us; we commend them to thee not for judgment and vengeance, but for pity, salvation, and the remission of their sins; because thou willest that all should be converted to the knowledge of thy truth, and live. For thou hast taught us by thy beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord, that we should pray for our enemies, for those that hate us, and those that despitefully use us, and persecute us.

People. Therefore, O Lord, whatsoever we have committed as mortal men, and thereby sinned against thee, remit, pardon, take away, and spare, O good God, who in mercy governest all things: that being at unity amongst ourselves, we may render to thee praise, honour, thanksgiving, and adoration, now, henceforth, and for evermore.

The Priest signs himself. And the Deacon says:

Lift up your eyes on high, and look with the eyes of your understanding. Intreat and beseech Christ our Saviour to perfect his spiritual grace in us; and in your minds pray that his peace may be with us all.

The Priest says this prayer:

O LORD GOD, full of pity, compassion, and long-suffering; since I who am vile dust, a miserable sinner, poor and weak, guilty before thee, an alien, and a transgressor even from my mother's womb, have presumed to speak before thee. Have mercy upon me, O Lord, according to thy mercy; bring me out of the sea of my transgressions through thy pity, and out of the ocean of my

sins through thy loving kindness: thou, who art the strengthener and restorer of health, heal the ulcers of mine iniquities, and the stripes of mine offences. Grant that I may open my mouth, and make me worthy to move my lips before thee. Grant that I may offer an atonement for my misdeeds, and that I may obtain remission of my sins, the pardon of mine offences, and the blotting out of mine own blemishes, and those of all who like me have offended against thee. Grant that I may ask of thee those things, which are proper for me to ask and thee to give: for thou hast an inexhaustible treasure which can never fail; and at all times divers petitions are offered up to thee, and thine innumerable benefits accordingly bestowed. Be not angry with me, O thou who art good and gracious, because I cannot presume to say these things with confidence before thy majesty; but accept me, that I may dare to do it, because thy great name is called upon on my behalf. Accept this sacrifice from my hands for thy people, and the sheep of thy pasture; so shall I give thanks to thy name, and pay my adoration to thy majesty, O Lord of all.

The Priest bows down, and says this prayer with a low voice:

O LORD, mighty God, with blessings and adorations we beseech thee to convert those who are gone out of the way, to give light to those who are in darkness, to strengthen the weak, to raise up those who are fallen, to confirm those who stand, and through thy tender mercies to grant to them those things which are useful and profitable for them. We likewise pray and beseech thee, O Lord, through this oblation, to be mindful of our forefathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, teachers, bishops, priests, deacons, and all others who have been partners in our ministry, and are gone before us; and all our brethren in Christ who are departed this life in the true faith, whose names thou knowest; and to remit, and pardon, through the petitions and intercessions of those who have pleased thee, all the sins and offences committed against thee: look down, and have mercy upon us, and all thy servants who approach thy altar; make us worthy to be partakers of the portion and inheritance of thy saints in light, and grant that during our pilgrimage in this world, we may live in perfect charity, and purity of thought, having a perfect knowledge of true faith in thee, and communicating of thy holy and tremendous mysteries; that when we shall stand before the

awful throne of thy majesty, we may not be confounded or condemned. And as thou hast made us worthy the ministry of thy holy and tremendous mysteries in this life, grant that in that which is to come we may be partakers of those good things which neither pass away, nor perish; and that when thou shalt put an end to those things which we here behold as through a glass, darkly, we may then enjoy the holy of holies in heaven. We therefore, O Lord, thy vile, frail, and sinful servants, who were alienated from thee, but through thy great goodness made worthy to stand and administer before thee this tremendous, glorious, and excellent ministry, likewise implore thine adorable godhead, the renewer of all creatures,

That the grace of thine Holy Spirit, O Lord, may come down, dwell, and rest upon this sacrifice which we offer unto thee, that it may sanctify and make it, viz., this bread, and this cup, the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, changing and sanctifying them by thine Holy Spirit; that the partaking of these holy mysteries may be to all who receive them the means of everlasting life, of a resurrection from the dead, the purifying of body and soul, the enlightening of the understanding, of confidence towards thee, and of eternal salvation, which thou hast promised us by Jesus Christ our Lord; that we may be mutually joined together in love, by one band of charity and peace, and that we may be one body, and one spirit, as we are called in one hope of our calling. Nor let any one eat or drink of it to the condemnation of his body and soul; nor let it be to any one, by reason of his sins, the cause of diseases or infirmity, because he eat of the bread, and drank of the cup unworthily: but strengthen and comfort him in all things which are well pleasing unto thee, that so with a pure conscience we may be worthy to communicate of the body and blood of thy Christ; that when we shall be called to stand at thy awful and glorious tribunal, before the throne of thy majesty, we may find pity and favour, and may enjoy the good things to come, and which pass not away, with all those who have pleased thee from the beginning of the world, through the grace and mercy of thine only begotten Son; to whom with thee, and thy living, holy, and life-giving Spirit, be glory, honour, power, and praise, now, henceforth, and for evermore.

Here is a break in this Liturgy, which the Editor says is to be

supplied from another Nestorian Liturgy, called the Liturgy of the Apostles.

O LORD, let thy quiet dwell amongst us, and thy peace in our minds; let our tongue shew forth thy truth; let thy cross be the preserver of our souls; for we make our mouths new harps, and sing with inflamed lips; grant, O Lord, that with confidence through thee, we may pronounce before thee that pure and holy prayer, which thy life-giving mouth taught thy holy disciples, saying: When ye pray, say: Thus praying, giving thanks, saying, and answering;

Our Father, which art in heaven, &c.

Here is another break, from this place till after the sacred Elements are distributed, to be supplied from the forementioned Liturgy.

THE
LITURGY OF SEVERUS,

PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH, IN THE LATTER END OF THE FIFTH, AND
BEGINNING OF THE SIXTH CENTURY.

*Translated from the Latin Version, as published by Renaudotius amongst his other Versions
of the Syriac Liturgies. Printed at Paris, 1716.*

Priest. Peace be with you.

People. And with thy Spirit.

Priest. Lift up your hearts.

People. We lift them up unto the Lord.

Priest. Let us give thanks unto God.

People. It is meet and right so to do.

The Priest bowing down :

What thoughts can we conceive, or what power of speech can we attain to, whereby to render the glory which is due to thee, O King of kings, and God of all ! Who hast created the heavenly hosts, endued them with understanding, and made every intelligent being ; who hast compounded man of what is visible and what is invisible, and made him capable of all excellency, even thy Divine image ; that there might be none of the works of thy hands which might not partake of thy grace ; that the very dust may become happy in the contemplation of thy glory, and be enriched with those good things which the angels enjoy : that we may confess and admire thee the Creator in all thy works, and with profound silence honour thee. *Lifting up his voice :* For troops of angels and archangels, ordained of old ; the thrones long since established, firm and immovable ; the powers, the principalities, the magisterial hosts, the highest dominions, the

spirits of the just, the church of the first-born written in heaven, the many-eyed cherubim, the six-winged seraphim, those beings of most exalted knowledge : trembling before thine invisible and incomprehensible Deity, turning to one another, and contemplating the invisible and incomprehensible vision, praise thee, extol thee, lift up their voices, and say the hymn to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

People. Holy, holy, holy.

The Priest bowing down :

For who is able to shew forth thy power, and tell of all thy praise ? Thou art indeed truly holy, God the Father, from whom all things derive their original ; and thy Son, who was begotten of thee, equal in wisdom, co-eternal, con-substantial, not born in time, but in the same degree of honour with God. Holy also is thy most holy, life-giving, and sanctifying Spirit, who proceeded from thee the Father, without beginning, from eternity. Wherefore all the heavenly hosts glorify thee, thine only begotten Son, and Holy Spirit, for thou art Trinity in Unity. But who is able to search out the depths of thy love towards mankind, who, after we had transgressed thy command, didst suffer God the Word thine only begotten Son, and the brightness of thy glory, to become the purchaser and disposer of our salvation ? Who, according to thy good pleasure, and voluntary purpose, took upon himself the ransom for us, and was incarnate of the blessed Mother of God, and ever Virgin Mary, who was sanctified by the Holy Ghost : he was conceived, and born, and made in all things like unto us, of body, soul, and spirit : he took upon him the whole of man, and through his meritorious propitiation opened for us the way to heaven.

The Priest lifting up his voice :

Who has left us a memorial of his saving passion and cross, when he was about to heal our sins, and to make an oblation of himself for us to thee, O God and Father : he took bread into his hands, and lifting them up to heaven, he blessed +, sanctified +, brake +, and gave it to his disciples and apostles, saying ; Take, eat, for this is my body which is broken and given for you, and for many, unto eternal life.

People. Amen.

Priest. In like manner after supper he took the cup, and mixing it with wine and water +, he gave thanks +, and sanctified it +, and gave it to his disciples and apostles, saying, Take, drink ye all of it: this is my blood of the New Testament which is shed for you, and for many, and given for the remission of sins. Do this in remembrance of me; for as oft as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shew forth my death.

People. We celebrate, O Lord, the memorial of thy death.

Priest. We therefore, O Lord Jesu, offer this unbloody sacrifice, and implore thy pity towards mankind, which induced thee to give thyself a sacrifice for us. We are mindful also of thy second, glorious, and dreadful appearance, when thou shalt sit highly exalted upon thy awful throne, encompassed with thousand thousands of angels; and a stream of fire shall break forth and miserably destroy the wicked: when all men shall give an account of their works, and there shall be no occasion for an accuser or an advocate, but the very works which they have done shall be made manifest, their own consciences accusing or else excusing them: when every man's work shall be tried by fire, and the wise and learned shall not be able to offer any thing in their defence; but in that time of terror, fear and dread shall fall upon the rational part of the creation, and every mouth shall be stopped, and confusion seize the foolish and the ungodly; their fathers and brethren shall give them no assistance, nor their pity and compassion avail them any thing: when vengeance, without mercy, shall overtake them who have not shewed mercy. In that day turn not thy face from us, nor give up thine inheritance to eternal torments. Make us not heirs of darkness where there is no light, nor alienate us from thy fellowship; do not deny us, and say, I know you not; set us not on the left hand with those who saw thee hungry, and fed thee not; sick, and visited thee not: but acknowledge us, and number us with those who have done thy will. For these things thy people, thine inheritance, make their supplication to thee, and by thee to thy Father.

The invocation of the Holy Ghost.

Priest. Have mercy upon me, O God, Father Almighty, and have respect to the groans and sighs of thy people; but regard not, O Lord, the impurity of my lips, the foulness of my tongue, or the wickedness of my heart, but receive upon thy spiritual and

super-celestial altar this sacrifice for a sweet smelling savour, and send down from thine holy habitation the Paraclete, thy Spirit, the Lord, the giver of life, who spake in the law, the prophets, and apostles; who is every where present, and fills all things; who through his own power works sanctification in all who are worthy of it.

Priest. Hear me, O Lord.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, *three times.*

Priest. Send him down upon us, and upon these offerings, and sanctify them; that this bread may be made the life-giving, heavenly, saving body, both of our souls and bodies, even the body of our Lord, our God, and Saviour Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins and everlasting life, to all those who partake of it; and the mixture in this cup, the blood of the New Testament, the life-giving, saving blood, even the blood of our Lord, our God, and King of all, Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and everlasting life to all those who partake of it.

The Priest goes on :

O Lord, forasmuch as these gifts are consecrated through thy grace and power; grant unto all those who shall partake of them, that through their hardness, and impenitent heart, none may be denied access to these mysteries; but that all may be converted and disposed according to thy good pleasure: for thou art he who dost make, turn, and order all things for good. Ingraft in our hearts the fear of thee, the hope of eternal life; and we will return glory to thee, and thine only begotten Son.

The Priest bowing down :

Through the abundance of thy grace, O Lord, we are made worthy of this heavenly sacrament, and have a sure confidence, that whatever we ask of thee, thou wilt give it us. We beseech thee to be mindful of the Catholic Church, wheresoever dispersed, and to preserve it in good works, and the observance of thy commands. Be mindful, O Lord, of the orthodox bishops, priests, and deacons, especially those who are here present, and join in our prayers. Be mindful, O Lord, of me a sinner: grant that I may be sensible how great an honour it is to stand before thy holy altar; and take from me whatever may seem pleasing to a weak and childish mind, lest it may be grievous to me at the

terrible day of accounts. Deliver me from every evil work, and destroy me not in mine iniquities ; be not angry with me for ever, nor treasure up vengeance for me ; but shew me thy loving kindness ; and although I am unworthy of them, save me according to thy mercies, that I may glorify thee always unto my life's end.

Lifting up his voice :

Preserve thy holy Church, which is spread from one end of the earth unto the other, in purity of doctrine ; that as it is the body of thy Christ, it may be united to its head. Purge our souls from all ungodliness and error, which has its rise from the devil. Drive far off all who work wickedness for reward, and blot out the stains which have been caused by heresy, that thy name may not be blasphemed among the Gentiles. Guard thy Church from the heresies which are already sprung up in it, and disperse them without its pale ; forget not the body of priests in thy Church, lest it be wickedly torn in pieces : but remember all the orthodox, and be mindful of thy promise, for we are brought very low. But help us, O God our Saviour, for the glory of thy name, for we will render thee glory and praise.

The Priest bowing down :

Remember, O Lord, all who have in any respect been beneficial to us, and recompence them with a plentiful reward : remember also, all who relieve the poor, who entertain strangers, who communicate to the necessities of the saints, and who offer liberally of their good fruits. Recompence them all in the day of thy just judgment. Remember likewise, O Lord, those who have this day presented their offerings, and those for whom they were presented, and those who intended to do the same.

Lifting up his voice :

Be, O Lord, a comfort to the widows, and a refuge to the orphans ; a support to the aged, and a guide to the youth ; an helper to those who suffer injuries, and a deliverer to those who are vexed with evil spirits. Have mercy upon those who labour under pain or weakness ; release those who are any wise persecuted or oppressed. Make straight the crooked, and raise up them that fall ; suffer us not to sleep the sleep of sin, which leadeth to

eternal death; but cleanse us by tears and repentance, and we will give thee glory.

The Priest bowing down :

Remember, O Lord, all orthodox kings, and grant peace to the earth, and to all things therein, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, free from contention and trouble.

Lifting up his voice :

Give peace through thine excellent power to all faithful kings who love it, and to all orders of men who minister in, and oppose the enemies of, the kingdom of thy Christ; unite them, and make them as one family; bring them to the fear of thee, and kindle in them a zeal for the true faith, that they may govern thy Churches in peace: for thou art a God who willest mercy; and to thee be glory.

The Priest bowing down :

Remember, O Lord, those who from the beginning of the world have been exemplary in thy sight, our forefathers, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, John the Baptist, Stephen the deacon, the holy mother of God, and all pious and just men.

Lifting up his voice :

Grant, O Lord, that we may live as becomes the saints thy friends, and make us worthy the portion of those who have been initiated in thy divine mysteries. Impart to us that doctrine of the apostles, which affords a spiritual nourishment to those who receive it with faith; for thou art the helper of the poor, and the relief of the needy, who dost dispense to thy creatures the means of life, and by many ways effect their preservation: thou every day openest thine hand, which is sufficient for all; and of thy goodness fillest all things living. Deliver us also, O Lord, from all evil, and from the slaughters common in this world; turn from all thy creatures wrath and punishment, and we will give thee glory, &c.

The Priest bowing down :

Remember, O Lord, all bishops and pastors who have stood up in thy Church, and fed thy spiritual sheep with their doctrines,

converting those who had gone out of the way ; but more especially St. James the chief of bishops, and other holy fathers.

Lifting up his voice :

O thou, who art the shepherd, and dispenser of divine knowledge ; make glad, with the light of thy countenance, the wise messengers of glad tidings, the mysteries of the true faith, the bright stars that gave light to thy people sitting in darkness, the founders of churches, the interpreters of the divine law, and the guardians of the flock which was purchased by the blood of thine only begotten Son ; and preserve in holiness us who follow their steps, and emulate their sufferings. Pour on us a never failing stream of their doctrines, and make us worthy the vocation unto which we are called. Preserve us from all heretical opinions, and from the pits and snares of those who fear not thee ; that in the last day, when sentence shall be pronounced, we may have our place assigned us in the company of our fathers, and be numbered amongst them, and we will give thee glory.

The Priest bowing down :

Remember, O Lord, the priests, deacons, sub-deacons, readers, singers, expounders, confessors, monks, and those who have vowed perpetual virginity : give them courage, and a becoming modesty ; and remember all conditions of men who are departed in Christ, and for whom these oblations are offered.

Lifting up his voice :

Give rest, O Lord, to the bodies, souls, and spirits of all who from flesh and blood have made their way to thee the Lord of all flesh, in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in a paradise of pleasure, in a place of rest, in the tabernacle of thy saints, in the company of those who keep the most solemn feast, where life is perfect, free from trouble, and where they may enjoy the first fruits of those unspeakable good things which thou hast promised ; make them worthy of a full enjoyment of them, not imputing to them their sins, nor entering into judgment with thy servants ; for in thy sight no flesh can be justified. For our Lord and God Jesus Christ, thine only begotten Son, was the only person who was ever united to a body of flesh, and entirely subdued all the

sinful lusts thereof, so as to leave no room for them to take hold of him; through whom we also hope, &c.

The Priest bowing down :

So direct, O Lord, and prepare us in this life for the meeting of thine only begotten Son, that when he shall come with his holy angels in the glory of thee his father, to gather together his saints; we may not, through the fondness we have to our passions, or the burthen of our sins which we have committed, be let or hindered when his elect shall be taken up to meet him in the air. Grant that with them we also may sing the triumphal hymns, and with glory and praise say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord; that in this, as well as all other things, thy name may be praised and glorified, &c.

The Priest breaks the bread, and signs it :

Deacon. Again and again.

Priest. O Lord Almighty, whose name is great : O Lord, who art the author of all things, even our thoughts; who, when we were strangers to the covenants of thy promises, and aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, didst bring us to the knowledge of them; and lead us, who were not worthy to knock at the door, into the inmost recesses of thy sanctuary, which the very angels desire to look into: purify and sanctify our minds, and grant, that laying aside all worldly thoughts and the cares of this world, we may seek thy kingdom and thy righteousness; and, as thou hast commanded us, with a pure heart, may repeat and say this prayer :

Our Father, which art in heaven, &c.

O Lord, who sufferest none to be tempted above that he is able, but with the temptation makest a way to escape, that he may bear it; deliver us from all temptation, which it may be difficult to avoid, and from the works and spoils of the wicked one, through Christ Jesus our Lord; with whom glory be to thee, &c.

Priest. Peace be with you.

People. And with thee.

Priest. O God, who hast so loved us, and given us the right of adoption of sons; so that we should be called the sons of God, heirs of thee, O Father, and joint heirs with thy Christ: incline

thine ear, O Lord, and hear us, who bow down our heads to thee, and purify our inward man, even as thine only begotten Son, whom we are about to receive, is pure. Let fornication, and all unclean thoughts, be far from us, in the name of God, who was born of a virgin. Let pride and high-mindedness be driven away by him who humbled himself; cowardice, by him who suffered in the flesh, and triumphed over the cross: let vain glory be mortified by him who was beaten and scourged, and turned not away his face from them who despitefully spit upon him: let the Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world, take from us all envy, manslaughter, dissension, and hatred: let anger and wrath be removed from us by him, who put to shame our enemy the devil at his crucifixion, and blotted out the hand writing of our iniquities. 'Take from us all earthly thoughts through him who has taken us up with himself into heaven, that being pure, we may communicate of this most pure sacrament; and being thoroughly sanctified in body, soul, and spirit, we may render glory to thee, &c.

Priest. Peace be with you.

People. And with thy spirit.

Priest. The blessing of the Lord be with you.

Deacon. With fear and reverence.

People. And with thee also.

Priest. Holy things for holy persons.

SOME FRAGMENTS

OF THE GOTHIC, OR GOTHICO-GALLICAN MISSAL; COLLECTED FROM
SEVERAL GOTHICO-GALLICAN OFFICES.

*Published from an old manuscript in the Queen of Sweden's library, by Mabillon, at Paris, 1685.
This Missal was used in Spain, and in those Churches of Gallia that were under the
Government of the Goths.*

The Sunday Mass. Office 79. pp. 297, 298.

HEAR, O Lord, the prayers of those that offer to thee; receive their vows, and forgive their sins: and through the intercession of thy saints, grant refreshment in the region of the living to those that are dear to us, and are asleep in Christ.

It is meet and right, just and right, that we should always, here, and every where give thanks unto thee, holy Lord, Almighty Father, eternal God: who in thy goodness art our Father, whilst in thy power thou continuest our Lord: for those whom nature had made servants, thou didst vouchsafe to adopt thy sons: and whom their earthly generation had overwhelmed in death, the heavenly regeneration hath raised to life: for all the angels praise thee, O Almighty God.

After the Sanctus, or the hymn that begins, Holy, holy, holy, &c.

Thou art truly holy, truly our Lord God, blessed in the highest: through whom we humbly beseech thee, that thou wilt graciously behold this oblation, which we offer to thee for the faith, stability, and concord of the holy Catholic Church, for purification from wickedness, and remission of sins; and that in beholding thou mayest bless it, and in blessing sanctify it, through thy holy and blessed Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who the evening before.

The Mass for the day called the chair of St. Peter. Office 20. pp. 227, 228.

We therefore observing these his commandments, offer unto thee the holy gift of our salvation. Beseeching thee, that thou wouldst vouchsafe to send thy Holy Spirit upon these solemn mysteries, that they may become to us a true eucharist in the name of thee, and of thy Son, and of thy Holy Spirit, that they may confer eternal life and an everlasting kingdom on us, who are going to eat and drink of them in the transformation of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, thine only begotten Son.

The Mass on the Eve of the Epiphany. Office 10. p. 207.

So descend upon this oblation, that it may be a medicine of health to the living, and give refreshment to the departed.

The Mass for the day called the chair of St. Peter. Office 20. p. 228.

Being taught by a divine master, and formed by a divine institution, we are bold to say, Our Father, &c.

SOME FRAGMENTS

OF THE ANCIENT GALLICAN MISSAL, WHICH WAS USED IN ALL THE CHURCHES OF GAUL AND BRITAIN, BEFORE THE GOTH'S CONQUERED ANY PARTS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE; AND CONTINUED TO BE USED IN SOME PARTS OF GAUL AND BRITAIN FOR SEVERAL AGES AFTER.

Published also by Mabillon, from the same manuscript, and at the same time and place with the former.

The Mass for the Advent of our Lord Jesus Christ. Office 5. pp. 334, 335.

It is truly meet and right that we should always, here, and every where give thanks unto thee, holy Lord, Almighty Father, eternal God, whose property is rather to forgive than to punish sins, &c.

After the Sanctus, or the hymn that begins, Holy, holy, holy, &c.

Thou art truly holy, truly blessed, O Lord God, the Father Almighty, the salvation of them that believe, and the Redeemer of all in Christ; through whom we pray and beseech thee, that thou wouldst vouchsafe to receive, bless, and sanctify this oblation that it may be grateful and acceptable; which we offer unto thee for the peace of thy Church; for the purity of thy priests, and all thy ministers; for the state of this place, and of all that dwell therein; for the desires of all that stand before thee, for the commemoration of the saints, and for the repose of the dead; through the same our Lord, who the evening before he vouchsafed to suffer for the salvation of us, and of all men.

We beseech thee, Almighty God, let thy holy Word descend upon these gifts which we offer to thee; let the inestimable Spirit of thy glory descend; let the gift of thy ancient loving-

kindness descend, that this oblation may be made a spiritual sacrifice, accepted by thee for a sweet smelling savour: also, that thy unconquerable hand may keep us through the blood of Christ.

Being afraid of ourselves, by reason of the error of our consciences, and ashamed through the remembrance of our sins, O Almighty God; we judge ourselves unworthy to invoke thy holy name, that we should dare to say the prayer which thou hast commanded us to say: nevertheless, because thou permittest it; therefore we say, Our Father, &c.

The Collect after the Lord's Prayer.

Deliver us from all evil, O Almighty eternal God: and because thou only hast the power of granting it, grant that this solemn sacrifice may sanctify our hearts whilst it is believed, and blot out our sins when it is received; through our Lord Jesus Christ.

SOME FRAGMENTS

OF THE MOZARABIC, OR MIXED ARABIC MISSAL, AS PUBLISHED BY
MABILLON IN THE OFFICES FOR ADVENT AND CHRISTMAS, IN HIS
APPENDIX TO THE ANCIENT GALLICAN AND GOTHIC MISSALS.

*Which Mozarabic Liturgy was anciently used in Africa, and afterwards in Spain, from the time
it was conquered by the Moors, about the year of our Lord 714, till about the year 1080.*

Out of the Office for Advent, p. 447.

*Let the Priest, joining his hands, bow down, and say, I will
go in unto the altar of God.*

Let the chorus answer, To the God who rejoices my youth.

*Let the Presbyter lay his hand upon the cup, and say,
Hearken unto the Lord.*

Let the chorus answer, We do hearken unto the Lord.

Let the Presbyter say, Lift up your hearts.

Let the chorus answer, We lift them up unto the Lord.

*Let the Presbyter, bowing himself, and joining his hands,
say, Let us give worthy praises, and worthy thanks, unto our
God, and Lord Jesus Christ, who is in heaven.*

*And when he says, Let us give thanks ; let the Priest lift up
his hands on high : and let the chorus say, It is meet and right
so to do.*

Afterwards, let the Presbyter say :

THE ILLATION.

IT is meet and right that we should give thanks to thee, holy
Lord, eternal Father, Almighty God, through Jesus Christ thy
Son our Lord, whom John thy faithful friend preceded in his
birth : he went before him in the desert of the wilderness : he
went before him in baptizing : preparing also the way of judg-
ment, and of the Redeemer : he called sinners together to
repentance ; and gaining people to their Saviour, he baptized in

Jordan those that confessed their sins, not conferring full grace by the renewing of mercy, but admonishing them to wait for the presence of the most pious Saviour: he did not himself remit the sins of those who came to him, but promised remission of sins hereafter to those who should believe; that going down into the waters of repentance, they might hope to receive pardon from him who, they heard, was to come filled with the gift of truth and grace. Therefore Christ is baptized of him with the visible element, and the invisible Spirit: they are led by obedience to mercy; by the son of the barren, to the Son of the virgin; by John the great man, to Christ the God-man. Whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, angels and archangels, thrones, dominions, and powers worship, saying thus:

Let the chorus answer:

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth; heaven and earth are filled with the glory of thy majesty; hosannah to the Son of David; hosannah in the highest. Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord; hosannah in the highest.

Let the Presbyter say after the Sanctus:

OUR Lord Jesus Christ, thy Son, is truly holy and glorious; we believe him to have been made flesh for the salvation of mankind; and now we look for his future coming to judgment in the glory of brightness with all the saints; he is the Lord, and the eternal Redeemer.

Then let the Priest say this prayer with a low voice, joining his hands, and bowing before the altar:

O JESUS, the good High Priest, come, come and be in the midst of us, as thou wast in the midst of thy disciples; sanctify this oblation, + that it being sanctified, + we may receive it by the hands of thy holy angel, O holy Lord, and eternal Redeemer. Our Lord Jesus Christ, in that night in which he was betrayed, took bread, and giving thanks, he bles+sed, and brake it; and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, and eat: this is my body which shall be delivered for you. *Here let the body be elevated.* Do this as oft as ye eat it in remembrance + of me. Likewise also the cup, after he had supped, saying, This + is the cup of the New Testament in my blood, which shall be shed for you,

and for many, for the remission of sins. *Here the cup covered with the filiola shall be elevated.* Do this as oft as ye drink it in remembrance + of me. *And when he comes to those words, In remembrance of me, Let the Priest upon all days, except festivals, speak with a loud voice. Let him also do the same when he says, In brightness from the heavens. And let the chorus each time answer, Amen.*

As often as ye shall eat this bread and drink this cup, ye shall shew the Lord's death till he shall come in brightness + from the heavens. *Let the chorus answer, Amen.*

Out of the Office for Christmas, p. 457.

Let the Priest say after Pridie: that is after the words of Institution.

We, O Lord, observing these thy gifts and precepts, lay upon thine altar the sacrifices of bread and wine, beseeching the most profound goodness of thy mercy, that the holy and undivided Trinity may sanctify these hosts by the same Spirit, through which uncorrupt virginity conceived thee in the flesh; that when it has been received by us, not with less fear than veneration, whatsoever dwells in us contrary to the good of the soul, may die; and whatsoever dies, may never revive again.

Let the Presbyter say before the Lord's Prayer:

What the way shewed, that we should follow; what the life taught, that we should speak; what the truth appointed, that we should hold; let us with trembling of heart proclaim it from the earth to thee, O highest Father. Our Father, &c.

Out of the Office for Advent, p. 451.

Holy things for holy persons; and may the reception of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ procure pardon to us that take it, and drink it, and repose to the faithful departed.

THE ROMAN MISSAL,

As Printed at Rome, 1647.

VERSICLE. The Lord be with you.

Answer. And with thy spirit.

Versicle. Lift up your hearts.

Answer. We lift them up unto the Lord.

Versicle. Let us give thanks to our Lord God.

Answer. It is meet and right so to do.

It is truly meet and right, just and profitable to our souls, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, holy Father, Almighty everlasting God, through Christ our Lord; through whom the angels praise thy majesty, the dominions adore thee, the powers tremble before thee; the heavens, and the hosts of heaven, with the blessed seraphim, together glorify thee with united shouts of joy. With whom we beseech thee to command also our voices to be admitted, with humble submission, saying,

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth, heaven and earth are full of thy glory; hosannah in the highest: blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord; hosannah in the highest.

THE CANON OF THE MASS.

The Priest extending and joining his hands and lifting up his eyes to heaven, and immediately casting them down again, bowing very low before the altar, and laying his hands upon it says:

Therefore, most merciful Father, we humbly pray and beseech thee, through Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord; *he kisses the altar, to accept and bless, He joins his hands, and makes the*

sign of the cross thrice over the oblations ; these + gifts, these + offerings, these + holy unspotted sacrifices ; He stretches out his hands, and proceeds : which, in the first place, we offer unto thee for thy holy Catholic Church, that thou wouldst be pleased to grant her peace, to preserve her, to unite her, and to govern her throughout the whole world ; together with thy servant *N.* our pope, and *N.* our bishop ; as also with all the orthodox and true professors of the Catholic and Apostolic faith.

THE COMMEMORATION FOR THE LIVING.

BE mindful, O Lord, of thy servants and handmaids *N.* and *N.* *He joins his hands, and prays a little while for those whom he intends to pray for ; then stretching out his hands, he proceeds.* And of all those who are here present, whose faith is known to thee, and whose devotion is observed by thee, for whom we offer, or who themselves offer to thee this sacrifice of praise for themselves, and for all theirs, for the redemption of their souls, for the hope of their health and salvation, and who pay their vows unto thee, the eternal, living, and true God.

Infra actionem.

Communicating and honouring the memory, in the first place, of the glorious ever Virgin Mary, mother of God, and our Lord Jesus Christ ; as also of thy blessed apostles and martyrs, Peter and Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon, and Thaddæus ; Linus, Cletus, Clement, Xystus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Laurentius, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian, and of all thy saints ; through whose merits and prayers grant that in all things we may be defended by the help of thy protection. *He joins his hands.* Through the same Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Holding his hands extended over the oblations, he says,

Therefore, O Lord, we beseech thee graciously to accept this oblation of our bounden service, and of thy whole family ; dispose our days in thy peace, and command us to be delivered from eternal damnation, and to be numbered in the congregation of thine elect. *He joins his hands.* Through Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Which oblation do thou, O God, we beseech thee, vouchsafe to render in all respects, *He signs thrice over the oblations*, bles+sed, appro+ved, effec+tual, reasonable, and acceptable; *He signs once over the host, and once over the cup*; that it may be made unto us the bo+dy and blo+od of thy most beloved Son our Lord Jesu Christ.

Who the day before he suffered, *He takes the host*; took bread into his holy and venerable hands; *He lifts up his eyes to heaven*: and lifting up his eyes to heaven to thee his God and Father Almighty; giving thanks to thee, *He signs over the host*; he bles+sed it, brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, and eat ye all of this.

Holding the host with both his hands between his fore fingers and thumbs, he pronounces the words of consecration distinctly, secretly, and reverently:

FOR THIS IS MY BODY.

Having pronounced the words of consecration, he immediately kneels down and adores the consecrated host; rises, shews it to the people, lays it again upon the corporal, adores it again; and does not disjoin his thumbs and fore fingers, except when the host is to be handled, till the time of washing his fingers.

Then uncovering the cup, he says,

In like manner after he had supped, *He takes the cup with both his hands*: taking also this glorious cup into his holy and venerable hands; giving thanks likewise unto thee, *Holding the cup in his left hand, with his right he signs over it*, he bles+sed it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, and drink ye all of it.

He pronounces the words of consecration secretly over the cup, holding it a little elevated.

FOR THIS IS THE CUP OF MY BLOOD, OF THE NEW AND ETERNAL TESTAMENT: THE MYSTERY OF FAITH: WHICH SHALL BE SHED FOR YOU AND FOR MANY FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS.

Having pronounced the words of consecration, he sets down the cup upon the corporal, and saying secretly; As often as ye shall do these things, ye shall do them in remembrance of me. He kneels down, and adores it; rises, shews it to the people; sets it down, covers it, and adores it again. Then disjoining his hands, he says,

Wherefore, O Lord, we thy servants, and also thy holy people, having in remembrance both the blessed passion of the same thy Son Christ our Lord, as also his resurrection from the dead, and likewise his triumphant ascension into the heavens: offer unto thy glorious majesty of thine own gifts and presents, *He joins his hands, and signs thrice over the host and cup together*, a pure \times host, an holy \times host, an immaculate \times host, *He signs once over the host, and once over the cup*; the holy \times bread of eternal life, and the cup \times of everlasting salvation.

Extending his hands, he proceeds:

Upon which vouchsafe to look with a propitious and serene countenance, and accept them as thou wert pleased graciously to accept the gifts of thy righteous servant Abel, the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and the holy sacrifice, the immaculate host, which thy high priest Melchizedeck offered to thee.

Bowing very low, joining his hands, and laying them upon the altar, he says,

We humbly beseech thee, O Almighty God, command these things to be carried by the hands of thy holy angel unto thy high altar, in the presence of thy divine majesty; that as many of us as, *He kisses the altar*, by this participation of the altar, shall receive the most sacred, *He joins his hands, and signs once over the host, and once over the cup*, bo \times dy and blo \times od of thy Son, *He signs himself*, may be replenished with all heavenly benediction and grace, through the same Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

THE COMMEMORATION FOR THE DEAD.

Remember also, O Lord, thy servants and handmaids N. and N. who are gone before us with the sign of faith, and sleep in the sleep of peace. *He joins his hands, and prays a little while for those departed whom he intends to pray for; then stretching*

out his hands, he proceeds: Grant, we beseech thee, O Lord, to them, and to all that rest in Christ, a place of refreshment, light, and peace. *He joins his hands, and bows his head.* Through the same Christ, our Lord. *Amen.*

He strikes his breast with his right hand, and lifting up his voice a little, says,

And to us sinners, thy servants, who trust in the multitude of thy mercies, vouchsafe to grant some part and society with thy holy apostles and martyrs; with John, Stephen, Matthias, Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnes, Cæcilia, Anastasia, and with all thy saints; into whose company do thou admit us, we beseech thee; not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences. *He joins his hands.* Through Christ our Lord.

By whom, O Lord, thou dost always create all these good things; *He signs thrice over the host and cup together, saying,* Thou dost sanc×tify, quick×en, ble×ss, and bestow them upon us.

He uncovers the cup, kneels down, takes the sacrament in his right hand, holding the cup in his left: with the host he signs thrice over the cup from one side to the other, saying, Through × him, with × him, and in × him; *He signs twice between the cup and his breast; to thee, O God, the Father × Almighty, in the unity of the Holy × Ghost, Elevating the cup a little with the host, he says,* Be all honour and glory. *He lays down the host, covers the cup, kneels down, rises, and says,*
For ever and ever.

Answer. Amen.

Let us pray.

Being instructed by wholesome precepts, and ordered by divine institution, we presume to say;

He extends his hands.

Our Father, which art in heaven; hallowed be thy name: thy kingdom come: thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven: give us this day our daily bread: and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation. *Answer:* But deliver us from evil.

The Priest says with a low voice, Amen.

Then he takes the paten between his fore finger and middle finger, and says,

Deliver us, we beseech thee, O Lord, from all evils, past, present, and to come: and through the intercession of the blessed and glorious ever Virgin Mary, mother of God, and of thy blessed apostles, Peter, Paul, and Andrew, and all the saints; *He signs himself from the forehead to the breast with the paten, and kisses it,* graciously give peace in our days; that through the assistance of thy mercy we may be always free from sin, and secure from all trouble. *He sets down the paten with the host, uncovers the cup, kneels down, rises, takes the host, breaks it in the middle over the cup, saying,* Through the same our Lord Jesus Christ thy Son. *That piece which is in his right hand, he lays upon the paten. Then of that part which remains in his left hand, he breaks off a small piece, saying,* Who liveth and reigneth with thee in the unity of the Holy Ghost God.

The other middle piece with his left hand he lays upon the paten, and in his right holding the small piece over the cup, and the cup in his left, he says,

World without end.

Answer. Amen.

With the small piece he signs thrice over the cup, saying,

The peace ✕ of the Lord be ✕ always with ✕ you.

Answer. And with thy spirit.

He puts the small piece into the cup, saying secretly:

May this commixtion and consecration of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be to us that receive it for eternal life. Amen.

He covers the cup, kneels down, rises, and bowing to the sacrament with his hands joined, and striking his breast thrice, he says,

O Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.

O Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.

O Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world, grant us peace.

In Masses for the dead, it is not said, Have mercy upon us ; but instead thereof, grant them rest ; and at the third repetition is added, Eternal.

Then joining his hands over the altar, and bowing down, he says the following prayers ;

O Lord Jesus Christ, who saidst unto thy apostles, My peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you ; look not on my sins, but on the faith of thy Church ; and vouchsafe, according to thy good pleasure, to grant her peace and union : who livest and reignest God, world without end. Amen.

If the pax or peace is to be given, he kisses the altar, and giving the pax, he says, Peace be with thee. Answer. And with thy spirit. In Masses for the dead the pax is not given, and the foregoing prayer is omitted.

O Lord Jesus Christ, thou Son of the living God, who according to the will of the Father, through the co-operation of the Holy Ghost, hast given life to the world by thy death ; deliver me by this thy most sacred body and blood from all my iniquities, and from all manner of evil ; make me always obedient to thy commandments, and suffer me not to be ever separated from thee : who with the same God the Father, and the Holy Ghost, livest and reignest God, world without end. Amen.

Grant, O Lord Jesus Christ, that the participation of thy body, which unworthy I presume to receive, may not be to my judgment and condemnation ; but may it, through thy mercy, be available to the cure and safeguard of my soul and body : who with God the Father, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, livest and reignest God, world without end. Amen.

He kneels down, rises, and says :

I will take the heavenly bread, and call upon the name of the Lord.

Then bowing a little, he takes both pieces of the host between the thumb and fore finger of his left hand, and the paten between the same fore finger and his middle finger, and stri-

king his breast with his right hand, elevating his voice a little, he says thrice humbly and devoutly.

Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldst come under my roof, but speak the word only, and my soul shall be healed.

Then signing himself with his right hand with the host upon the paten, he says,

The body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my soul unto everlasting life. *Amen.*

He takes reverently both pieces of the host, joins his hands, and pauses a little while to meditate upon the most holy sacrament. Then he uncovers the cup, kneels down, picks up the crumbs if there be any, wipes the paten over the cup, saying at the same time :

What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits towards me? I will take the cup of salvation, and call upon the name of the Lord. I will praise the Lord, and so shall I be safe from mine enemies.

He takes the cup in his right hand, and signing himself with it, says :

The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my soul unto everlasting life. *Amen.*

He takes all the blood, with the small piece that was put into it: which having taken, if there are any to be communicated, he communicates them.

THE FORM AND MANNER

OF CONSECRATING AND ADMINISTERING THE HOLY COMMUNION,
ACCORDING TO THE LITURGY OF KING EDWARD THE SIXTH,
CALLED, THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, AND ADMINIS-
TRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS, AND OTHER RITES AND
CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCH, AFTER THE USE OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Printed at London, June the 16th. Anno Dom. 1549.

Then shall the minister take so much bread and wine, as shall suffice for the persons appointed to receive the holy communion, laying the bread upon the corporas, or else in the paten, or in some other comely thing prepared for that purpose. And putting the wine into the chalice, or else in some fair or convenient cup prepared for that use, (if the chalice will not serve) putting thereto a litle pure and clean water: and setting both the bread and wine upon the altar: then the Priest shall say,

The Lord be with you.

Answer. And with thy spirit.

Priest. Lift up your hearts.

Answer. We lift them up unto the Lord.

Priest. Let us give thanks to our Lord God.

Answer. It is meet and right so to do.

The Priest.

It is very meet and right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks to thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty everlasting God.

Here shall follow the proper preface according to the time (if there be any specially appointed) or else immediately shall follow.

THEREFORE with angels and archangels, and with all the holy company of heaven: we laud and magnify thy glorious name, evermore praising thee, and saying:

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts: heaven and earth are full of thy glory: hosannah in the highest. Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord: glory to thee, O Lord, in the highest.

This the Clerks shall also sing.

When the Clerks have done singing, then shall the Priest, or Deacon, turn himself to the people and say,

Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church.

Then the Priest turning himself to the altar, shall say or sing, plainly and distinctly, this prayer following.

ALMIGHTY and ever-living God, which by thy holy apostle hast taught us to make prayers and supplications, and to give thanks for all men; we humbly beseech thee most mercifully to receive these our prayers, which we offer unto thy Divine Majesty, beseeching thee to inspire continually the universal Church, with the spirit of truth, unity, and concord; and grant that all they that do confess thy holy name, may agree in the truth of thy holy word, and live in unity and godly love. Specially we beseech thee to save and defend thy servant Edward our King, that under him we may be godly and quietly governed: and grant unto his whole council, and to all that be put in authority under him, that they may truly and indifferently minister justice, to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of God's true religion and virtue. Give grace, O heavenly Father, to all bishops, pastors, and curates, that they may both by their life and doctrine set forth thy true and lively word, and rightly and duly administer thy holy sacraments. And to all thy people give thy heavenly grace; that with meek heart and due reverence, they may hear and receive thy holy word, truly serving thee in holiness and righteous all the days of their life. And we most humbly beseech thee of thy goodness, O Lord, to comfort and succour all them, which in this life be in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness,

or any other adversity. And especially we commend unto thy merciful goodness this congregation, which is here assembled in thy name to celebrate the commemoration of the most glorious death of thy Son: and here we give unto thee most high praise and hearty thanks, for the wonderful grace and virtue, declared in all thy saints, from the beginning of the world: and chiefly in the glorious and most blessed Virgin Mary, mother of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord and God, and in thy holy patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs, whose examples, O Lord, and steadfastness in thy faith, and keeping thy holy commandments, grant us to follow. We commend unto thy mercy, O Lord, all other thy servants, which are departed hence from us, with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace. Grant unto them, we beseech thee, thy mercy, and everlasting peace; and that at the day of the general resurrection, we, and all they which be of the mystical body of thy Son, may altogether be set on his right hand, and hear that his most joyful voice: Come unto me, O ye that be blessed of my Father, and possess the kingdom which is prepared for you, from the beginning of the world. Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate.

O God, heavenly Father, which of thy tender mercy didst give thine only Son Jesu Christ, to suffer death upon the cross, for our redemption, who made there, by his one oblation once offered, a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, and did institute, and in his holy gospel command us, to celebrate a perpetual memory of that his precious death, until his coming again: hear us, O merciful Father, we beseech thee: and with thy Holy Spirit and Word vouchsafe, to ble+ss and sanc+tify 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. [*Here the Priest must take the bread into his hands.*] Who in the same night that he was betrayed, took bread; and when he had blessed and given thanks, he brake it and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you: do this in remembrance of me.

[*Here the Priest shall take the cup into his hands.*] Likewise after supper 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, which is shed for you, and for many, for the remission of sins : do this, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me.

These Words before rehearsed, are to be said, turning still to the altar, without any elevation, or shewing the sacrament to the people.

WHEREFORE, O Lord, and heavenly Father, according to the institution of thy dearly beloved Son our Saviour Jesu Christ, we thy humble servants, do celebrate and make here before thy Divine Majesty, with these thy holy gifts, the memorial which thy Son hath willed us to make : having in remembrance his blessed passion, mighty resurrection, and glorious ascension, rendering unto thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same, entirely desiring thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, most humbly beseeching thee to grant, that by the merits and death of thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in his blood, we, and all thy whole Church, may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his passion. And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls, and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto thee : humbly beseeching thee, that whosoever shall be partakers of this holy communion, may worthily receive the most precious body and blood of thy Son Jesus Christ, and be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction, and made one body with thy Son Jesu Christ, that he may dwell in them, and they in him. And although we be unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto thee any sacrifice, yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service, and command these our prayers and supplications, by the ministry of thy holy angels, to be brought up into thy holy tabernacle before the sight of thy Divine Majesty, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Christ our Lord. By whom, and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. *Amen.*

Let us pray.

As our Saviour Christ has commanded and taught us, we are bold to say :

OUR Father, which art in heaven ; hallowed be thy name ; thy

kingdom come; thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven; give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us; and lead us not into temptation.

The Answer.

But deliver us from evil. *Amen.*

Then shall the Priest say :

The peace of the Lord be alway with you.

The Clerks.

And with thy Spirit

The Priest.

CHRIST our Paschal Lamb, is offered up for us, once for all, when he bore our sins on his body on the cross, for he is the very Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world; wherefore let us keep a joyful and holy feast with the Lord.

Here the Priest shall turn himself towards those that come to the Holy Communion, and shall say :

You that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins, to Almighty God, and be in love and charity with your neighbours, and intend to lead a new life, following the commandments of God, and walking from henceforth in his holy ways, draw near and take this holy sacrament to your comfort; make your humble confession to Almighty God, and to his holy Church, here gathered together in his name, meekly kneeling upon your knees.

Then shall this general confession be made, in the name of all those that are minded to receive the Holy Communion, either by one of them, or else by one of the Ministers, or by the Priest himself, all kneeling humbly upon their knees.

ALMIGHTY God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, maker of all things, judge of all men, we acknowledge and bewail our manifold sins and wickedness, which we from time to time most grievously have committed, by thought, word, and deed against thy Divine Majesty, provoking most justly thy wrath and indignation against us. We do earnestly repent, and are heartily sorry for these our misdoings; the remembrance of them is grievous unto us; the burthen of them is intolerable. Have mercy upon us, have mercy upon us, most merciful Father, for thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, forgive us all that is past, and grant that we

may ever hereafter serve and please thee in newness of life, to the honour and glory of thy name, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Then the Priest stands up, and turning himself to the people, says thus :

ALMIGHTY God, our heavenly Father, who of his great mercy hath promised forgiveness of sins to all them, which with hearty repentance and true faith turn to him: have mercy upon you, pardon and deliver you from all your sins, confirm and strengthen you in all goodness, and bring you to everlasting life; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Then shall the Priest also say:

Hear what comfortable words our Saviour Christ saith to all that truly turn to him.

COME unto me all that travel, and be heavy laden, and I shall refresh you. So God loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, to the end that all that believe in him should not perish, but have life everlasting.

Hear also what St. Paul saith :

This is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be received, that Jesus Christ came into this world to save sinners.

Hear also what Saint John saith :

If any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the Righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins.

Then shall the Priest, turning himself to God's board, kneel down, and say, in the name of all them that shall receive the communion, this prayer following :

WE do not presume to come to this thy table, O merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold and great mercies. We are not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under thy table, but thou art the same Lord, whose property is always to have mercy. Grant us therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood in these holy mysteries, that we may continually dwell in him, and he in us, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood. *Amen.*

Then shall the Priest first receive the communion in both kinds himself, and next deliver it to other ministers, if any be there present, (that they may be ready to help the chief minister) and after to the people.

And when he delivereth the sacrament of the body of Christ, he shall say to every one these words :

The body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life.

And the minister delivering the sacrament of the blood, and giving every one to drink once and no more, shall say :

The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life.

A COMMUNION OFFICE,

TAKEN PARTLY FROM PRIMITIVE LITURGIES, AND PARTLY FROM
THE FIRST ENGLISH REFORMED COMMON PRAYER-BOOK.

Printed at London, 1718.

Then shall the Priest take so much bread and wine, as shall suffice for the persons appointed to receive the holy communion; laying the bread in the paten, or in some other decent thing prepared for that purpose; and putting the wine into the chalice, or else into some fair and convenient cup prepared for that use, putting thereto, in the view of the people, a little pure and clean water: and then setting both the bread and the cup upon the altar, he shall turn to the people, and say:

Let us pray:

Then the Priest shall turn to the altar, and standing humbly before it, he shall say the Collect following:

O ALMIGHTY God, who hast created us, and placed us in this ministry by the power of thy Holy Spirit; may it please thee, O Lord, as we are ministers of the New Testament, and dispensers of thy holy mysteries, to receive us who are approaching thy holy altar, according to the multitude of thy mercies, that we may be worthy to offer unto thee this reasonable and unbloody sacrifice for our sins, and the sins of the people. Receive it, O God, as a sweet smelling savour, and send down the grace of thy Holy Spirit upon us. And as thou didst accept this worship and service from thy holy apostles; so of thy goodness, O Lord, vouchsafe to receive these offerings from the hands of us sinners, that being made worthy to minister at thy holy altar without blame, we may have the reward of good and faithful servants at

that great and terrible day of account and just retribution ; through our Lord Jesus Christ thy Son, who, with thee and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth ever one God, world without end.
Amen.

Then shall the Priest turn himself to the people, and say,
The Lord be with you.

Answer.

And with thy spirit.

Priest.

Lift up your hearts.

Answer.

We lift them up unto the Lord.

Priest.

Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.

Answer.

It is meet and right so to do.

Then shall the Priest turn himself to the altar, and say,
It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, Holy Father,* Almighty, Everlasting God.

Here shall follow the proper Preface according to the time, if there be any specially appointed ; or else immediately shall follow ;

Therefore with angels and archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious name, evermore praising thee, and saying,

Here the people shall join with the Priest, and say,

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts ; heaven and earth are full of thy glory ; hosannah in the highest : blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord : glory be to thee, O Lord most high. Amen.

Immediately after, the Priest shall say,

Holiness is thy nature and thy gift, O eternal King ; holy is thine only begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom thou

* These words " Holy Father." must be omitted on Trinity Sunday.

hast made the worlds; holy is thine ever-blessed Spirit, who searcheth all things, even the depths of thine infinite perfection. Holy art thou, almighty and merciful God; thou createdst man in thine own image, broughtest him into paradise, and didst place him in a state of dignity and pleasure: and when he had lost his happiness by transgressing thy command, thou of thy goodness didst not abandon and despise him. Thy providence was still continued, thy law was given to revive the sense of his duty, thy prophets were commissioned to reclaim and instruct him. And when the fulness of time was come, thou didst send thine only begotten Son to satisfy thy justice, to strengthen our nature, and renew thine image within us: for these glorious ends thine eternal Word came down from heaven, was incarnate by the Holy Ghost, born of the blessed virgin, conversed with mankind, and directed his life and miracles to our salvation: and when his hour was come to offer the propitiatory sacrifice upon the cross; when he, who had no sin himself, mercifully undertook to suffer death for our sins, in the same night that he was betrayed he [*here the Priest is to take the paten into his hands*] took bread; and when he had given thanks, [*and here to break the bread*] [he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, 'Take, eat, [*and here to lay his hand upon all the bread*'] THIS IS MY BLOODY, which is given for you; do this in remembrance of me.

Here the people shall answer,

Amen.

Then shall the Priest say,

Likewise after supper [*here he is to take the cup into his hands*] he took the cup; and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this, for [*and here to lay his hand upon every vessel, be it chalice or flagon, in which there is any wine and water to be consecrated*] THIS IS MY BLOOD of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins; do this, as oft as ye shall drink it in remembrance of me.

Here the people shall answer,

Amen.

Then shall the Priest say,

Wherefore, having in remembrance his passion, death, and resurrection from the dead; his ascension into heaven, and second coming with glory and great power to judge the quick and the dead, and to render to every man according to his works; we offer to thee, our King and our God, according to his holy institution, this bread and this cup; giving thanks to thee through him, that thou hast vouchsafed us the honour to stand before thee, and to sacrifice unto thee. And we beseech thee to look favourably on these thy gifts, which are here set before thee, O thou self-sufficient God: and do thou accept them to the honour of thy Christ; and send down thine Holy Spirit, the witness of the passion of our Lord Jesus, upon this sacrifice, that he may make this [*here the priest shall lay his hand upon the bread*] bread the body of thy Christ, and this [*and here upon every vessel, be it chalice or flagon, in which there is any wine and water*] cup the blood of thy Christ; that they who are partakers thereof, may be confirmed in godliness, may obtain remission of their sins, may be delivered from the devil and his snares, may be replenished with the Holy Ghost, may be made worthy of thy Christ, and may obtain everlasting life, thou, O Lord Almighty, being reconciled unto them, through the merits and mediation of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ; who, with thee and the holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth ever one God, world without end. *Amen.*

Almighty and ever-living God, who by thy holy apostle hast taught us to make prayers and supplications, and to give thanks for all men; we humbly beseech thee most mercifully to accept these our oblations, and to receive these our prayers, which we offer unto thy divine majesty, beseeching thee to inspire continually the universal Church with the Spirit of truth, unity, and concord; and grant, that all they that do confess thy holy name, may agree in the truth of thy holy word, and live in unity and godly love. Give grace, O heavenly Father, to all bishops and curates, that they may both by their life and doctrine set forth thy true and lively Word, and rightly and duly administer thy holy sacraments. We beseech thee also to save and defend all christian kings, princes, and governors; and especially thy

servant our king, that under him we may be godly and quietly governed: and grant unto his whole council, and to all that are put in authority under him, that they may truly and indifferently minister justice, to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of thy true religion and virtue. And to all thy people give thy heavenly grace, that with meek heart and due reverence they may hear and receive thy holy Word, truly serving thee in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life. And we commend especially unto thy merciful goodness this congregation, which is here assembled in thy name to celebrate the commemoration of the most glorious death of thy Son. And we most humbly beseech thee of thy goodness, O Lord, to comfort and succour all them, who in this transitory life are in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity; [** especially those for whom our prayers are desired.*] And here we do give unto thee most high praise and hearty thanks, for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in all thy saints, from the beginning of the world; and particularly in the glorious and ever blessed Virgin Mary, mother of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord and God; and in the holy patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, and confessors; whose examples, O Lord, and steadfastness in thy faith, and keeping thy holy commandments, grant us to follow. We commend unto thy mercy, O Lord, all thy servants, who are departed hence from us with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace: grant unto them, we beseech thee, thy mercy and everlasting peace; and that at the day of the general resurrection, we and all they who are of the mystical body of thy Son, may all together be set on his right hand, and hear that his most joyful voice: Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only mediator and advocate. *Amen.*

Then the Priest shall say the Lord's prayer, the people repeating after him every petition.

Our Father, which art in heaven; hallowed be thy name: thy kingdom come: thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven: give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us: and lead us not into

* This is to be said when any desire the prayers of the congregation.

temptation; but deliver us from evil: for thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

Then shall the Priest turn to the people, and say,
The peace of the Lord be always with you.

Answer.

And with thy spirit.

Priest.

Christ, our Paschal Lamb, is offered up for us, once for all, when he bare our sins in his body upon the cross; for he is the very Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world: wherefore let us keep a joyful and holy feast unto the Lord.

Then the Priest shall say to all those that come to receive the holy communion:

Ye that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins, and are in love and charity with your neighbours, and intend to lead a new life, following the commandments of God, and walking from henceforth in his holy ways; draw near with faith, and take this holy sacrament to your comfort, and make your humble confession to Almighty God, meekly kneeling upon your knees.

Then shall this general confession be made by the Priest and People, both he and they kneeling humbly upon their knees with their faces towards the altar, and saying:

Almighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, maker of all things, judge of all men; we acknowledge and bewail our manifold sins and wickedness, which we from time to time most grievously have committed, by thought, word, and deed, against thy Divine Majesty, provoking most justly thy wrath and indignation against us. We do earnestly repent, and are heartily sorry for these our misdoings; the remembrance of them is grievous unto us; the burden of them is intolerable. Have mercy upon us, have mercy upon us, most merciful Father; for thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, forgive us all that is past; and grant, that we may ever hereafter serve and please thee in newness of life, to the honour and glory of thy name, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Then shall the Priest (or the Bishop, being present) stand

up, and turning himself to the people, pronounce this absolution.

Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who of his great mercy hath promised forgiveness of sins to all them, that with hearty repentance and true faith turn unto him; have mercy upon you, pardon and deliver you from all your sins, confirm and strengthen you in all goodness, and bring you to everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Then shall the Priest also say,

Hear what comfortable words our Saviour Christ saith unto all that truly turn to him.

Come unto me, all that travel, and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you. Matt. xi. 28.

God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, to the end that all that believe in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. John iii. 16.

Hear also what St. Paul saith.

This is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be received, That Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners. 1 Tim. i. 15.

Hear also what St. John saith.

If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins. 1 John ii. 1, 2.

Then the Priest shall say to the People,

Let us pray.

Then shall the Priest, turning himself to the altar, kneel down, and say in the name of all them that shall receive the communion, this prayer following:

WE do not presume to come to this thy table, O merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold and great mercies. We are not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under thy table; but thou art the same Lord, whose property is always to have mercy. Grant us therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our

souls washed through his most precious blood, and that we may evermore dwell in him, and he in us. *Amen.*

Then shall the Bishop, if he be present, or else the Priest that officiateth, kneel down and receive the communion in both kinds himself, and then proceed to deliver the same to other Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, in like manner, if any be there present; and after that to the People also in order into their hands, all meekly kneeling.

And when he delivereth the sacrament of the body of Christ to any one, he shall say,

The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life.

Here the person receiving shall say,

Amen.

And the Priest or Deacon that delivereth the sacrament of the blood of Christ to any one, shall say,

The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life.

Here the person receiving shall say,

Amen.

ST. JUSTIN MARTYR'S ACCOUNT

OF THE MANNER OF CELEBRATING THE EUCHARIST IN HIS DAYS,
THAT IS, ABOUT FIFTY YEARS AFTER THE DEATH OF ST
JOHN THE APOSTLE, BEGINNING AT THE EIGHTY-FIFTH
CHAPTER OF HIS FIRST APOLOGY.

As translated and published by Mr. Reeves, excepting one or two passages, London, 1709.

85. AFTER the believer is baptized, and so incorporated or made one with us, we lead him to the congregation of the brethren, as we call them, and then with great fervency pour out our souls in common prayers, both for ourselves, for the person baptized, and for all others all the world over; that having embraced the truth, our conversation might be as becometh the gospel, and that we be found doers of the word, and so at length be saved with an everlasting salvation. Prayers being over, we salute each other with a kiss: after this, bread and a cup of water,* and mixed wine, are brought to the president or bishop, which he takes, and offers up praise and glory through the name of his Son and the Holy Spirit; and this thanksgiving to God for vouchsafing us worthy of these his creatures, is a prayer of more than ordinary length. When the bishop has finished the prayers and the eucharistic service, all the people present conclude with an audible voice, saying, *Amen*. Now *amen* in the Hebrew tongue is, *so be it*. The eucharistical office being thus performed by the bishop, and concluded with the acclamations of all the people, those we call deacons distribute to every one present to partake

* By mixed wine, Justin means wine so mixed with water, as it was commonly drank in those hot countries: to which nevertheless they added water in the sight of the people, that they might be assured they had not pure, but mixed wine.

of this eucharistical bread, and * wine, and water, and then they carry it to the absent.

86. This food we call the eucharist, of which none are allowed to be partakers but such only as are true believers, and have been baptized in the laver of regeneration for the remission of sins, and live according to Christ's precepts; for we do not take this as common bread and common drink: but as Jesus Christ our Saviour was made flesh by the Logos of God, and had real flesh and blood for our salvation, so are we taught that this food, which the very same Logos blessed by prayer and thanksgiving, is turned into the nourishment and substance of our flesh and blood, and is the flesh and blood of the incarnate Jesus. For the apostles in their commentaries called the gospels, have left this command upon record, *That Jesus took bread, and when he had given thanks, he said, Do this in commemoration of me, for this is my body:* and in like manner *he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he said, This is my blood,* and delivered it to them only. And this very solemnity too the evil spirits have introduced in the mysteries of Mithra; for you do, or may know, that when any one is initiated into this religion, bread and a cup of water, with a certain form of words, are made use of in the sacrifice. After this sacrament is over, we remind each other of the obligations to his duty, and the rich relieve the poor, and upon such charitable accounts we visit some or other every day.

87. And in every eucharistical sacrifice we bless the Maker of all things through his Son Jesus Christ, and through the Holy Spirit: and upon the day called Sunday, all that live either in city or country meet together in the same place, where the writings of the apostles and prophets are read, as much as time will give leave: when the reader has done, the bishop makes a sermon to the people, and animates them to the practice of such lovely precepts: at the conclusion of this discourse, we all rise up together and pray; and prayers being over, as I now said,

* Here, what Justin before called water and mixture, or mixed wine, he plainly calls wine and water. Which clearly explains what he before meant by *γράφμα*, or mixed wine, about which the author of "No Reason," &c. has made so much difficulty, pretending that it is unintelligible.

there is bread, and wine, and water, offered, and the bishop, as before, sends up prayers and thanksgivings, with all the fervency he is able, and the people conclude all with the joyful acclamation of *Amen*. Then the consecrated elements are distributed to, and partaken of by all that are present, and sent to the absent by the hands of the deacons.

THE FIFTH MYSTAGOGICAL CATECHISM

OF ST. CYRIL OF JERUSALEM, ON THE CATHOLIC EPISTLE OF ST.
PETER: * THEREFORE CASTING AWAY ALL UNCLEANNESS,
AND ALL DECEIT, AND EVIL SPEAKING, &c.

1. You have, by the grace of God, been sufficiently informed in the foregoing discourses concerning Baptism, Chrism, and the participation of the body and blood of Christ: but it is now requisite we proceed to what remains; this day putting an end to that which is necessary to your spiritual edification. You saw the deacon holding water to the bishop and to the presbyters which stood about the altar. Did he do this for the washing away the filth of the body? By no means: for we are not wont to come into the church with dirty bodies: but that washing is a sign that you ought to be cleansed from all your sins and iniquities. Forasmuch as the hands denote our actions, to wash them signifies the cleanness and purity of our works. Have you not heard the blessed David going to handle the holy mysteries, and saying, *I will wash my hands in innocency, O Lord, and so will I compass thine altar?* † Therefore to wash the hands, is a token that we should be clean from sin.

2. Then the deacon calls out, *Embrace and kiss ye one another.* Do not thou esteem this as such a kiss which common friends give to one another when they meet in a public place: for it is not a kiss of that sort. This reconciles the souls to each other, and promises a forgetfulness of all evil turns. Therefore this kiss is a sign of the reconciliation of minds, and of blotting out the memory of all injuries. Therefore Christ said, *If thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother have ought against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and*

* 1 Pet. ii. 1.

† Psalm. xxii. 6.

*then come and offer thy gift.** Therefore this kiss is a reconciliation, and for that reason holy, as the blessed Paul speaks, saying, *Salute ye one another with an holy kiss.†* And Peter says, *with a kiss of charity.‡*

3. Then the priest calls out, *Lift up your hearts.* For truly at that tremendous hour we ought to have the heart lifted up to God, and not set upon the earth and worldly affairs. By the force of these words, the priest requires all, that in this hour they lay aside all the concerns of this life and their domestic cares, and have their hearts in heaven with the lover of mankind. Then you answer: *We lift them up unto the Lord*, acknowledging that you assent to what he requires. But let no one stay here and say with his mouth, *We lift them up unto the Lord*, whilst he lets his mind rove upon the things of this life. We ought indeed always to think upon God; but if this cannot be done by reason of the infirmity of human nature, it is in an especial manner to be endeavoured at this hour.

4. Then the priest says, *Let us give thanks unto the Lord.* We ought certainly to give thanks that he has called us unworthy to so great a grace; that he has reconciled us to himself being his enemies, and has given us the spirit of adoption. Then you say, *It is right and meet so to do.* For when we give thanks unto God, we do a work that is right and meet: but he doing not what is barely right, but what is above right, has done great benefits for us, and vouchsafed us such excellent gifts.

5. Then we make mention of heaven and earth, and the sea; of the sun and moon, and the stars, and of every creature rational and irrational, visible and invisible; of angels, archangels, potentates, dominions, principalities, powers, and cherubim covering their faces, as though we should say that of David; *Magnify the Lord with me.* Then we make mention of those seraphim which Isaiah, being in the Spirit, saw standing about the throne of God: *And with two wings they cover their face, and with two their feet, but with the other two they fly, and say, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth.¶* For we therefore sing this seraphical divine song, that in our hymns we communicate with the heavenly host: and thus sanctifying ourselves with such spiritual hymns, we beseech God, the lover of men, to send his

Matt. v. 23.

† 1 Cor. xvi. 20.

‡ 1 Pet. v. 14.

¶ Isa. vi. 2.

Holy Spirit upon the gifts lying before him, that he may make the bread the body of Christ, and the cup the blood of Christ: for that on which the Holy Ghost descends, is sanctified and changed.

6. But then when we have finished the spiritual sacrifice, the unbloody worship in that propitiatory sacrifice, we pray to God for the common peace of the Church, for the tranquillity of the world, for kings, for the armies, and those that fight with them, for the sick and afflicted; and, in a word, we pray to thee for all that need assistance, and offer this sacrifice unto thee. Then we also make mention of those who are at rest before us: first the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, that God through their prayers and supplications would receive our prayers: then we pray for the deceased fathers and bishops: lastly, for all those that once lived with us, and are now departed; believing it to be a great benefit unto their souls for whom prayer is made, whilst the holy and tremendous sacrifice lies before us.

7. Which I will show you by an example. For I know that many say, What signifies it to a soul to be mentioned in our prayers, whether it went out of the world with sins or without? For if any king should send into banishment those which have offended him, but afterwards some of their friends making a crown, should offer it to him in behalf of those who are thus punished; would he not be disposed to remit their punishment? In like manner we offering prayers for the dead, although they were sinners, do not make a crown, but offer Christ, who was slain for our sins, that we may render him, who is the lover of men, gracious and propitious both to them and ourselves.

8. Then we say that prayer which our Saviour delivered to his domestic disciples; with a pure conscience calling God our Father, and saying, *Our Father which art in heaven.** O the great love of God to mankind! to those who have revolted from him, and were fallen into the greatest evils, he so far forgot their wickedness, and granted them such a participation of his grace, as to be called their Father: *Our Father which art in heaven.* For the heavens are what bear the image of the heavenly, *where God dwells and walks.*†

9. *Hallowed be thy name.* The name of God is holy by

* Matt. vi. 9. and Luke xi 2.

† 2 Cor. vi. 16.

nature, whether we say it or not. But because his name is sometimes profaned by sinners, as it is written: *For the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles, through you*; * we pray that the name of God may be sanctified in us; not that it should begin to be what it is not, but that it may be esteemed holy by us when we are sanctified, and do things worthy of sanctification.

10. *Thy kingdom come.* It belongs to a pure soul to say with boldness, *Thy kingdom come.* For he that hears St. Paul, saying, *Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body*, † and cleanses himself in thought, word and deed, will say to God, *Thy kingdom come.*

11. *Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven.* The divine and blessed angels do the will of God as David says, *Bless the Lord, all ye angels of his, ye that excel in virtue, doing his will.* ‡ Therefore this is as if you should pray, saying, As thy will is performed by the angels, so let it be performed by me on earth, O Lord.

12. *Give us this day our super-substantial bread.* This common bread is not super-substantial; but that holy bread is called super-substantial, because it confirms the substance of the soul. This bread goes down into the belly, from thence to be cast into the draught, but it is distributed through thy whole person for the benefit of body and soul: but *this day* is said for *every day*; as St. Paul says, *whilst it is called to day.* ||

13 *And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.* For we have many sins, and offend both in word and thought, and do many things worthy of condemnation. And, *if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves*, § as John says. We therefore make a covenant with God, when we ask to have our trespasses forgiven us as we forgive our neighbours. Therefore considering how much we receive for so very little, let us not delay nor prolong the time to forgive one another's offences. The trespasses that are committed against us, are little, light, and easy to be forgiven; but those which are committed by you against God, are very great, and to be forgiven only through his own great love to mankind. Take heed therefore, that by thy not forgiving the small and light trespasses of

* Rom. ii. 24.

† Rom. vi. 12.

‡ Psalm ciii. 20.

|| Heb. iii. 13.

§ 1 John i. 8.

thy brother against thee, thou hinder God from forgiving thy grievous trespasses against himself.

14. *And lead us not into temptation, O Lord.* Does the Lord teach us here to pray, that we be not tempted at all? How then comes it to be said in another place, that *the man who is not tempted, is not proved?* And again, *My brethren, count it all joy when ye fall into divers temptations.** But perhaps to enter into temptation, is to be overwhelmed in the temptation: for that seems to be a temptation which, like a torrent, is difficult to be passed over. Those therefore who are not overwhelmed by the torrent of temptations, like excellent swimmers, pass safely through them, and are never destroyed by them. But they that are not such, entering into the temptation, are overwhelmed. For example: Judas entering into the temptation of covetousness, overcame it not, but was overwhelmed by it, and suffocated both body and soul. Peter entered into the temptation of denying Christ, but stoutly swimming through, was delivered from the temptation. Hear again in another place a whole choir of saints, giving thanks for their deliverance from evil. *Thou, O Lord, hast proved us: thou also hast tried us like as silver is tried: thou broughtest us into the snare, and laidest trouble upon our loins: thou broughtest men over our head: we went through fire and water, and thou broughtest us into a place of refreshment.†* You see them speaking boldly of their passage through, and not staying. *And thou broughtest us out, say they, into a place of refreshment.* That they came into a place of refreshment, is, that they were delivered out of temptation.

15. *But deliver us from the evil one.* If the words *Lead us not into temptation*, signified, Let us not be tempted at all, he would not also have added, *Deliver us from the evil one.* But the evil one is our adversary the devil, from whom we desire to be delivered. Then when the prayer is ended, thou sayest, *Amen:* sealing with *Amen*, which signifies, *So be it*, all that is contained in this prayer which we have been taught of God.

16. After these things, the Priest says, *Holy things for holy persons:* the oblations lying on the altar are holy, receiving the descent of the Holy Ghost: ye also are holy, being also sanctified by the Holy Ghost. Then you answer: *There is one holy, one Lord Jesus Christ.* There is truly one holy, holy by nature: but

* James i. 2.

† Psalm lxvi. 10.

we are also holy, but not by nature, but by participation, by exercise and by prayer.

17. Then thou heardest him sing with divine melody, exhorting you to the participation of the divine mysteries, and saying, *O taste and see how gracious the Lord is.** Are you exhorted to this, that you should judge of it by your corporeal palate? By no means, but by a most sure and certain faith: for those that taste are not called to taste of bread and wine, but of the anti-type or perfect representative of the body and blood of Christ.

18. Drawing near therefore, do not come with your hands wide open, neither with your fingers separated one from another, but making your left hand a support for your right hand, which is going to receive so great a king; and keeping your hand hollow, so receive the body of Christ, saying, *Amen*. Then diligently sanctifying your eyes with the touch of the holy body, take it, being careful that you drop nothing of it: for whatever you lose of it, it is like losing a piece of one of your own members. For tell me, if any one should give thee branches of gold, wouldst not thou hold them very carefully, keeping them so as nothing should be lost, and so thou sustain damage? Therefore oughtest not thou to be much more careful to preserve this, which is more precious than gold or jewels, that nothing of it fall down?

19. Then after thou hast communicated of the body of Christ, draw near and take the cup of his blood; not reaching out your hands, but bowing down, and in a posture of worship and adoration, saying, *Amen*. Mayest thou be also sanctified with the blood of Jesus Christ which thou receivest: and whilst the moisture is still on your lips, wipe them with your hands, and therewith sanctify your eyes, your forehead, and other members. Lastly, waiting for the prayer of dismissal, give thanks to God, who has vouchsafed to deem thee worthy such great mysteries. Hold fast these traditions, and keep yourselves void of offence, and do not cut yourselves off from communion; neither through the corruption of sin deprive yourselves of these holy and heavenly mysteries. And the God of peace perfectly sanctify you: and may both your soul and spirit be preserved unto the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ. To whom with the Father and Holy Spirit be all glory, honour, and power, now and ever, world without end. *Amen*.

* Psalm xxxiv. 3.

DISSERTATION

CONCERNING THE

PRECEDING LITURGIES.

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IN my discourse \* concerning the necessary use of tradition to understand the holy scripture, I mentioned the Liturgies of St. James, St. Mark, St. Clement, St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, Pope Gelasius, together with the Gothick and Gallican Missals, and promised to publish them in our own language: and have now, I trust, performed that promise. I must confess, I had not then seen the Liturgies of Ambrose and Gelasius, neither the Gothick or Gallican Missals: however, it being my purpose to seek only the truth, and to follow it and teach it wherever I could find it; and being convinced that Antiquity, Universality, and Consent, joined with the authority of the holy scriptures, were the best evidence of all christian truths, and that the most ancient Liturgies of all churches were the best testimony of that Universality and Consent; I determined to publish in our own tongue all those Liturgies, which might be evidences of this Universality and Consent, as far as they concerned the ministration of the holy communion, or that which the Greeks call the Anaphora or oblation, and the Latins the Canon Missæ, or rule for celebrating the Eucharist. But when I came to set about this work according to my promise, I found that the Ambrosian and Gelasian Liturgies, at least what Pamelius and Thomasius have published under those names, differed not, in this part which I proposed to publish, from the present Roman Missal or Mass

\* § xxx., xxxiii.



book : and therefore contented myself to publish that Canon according to the present form used in the church of Rome. And when I came to examine the ancient Gothick and Gallican Liturgies as published by Mabillon, I found there was no complete Liturgy now extant as used in these churches, but only some fragments of the communion service dispersed here and there in several offices for Sundays and Saints' days ; so many of which fragments I have here collected, as may be sufficient to shew that they agreed with the other Liturgies in the matter now in dispute. Finding also, in the same book of Mabillon, some fragments of the Mozarabick or ancient African and Spanish Liturgy ; I have added also such of those fragments, as I thought sufficient to let the reader see, that they differed not from other churches in these controverted points. I have also added several other Liturgies, amongst which is the first Liturgy of King Edward VI., more than I promised, of which I purpose to speak more particularly hereafter. And having by these Liturgies proved what was universally observed by all churches, I have subjoined the account given by Justin Martyr, concerning the manner of celebrating the Eucharist in his days, within fifty years after the death of St. John ; and whilst many of the immediate disciples of the apostles were still living. Also one of the Mystagogical Catechisms of St. Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, written about twenty-five years after the Council of Nice ; which are good evidences of the antiquity of these controverted points. For Justin Martyr plainly testifies concerning the mixing water with the sacramental wine, and St. Cyril testifies concerning prayer for the dead, the invocation, and oblation. So that St. Justin and St. Cyril testify concerning the antiquity of these things, and the Liturgies shew the Universality and Consent : and all together are a full testimony, that we have Antiquity, Universality, and Consent, for all the points for which we contend. But I have not published the discourses of these two fathers upon this subject, for want of other testimonies of primo-primitive antiquity, but because these two are the only fathers who lived before the Council of Nice, or were contemporary with that council, that have been any thing particular concerning the manner of celebrating the Eucharist : what the other fathers have said concerning that matter, being only occasional, and not in any set discourse on that subject.

For, as the learned Mr. Johnson has judiciously observed,\* “That though the fathers treated freely and apertly in their homilies or sermons to the Catechumens, as well as the faithful, on the other heads of christian faith; yet the doctrine of the sacraments, especially the Eucharist, they reserved for them only, whom they thought fit to receive them. The reasons they had for the concealment of these mysteries, were, in some, to shew the great esteem they had of them, and which they by this means endeavoured to imprint upon all that were admitted to the knowledge and enjoyment of them; and at the same time, to guard, and if possible secure these holy institutions from the flouts and objections of Jews and Heathen, and of all whom they thought too light and frothy, to be entrusted with things so very weighty and serious, and yet of so peculiar a nature, that there was nothing in the world that could be compared unto them: for they justly believed that the sacraments were consecrated by the Holy Ghost, and that therefore a divine power went along with them, which was reason enough why they should set the highest value upon them, and desire that others should do so too; and yet they knew the visible signs of these sacraments to be beggarly elements, things in their own nature very cheap and common; and they might without the gifts of prophecy easily foresee, that the enemies of christianity would always be ringing in the ears of all that were well affected to christianity, (as Deists and Quakers are perpetually labouring to persuade our people) that there can be no such effects of water, bread, and wine, as the Priests of the christian church would have them believe: and there is one thing particular to the Eucharist, which made it more liable to the scoffs of anti-christian spirits, than any other part of our religion; which is that the bread and wine were believed to be the very body and blood of Christ; no wonder if they were much upon the reserve in this point; since all must be sensible, that nothing in the christian theology could have afforded more agreeable entertainment to the drolls and buffoons of the age; for whatsoever is most extraordinary, and elevated above the condition of other things, which seem to be of the same sort, lies most exposed to profane wit and mirth; when that which gives it its worth and excellency, can only be believed,

\* Unbloody Sacrifice, vol. 1., p. 231.

and not seen : and no doubt but Tertullian spoke the sense of all the learned fathers of his own, and of the succeeding times, in those observable words, 'There is nothing does so much harden the minds of men, as the simplicity of the divine ministrations, which is seen in the outward action ; and the magnificence, as to their efficacy, which is promised to us.'\* If the ancient church had had no other notion of the Eucharist, than that which now prevails among too many ; that it is only a refreshing of our memory, and a symbol of love, or a fœderal right ; I can see no occasion why they should set such a guard about it, and use such a solicitous caution against exposing it to the eyes and ears of the profaners. The Heathen philosophers and the Jewish Rabbies could scarce sink it lower than the Arminians and Socinians have done of late : and the candid Pliny gives us as gentleman-like an account of it, in his letter to Trajan the emperor, as some that go for christian divines in these latter ages. I am sensible, that the ancient fathers have been damned for Priest-craft, upon the score of their drawing a veil before the christian mysteries ; for it is by our sciolists represented as popery, to hide mysteries from the eyes of others. But now, I am apt to think, that if the Papists affected only to conceal their sacraments from the sight and knowledge of bigoted Jews, Turks, or Heathens, who were ready to profane, or however to loathe and despise them ; no man that has a due regard for those holy institutions would think them culpable upon this account. The fault of the ruling part of the church of Rome, is not that they keep their own people from the sight or knowledge of their sacraments ; for this they do not ; but that they use a great deal of art and severity, in restraining their laity from looking into the bible and other books, by which they might be informed of the errors of that church, in things relating to the sacrament and other heads of christianity. The primitive church not only permitted, but exhorted the laity to read the scriptures ; and took care to instruct and train up all the people in the knowledge of the Eucharist, and all other saving doctrines of christianity ; and withheld their mysteries from none, but such as they had good reason to believe, would scorn and deride, rather than believe or make a proper use of them. The Catechumens were a sort of people in a middle state, candidates or probationers

\* Tertul. de Bapt. mox ab initio.



only for christianity ; and as soon as the governors of the church were satisfied, that they were fixed, and settled in the belief of the general doctrines of the gospel, such as were frequently read to them out of scripture, and explained in the sermons or homilies of the pastors ; they were at their own request baptized, and so forthwith let into all the mysteries of religion ; and I wish with all my heart, that they who make the bread and wine to be mere symbols, empty of all divine grace, may not pour contempt on this doctrine of the Eucharist, as it was received in the primitive church ; and thereby give us a fresh proof that the ancients were obliged in common prudence, to conceal the nature of this mystery, from all that were not initiated ; and so at the same time justify the ancient fathers, and condemn themselves. For if they who would now be thought best to understand christianity, and despise the ancients, as men that were not such critics in languages as themselves, shall reject these notions of the Eucharist, as vain and groundless, which the fathers with good reason thought, they learned from our Saviour and his apostles ; how much more may it be supposed that they would do the same, who had been born and bred Jews and Heathens ; and that were blinded with violent prejudice against christianity itself ? However, that awe and reverence with which the ancients treated the holy Eucharist, and the care they took that their converts should do so too, is an unexceptionable proof, that they looked upon it as the most holy and venerable institution of the christian church, as a spiritual mystery, not to be divulged to any, till they had given sufficient proof of their integrity."

I have transcribed this long paragraph from this learned author's excellent and most judicious book concerning the Eucharist, (which book I wish every one, but especially the clergy of the established church, would carefully read and consider) that the reader might see and judge what good reasons the ancients had to be cautious in speaking publicly concerning these sacred mysteries ; for that in fact they did so, he takes as generally granted, and therefore does not prove it. But forasmuch as we live in an age which will take nothing without proofs, how generally soever granted, I think it may be proper to shew from the ancients themselves, that they were thus cautious and careful not to reveal the mysteries of their religion, and particularly the



doctrine of the Eucharist to all persons indifferently. It was our Saviour's own command to his disciples; "Give not that which is holy to dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you."\* Now by that which is holy, and by pearls, he plainly meant the great truths and mysteries of the religion which he taught, which he would not have exposed to dogs and swine, that is, such as would scorn and despise them. And accordingly we find, that he himself, when he did not directly teach moral duties, but spake of any thing appertaining in an especial manner to his own religion which he was about to establish, and saw expedient to do this before the multitude, generally spake in parables; and when "the disciples came and said unto him, why speakest thou to them in parables? He answered and said unto them, because it is given to you to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it is not given."† For "without a parable spake he not unto them, and when they were alone he expounded all things to his disciples."‡ And when he gave his directions concerning the ministration of his two great sacraments, baptism, and the holy Eucharist, he had none present with him but the apostles.¶ Nay, he did not think fit to discover to his very apostles all the mysteries of his religion at once, but gradually, saying, "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now."§ And that the apostles acted in the same manner, is plain from St. Paul's words to the Corinthians, saying, "I have fed you with milk, and not with strong meat; for hitherto ye were not able to bear it, neither yet now are ye able."¶ And he tells us that "every one that useth milk, is unskilful in the word of righteousness; for he is a babe. But strong meat belongeth to them that are of full age, even those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil."\*\* From whence it is, I think, evident, that they did not make all persons indiscriminately acquainted with all the mysteries of christianity. They had milk, or easy plain doctrines, for novices or babes, and mysteries, or higher doctrines, for such as were proficient. And that the doctrine of the Eucharist was one of those things which they

\* Matt. vii. 6.    † Ibid. xiii. 10, 11.    ‡ Mark iv. 34.

¶ Matt. xxviii. 16., and xxvi. 20.    § John xvi. 12.    ¶ 1 Cor. iii. 2.

\*\* Heb. v. 13, 14.

kept secret from such as were not admitted to partake of it, is more than probable, from the short account which is given of that matter, in the scriptures of the New Testament, every book of which was written for the general use of all christians; and being so written and published, could not be kept altogether from falling also into the hands of the Jews and Heathens: as we may judge by examining all the texts relating to this great mystery; which being not many, I think it proper to produce them on this occasion.

“As they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my body. And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this; for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many, for the remission of sins.”\* “And as they did eat, Jesus took bread, and blessed, and brake it, and gave it to them, and said, Take, eat, this is my body. And he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, and they all drank of it. And he said unto them, This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many.”† “And he took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave unto them, saying, This is my body, which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me. Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, This cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you.”‡ This is all we have concerning this matter in the four evangelists; for St. John says nothing of this institution. And it is observable, that neither St. Matthew nor St. Mark says one word of any obligation that Christ laid upon his followers to do as he had done. They only give a plain narrative of what Christ did just before he was betrayed, at the conclusion of his paschal supper. But as to any command to his disciples to break bread and eat it, and to drink of the cup afterwards in remembrance of him, or that this should be done by all christians, they are perfectly silent. But St. Luke adds the words, “Do this in remembrance of me,” with regard to the breaking and distribution of the bread, which Christ called his body; but then he says nothing of their obligation, also, to give and receive the cup in commemoration of him. This account which the evangelists have given of this matter, is therefore far

\* Matt. xxvi. 26—28.    † Mark xiv. 22—24.    ‡ Luke xxii. 19, 20.

from being a full direction how we should celebrate the communion ; neither does it appear from them, that we are obliged to celebrate it at all, at least not the communion of the cup. For though Christ before his death gave the bread and the cup to his disciples, yet it does not appear from two of the evangelists, that he required any to do the same afterwards ; neither does the third teach us, that he required more, than to break and distribute the bread, but does not say that he ordered the same with regard to the cup. However, this was sufficient for christians, who knew by the practice of the church, that this which Christ did was to be done also by them in remembrance of him : but was far from sufficient to acquaint the Jews or the Heathens, (who could not be kept from reading these gospels when they were published) from knowing that when the christians were met together, they did do, or offer bread or a cup, and after eat and drink it, in remembrance of Christ. So also St. Luke, in the Acts of the Apostles,\* speaks of the christians meeting to break bread, which those that were instructed in the mysteries of our religion, understood well enough to mean their meeting to celebrate the holy communion. But others not so instructed would not know what to make of it. Now considering how careful the christian church was afterwards, to conceal these mysteries from all but the initiated ; I can see no other reason why the writers of the gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles, wrote no plainer concerning this sacred and necessary institution, but only that it was not, unless necessity so required, to be discovered to any but such as had a right to partake of it. And for this reason Mr. Johnson supposes that St. Paul, in his parallel betwixt our Saviour and Melchisedeck, omits to mention Melchisedeck's bringing forth bread and wine as the prefiguration of the christian Eucharist,† which he proves by the authority of St. Jerom, who says on this occasion, "There was much to be said, and hard to be uttered ; not that the apostle could not have explained it, but because it was not seasonable at that time ; for he was discoursing with the Hebrews, who were not yet confirmed in the faith ; to whom he must have discovered the sacraments."‡ Upon which Mr. Johnson proceeds and says, "The father supposes, that St. Paul did

\* Acts ii. 42. 46., and xx. 7.      † Unbloody Sacrifice, p. 54.

‡ Hieron. tom. 3., p. 27., ad Evagrium.



not think it proper to discourse of the sacrament familiarly to people, who were not yet fully settled in christianity ; which he apprehended to be the case of many of those, to whom this epistle was to be communicated. How far we may rely on this single judgment of St. Jerom, I presume not to determine : but I cannot but observe, that St. Paul does never, in any of his epistles, make any plain mention of the sacrament, except in the first to the Corinthians. And perhaps the reason why he did it not, was, that his epistles were to be read in the public assembly, where there might be many present that were not thought fit hearers of that mystery ; and if it be asked, why then did he speak of it so freely in the first epistle to the Corinthians ? I can but guess at the occasion, and it might be this : that the innovators there had permitted all the loose retainers to the christian church to approach the Lord's table, without being instructed in the nature of the Eucharist. If this had not been the case, it is scarce accountable, how some that received the Eucharist in that church, should not discern the Lord's body, or know what it was that they received ; and when by this means these loose retainers to the church knew what that outward solemnity of the Eucharist was, St. Paul could no longer consider it as a secret ; and therefore, instead of that silence, or those short hints concerning that ordinance, which are so remarkable in all his other writings, he here endeavours at large to rectify their notions and practice in this matter ; and if the weakness of understanding and judgment in relation to christianity, were any reason why St. Paul should forbear to speak of the Eucharist in words at length ; then certainly the Hebrews, to whom he wrote, (at least a considerable part of them) were as indifferently qualified as any men, to have a discovery of these mysteries communicated to them in public ; for the apostle, in this very epistle, gives a sad account of their ignorance and dulness.\* It is true, the apostle complains of the Corinthians too, for being babes, and not yet able to bear strong meat.† But as has been intimated, it was not in the apostle's power to conceal the outward part of the mystery from them, who by the countenance of their new teachers had been emboldened to break in upon the celebration of the Eucharist, without being duly qualified ; and therefore the only way that he had left him,

\* Heb. v. 12, 13.

† 1 Cor. iii. 1, 2.



to prevent their contempt and abuse of it, was to let them into the fuller knowledge of it: but it does not appear that he had any such motive to do this to the Hebrews, or to any of the other people, to whom he wrote his epistles." So that as I said before, all the apostles and evangelists seem to have concealed what related to the celebration of the Eucharist, and discovered only so much as the occasion which they wrote necessarily required.

We will therefore now see what St. Paul has said of it, who is larger on this subject than any of the evangelists. "I received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, That the Lord Jesus, the same night in 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: this do in remembrance of me. After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, This cup is the New Testament in my blood; this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me."\* This is the fullest account the scripture any where gives concerning the eucharist. Insomuch that it has been commonly taken for granted in the Western parts of the world, that to recite these words of St. Paul over the elements of bread and wine is all that is necessary to the consecration of the eucharist. The Romanists, as appears from the Rubric in their Missal or Mass Book, make the whole consecration of the elements to consist in those words, *This is my body, This is my blood.* The Lutherans and Calvinists both agree, that the consecration is made by the bare repeating these words of St. Paul. For in the book of "Reformation of Doctrine, Administration of the Divine Sacraments," &c. drawn up and published by the authority of Herman, Archbishop of Colen, in the year 1543. (Which † Book of Reformation was compiled by the joint labour and agreement of Philip Melancthon, Luther's inseparable friend, and the writer of the Apology for the Augustan Confession, which all the Lutherans subscribed, and by Martin Bucer, one of the first heads of the Calvinist party, and who had a great hand in reforming our first reformation) in the form of administering of the Lord's Supper we have these words, (as they are contained in an old English Translation of that book, printed at London, by John Day, in the year 1547. "Let the Priest syng the words of the Lorde's Supper in Douch. Our

\* 1 Cor. xi. 23—25.

† Melchior Adam, in Vit. Melaneth. p. 311.

Lorde the nyghte in whiche he was delivered, &c. But these wordes must be songe of the Priest wyth great reverence, and plainly, that they may be well understood of all men. And the people shall say to these words, Amen. Whiche all the old Church observed, and the Grekes do yet observe the same. For the whole substance of this sacrament, is conteyned in these wordes. And it consisteth altogether in the true understanding and fayth of these wordes: that the sacrament be holesomely administered and received." And the whole form of consecration in the Church of England consists in the recital of these words of St. Paul, as appears from the consecration prayer and the Rubric following, where it is directed, that *if the consecrated bread and wine be all spent before all have communicated, the Priest is to consecrate more, according to the form before prescribed: beginning at OUR SAVIOUR CHRIST, IN THE SAME NIGHT, &c.* Which Rubric plainly shews, that in the opinion of the Church of England, nothing more is requisite to the consecration of the bread and wine, than these words of St. Paul, which are set down in the consecration prayer. But it is nowhere said by St. Paul, that he delivered this as the form of consecration. Neither does it appear by his words, that he intended to inform us what was necessary to the consecration. His design evidently was to correct the error of such as came ignorantly to the holy communion, and received the sacred elements without considering what it was they received, "Not discerning the Lord's body, and so eating and drinking unworthily, they eat and drank a judgment against themselves."\* And he in no wise blames the Corinthians, as being in any manner defective in their method of consecrating or administering the communion, either in this or the foregoing chapter, or any where else, but only reproves the unworthy receivers; teaching them, that what they take on this solemn occasion, is not to be esteemed bare common bread and wine, but the body and blood of Christ: and in order to this, reminds them of what he taught and delivered to those whom he admitted to those holy mysteries whilst he was amongst them; and then tells them what Christ did in the night in which he was betrayed, and how he commanded the same to be done in remembrance of him. Consequently, when this

\* 1 Cor. xi. 29.

sacrament was consecrated and administered as Christ appointed, the bread and the cup were as much the body and blood of Christ, as that which he himself consecrated and gave to his disciples; and therefore he adds, "Whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. All this is then plainly spoken to the communicants, and not the ministers of this sacrament. It is an instruction to them to consider what is administered to them, and how they ought to receive it, but does not appear to be any direction to the ministrator how or in what manner he was to consecrate the elements, or with what words he was to bless, eucharistize, or give thanks, over them. He plainly supposes, that the administrators of the eucharist had rightly performed their parts, (bating their not excluding the ignorant and unworthy from partaking the divine mysteries) otherwise he would not have instructed the communicants only, but the administrators also. Neither would he have told the communicants, that they received the Lord's body, though they did not discern it, if what had been given to them had not been consecrated in such manner as to be made the Lord's body, in such a sense as Christ intended it should be understood to be so. Neither doth St. Paul say one word what liquor was to be in the cup, which would have been necessary, if he had intended to direct the minister of this sacrament what he was to say and do on this occasion. He speaks indeed, in the \* foregoing chapter, of "the cup of blessing which we bless, and the bread which we break; but he tells us not with what words this blessing is to be performed. He speaks of it as a thing known to all communicants, at least to those whose office it was to bless the bread and the cup, and gives no directions how it is to be performed. Therefore it is evident, that in this epistle, the only place where this apostle has clearly spoken of the eucharist, he has given us no form of consecration, though he plainly intimates, that the cup, and consequently the bread, is to be consecrated or blessed. A sure token that he was cautious in an epistle designed to be read publicly by all, how he said more of this matter than was absolutely necessary for his present purpose, which was to instruct those who came ignorantly and unworthily to the sacrament, and

\* 1 Cor. x. 16.



to convince them that they could not be partakers of the Lord's table and the table of devils, and that they ought not to receive it as common bread and wine without discerning the Lord's body. He had a fair opportunity of saying more than this; but not finding it absolutely necessary to do so, there being no abuse introduced in what concerned the consecration, he chose to pass that over in silence. For it is evident, he has not told us with what words Christ gave thanks, or consecrated the elements before he gave them to his disciples as his body and blood. Neither has he told us with what words the apostles gave thanks or consecrated afterwards. The words, *Take, eat, this is my body, which is broken for you*, are plainly not all the words by which Christ consecrated the bread and wine; for St. Paul and the three evangelists all tell us, that he gave thanks, eucharistized, and blessed the elements before he said the words, *Take, eat, &c.* that is, his giving thanks, or blessing the bread and the cup in the manner he had then done, and bidding them *Take, eat, &c.* was to instruct them that this was not like the ordinary blessing or thanksgiving which he was wont to make at his sitting down to a common meal, but such as had actually made that bread and cup which he then gave them to be the flesh and blood which he before promised to give them, which "whoso eateth and drinketh, hath eternal life."\* That flesh which he had made to be meat indeed, and that blood which he had made to be drink indeed. Nothing, I think, can be plainer from St. Paul and the evangelists, than that our Saviour did not entirely consecrate with these words, which now both Papists and Protestants have taught to be the only form of consecration: whereas the words themselves are partly a summary narrative of what Christ did and commanded us to do in remembrance of him; but the form of blessing or thanksgiving, which was part of the consecration, is passed over in silence; only we are assured that there was such a blessing or thanksgiving, which may convince us that the apostles and evangelists were cautious in speaking of these mysteries, and were unwilling to set down every thing belonging to them in a book, which they intended should be read publicly, and be put into all men's hands. It is also to be observed, that those words, *Take, eat, this is my body, Drink ye all of this, for this is my blood,*

\* John vi. 51, 55.



were not spoken by our Saviour by way of prayer, oblation, or thanksgiving to God the Father, but were directed to his disciples to inform them what he had already done, and what he required them to do. Therefore it cannot be said that he wholly consecrated the bread and wine by these words; for entire consecration requires the oblation or dedication of something to God, and therefore is not to be made by words directed only to men: but these words of our Saviour, in which the moderns in this Western part of the world, both Papists and Protestants, now place the whole form of consecration, are not the words which Christ directed to God, but which he directed to his disciples after he had blessed or given thanks, and so partly consecrated the elements, and made an oblation of them to the Father. And forasmuch as the scriptures have not taught us with what words either Christ or his apostles did bless the eucharistic elements; and forasmuch as his blessing of them was part of the consecration, it is evident that the scriptures have not taught us the whole form of consecrating the eucharist.

§ 5. If we descend from the apostles to the primo-primitive fathers of the three first centuries, we shall find them no less careful to conceal these christian mysteries from all that were not initiated and baptized in the Christian Church, and so admitted to the participation of them. They have indeed frequently mentioned the eucharist; they have mentioned bread and wine and water, there offered as an anti-type or perfect representative of the body and blood of Christ. They have spoken of a thanksgiving, of an oblation, and of an invocation of the Holy Ghost: they have in the words of St. Paul, or of the evangelists, taught us what Christ did and commanded us to do; but they have none of them taught us with what words they gave thanks, made their oblation, or invoked the Holy Ghost. Let any one read over the collection which Mr. Johnson has made from the fathers in the Appendix to the first volume of his Unbloody Sacrifice; and he will find that, though there are several evidences from them that there was constantly a thanksgiving, an oblation, and an invocation of the Holy Ghost; yet with what words these things were performed, is not set down by any of them, but is to be found in the Liturgies only. Even Justin Martyr himself, though he has given the largest account of the manner of cele-

brating the eucharist, of any father who lived before the council of Nice, yet is perfectly silent as to the form of consecration. He mentions indeed a prayer of great length used on that occasion; but what that prayer was, he tells us not. Now Justin Martyr in his Apology for the Christians lay under a necessity of discovering to the Roman emperors so much of the Christian mysteries, or of the sacrament of the eucharist as he has done, because these mysteries being always celebrated in secret, and none admitted to the sight of them, but such as were also allowed to be partakers of them, the Heathens, as we learn from this \* very Apology, spread abroad scandalous stories of the Christians, as if when they met together thus privately for the celebration of their mysteries, *they put out the candles, and copulated promiscuously, and devoured human flesh*, and committed many other lewd and abominable acts mentioned by Minutius Felix, and others of the fathers, who found it necessary to refute these stories. Therefore Justin Martyr was forced to acquaint the emperors with what the Christians really did when they met together, that he might satisfy them, that the Christians were guilty of none of those abominations of which they were accused by Heathens, or such persons as had never been admitted to their sacred mysteries. However, he still concealed from them as much as he could, and only mentions their making a long eucharistic prayer, but does not inform them of the particulars of that prayer. And as Justin, so also the other fathers are careful to mention no more concerning the eucharist, than what they were necessitated to do. But not to spend time in a long proof of that which will soon be evident to those that will give themselves the trouble to read the fathers, I will produce two or three positive testimonies from the fathers concerning this matter: not to repeat the testimony of Clemens Alexandrinus, which I produced in my † postscript to my discourse of Tradition. I shall begin with Tertullian, who in order to shew there could be no proof of those scandalous stories which the Heathens had raised of the Christians, observes that the Christians, no less than the worshippers of other gods, took particular care to keep their mysteries secret. “If you say,” says he, “that these abominations are always done in secret, pray when and by whom came you to this knowledge? Not by the guilty themselves, for you

\* § 35.

† pp. 155, 156.

know that the persons admitted into the mysteries of all religions are by the very form of admission under the severest obligations to secrecy. The Samothracian and Eleusinian mysteries, you know, are covered in profound silence; how much more reasonable is it therefore to think, that such as these will be kept in the dark, which not only treasure up divine wrath against the day of judgment, but if once discovered will whet human justice to the highest pitch of vengeance. If therefore Christians betray not themselves, it follows that they must be betrayed by those of another religion; but how shall strangers be able to inform against us, when even the most pious mysteries are defended from the approaches of the stranger and the profane?"\* Origen† having occasion to mention those words of our Saviour, "This is my blood, which is shed for you for the remission of sins," forbears to make any explication of them, saying, "He that is initiated into our mysteries, knows both the flesh and the blood of the word of God. Let us not therefore dwell on these matters, which are known to the intelligent, and cannot be laid open to the ignorant." St. Cyril of Jerusalem, one of whose Mystagogical Catechisms I have added to the preceding Liturgies, which were Catechetical Lectures made to those only who had been admitted to the participation of the holy mysteries, and not promiscuously to all persons indifferently, as you may be convinced from the beginning of the fourth Mystagogical Lecture, tells those he instructed before he begins his Lectures, that they must be very careful to conceal that which they are taught, and not discover it to others. "When," says he, "a Catechetical Lecture is read, if a Catechumen shall enquire of you what your teachers have said, discover nothing to those that are without. For we deliver to you a mystery and the hope of the life to come. Keep this mystery till your Rewarder comes: nor regard any one that says, what hurt can it be, if I also learn it?"‡ I might add a great

\* Tertul. Apologetic. cap. 7. Mr. Reeve's Translation.

† Hic Sanguis meus est, qui pro vobis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Novit, qui Mysteriorum imbutus est, & carnem, & sanguinem verbi Dei. Non ergo immoremur in his quæ & scientibus nota sunt, & ignorantibus patere non possunt.—Orig. Hom. 9. in Levit. non longe a fin.

‡ "Ὅτε τοίνυν χατήχησις λέγεται, ἐὰν σε κατηχόμενος ἐξετάσῃ τί εἰρήκασιν οἱ διδάσκοντες, μὴδὲν λέγε τῷ ἑξω· μυστήριον γάρ σοι παραδίδομεν, καὶ ἐλπίδα μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. Τήρησον τὸ μυστήριον τῷ μισθαποδότῃ· μὴ ποτέ τις εἴπῃ, τί βλάβη ἐὰν κα' γὼ μάθω; Cyril. Hierosol. *præfat ad Catechet.* §. 7.



many more testimonies of the same nature, to shew that the fathers were careful to conceal the mysteries of the Christian religion; but I hope these may be sufficient in a matter which I do not know is denied by any one.

§ 6. Therefore since both the apostles, and their successors for several ages, were so careful to conceal the Christian mysteries, and to speak of them no farther than necessity sometimes obliged them, it is not to be wondered at, if we can find no one ancient treatise on this subject, particularly describing every part of the eucharistical service, excepting the Liturgies of the several churches whose antiquity is questioned by many of the moderns, and the fourth and fifth Mystagogical Catechisms of St. Cyril, which were not written till a little after the Council of Nice. However, though the fathers have been thus cautious in treating of the eucharist, and been careful to conceal the full knowledge of it from all but those who were admitted to it, yet being obliged to speak occasionally of it, they have in several places, and at several times, mentioned all the essential parts, of it as we find them in the several Liturgies. And there are no forms wherein all the Liturgies agree, but what may be confirmed by passages taken from the writings of the Ante-Nicene fathers: which is a sufficient testimony for the antiquity of these forms, as the Liturgies themselves are a testimony of the universality and consent in the usage of them, since one or other of the Liturgies here published was anciently used in all the known parts of the Christian world. I will therefore observe in what points all these Liturgies agree, in sense I mean, though not in words, and will then shew what the Ante-Nicene fathers have written in confirmation of these points. And this, I conceive, will be sufficient evidence that whatever interpolations may have been made in these Liturgies in after ages, these passages wherein they all agree with one another, and with the Ante-Nicene fathers, have not been interpolated. For what is it that makes us judge there are interpolations in all these Liturgies, but that we find some things in them, wherein they differ from one another, and which cannot be confirmed by the testimony of the most ancient fathers? Where therefore any Liturgy has a particular rite peculiar to itself, it is evident that rite wants universality and consent, and where it wants the testimony of the



Ante-Nicene fathers, it also wants antiquity, consequently it fails in all the particulars requisite to an Apostolical Tradition. But where all the Liturgies agree, there is plainly universality and consent; and where that agreement may be also proved by testimonies of the Ante-Nicene fathers, there is antiquity also: and what has antiquity, universality, and consent, to support it, has ever been esteemed to be derived from Apostolical Tradition, as I trust I have sufficiently proved in my Treatise of Tradition, to which I refer the reader.

§ 7. I have acknowledged in that \* discourse, and given my reasons for it, that none of these Liturgies (excepting the Clementine) were written before St. Basil's time, about fifty years after the Council of Nice; but were delivered by Tradition only. And therefore though they all agree in sense, yet they differ in words, and in the manner of expression, which could not be otherwise in a matter handled by Tradition. For where several persons say or relate the same thing, if they do not all use or follow one written form, they will differ in the form or manner of expression; but if they agree in sense, that is reckoned sufficient. We may see this even in the inspired writers. St. Matthew and St. Luke differ in some words even in that short form called the Lord's Prayer; and every one of the three Evangelists, who have given us an account of the institution of the holy eucharist, have used some different words in the relation of it; and St. Paul differs in words from all of them: nevertheless, they agree in sense, which is sufficient to satisfy us, that they all wrote conformably to the truth, and agreeably to what had been delivered to them, either by the Lord himself, or Apostolical Tradition. For St. Mark and St. Luke were neither of them present when our Lord instituted this sacrament; neither does it appear that they had the account of it by immediate Revelation from Christ, as St. Paul may seem to have had the account which he has given of it: at least we are assured that St. Luke received what he tells us † not immediately from Christ, *but as they delivered them, who from the beginning were eye witnesses*. However, this different way by which the Apostles and Evangelists came by their knowledge concerning the institution of the

\* § 28, &c.

† Luke i. 4.

eucharist, and the different words in which they have related it, was never thought a material difference, because they all agree in sense; and the same may be said with regard to these Liturgies, where they agree in sense, though not in words, it is evident that there is no material difference between them. Now forasmuch as the Clementine Liturgy is certainly the oldest written Liturgy which has been transmitted to us, and that Liturgy contains not any thing but what is also to be found in all the other Liturgies, except a Rubric or two of very little moment; by examining that Liturgy particularly, we may easily discover whatever the ancients thought necessary or essential to the ministration of the holy eucharist.

§ 8. I know indeed, that Renaudotius,\* though he allows this Liturgy to have been compiled before the Council of Nice, and owns that the most learned men have deservedly judged it to be so, yet allows but little authority to it, because, as he pretends, it is very much interpolated, and was never used in any of the Eastern churches. These two objections therefore I think it will be proper to consider in the first place. Now as to the interpolations objected to this Liturgy, it is observable that it is only a general charge made without any mention of particulars. And therefore if I should give only a general answer denying that charge, it would be sufficient till particulars are produced. But he says that “as to what concerns the order of the Liturgy, every thing is so clearly and minutely explained, that it is manifest many things are added, which can agree only with the latter discipline of the Church, when she was in peace, and not disturbed by persecutions.”† However, this is still but a general charge; he does not so much as mention one of those things which he supposes to have been manifestly added. But now if this Liturgy contains nothing but what the Ante-Nicene fathers one or other of them give their testimony to, as I shall prove it does, when I come to examine it more particularly, then it will be evident that it is so far from containing many things inconsistent with the persecuted state of the Church, that it will

\* *Dissertat. de liturgiæ Orientalium Origine & Autoritate*, p. x.

† *Liturgiæ ordo tam perspicuè & minutatim expositus, ut ex posteriori disciplinâ, quæ Ecclesiæ pacem agenti, non persecutionibus agitatae conveniat, addita multa esse manifestum est. Ibid.*

appear not to contain any one thing but what actually was practised by the Church during that state. For every body knows that the persecutions ceased not till a little before the Council of Nice. Indeed at the beginning of this Liturgy mention is made of a *fly-flap* to be used by the deacons to drive away those little animals, which in hot countries are very troublesome, that they might not fall into any of the consecrated vessels, and of the bishop's shining garment. But then it is to be considered, that this is only a Rubric: and therefore if it should be allowed to be an interpolation, is of no great consequence to invalidate the authority of this Liturgy. For Renaudotius himself has observed, "That few of the manuscript Liturgical books have any Rubrics, or short ritual directions, and that the Rubrics are left out in almost all the ancient ones; which is observable in both the Greek and Latin Missals"\* This therefore, being but a Rubric, ought, according to Renaudotius's account of the matter, to be looked upon as no real part of the Liturgical office, but a mere modern addition, which is not in the ancient manuscripts. But admitting that this Rubric is in the most ancient MSS. of this Liturgy, and that there is no MS. now extant that wants it, consequently that we have no authority to expunge it as not belonging to this Liturgy, does it therefore follow that it must be esteemed an interpolation inserted after the empire became christian? Is it inconsistent with the state of persecution? Are flies less busy in a time of persecution so as to make a fly-flap less necessary in hot countries at such a time, than in a time when the Church is in a state of peace and quietness? or, were the persecutors so watchful that they did not dare make a fly-flap? Then as to the bishop's shining garment: this may perhaps be thought an habit not likely to be used in a time of persecution. If we understand by it a fine rich embroidered garment, of great price, yet it will not follow that the Christian bishops could not wear such a garment when they officiated during the three first centuries, though they were under many severe persecutions during that time: for notwithstanding the persecutions, they had frequently pretty long

\* Pauci adjunctas habent rubricas, seu breves rituum leges: quæ in antiquis prope omnibus desunt; quam consuetudinem observare licet in Missalibus Græcis & Latinis. *Comment. ad Liturg. Copt. St. Basil.* p. 175.



intervals of peace,\* and they received such encouragement some time before the last persecution under Dioclesian, that they pulled down the old edifices where they were wont to meet, and built large churches from the ground in all Cities. And when the Christians were capable of building large churches, no one can question either their will or ability to furnish the bishop with a rich habit to officiate in. Nay as the Christians were numerous, and many of them rich and very liberal to the bishop and his clergy during the three first centuries, before the emperor himself became Christian, and the persecutions entirely ceased, I cannot see but the bishop might have a rich habit to put on when he ministered the eucharist during that time as well as afterwards. If we understand by a shining garment only a white linen garment, such as we now call an alb or a surplice, (as I conceive we may very well do) we have the authority of Pontius, St. Cyprian's deacon, to satisfy us that the bishop was, in the third century at least, accustomed to wear a linen garment when he officiated. For he tells us, in his life of that holy martyr † that St. Cyprian being led to the palace, the Proconsul being not yet come forth, he was carried into a by-place, where he rested himself upon a seat, which by chance was covered with a linen cloth, "that so even in the hour of his passion he might enjoy some part of the episcopal honour." Now unless the bishop in those days had been wont to wear a linen garment when he officiated, I see not how this accidentally resting himself on a seat covered with linen could be reckoned a part of episcopal honour. Therefore, whether we understand the shining garment mentioned in the Rubric of the Clementine Liturgy to be a rich costly garment, or only a white linen garment, I do not see that either way it is incompatible with the state of the Church in those first ages; or that it can agree only with the latter discipline of the Church, when she was in peace, and not disturbed by persecutions, as Renaudotius pretends. However, I am not much concerned whether this Rubric be an interpolation or not, and am very willing to give it up as such, it being a very indifferent matter what means is used to keep flies from falling into the consecrated vessels, or what habit the bishop or officiating priest wears at that time. I have only taken notice of it,

\* Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. viii. cap. 1.

† Pont. in vit. Cyprian. p. 15.



because I thought it the only passage in this whole Liturgy, that could look like an interpolation, though Renaudotius charges it with many, notwithstanding he could not give one instance. And I trust that I have shewed, that even this, which looks most like an interpolation of any, has nothing in it disagreeable to the state of the Church before the Council of Nice, which is the charge Renaudotius brings against this Liturgy.

§ 9. As to the other objection, that this Liturgy was never used by any of the eastern churches; Renaudotius himself acknowledges, nay proves, that there was no written Liturgy used in the church till St. Basil's time, that is, fifty years after the council of Nice;\* as I have also observed in a former tract.† But that for so long time the eucharist was administered by a traditional form, derived from the apostles. Yet he allows and grants that this Clementine Liturgy was written before the council of Nice, that the learned upon very sufficient reasons are agreed that it was so. Now this can be reconciled no other way than this. The church, till St. Basil's time, did not permit the use of any written Liturgy, but the Eucharist was, till that time, administered by a traditional form only. But some private person called Clement, or at least one who thought proper to assume that name, being well versed in the traditions of the church, took upon him to put these traditions into writing, and, amongst the rest, the form of administering the eucharist, called from thence the Clementine Liturgy. But the church being at that time in a state of persecution, and careful to conceal these mysteries from the Heathen who might profane them, would not allow any public transcripts of this Liturgy, but continued to deliver the form of ministering the eucharist by tradition only, as they had been accustomed to do before this private person took upon him to put it into writing. And this written Liturgy of Clement remained only in some few private hands, nor was permitted to be made public. And therefore, though this particular form, which we commonly call the Clementine Liturgy, was not used in any church after all churches came to use written Liturgies, yet its authority is not therefore less than that of any other Liturgy; but it is indeed of greater

*Author of  
Clementine  
Liturgy*

\* De Liturg. Orient. Orig. & Author. p. 9.

† Necessary Use of Tradition, § 28.

authority than any other Liturgy, by reason of its antiquity, being older than the council of Nice, as Renaudotius himself allows, whereas there is no other Liturgy so ancient as that council, and as it does not give us the form used in this or that particular church after Liturgies were written, but the old traditional form used in all churches before that form was committed to writing in any one church. Therefore Mr. Johnson says, "That he is in his own mind persuaded, that if we had the very words in which St. Peter and St. Paul consecrated the eucharist, it would not differ in substance from that which is contained in this most ancient Liturgy."\* And bishop Hickea says, "That the eucharistical office, in the apostolical constitutions, is the standard and test by which all others are to be tried. And by comparing those with this, the innovations and additions in after times, be they good or bad, will appear."† And indeed the Clementine Liturgy by not being used in any church, has this advantage above all others, that it has not received any of those corruptions, which latter ages have introduced more or less into all other Liturgies: and may therefore very well be a test by which all other Liturgies ought to be tried. For though we cannot say, that all or any of those Liturgies, which were used in the most ancient churches, were directly framed from this; or that the compilers of them, who first put them into writing, had this Liturgy lying before them, in order to make their own agreeable to it; or that they had so much as seen or read it; yet it is certain, they all composed their Liturgies agreeably to that traditional form which they had received from the apostles; otherwise it is impossible they could have been so agreeable to each other, and to the unanimous testimony of the fathers, as we find them to be. And the Clementine Liturgy is the best and fullest exemplar of that traditional Liturgy we have now extant. Where all the other Liturgies are agreeable to one another, they agree also with that; and where they differ from one another, they are different also from that. Now, I conceive it is evident, that when all the Liturgies agree with one another, they must agree with the traditional form delivered to all churches by the apostles. For when the several churches began to put their Liturgies into writing,

\* Unbloody Sacrifice, Part 2. p. 148.

† Christian Priesthood, 3rd edit. p. 141.

they did not do it by the order of any general council, for then they would have agreed upon one common stated form for all churches, as they did upon one common creed in the four first general councils. That is, they would have agreed in one common form of words, as well as in sense. But whereas they agree in sense only, but are all different in words, it is manifest that there never was a Liturgy drawn up, as the Nicene creed was, for the use of all churches, by one unanimous consent of any general council. But the difference in words shews, that each church composed a Liturgy for themselves. And the agreement betwixt them in sense is a demonstrative evidence, that they had originally one traditional form. For a traditional form, not first delivered in writing, will always differ in words, when delivered by several persons, however agreeable they are to each other in sense. Thus the evangelists and St. Paul, who have given us an account of the institution of the eucharist, having all received that account by tradition, that is, not in writing from our Saviour, differ from each other in words, but are perfectly agreeable in sense. And St. Matthew and St. Luke, who had each of them learned the Lord's prayer by such unwritten tradition from our Saviour, have transmitted it to us in different words, though the sense be the same. And if their agreement in sense, though they differ in words, be an evidence that they delivered what they have taught us concerning the institution of the eucharist and the Lord's prayer from one and the same original tradition, we must also in the same manner believe, that where all churches have transmitted to us the same form of consecration agreeing in sense, though different in words, they all received this form from the same original tradition, which could be no other than apostolical, since the christian church never met together in any general council to settle or agree upon this matter.

§ 10. I will therefore now shew that the Clementine Liturgy is a very fair and good exemplar of the traditional form of administering the eucharist, which the church received from the apostles; which traditional form, that is, a form agreeing in sense, though not in words, was used by the whole church before the council of Nice, and many years after, till the severall churches began to put their forms into writing. This I shall do, by considering and examining the several parts of this Liturgy, and



shewing from testimonies of the Ante-Nicene fathers, that there is nothing in this Liturgy but what was used in the celebration of the eucharist before the council of Nice, during the three first centuries of christianity ; that is, while the church continued an unspotted Virgin, unpolluted with any corruptions. Whilst the bishops and pastors had no secular views, nor sought to please either Prince or people, or to make religion subservient to any secular ends. Whilst the *Charismata*, or miraculous graces and gifts of the Holy Spirit, continued in the church, and whilst they durst provoke and openly challenge the Heathen, to see the power which God had given them over the gods, or rather devils, which the Heathen worshipped.

§ 11. This Liturgy begins with the deacon's requiring the Catechumens, the hearers, the Infidels, and the Heretics, to withdraw: that so none might remain to receive the eucharist, but the faithful. Now, that all these were excluded from partaking of the eucharist in the most early ages, is testified by Justin Martyr, who says, "This food is called by us the eucharist, which it is not lawful for any other to partake of, but such an one as believes those things to be true which are taught amongst us, and has been washed in the laver for remission of sins and for regeneration, and lives according to the ordinances of Christ."\* Also all the passages I have already produced, to shew that the Primitive Christians were careful to conceal these mysteries from all but the initiated, are so many proofs that they took care to exclude the Catechumens, and the others whom the deacon is here said to require to withdraw. The other parts of the Christian worship, such as reading the Holy Scriptures, singing of psalms or hymns, and preaching the Word, were performed publicly, and none were excluded from being present at them, excepting when by reason of persecution they were forced to assemble together in secret, and durst not perform any part of Christian worship openly. This we may gather from the words of St. Paul,† who supposes, that whilst the Christians are pray-

\* Ἡ τροφή αὕτη καλεῖται παρ' ἡμῖν εὐχαριστία· ἥς ἐδένι ἄλλῃ μετασχεῖν ἐξόν ἐστιν, ἢ τῷ πιτεῖν ἄλλῃ εἶναι τὰ δεδιδαγμένα ὑφ' ἡμῶν, καὶ λησασμένῳ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ εἰς ἀναγέννησιν λητρὸν, καὶ ἔτιως βιοῦντι ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς παρέδοκεν. Just. Mart. Apol. 1. cap. 86.

† 1 Cor. xiv. 24.

ing or prophesying in the Church, one that believeth not, or one that is unlearned, or uninstructed in religion, may come in amongst them, and receive thereby the means of conversion. Which is a sure evidence, that in the Apostles' days they did not exclude any from those parts of Christian worship he is there speaking of. It is also plain from the same St. Paul,\* that he would have none admitted to the eucharist, but such as were well instructed, and knew how to discern the Lord's body there. Therefore for the deacon to require the Catechumens and others to withdraw when the bishop or priest was going to administer the eucharist, is perfectly agreeable to Apostolical direction. And that the Church acted in this manner for the three first centuries, and longer, we may learn from the Fourth Council of Carthage, celebrated in the year 398, where it is ordained, that "the bishop shall hinder no one from entering into the Church, and hearing the Word of God, whether he be an Heathen, an Heretic, or a Jew, until the dismissal of the Catechumens."† This is a good evidence, that the *Missa Catechumenorum*, or the dismissal of the Catechumens, that is, of such as were still under instruction, and not yet baptized, was then a well known custom, and of long practice. The book of Homilies also, (which though a very modern authority, yet may perhaps be of more weight with some persons, than all the Fathers and Councils put together) gives its testimony to this practice of the ancient Church's dismissing the Catechumens and others before the ministration of the eucharist: saying, "Why cried the deacon in the Primitive Church, if any be holy, let him draw near? Why did they celebrate these mysteries, the quire-door being shut? Why were the public penitents and learners in religion commanded at this time to avoid?"‡

§ 12. Then follows the Rubric concerning the fly-flap and the bishop's shining garment, of which I have already spoken; neither am I concerned whether it be thought an interpolation put in by some body after the Council of Nice, or not; though I

\* 1 Cor. xi. 29.

† Episcopus nullum prohibeat ingredi Ecclesiam & audire verbum Dei, sive Gentilem, sive Hæreticum, sive Judæum usque ad Missam Catechumenorum. *Concil. Carthag.* iv. cap. 84.

‡ The second part of the Sermon concerning the sacrament, towards the end.

conceive I have shewed that it cannot be proved to be so, and that it is not disagreeable to the circumstances or state of the Church during the three first centuries. *Next to that is the bishop's making the sign of the cross upon his forehead before all the people.* That this practice was agreeable to the custom of the Church in the most early ages, that is, during the three first hundred years after the birth of Christ, and before the Council of Nice, we may learn from the testimony of Tertullian, who lived about the middle of those ages, within less than a hundred years after the death of St. John the Apostle, and something more than a hundred years before the Council of Nice. For he, speaking of the customs of the Church derived from the Apostles, (and I cannot but think his testimony very good in such a case, since it could be no difficult matter to know whether a general custom was a hundred years old or not) says, "At every stepping forth, at every motion, at every coming in or going out, at our putting on our clothes or our shoes, when we wash, when we sit down to meat, when we light candles, when we lie down, when we seat ourselves, or whatever we are about to do, we first sign our forehead with the sign of the cross."\* The Scriptures say, "that Christ crucified was to the Jews a stumbling block, and to the Greeks foolishness."† They could not conceive how God could suffer such an ignominious death, or believe that he who died upon the cross could be the Saviour of the world. The Christians therefore, to shew that they not only believed this, but also that they gloried in the belief of a crucified Saviour, made the sign of the cross upon all occasions, and not only Tertullian speaks of their doing this, but others of the Primitive Fathers mention it also, teaching us that the devils themselves were put to flight by this sign. Origen, who flourished a little after Tertullian, or whoever else was the author of the Sermon upon the Epiphany, published amongst his works, says, speaking of Christ, "His cross is our victory, his gibbet is our triumph; let us with joy elevate this sign, let us carry the banners of victory on our shoulders, let us bear the

\* Ad omnem progressum atque promotum, ad omnem aditum & exitum, ad vestitum, & calceatum, ad lavaera, ad mensas, ad lumina, ad cubilia, ad sedilia, quæcunque nos conversatio exercet frontem crucis signaculo terimus. *Tertull. de Coron. Milit.*

† 1 Cor. i. 23.



immortal laver on our foreheads. When the devils see it, they will tremble. They who fear not the golden capitols, fear the cross."\* St. Athanasius, who lived at the time of the Council of Nice, says, "Let him that would experience the truth of what has been said, come at the very time the devils are practising their illusions, and their prophets exercising their impostures, and while the magical wonders are working, and let him use the sign of the cross which is so laughed at by them, only mentioning the name of Christ, and he shall see how the devils fly away, the prophesying ceaseth, and all the magic and charms lose their force."† Lactantius, who was a little older than the Council of Nice, speaking of the cross, says, "Now, it is sufficient that I shew the power of this sign, and how forcible it is. How terrible this sign is to the devils, he must know, who sees how being adjured through Christ, they fly from the bodies of those they have possessed. For as he, whilst he conversed amongst men, drove away all devils with his word, and restored the minds of those men to their former senses, which had been disturbed and made furious by these wicked possessions; so now his followers drive those same evil spirits out of men in the name of their Master, and by the sign of his passion. Which is a thing not difficult to be proved. For when they are sacrificing to their gods, if any one stands amongst them having his forehead marked with that sign, their sacrifices can by no means succeed,

Nor the consulted prophet answers give.

And this has been often a chief cause, upon which evil princes have been induced to persecute righteousness. For when some of our communion being servants have attended on their masters as they were sacrificing; they having made this sign on their foreheads, have driven away their gods, so that they could not foreshew what was to come in the entrails of the victims, which when the soothsayers have discovered, they have, at the instiga-

\* Illius crux nostra victoria est: illius patibulum noster triumphus. Gaudentes levemus hoc signum, in humeris nostris victoriarum vexilla portemus. Immortale lavacrum portemus in frontibus nostris; cum Dæmones viderint, contremiscent. *Origen. Homil. de Epiphania Domini.*

† Ἡκέτω δὲ ὁ πειραν τῶν προλεχθέντων βελόμενος λαβεῖν, καὶ ἐκ' αὐτῆς τῆς φαντασίας τῶν δαιμόνων, καὶ τῆς τῶν μαντείων ἀπάτης, καὶ τῶν τῆς μαγείας θανάτων, καὶ χρησάσθω τῷ σημειῷ τῷ γελομένῳ παρ' αὐτοῖς τῶν Χριστὸν ὀνομάσας μόνον, καὶ ὥσεται πῶς δι' αὐτῶν δαίμονες μὲν φεύγῃσι, μαντεία δὲ παύεται, μαγεία δὲ καὶ φαρμακεία καταργεῖται. *Athanas. de Incarn. Verb. p. 102.*

tion of those devils for whom they cut up the victims, driven their princes into a rage, complaining that profane persons were present at their sacrifices; that they might destroy the temple of God, and pollute themselves with a real sacrilege, which could not be expiated but with the severest punishment of the persecutors.\* And that Lactantius had just reason to say this, we may be satisfied from what he tells us in another place concerning the beginning of the Dioclesian persecution, which happened in his own time, when he tells us, "That whilst Dioclesian was in the East, being, on account of his fear, a great enquirer into future events, he sacrificed beasts, and sought for things to come in their entrails. Then some servants which were there, who knew the Lord, as they stood near him that offered the sacrifice, put the immortal sign upon their foreheads, which being done, the devils fled, and the sacrifices were disturbed. The soothsayers trembled, and could not see the accustomed signs in the entrails; and as if they had not observed all the rites as they ought to do, they began again sacrificing often. But the slain victims again discovered nothing, till Tages, the master of the soothsayers, whether suspecting or seeing any thing, said that the sacrifices did not answer, because profane men were present at these rites. Then the emperor raging with anger, commanded not only those which were there present to offer sacrifice, but also all that were in the palace; and that if any refused, they should be scourged: and, by letters to the commanders of the army, commanded, that

\* Nunc satis est, hujus signi potentiam, quantum valeat, exponere. Quanto terrori sit dæmonibus hoc signum, sciet, qui viderit, quatenus adjurati per Christum, de corporibus, quæ obsederint, fugiant. Nam sicut ipse, cum inter homines ageret, universos dæmones verbo fugabat, hominúmque mentes emotas, and malis incursibus furiatas, in sensus pristinos reponebat: ita nunc sectatores ejus, eosdem spiritus inquinatos de hominibus, et nomine magistri sui et signo passionis excludunt, ejus rei non difficilis est probatio. Nam cum Diis suis immolant, si assistat aliquis signatam frontem gerens, sacra nullo modo libant;

Nec responsa potest consultus reddere vates.

Et hæc sæpe causa præcipua justitiam persequendi malis regibus fuit, cum enim quidam ministrorum nostrorum sacrificantibus dominis assisterent, imposito frontibus signo, Deos illorum fugaverunt, ne possent in viscera hostiarum futura depingere. Quod cum intelligerent Aruspices, instigantibus iisdem dæmonibus, quibus prosecant; conquerentes, profanos homines sacris interesse; egerunt principes suos in furorem, ut expugnarent Dei templum, sèque vero sacrilegio contaminarent, quod gravissimis persequentium pœnis expiarctur. *Lactant. lib. iv. de verâ sapient. c. 27.*

all the soldiers should be compelled to offer these wicked sacrifices, and those that refused should be cashiered.”\* Thus began the severest persecution that the Primitive Christians suffered under the Heathen emperors. For from this beginning the emperors, as Lactantius afterwards shews, proceeded to use the Christians in all places in the most barbarous manner imaginable. Lactantius also further tells us, that the emperor Constantine † was warned in a dream “that he should put the celestial sign of God in his banners, and so proceed to battle.” But Eusebius, who was contemporary to the Council of Nice, and had the story from Constantine himself, gives us a much more particular and large account of this matter. He tells us, that Constantine going against the tyrant Maxentius, (who had got possession of Rome itself, and had defeated great armies sent against him by the other emperors,) “Having well considered with himself that he wanted some better assistance than his military forces, because of the evil arts and magic impostures studiously followed by the tyrant; he sought for a God to be his assistant; and accounted his furniture of arms and military companies as secondary helps only; but persuaded himself that the assistance of a Deity was invincible and inexpugnable. He began therefore to consider with himself, what God he should take to be his assistant. Which whilst he solicitously enquired into, these thoughts arose in his mind: that of those many who had arrived at the empire before him, they that had placed their hopes in a multitude of gods, and had worshipped them with sacrifices and a multitude of gifts, at first had been deluded by prophecies made to please and flatter them, and by oracles that promised them all things

\* Cum ageret in partibus orientis, ut erat pro timore scrutator rerum futurarum, immolabat pecudes, et in jecoribus eorum ventura quærebat. Tum quidam ministrorum scientes Dominum, cum adsisterent immolanti, imposuerunt frontibus suis immortale signum. Quo facto, fugatis dæmonibus, sacra turbata sunt. Trepidabant aruspices, nec solitas in extis notas videbant, et quasi non libâssent sæpius immolabant. Verum identidem mactatæ hostiæ nihil ostendebant, donec magister ille aruspicum Tages, seu suspicione seu visu, ait idcirco non respondere sacra, quod rebus divinis profani homines interessent. Tunc ira furens, sacrificare non eos tantum qui sacris ministrabant, sed universos qui erant in palatio jussit, et in eos si detractâssent verberibus animadverti; datisque ad præpositos literis, etiam milites cogi ad nefanda sacrificia præcepit, ut qui non paruiissent, militiâ solverentur. *Lactant. de mort. persecut. cap. 10.*

† Commonitus est in quiete Constantinus, ut cœleste signum Dei notaret in scutis, atque ita prælium committeret. *Lactant. de mort. persecut. cap. 44.*



prosperous and fortunate; but had at length found an unlucky and disastrous end: nor was any of their gods ready at hand to free them from that destruction inflicted on them by heaven: that his Father was the only person, who had taken a contrary course, and had condemned their error; who throughout his whole life had heretofore worshipped one supreme God, whom he had found to be the Saviour and keeper of his empire, and the bestower of all good. When he had weighed these things with himself, and well considered, that those who had put their confidence in a multitude of gods, had likewise fallen into a multitude of destructions; insomuch that not the least footstep either of their stock, issue, kindred, name, or memory, was left remaining amongst men; but on the contrary, that the God of his father had given many, and those effectual demonstrations of his own power to his father;—and when he had farther considered, that those who before had led out their forces against the tyrant, because they had made their expedition with a multitude of gods, had undergone a disgraceful end: for the one of them had retreated ignominiously with all his forces, without effecting any thing; and the other was killed in the midst of his army, and so became a cheap and easy sacrifice of death:—having, I say, mustered up all these thoughts within his own mind, and considered them well, he judged it the highest pitch of madness to trifle about the worship of those gods which are nothing, and after so clear a conviction still to run on in a blind error: but his sentiment was, that he ought only to worship the God of his father. He called upon this God therefore in his prayers, intreating and beseeching him, that whoever he was, he would manifest himself to him, and reach out his right hand to his assistance in his present affairs. Whilst the emperor was putting up these prayers and supplications, a most wonderful sign, sent from God, appeared; which had any other person given a relation of, would not easily have been received as true. But since the victorious emperor told it to us who wrote this history, a long while after, at such time as we were vouchsafed his knowledge and converse, and confirmed his relation with an oath; who will hereafter doubt of giving credit to this narrative? Especially when the succeeding times gave an evident attestation to this relation. About the meridian hours of the sun, when the day was declining, he said he saw with his own eyes the trophy of the cross in the heavens, placed

over the sun, made up of light, and an inscription annexed to it, containing these words, **By this conquer.** And, that at the sight of it an amazement seized both him and all his military forces, which followed him as he was making his journey some-whither, and were spectators of the miracle. Moreover, when he began to doubt with himself, as he said, what the meaning of this apparition should be; whilst he was revolving it in his mind, and very intent in his thoughts upon it, on a sudden night came on. At which time, as he said, the Christ of God appeared to him when asleep, with that sign which had been shewed him in the heavens, and ordered him to get a standard made in imitation of that he had seen in the heaven, which he should use as a salutary defence in his engagements with his enemies. As soon as it was day, he arose and declared the whole secret to his friends. Then he called together the workers in gold and precious stones, in the midst of whom he himself sat, and by discourse gave them a description of that standard, and ordered them to express it likewise in gold and precious stones. Which standard we ourselves also have seen."\* Then he goes on to describe the standard more particularly, and to let us know that Constantine upon this vision sent for the Christian bishops, to learn from them the meaning of it. "They told him that the person who appeared to him in his sleep was God, the only begotten Son of the one and only God: but that the sign which had been shewn him was the symbol of immortality, and the trophy of that victory, which he, when heretofore conversant on the earth, had obtained over death. They likewise taught him the causes of his advent, and expounded to him the accurate account of his incarnation. He gave them attention, being desirous of information in those matters. But he was taken up with an admiration of that appearance of God, which had been exhibited to his sight. And when he had compared that celestial vision with the interpretation given of it by the discourses of the bishops, he was strengthened in mind, and became fully persuaded, that the knowledge of these matters was delivered to him by the ministration of God himself. From thenceforward, he resolved to apply himself to the reading of the divine books; and having made those prelates of God his assessors, was of

\* Euseb. in Vit. Constant. cap. 27—30.

opinion, that that God whom he had seen was to be worshipped with all imaginable observancy. After this being fortified with good hopes placed in him, he undertook to extinguish the fire of tyrannic fury.”\*

Then he proceeds to give an account of the wickedness and tyranny of Maxentius, and how Constantine with a much smaller army defeated his numerous forces, and then made a triumphant entry into Rome, and was received with loud acclamations of all the people, who *styled him a Redeemer, a Saviour, and Benefactor, with voices that could not be silenced*. And having thus ended the war with the destruction of the tyrant, “he made known to all men the salutary standard, by erecting this great trophy against his enemies in the midst of the imperial city, and plainly engraving this salutary standard, which is the preservative of the Roman government, and of the empire of the whole world, with indelible characters. He issued out therefore an immediate order, that an high spear, made in the form of a cross, should be placed under the stand of his own likeness expressed in a statue, set up in the most public and frequented place of the city Rome, and that this very inscription in the Latin tongue should be cut upon it. **By this salutary sign, which is the cognizance of true Valour, I have delibered and freed your city from the slavish yoke of the tyrant: And have set at liberty the senate and people of Rome, and restored them to their ancient splendor and dignity.**”\* After this he tells us how Constantine used this standard of the cross in all his wars, and observes that “wherever that standard appeared, happened a rout of the enemies, and a pursuit was made by those who had gotten the better. Which when the emperor perceived, in whatever place he saw one part of his army pressed hard, thither he ordered the salutary trophy to be carried, as a most efficacious help to procure victory. After the doing whereof, a victory followed immediately; in regard strength and courage were by a divine act of Providence infused in those who fought. And he said that a dismal noise and sudden disturbance having one time put the army into a consternation during the very heat of an engagement, he who bore the standard on his shoulders, was in an agony by reason of his fear; whereupon he delivered the standard to another, to the end he might

\* Euseb. in Vit. Constant. cap. 32.

† Id. cap. 40.



make his escape out of the fight. That other person had no sooner taken it, than he who slipt away, being got without the protection of the standard, was struck into the belly by a dart cast at him, and was deprived of life. Thus this man underwent the punishment of his cowardice and infidelity, and lay dead upon the spot. But the salutary trophy became the preservative of his life who bore it. Insomuch that though darts were frequently cast at him who bore the standard, yet he was preserved unhurt: but the spear of the salutary trophy received the darts. And this was a thing which far surpassed every miracle, to see in what manner the enemies' darts fell upon the smallest circumference of the spear, whereon they were fixed and stuck fast; but the standard-bearer was preserved from death: yea none of those employed in that office, did ever receive a wound. This is not our relation, but the emperor's own, who amongst other matters declared this also to us."\* Thus we have not only a full testimony, that the Christians of the first and purest ages used the sign of the cross, but we have also divers instances of God's vouchsafing to perform wondrous works by the means of that sign, as I have shewed by most evident testimonies of such as lived in those ages. And that glorious sign of the cross, which appeared in the heavens, and was seen in the broad day by the emperor, and his whole army, could be set there by no other than God himself. And the appearance of Christ in a dream to Constantine, commanding him to carry that sign in his banners, and the many victories which that emperor obtained by that means, are so many testimonies of God's approbation of the use of that sign. And Constantine's sending for the Christian bishops immediately after this glorious vision, and desiring to be instructed by them in the meaning of this apparition, is an evidence, that even the Heathen knew (for Constantine was till that time an Heathen) that the Christians used that sign. So that we have the witness both of Heathen and Christians to assure us, that the sign of the cross was in use amongst Christians before the Council of Nice, that is, in the best and purest ages of the Church. However, I cannot forbear to produce one testimony more, and that is St. Cyril of Jerusalem, who though younger than any of those before mentioned, yet may be reckoned contemporary to the

\* Euseb. in Vit. Constant. lib. 2, cap. 7. 9.

Council of Nice, being made bishop of Jerusalem not above five-and-twenty years after the meeting of that Council; so that we may reasonably suppose him near twenty years of age or more, at the time when that Council was assembled. He, in his Catechetical Lectures, gives this instruction to the Catechumens. "Therefore let us not be ashamed of the cross of Christ; but if any one else keeps it secret, do you openly sign your forehead therewith, that the devils seeing that royal sign, may trembling fly away. But make that sign whether you are eating or drinking, sitting or lying, or rising up, speaking or walking, and in a word, in every thing you do."\* There are other passages in the same Father to the same purpose, shewing that upon all occasions the Primitive Christians were wont to sign their foreheads with the sign of the cross. And if upon all occasions, there is no question to be made, but that the bishop also did so, before he offered the Christian sacrifice, as this Rubric of the Clementine Liturgy now under consideration teaches us that he did. Nay, so notorious was the use of the cross amongst the ancient Christians, that the Nonconformists, the greatest enemies to the use of that sign in the last age, could not deny the matter of fact, as Bishop Morton informs us, in his particular defence of the ceremony of the cross, from their own words printed in the *Lincolnshire Abridgment* 1605., which are, "What shall we say, but that the cross hath been as superstitiously abused by the fathers, as by the rankest papists, saving that papists have ranked it with divine worship, and so bestowed more honour upon it than ever the fathers did afford it?" To which that learned bishop makes this answer: "If I should note any man to be as rank a traitor as ever was rebel, ~~save that~~ he does acknowledge his due obedience to the king, would not every one think that I thereby bewrayed both malignancy and folly? And how does this differ, I pray you, from your censure of the fathers?"† The fathers indeed used this sign upon all occasions; but they never worshipped it. For

\* Μη τóινυν ἐπαισχυνθῶμεν τῇ σταυρῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλος ἀποκρύπτῃ, σὺ φανερώς ἐπὶ μετώπῳ σφραγίζῃ, ἵνα οἱ δαίμονες τὸ σημεῖον ἰδόντες τὸ βασιλικόν, μακρὰν φύγωσι τρέμοντες, ποίει δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον τὸ σημεῖον, ἐσθίων καὶ πίνων, καθήμενος, κοιταζόμενος, ἐξανιστάμενος, λαλῶν, περιπατῶν, ἀναξαπλῶς ἐν παντὶ πράγματι. Cyril. Catech. iv. § 10. de Ascensione.

† Defence of the innocence of the three Ceremonies of the Church of England page 237, 238

Minutius Felix, who lived a little after Tertullian, in the beginning of the third century, tells us, that when the Heathens objected to the Christians, that they worshipped a cross,\* the Christian answers positively, "We neither worship crosses, nor desire them." But Peter Martyr, one of the reformers of our reformation, has a clever way of abusing the fathers for the use of this sign. He could not deny, but the devils fled at the sight of it; the testimonies were so many, and so notorious, that he was ashamed to deny so plain a matter of fact. Therefore he makes it to be a trick and delusion of the devil, to deceive the Primitive Christians, and to make them believe that he was afraid of this sign, though really he was not. "The devil," says he, "feigns to fly at the sign of the cross, forasmuch as by that fiction he may more and more insinuate himself into us. The strength and power of the cross is not placed in the sign, but in a true and solid faith in him that was crucified."† As if he that made the sign of the cross did not thereby give a testimony of his faith in him that was crucified. The devil cannot search the hearts; he is not God, to know our thoughts, otherwise than as they are testified by some outward act. And therefore, except we declare our faith by some outward act, the devil cannot tell that we have faith; and the sign of the cross, made with reverence and devotion, is a sure testimony of our believing in him who was crucified. No other sign can give so full a testimony of this in so short a time. Therefore, if there be any power *in a true and solid faith in him that was crucified*, as Peter Martyr asserts, and I know none that denies, I know no way of exerting that power, and shewing that faith more fully and speedily than to make the sign of the cross. For that sign not only testifies our belief in Christ, but in an especial manner shews our belief in Christ crucified. And therefore, the devils may very well be afraid of that sign, since it was particularly by his cross that Christ destroyed the power of the devil: for it was by that, as St. Paul tells us, that "he spoiled principalities and powers, and made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them in it."‡ Therefore, as St. Cyril

\* Cruces nec colimus, nec optamus. *Minutius Felix, Octav.*

† Diabolus conspecto signo crucis fingit se fugere, cum tamen eâ fictione sese magis ac magis nobis insinuat. Vis & potestas crucis non sita est in signo, sed in verâ solidaque fide crucifixi. *Peter Martyr loc. com. class. 2. cap. 5., § 20. page 222.*

‡ Col. ii. 15.



observes, "When the devils see the cross, they remember who was crucified. They fear him that broke the serpent's head."\* And how the devil should only seem to fly at the sign of the cross, is very unaccountable. For it is certain, he did himself very great disservice thereby. This flight of the devils at the sign of the cross was a great means of ruining the Heathen religion, and of destroying the kingdom of darkness, and the power of the devil. It convinced the Heathens of the power of him that was crucified, and brought them over to the Christian Faith. And by this means the cross of Christ, which otherwise had been a mighty obstacle to the conversion of the Gentiles, became an instrument to bring them into the Church of Christ, and at last even the emperor himself, and with him the empire, was converted by it. Therefore, to say that the devil only feigned or pretended to fly away at the sign of the cross, in order to draw men into a snare by that means, when it is so apparent that his flying away at that sign was one great means of the destruction of his kingdom, seems to favour the obstinacy of the Pharisees, who when they saw our Saviour cast out devils, being not able to deny the fact, charged him with doing it through Beelzebub, the prince of the devils.† And as our Saviour confuted this malicious objection of the Pharisees, by letting them know that the devil would not do what tended only to destroy his own kingdom, so may we answer this objection of Peter Martyr. For if the sign of the cross was not really terrible to the devil, he would never fly from it: because his flying from that sign, tended to destroy his kingdom, as it gave men just cause to believe that he was afraid of him that died upon the cross, and brought over men from the worship of him to the worship of Christ who was crucified. However, he goes on and says, "I will not deny but some miracles were sometimes wrought by the sign of the cross. But I have already given a reason for it, which I need not repeat: I shall only add, that the devil feeds and delights himself exceedingly with human errors."‡ His reason, which he will not repeat, is

\*"Όταν γαρ ἴδωσι τὸν σταυρὸν, ὑπομνήσκονται τῆ ἐσταυρωμένῃ. Φοβούνται τοῦ συντρίπτοντα τὰς κεφαλὰς τῆ δράκοντος. Cyril. Cateches. xiii. § 18.

† Mark iii. 22

‡ Non inficior quædam miracula interdum consignatione crucis edita fuisse, sed ejus rei causam jam retuli, quæ repetenda minimè videtur. Id tantum referam, diabolum pasci & delectare mirum in modum erroribus humanis. *Peter Martyr loc. cit. class. ii. cap. v. § 20. page 222.*

that which I have already answered. As to what he adds concerning the devil's pleasing himself with human errors, I see not what error there could be in this case. Miracles were wrought at the use of this sign ; Peter Martyr owns it. What error then was it for the Christians to believe it ? Was it an error for them to believe a fact which they saw with their eyes, and which he himself acknowledges to be true ? Or was it an error in them to use that sign, the use of which God was frequently pleased to honour with a miracle ? Had it been unlawful to use it, which is the thing he contends for, God would never have honoured it in that manner. The argument runs much stronger the other way. The Primitive Christians frequently signed their foreheads with the cross, as a testimony of their faith in him that was crucified. Peter Martyr himself tells us from St. Augustine, that this was their reason for making this sign on their foreheads, "That they might testify that they were Christians, and were not ashamed of the cross of Christ."\* Now God so far approved their thus using this sign, that he caused the devils to tremble and fly at the sight of it, and sometimes wrought other miracles when it was used. Since God therefore has given such testimonies of his approbation of the use of the sign of the cross, it is certainly not only lawful, but very fit and proper to use that sign as the Primitive Christians did, whose practice in this matter received such evident testimonies of the divine approbation. And as the use of the sign of the cross was of primitive antiquity, so we also find it to have been an universal practice, and particularly to have been used in the communion service, there being no Liturgy but what gives testimony to the use of this sign in some parts of the office once or oftener. But so many crosses as are used in the Roman missal are to be met with in no other Liturgy whatsoever ; such a number of them is certainly an innovation, and renders the service theatrical ; but one or two we always find in the most ancient Liturgies. So much being thought proper on this solemn occasion to testify that we are not ashamed of the cross of Christ, and that the solemn service we are then about is performed in honour of a crucified Saviour. And therefore as the

\* Quod testarentur se Christianos, quasi eos crucis Christi minimè puderet. Atque hoc ex Augustino de verbis Apostoli Sermone viii. colligo. *Peter Martyr loc. cit. class. 2. cap. 5. § 20. page 222.*

Church of England has thought fit to retain this ceremony in the ministration of one of her sacraments, I see not why she should lay it aside in the ministration of the other. And we may say of it, as the Church of England herself does of the cross in baptism, that "this use of the sign of the cross in the ministration of the holy eucharist was held by the Primitive Church, as well by the Greeks as the Latins, with one consent and great applause. At which time, if any had opposed themselves against it, they would certainly have been censured as enemies of the name of the cross, and consequently of Christ's merits, the sign whereof they could no better endure. This continual and general use of the sign of the cross, is evident from many testimonies of the ancient fathers."\* We may therefore conclude that the use of the sign of the cross in the communion office of the Church of England was laid aside only to please Peter Martyr, (the great enemy of this sign, as I have shewed) and his friends, who forced the bishops of the Church of England to agree to an alteration of the first Liturgy of king Edward, by making such an interest at court, as to induce the king to threaten to do it without them, as we learn from a letter of Peter Martyr himself, which he wrote to his friend Martin Bucer, another foreign Presbyterian, who came over hither with Martyr, to help to spoil our reformation, where he says, "This does not a little cheer my spirits, which Sir John Cheke has informed me; If they, (that is the bishops) says he, do not take care that those things be altered which should be altered, the king will do it himself; and when it comes before the parliament, he will interpose his own regal authority."† This letter is dated at Lambeth, January 10. 1551. And accordingly in the same year the common prayer was altered, and those things changed which Martyr and his friend Bucer desired.‡ And the Liturgy so altered was confirmed by the parliament in the beginning of the year following. And there is no doubt to be made, but the use of the sign of the cross in the ministration of the

\* Can. xxx. 1603.

† Hoc non me parum recreat, quod mihi D. Checus indicavit; si noluerint ipsi, ait, efficere, ut quæ mutanda sint mutantur, Rex per seipsum id faciet; & cum ad Parlamentum ventum fuerit, ipse suæ Majestatis auctoritatem interponet. *Peter Martyr to Bucer, as published by Strype in his Appendix to the Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, page 154, 155.

‡ Burnet's History of Reform, page 147, 148. 161. 179. fourth edition.



eucharist was laid aside to please Peter Martyr, who, as I have shewed, was so great an enemy to it. For it is certain, the Church of England had no dislike to the use of that sign, having justified the use of it in one sacrament, and declared it to be free both from popery and superstition. For in the conference at Hampton Court in the very beginning of the reign of king James the first, when Mr. Knewstubs the Puritan, objected against the cross in baptism. "And here his majesty desired to be informed concerning the antiquity of the use of the cross. Dr. Reynolds (one of the Puritans) confessed, this custom would reach to the Apostles' times; but the difficulty was to prove it so anciently used in baptism: this scruple was thrown in by the Dean of Sarum, Dr. Bridges: but the matter was sufficiently cleared by Dr. Andrews, Dean of Westminster, who proved from Tertullian, Origen, St. Cyprian, and others, that the cross was used in *immortali lavacro*. And here the bishop of Winchester, Dr. Bilson, argued, that the cross was used in baptism in the reign of Constantine the great 'And is it come to that pass,' says the king, 'that we must charge Constantine with superstition and popery? If it was used so early, I see no reason why it may not be continued.'"\* This determination of king James the first the Church of England soon after declared to be her own in the convocation held immediately after, when she declared in her canon concerning the lawful use of the cross in baptism, "that she therein followed the royal steps of her most worthy king, taken in the conference at Hampton Court, because he therein followed the rules and the practice of the Primitive Church."† Now the step which that king took at that conference, was to maintain (as I have shewed) that the Church which was supported and protected by Constantine, was free from superstition and popery: consequently there was no reason why what was used in his time, should not be continued. As therefore the fathers before and in the time of Constantine testify, that the sign of the cross was then used upon all occasions, and the Clementine Liturgy particularly testifies that it was used at the ministration of the eucharist; therefore, according to the sentiments of king James the first, and of the Church of England, who in convocation declared herself of his opinion in this matter, there is no

\* Collier's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. page 680.

† Canon xxx. 1603.

reason why this rite should not be continued in the ministration of the eucharist. Whether a discontinuance of the use of this rite at the eucharist for about 150 years in one particular Church against the practice of the universal Church for 1500 years, be sufficient to cancel our obligation to the use of this rite, especially when that Church has no where condemned it, may, I think, deserve a serious consideration.

§ 13. Then the Bishop begins the office with these suffrages. The grace of Almighty God, and the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the communication of the Holy Spirit, be with you all. Answer. And with thy Spirit. Bishop. Lift up your hearts. Answer. We lift them up unto the Lord. Bishop. Let us give thanks unto the Lord. Answer. It is meet and right so to do. The first of these suffrages is the same in sense, though not exactly in words, with the salutation with which St. Paul concludes his second epistle to the Corinthians.\* And the answer is agreeable to the salutation with which St. Paul greets Timothy.† In other Liturgies, for the most part this suffrage is put in the words of the English Liturgy, “The Lord be with you ;” which is to the same effect, and is a very ancient form of salutation mentioned in the Old Testament as well as the New.‡ The antiquity therefore of this suffrage, since it is expressly taken from the holy scripture, cannot be disputed. That the following suffrage was also older than the Council of Nice, is testified by St. Cyprian, who tells us that the priest does, by a preface foregoing, prepare the minds of the brethren before the prayer begins, saying, Lift up your hearts.|| That when the people answer, We lift them up unto the Lord, they may be admonished that they ought to have their thoughts wholly fixed upon the Lord. The other suffrage is also very agreeable to the scriptures, which require us to give thanks in every thing.§ And certainly nothing can be more proper than that the priest should exhort the people to give thanks on this solemn occasion, when he is going to offer the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, and that they should

\* 2 Cor. xiii. 14. † 2 Tim. iv. 22. ‡ Ruth. ii. 4. and 2 Thess. iii. 16.

|| Sacerdos ante orationem præfatione præmissa, parat fratrum mentes dicendo Sursum corda : ut dum respondet plebs, Habemus ad Dominum ; admoneatur nihil aliud se quam Dominum cogitare debere. *Cyprian de oratione Dominic.*

§ 1 Thess. v. 18.

acknowledge it to be meet and right so to do. And therefore, though I do not remember to have met with any testimony of an Ante-Nicene father concerning this particular suffrage, yet, there is no reason to think it an interpolation in the Clementine Liturgy, since it is so agreeable to the scriptures, so well adapted to the nature of that office it belongs to, and is also in all other Liturgies, and, as well as the foregoing suffrages, is retained in the communion office of the Church of England.

§ 14. Immediately, therefore, the bishop proceeds to the eucharistick prayer, or prayer of thanksgiving to God, with an enumeration of his wonderful works recorded in holy scripture. That such a prayer was used at the celebration of the holy eucharist in the earliest ages of the Church, and even in the Apostles' days, is testified by Justin Martyr in his apology, written within fifty years after the death of St. John, or the time when the apostolical age ended: who in that part of his apology which is prefixed to this Dissertation, says, "Then bread and a cup of wine and water is brought to him that presides over the brethren; which he having received, gives praise and glory to the Father of all things, through the name of his Son and Holy Spirit, and makes a very long thanksgiving to him for having vouchsafed to bestow on us such great blessings. Who having finished the prayers and thanksgiving, all the people cry out, saying, Amen."\* Upon which passage of this father, Dr. Grabe makes the following note. "As to what concerns our Saviour's institution of the sacrament of his body, even the gospels testify that he took bread and a cup, giving thanks Mat. xxvi. 26. 27. Mark xiv. 23. Luke xxii. 19. 1 Cor. xi. 24. Blessing them. Mark xiv. 22. St. Paul also mentions the cup of blessing which we bless. 1 Cor. x. 16. And chap. xiv. ver. 16. &c. Else when thou shalt bless with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, say Amen, at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? For thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified. Therefore that very thing

\* ἔπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος, καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος. Καὶ οὗτος λαβὼν αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῇ πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων δια τῆ ὀνόματος τῆ υἱῆς, καὶ τῆ πνεύματος τῆ ἁγίης, ἀναπέμπει. Καὶ εὐχαριστίαν, ὑπὲρ τῆ κατηξιῶσθαι τέτον παρ αὐτῆς, ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται. Ἡ συντελήσαντος τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, πᾶς ὁ παρῶν λαὸς ἐπευφρεμὶ λέγων, Ἀμήν. Just. Mart. Apol. 1. § 85. Edit. Grab. p. 125.



which Christ and his apostles did in the celebration of the tremendous mystery, that also their successors the bishops of the Churches duly observed, as Justin expressly testifies in this period agreeable to the Apostolic words, with regard to the priest celebrating the eucharist or thanksgiving, and the people's answering Amen. And he says this was done in a very long prayer; as Proclus in his tract concerning the tradition of the divine Liturgy, tells us with regard to the apostles themselves. Receiving the mystical sacrifice of the Lord's body, they celebrated it with a song of great length. (Do not wonder at the word song; for that it was not at all opposite to Apostolic practice, the fourteenth chapter of the first Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians sufficiently teaches, to mention no more.) Likewise John Chrysostom, in his twenty-fourth Homily on the first epistle to the Corinthians, where he comments upon the cup of blessing, introduces the Apostle speaking in this manner. It is no light matter that is here spoken of: for when I recite the sacramental benediction, I unfold the whole treasure of God's beneficence, and commemorate those great gifts. And that form of thanksgiving which is in the Apostolical Constitutions, book 8. chapter 12., agrees exactly to this character which Chrysostom gives of the Apostolical Eulogy, and Justin of the thanksgiving of the Primitive Christians, both in this place, and also before at page 24. From whence also Justin seems to have borrowed that phrase (which I take notice of hereafter, page 131., note 3.) *ὁση δύναμις* with all might, or as well as one is able. Afterward, as the devotion of Christians grew cold, this long doxology was contracted, yet so that the two greatest blessings of God, that is, the creation and redemption by Christ, together with the institution of the commemorative sacrament, were always set forth, and thanks given to God for these things according to the example and command of our Saviour himself, who in his last supper no doubt imitated the blessings used by the Jews. And their solemn forms of blessing God, in the participation of bread and wine, are recited by Fagius, in his comment on Deut. viii., as follows. Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, King of the world, who createst the fruit of the vine. Also, Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, who bringest bread out of the earth. Moreover, We give thanks to thee, O Lord our God, for that thou madest our fathers to inherit a desirable, good and spacious land; and for that thou,

O Lord our God, broughtest us out of the land of Egypt, and redeemedst us from the house of bondage &c., For all things, I say, we give thanks to thee, &c. In like manner therefore our Saviour blessed God the Father, not only for the creation and redemption of the Jewish nation, but for that of all mankind by his death; and commanded his Apostles, that they should do the same in remembrance of him, and chiefly, should set forth his death, according to Luke xxii. 19., and 1 Cor. xi. 25. &c. Hence all the ancient Liturgies, and the English Liturgy, set forth in the first (it should be the second) "year of king Edward VI. and the Scotch Liturgy, after reciting the words of institution, which end with this clause, Do this in remembrance of me: as it were to perform a ready obedience to this command, almost immediately subjoin; We thy humble servants do celebrate, and make here before thy Divine Majesty, with these thy holy gifts, the memorial which thy Son hath willed us to make, having in remembrance his blessed passion &c. I shall add but one thing more, which is, that all Catholics of all times have concluded the sacramental Eulogy with the seraphic words, holy, holy, &c. For it seemed but fit that they who eat the bread of angels should also sing their hymn."\* And the reader may satisfy himself from

\* *Εὐχαριστίαν*—ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται. De servatore nostro Sacramentum corporis sui instituyente, ispa S. Evangelia perhibent, *quod acceperit panem et poculum. εὐχαριστήσας, gratias agens*, Matt. xxvi. 26, 27. Marc. xiv. 23. Luc. xxii. 19; 1 Corinth. xi. 24. *ἐυλογήσας, benedicens*. Marc. xiv. 22. St. Paulus quoq, 1 Corinth. x. 16. memorat τὸ ποτήριον τῆς ἐυλογίας ὃ ἐυλογεῖμεν. *Poculum benedictionis quod benedicimus*. Et cap. xiv. ver. 16. Seqq. ἐπεὶ ἐὰν ἐυλογήσῃς τῷ πνεύματι ὃ ἀναπληρῶν τον τόπον τῆς ἰδιότητος, πῶς ἔρει τὸ ἀμὴν ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ τὸ λέγεις ἕκ οὗδε; σὺ μὲν γὰρ καλῶς εὐχαριστεῖς, ἀλλ'ὁ ἕτερος ἕκ οὐκοδομεῖται. Id ipsum igitur, quod Christus ac Apostoli in celebratione tremendi Mysteriorum fecere, et Successores eorum Episcopi Ecclesiarum debite observarunt, uti Justinus in hac periodo Apostolicis verbis ratione Sacerdotis celebrantis, et populi respondentis *Amen*, prorsus consona, disertè testatur. Et quidem ἐπὶ πολὺ, prolixiori oratione id factum dicit; quemadmodum de ipsis St. Apostolis ait Proclus in Tractatu de Traditione divinæ Liturgiæ: τὴν τῆς δεσποτικῆς σώματος μυσικὴν ἱερουργίαν παραμύθιον εὐροκότες, διεξοδικώτατα αὐτὴν ἵδον. *Mysticum Dominici corporis Sacrificium consolatione plenum deprehendentes, prolixo cantu illud celebrarunt*. (Noli mirari tantum; neque enim omnino ab Apostolico ritu alienum fuisse, vel sola Pauli Epistola I. ad Corinth. cap. xiv. docet, alia ut taceam.) Similiter Joannes Chrysostomus Homil. 24. in I. Epist. ad Corinthios. ubi in *poculum benedictionis* commentatur, Apostolum introducit ita loquentem: Οὐ μικρὸν τὸ εἰρημένον, ἐυλογίαν γὰρ ὕταν εἶπω, πάντα ἀναπτύσσων τον τῆς ἐνεργείας τῆς Θεᾶς θησαυρὸν, καὶ τῶν μεγάλων ἐκείνων ἀναμνηστικῶν δωρεῶν. *Non parvum est quod dicitur. Nam quando benedictionem (Sacramentalem)*

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Clementine Liturgy (of which this prayer is the largest part) was the ancient Liturgy of that Church. For as to the present Roman Missal, the learned men of the Church of Rome can give no account when or by whom it was composed, as we may learn from Cardinal Bona, who says, "Some think pope Gelasius was the author of the canon; others, Musæus, a presbyter of Marseilles; others, Voconius, bishop of Castellana in Mauritania; others, Gregory the great. But Gregory himself says it was composed by a private scholar, but at what time he doth not tell us."\* This is certain, that it was confirmed and ordered to be used in the Churches under the Roman Jurisdiction by pope Gregory himself about the beginning of the seventh century; and is therefore of too late an original to be of authority in this case, farther than it is agreeable to the old traditional form, as we find the several parts of it borne witness to by some or other of the Ante-Nicene fathers. And that it is not agreeable to that tradition in the eucharistical or thanksgiving part is evident from this testimony of Justin, and consequently is disagreeable to the primitive form used at Rome in the Apostolical age, and that which succeeded it; at which time the Clementine form, or one exactly agreeable to it, was certainly used there, as has been proved. If it be objected that it is not likely that this Clementine Liturgy should be the ancient Liturgy of the Church of Rome, the Roman Church being a Latin Church, and therefore their Liturgy must be in that language, whereas this was written originally in Greek; to which it may be answered, that it has been already proved that there was no written Liturgy used in any Church till after the Council of Nice. Consequently that this Liturgy, though written before that time, was not written for the use of that or any other Church, but was, only an exemplar or copy of the communion service which was used in the traditional form at the time when the compiler lived, And therefore though at Rome, where the compiler probably lived, the Liturgy was always celebrated in Latin, the language of the place, yet the person who put it into writing might choose to do it in Greek, it being the custom even of the native Romans of

\* Auctorem canonis quidam fuisse putant Gelasium Papam, alii Musæum Presbyterum Masiliensem, alii Voconium Episcopum Castellanensem in Mauritania, alii Gregorium Magnum. At ipse Gregorius lib. 7. epist. 64. ait à scholastico compositum, sed quo pacto id factum fuerit non dicit. *Bona de Rebus Liturgicis* lib. ii. cap. 11. page 477.

that age frequently to write in that language. Thus Hermas, a Roman, and living at Rome, wrote his book called Pastor, or the Shepherd, in Greek ; thus Clemens, a Roman, and bishop of Rome, wrote his undoubtedly genuine epistle in the Greek tongue ; and to name no more, the emperor Marcus Aurelius himself, to whom Justin addressed his Apology, wrote a book concerning himself, and addressed to himself in that language : therefore for a Roman to write in Greek at that time, was no more than to comply with the custom of the age in which he lived. Consequently that the compiler of this Liturgy, though it was the Roman Liturgy which he has given us, should write it in the Greek language, is not to be wondered at ; nor is this any objection why it might not be the ancient Roman Liturgy. Neither is it to be doubted, but that forasmuch as many Greeks did in those days resort to Rome, and many Greek Christians in particular, so the eucharist was celebrated amongst them in the Greek language, though in the Roman form, and by Roman priests. Though I do not conceive that there was any other difference between the Romans and the Greeks in the form of ministration, than what will necessarily happen in all traditionary forms, that is, a difference in words, but agreeable in sense ; as we may judge by this Clementine form, which according to Justin's account of the matter, must be, if not the very form used at Rome, yet certainly most agreeable to it ; and is also very agreeable to all the forms used in the Greek Church, in all which forms the eucharistical prayer is still contained, though contracted or abridged ; but it is entirely left out in none of them as it is in the present Roman Missal, all but the preface and seraphic hymn. This testimony of Justin being so full in favour of the Clementine Liturgy, and so perfectly agreeable to the form there used, and to which testimony no other Liturgy now extant is so agreeable, is a very clear evidence of the great antiquity of this form, and very much confirms what I before cited, as the judgment of bishop Hiekes and Mr. Johnson, that "the eucharistical office in the Apostolical Constitutions, is the standard and test by which all others are to be tried : and by comparing those with this, the innovations and additions (he might have added the detractions or defalcations) of after times, will appear. And that if we had the very words in which St. Peter and St. Paul consecrated the eucharist, it would not differ in substance from that which is contained in this most

ancient Liturgy." Now, as I have already observed in this Liturgy, the eucharistical or thanksgiving prayer is continued to the consecration itself, and the consecration is performed in the manner of an eucharist or thanksgiving. Thus after a long enumeration of God's wonderful works and great mercies to his Church, recorded in the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, after express mention of the death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ, and his session at the right hand of God, it proceeds thus ; " We therefore remembering the things which he suffered for our sakes, give thanks unto thee, O Almighty God, not as we ought, but as we are able ; and fulfil his institution, who in the same night that he was betrayed, taking bread, &c." Again, after a full recital of the words of institution ; there follows immediately, " Wherefore having in remembrance his passion, death, and resurrection from the dead, his ascension into heaven, and second coming with glory and great power to judge the quick and the dead, and to render to every man according to his works ; we offer to thee, our King and our God, according to his holy institution, this bread and this cup, &c." Thus the thanksgiving form is continued to the end of the oblation, which plainly renders the whole an eucharistical sacrifice, or a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. The other Greek Liturgies, as before observed, have all such a thanksgiving form, that is continued till the oblation is made, though not of that great length. Thus the Liturgy of St. James, immediately after the seraphic hymn, begins the thanksgiving prayer, saying, " Holy art thou, O eternal King &c." proceeding to praise God for the creation and redemption of mankind ; and then reciting what our Saviour did for us after he became man, says, " And when the hour was come, on which he who had no sin was to suffer a voluntary and life-giving death upon the cross for us sinners ; in the same night that he was offered, or rather offered up himself, for the life and salvation of the world, taking bread &c." And when the words of institution have been fully recited, then follows, " Wherefore having in remembrance his life-giving passion &c. We sinners offer to thee, O Lord, &c." So the Liturgy of St. Mark, immediately after the seraphic hymn, proceeds, " Heaven and earth are truly full of thy glory, through the manifestation of our Lord and God, and Saviour Jesus Christ &c. For he our Lord and God and King over all, Jesus Christ, in the night wherein he delivered himself



for our sins, and suffered death in the flesh for all, lying down with his Disciples and Apostles, took bread, &c. We, O Sovereign, Lord Almighty, Heavenly King, celebrating the death of thy only-begotten Son &c., set before thee these thine own gifts, &c." The Liturgy of St. Chrysostom also immediately after the seraphic hymn subjoins, "We also, O gracious and merciful God, cry out and say with these blessed powers, Holy art thou, and every way holy, thou and thine only-begotten Son, and thy Holy Spirit: thou art holy and every way holy, and exceeding great is thy glory: who so loved thy world, as to give thine only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. Who coming into the world, and having fulfilled every dispensation for us, in the night that he was delivered, or rather delivered himself for the life of the world, taking bread &c. We therefore being mindful of this his salutary command, and of all things which he hath done for us, his cross, burial, &c., offer to thee &c." So the Constantinopolitan Liturgy of St. Basil, immediately after the seraphic hymn, adds, "We sinners also, O gracious and merciful God, cry and say with these blessed powers, Thou art truly holy &c." Then follows a long form of thanksgiving for the creation and redemption of mankind, with a particular recital of God's wonderful mercies shewed by the Incarnation of his Son, and proceeds thus, "He left us as a memorial of his salutary passion, these things which we have set before thee, according to his commandment. For when he was going forth to his voluntary, famous, and life-giving death, in the night wherein he delivered himself for the life of the world, taking bread, &c. We therefore, O Lord, remembering his salutary passion, &c., offer to thee, &c." Likewise the Alexandrian Liturgy of St. Basil, after the seraphic hymn, adds, "Thou, O Lord our God, art truly holy, holy, holy, who createdst us, and madest us, and placedst us in a paradise of pleasure," &c. And having recited what Christ has done for us, proceeds thus, "He left us this great mystery of piety: for when he was about to deliver himself to death for the life of the world, he took bread, &c. Therefore remembering his saving passion, &c., we offer unto thee, &c." The Ethiopic Liturgy after the seraphic hymn adds, "Heaven and earth are truly filled with the holiness of thy glory, through Jesus Christ, &c., who delivered himself of his own free will, that he might destroy death, and dissolve the

agreeing, (as I have already observed,) that these words are essential to the consecration of the eucharist, which I shall in no wise dispute; but whether nothing more is essential is the question. The Church of Rome, in the Rubric before the words, *This is my body, This is my blood*, declares these to be the words of consecration, by which that Church seems to mean, and her greatest champions understand it so, that the whole form of consecration consists in the due and regular pronounciation of those words. Nay, she herself tells us so in her directions to the priest that is to celebrate the mass, where she speaks of the defects which may happen in the celebration, saying, "The words of consecration, which are the form of this sacrament, are these, **For this is my body**, and, **For this is my blood of the New and Eternal Testament, the mystery of faith, which shall be shed for you and for many for the remission of sins.**" Now, by calling these words the form of the sacrament, she plainly teaches that no other words but these are necessary to the consecration of the elements. I have also before shewed\* from the reformation attempted to be made by Herman, Archbishop of Colen, in which he had the assistance of Melancthon, one of the heads of the Lutheran party, and of Bucer, one of the principal Calvinists, that both these parties agreed, that the whole of the consecration was performed by the recital of these words. And from the consecration prayer and Rubric following it, I have also shewed this to be the opinion of the Church of England; from whence I infer, that it is the general opinion also of all Protestants that believe there is any consecration of the elements. Now I suppose the reason why they all thus place the whole form of consecration in these words, is, because they are the only words recorded by the Evangelists, and St. Paul, which were spoken by our Saviour when he instituted this holy sacrament. But then it should be considered, that though they have not told us what were the other words which our Saviour used on this occasion, they have plainly enough told us that he did use other words. For St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. Paul, tell us, that *he gave thanks*, of which I have already largely spoken; and St. Mark says, that *he blessed*: now, if *he gave thanks* and *blessed*, before he gave the bread and the cup to his disciples, it

\* Supr. § 1.

is manifest that he used other words when he consecrated the elements besides those recorded in the scriptures. It is also to be noted, that those words which are recorded, *Take, eat, this is my body, &c.*, were not addressed to God, but are the words he spake to his disciples after he had addressed himself to his Father, teaching them what was the effect produced by that address. For consecration consists in the oblation or dedication of something to God, and therefore must be performed by some address made to him, and not by words directed and applied to men. For which reason these words, which were spoken by Christ to his disciples, could not be the whole consecration of the elements, or the dedication of them to God, but are partly his declaration of the effect produced by the consecration. Therefore Cardinal Bona had no just reason to censure Erasmus for what he said on this occasion. For, that learned prelate says, “Erasmus Roterodamus shewed his rashness and impiety, when in his annotations on the eleventh chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians he says, that *he wishes the scripture had taught us, with what words Christ consecrated, and with what words we ought to consecrate.* For the scripture has taught us both, and the Church having learned it from thence by a divine authority, has clearly delivered it, that we ought to do as our Lord did; from whom the Apostle says, he received what he also delivered to us: and as Erasmus is wont to appeal to the ancient fathers, if he had had ears to hear, Tertullian, the most ancient Latin father, might have taught him, who in his fourth book against Marcion, chap. xl., says, *That bread which he took, and distributed to his disciples, he made his body, in saying, This is my body.*”<sup>\*</sup> But the Cardinal was wiser than to put in the immediate following words of Tertullian in this place, *Hoc est figura corporis mei. This is the figure, type, or representative of my body.* Words

\* Erasmus Roterodamus temeritatem suam ac impietatem ostendit, cùm in annotationibus ad 1 Cor. cap. xi. optare se ait, ut scriptura nobis exprimeret, quibus verbis Christus consecravit, & quibus nos oporteat consecrare, utrumque enim scriptura expressit, & manifestè tradidit Ecclesia divino magisterio edocta, debere nos facere quemadmodum fecit Dominus, à quo Apostolus accepisse se ait quod & tradidit nobis: et quandoquidem Erasmus ad antiquos patres provocare solet, docere eum poterat, si aures audiendi habuisset, Latinorum antiquissimus Tertullianus, qui lib. 4. adv. Marcionem cap. 40. ait, *Acceptum panem & distributum discipulis corpus illud suum fecit dicendo, Hoc est Corpus meum.* Bona de Rebus Liturgicis lib. 2. cap. 13. page 774.



that effectually overthrow the doctrine of transubstantiation, a darling article of the Church of Rome. But sure, if one part of this passage be of authority, the other part is so also. And therefore, if the Romanists will insist upon the former part of this passage, the Protestants have just reason to insist upon the latter. And I confess, I am very willing and ready to allow the authority in both particulars. I freely grant, that *Christ made*, that is, appointed it *to be his body, in saying, This is my body*. And I am also firmly persuaded, that by his **body** in that case he meant only *the figure, type, or representative of his body*.

But we are not now treating of the doctrine of transubstantiation, and therefore I need at present only to examine the former part of the passage as quoted by the cardinal, who produces this passage, to shew that it was the opinion of Tertullian, that Christ consecrated with the words, *This is my body*. But Tertullian asserts no such thing, nor tells us in what words our Saviour consecrated. For he speaks nothing at all of consecration, that is, of dedicating or offering any thing to God, or of blessing or sanctifying it; for what is the meaning of the word consecrate but to offer or dedicate to God, or to bless and sanctify. But as I have shewed, the words, *This is my body*, were not addressed to God, but to the disciples, by which he declared or shewed what he had in the consecration before made and taught them, that bread so offered or dedicated to God, and so blessed and sanctified, was *his body*, that is, the *figure or representative of his body*. And in saying so, evidently made, that is, appointed or ordered bread so consecrated and broken, should be his representative or sacramental body. Nor do I see that anything more can be made of Tertullian's words. He was disputing against Marcion, an heretic, who denied our Saviour to have had a real body, but only the phantasm or apparition of a body. And amongst other arguments which he makes use of to confute this heresy, he thought it proper to form one from the eucharist, which as he says, *he made his body, in saying, This is my body*, that is, *the figure of my body*. And then immediately adds, \* “But it would not have been the figure or representative, except his

\* *Figura autem non fuisset nisi veritatis esset corpus. Cæterum vacua res, quod est phantasma, figuram capere non posset. Aut si propterea panem corpus sibi finxit, quia corporis carebat veritate, ergo panem debuit tradere pro nobis,*

body had been a true and real body. But a phantom is an empty thing that can have no figure or representative. Or if he, therefore, formed bread into a body for himself, because he wanted a real body, then he ought to have delivered the bread for us." It is plain, therefore, from the design of Tertullian in this passage, that it was no part of his purpose to inform us with what words Christ consecrated the bread. His business was only to shew that bread, by Christ's institution, was made *his body*, that is, as he explains himself, *the figure of his body*. And from thence infers that he must have a real body, since there could be no figure or representative of a phantasm. And to prove this, he says, that Christ made, that is, appointed or instituted the bread, which he took and distributed to his disciples, to be his body, in saying, *This is my body*. For if Christ called it *his body*, that is, the *representative of his body*, there can be no better evidence that he made it to be so. Those words are demonstrative that he made it to be his body; but then they are not demonstrative, that those words were the efficient cause by which it was made so, nor do Tertullian's words necessarily imply it, and they seem to me, to mean no more than that our Saviour, by those words, did declare the bread which he had consecrated to be his body. Therefore, Erasmus, notwithstanding this passage of Tertullian's, might very well say, that, "He wished the scriptures had taught us with what words Christ consecrated, and with what words we ought to consecrate. For if Tertullian did mean that the whole consecration was really to be made by these words only, (though I do not think that he did, or that his words necessarily imply it) he is perfectly singular in his opinion. For as Mr. Johnson \* has very fully proved, though the Church always believed that there was very great force and energy in those words, yet they did not believe that the recital of those words by the priest was all that was necessary to the consecration of the eucharist. He plainly proves, that they judged three things to be necessary to the consecration of this sacrament. 1. The reciting the words of institution. 2. The oblation of the symbols. 3. The prayer of invocation. All these three in this Clementine Liturgy now under our consideration, and, as he observes, in all the ancient Liturgies, immediately follow each other in the order here men-

\* Unbloody Sacrifice, part 1. page 234. &c.

tioned ; and each of them was believed to contribute toward the consecration of the elements. Nor can I find anything in Tertullian's words, as urged by the learned cardinal or other Romanists, which contradict this. St. Chrysostom, as cited by Mr. Johnson in the place I but now referred to, says much the same that Tertullian does, only he explains himself a little more fully. "The priest" says he, "fulfilling his office, stands pronouncing those words, but the power and grace is of God ; that word, *This is my body*, &c., changes the gifts laid in open view ; and as the word that says, *Increase and multiply*, was but once pronounced, but is actually operative on our nature ever since ; so that voice once pronounced, has its effects on the prepared sacrifice, on the table of the churches from that time to this, and until his own advent." Here St. Chrysostom plainly teaches that this word of Christ, *This is my body*, operates as the word of God does in other cases, particularly as it operates in the words, *increase and multiply*. As, therefore, the words *increase and multiply* do not operate but when those rites are performed which God has appointed for that purpose, so neither according to St. Chrysostom do the words *this is my body*, but when those things are done which Christ did and commanded. What those things are, I shall shew more particularly when I come to speak of the oblation and invocation. In the mean time, I shall content myself with bishop Morton's answer to the Romanists on this head, which I hope may be of more weight with the members of the Church of England, than anything I can say. For, besides the cogency of the reasons and authorities which he brings to prove his point, which, I think, are most of them unanswerable, his very authority (as he was an eminent bishop of the Church of England for above forty years, that is, from 1616. to 1659.) will be, I am persuaded, of more authority with some of the most zealous adversaries to the doctrine I am now defending, than all the ancient fathers put together. This learned prelate then in his discourse of the *institution of the sacrament of the blessed body and blood of Christ*, &c. printed at London 1635.\* Amongst the *ten transgressions of the canon of Christ's institution*, with which he charges the Church of Rome, is this which I am now treating of, saying, "The first transgression of the (now) Church of Rome, in con-



*tradicting Christ his canon, is collected out of these words, And he blessed it ; which concern the consecration of this sacrament.* First of the bread, the text saith, *He blessed it* : next of the cup, it is said, *When he had given thanks* ; which words, in your own judgments, *are all one as if it should be said, He blessed it with giving of thanks.* By the which word, blessing, he doth imply a consecration of this sacrament. The canon of the Romish Mass attributeth the property and power of consecration of this sacrament only unto the repetition of these words of Christ, *This is my body*, and *this is my blood*, &c. and that from the judgment, as some say, of your Council of Florence and Trent. Moreover, you also alleged for this purpose your public Catechism and Roman Missal, both which were authorised by the Council of Trent, and command of Pius Quintus, then pope. Whereupon it is that you use and attribute such efficacy to the very words, pronounced with a priestly intention, as to change all the bread in a baker's shop, and wine in the vintner's cellar, into the body and blood of Christ. And your *Summa Angelica* speaketh more largely concerning the bread, namely, if it were done conformably to the intention of the Church, and two of your jesuits, concerning both kinds. But Christophorus, your own Archbishop of Cæsarea, in his book dedicated to pope Sixtus Quintus, and written professedly upon this subject, cometh in, *compassed about with a cloud of witnesses* and reasons, to prove that the consecration, used by our Saviour, was performed by that his blessing by prayer, which preceded the pronouncing of those words, **Hoc est Corpus meum**, *This is my body*, &c. To this purpose he is bold to aver, that Thomas Aquinas, and all Catholics before Cajetane, *have confessed that Christ did consecrate in that his Benedixit*, that is, *he blessed it*. And that *St. James*, and *Dionyse the Areopagite* did not consecrate only in the other words, but by prayer. Then he assureth us that *the Greek Churches maintained, that consecration consisteth in benediction by prayer, and not in the only repetition of the words* aforesaid. After this he produceth your subtlest schoolman—Scotus, accompanied with divers others, who *derided those that attributed such supernatural virtue to the other form of words*. You shall further find alleged the testimonies of pope Gregory, Hierome, Ambrose, Bernard, and (to ascend higher) the Liturgies of Clement, Basil, Chrysostom, and of the Roman

Church itself, in gainsaying of the consecration by the only words of institution, as you pretend. And in the end he draweth in two popes, one contradicting the other in this point; and hath no other means to stint their jarr, but (whereas the authority of both is equal) to think it just to yield rather to the better learned of them both. Whosoever requireth more, may be satisfied by reading of the book itself. And yet we would be loth to pretermitt the (confessed) testimony of your jesuit Gordon out of St. Augustine, attesting that in this sacrament, *the fruit of the earth is consecrated by mystical prayer*. It will not suffice to say, that you also use prayer in the Romish Liturgy: for the question is not merely of praying, but wherein the form of benediction and consecration more properly doth consist. Now, none can say that he consecrated by that prayer, which he believeth is not ordained for consecration.

“ We may further take hold, by the way, of the testification of Mr. Brerely, a Romish priest, who out of Basil and Chrysostom, (calling one part *Calix benedictione sacratu*s) alloweth Benediction to have been the Consecration thereof. All this army of witnesses were no better than meteors, or imaginary figures of battailles in the air, if that answer of Bellarmine may go for warrant, to wit, that *the only pronounciation of these words, Hoc est Corpus meum, imply in them*, as he saith, *an invocation or prayer*. Which words, as any man may perceive, Christ spake not supplicatory unto God, but declaratively unto his Apostles, accordingly as the text speaketh, *He said unto them*, as is also well observed by the aforesaid Archbishop of Cæsarea, out of St. Hierome. But none of you, we presume, will dare to say that Christ did invoke his disciples. This might Bellarmine have learned from antiquity, if he had not rather affected to have been a doctor over all others, than a scholar to the Primitive fathers, who teach that Christ revealed not unto any his words of invocation by prayer wherewith he consecrated; which they would not have said, if they had judged these words, **This is my body**, to imply in them an invocation. These words therefore are of declaration, and not of invocation. Which now Romish doctrine of consecrating by reciting these words, *This is my body, &c.* your divines of Colen have judged to be a fierce madness, as being repugnant both to the Eastern and Western Churches. But we have heard divers Western authors speak, give leave to



(Nicholas Cabasilas, Archbishop of Thessalonica) an Eastern Archbishop, to deliver his mind. *No apostle or doctor is known to affirm*, saith he, *those sole words of Christ to have been sufficient for consecration*. So he, three hundred years since, satisfying also the testimony of St. Chrysostom, objected to the contrary. This Archbishop, you grant, was famous in his time, living about the year 1300, to whom, as you know, the Bishop of Ephesus, and the Patriarch of Constantinople did accord, saying that *this sacrament is not made as soon as these words are uttered, but afterwards, by certain prayers of the Church*. And why these Greek fathers should not rather resolve us of the ancient Greek tenor of consecration, than any of your late Italian or Latin doctors, who will make question? As for your other Greek Patriarch Bessarion, who was made cardinal by your Church, on purpose that he might make some opposition to his fellows, we make no other account of him than of an hireling. None of the great multitude of fathers, who have required the use of prayer besides these words, *This is my body*, did thereby testify that they held these words to be words of invocation. As miserable and more intolerable is the answer of others, who said that the Evangelists have not observed the right order of Christ his actions: as if he had first said, *This is my body*, by way of consecration, and after commanded them to *take and eat*. Which answer your own jesuit hath branded with the note of *falsity*: yea, so false it is, that (as is further avouched) all ancient Liturgies, as well Greek as Latin, constantly held, that in the order of the tenor of Christ his institution it was first said, *Take ye*, before that he said, *This is my body*. Lastly, your other lurking-hole is as shameful as the former, where when the judgment of antiquity is objected against you, requiring that consecration be done directly by prayer unto God; you answer, that some fathers did use such speeches in their sermons to the people, *but in their secret instruction of priests did teach otherwise*. Which answer (besides the falsity hereof) we take to be no better than a reproach against antiquity, and all one as to say, that those venerable witnesses of truth would profess one thing in the cellar, and proclaim the contrary on the house top. It were to be wished, that when you frame your answers to direct other men's consciences, you would first satisfy your own, especially being occupied in souls' businesses. We conclude,



seeing that *form* (as all learning teacheth) *giveth being unto all things*; therefore your Church, albeit she use prayer, yet erring in her judgment concerning the perfect manner and form of consecration of this sacrament, how shall she be credited in the materials? wherein she will be found, as well as in this, to have transgressed the same injunction of Christ, **Do this**. Nevertheless, this our conclusion is not so to be interpreted, as (hearken to Mr. Brerely) to exclude out of the words of this celebration the repetition and pronunciation of these words, *This is my body*, and, *This is my blood of the New Testament*. Far be this from us, because we hold them to be essentially belonging to the narration of the institution of Christ, and are used in the Liturgy of our Church: for although they be not words of blessing and consecration, (because not of petition but of repetition) yet are they words of direction; and, withal, significations and testifications of the mystical effects thereof. For a further manifestation, hearken you unto that which is written: "Every creature of God is good, if it be sanctified with the word of God and with prayer."\* Wherein we find a double acceptation of sanctification; the one of ordination, by the Word of God; the other of benediction, namely, by prayer. For example, the eating of swine's flesh is sanctified to the use of a Christian, first by ordination, because the Word of God in the New Testament hath taught us the lawful use of swine's flesh; and secondly, by benediction, by prayer, or giving of thanks, in which respect it is that the Apostle calleth one part *the cup of blessing*.† Both of these are to be found in our sacramental food, wherein we have the sanctification thereof, both by the word of Christ in the tenor of his first institution, *He took bread, &c.* adding, *Do this*; as also by public blessing in prayer, which is more properly called consecration. And although in our domestical feasts, the second course is blessed in the grace, which was said upon the first service; so the second supply of bread and wine (if it shall inordinately so happen) may not altogether be denied to be consecrated by the blessing pronounced on the first; (even as the sanctifying of the sheaf of corn was the hallowing of the whole field,) notwithstanding our Church has cautiously ordained, that the words of institution, *He took bread, &c.* be applied to every

\* 1 Tim. iv. 4.

† 1 Cor. x. 16.

oblation of new bread and wine, for accommodation's sake, as they are referred in our Liturgy; wherein they are necessarily joined together with the words of prayer and benediction. Therefore where you shall find in the fathers the words of Christ's institution, called consecration, (as it is in Chrysostom and Ambrose, it must be understood as joined with prayer, as the benediction itself, which has been already copiously confessed; as well as it has furthermore been acknowledged by your Jesuit Cressolius, that *sometimes the whole sacred action was called consecration, insomuch that the deacon, who doth not meddle with the words of consecration, is notwithstanding called a consecrator by St. Ambrose.*" Thus this worthy and learned Prelate has very fully proved against the Church of Rome, both from Scripture and fathers, as cited and applied by learned men of that communion, that the words, *This is my body, &c.*, are not the form of consecration used by Christ, neither did the Catholic Church esteem the consecration to be made by the recital of those words. But though I conceive he has fully and unanswerably refuted this **now** Romish doctrine, (as he justly calls it) having so plainly proved it not to be the ancient doctrine of that Church, yet whether he have sufficiently cleared the Church of England from maintaining that very doctrine, which he has so learnedly refuted, is a point in which I am not satisfied. The words in the Rubric of the communion service in the Church of England are these: "If the consecrated bread or wine be all spent before all have communicated, the priest is to consecrate more according to the form before prescribed, beginning at *Our Saviour Christ in the same night, &c.* for the blessing of the bread; and at *Likewise after supper, &c.* for the blessing of the cup." I confess, I cannot find this Rubric in the Liturgy of the Church of England before the restoration of king Charles II. that is, till a year or two after bishop Morton died, and near thirty years after the publication of his book; from whence I have made this long citation. However, there seems to have been some order or Rubric to the same purpose, (though I have not yet met with it) since the bishop so expressly says, "Our Church has courteously ordained, that the words of institution, *He took bread, &c.* be applied to every oblation of new bread and wine." But however the matter stood then, it is certain there is such a Rubric now, which every priest of the Church of England is

obliged to give his assent and consent to, and to practice accordingly. Let us see then how the bishop solves this, and clears the Church of England from maintaining the same doctrine, which he has so learnedly condemned in the Church of Rome. He says, "In our domestical feasts, the second course is blessed in the grace, which was said upon our first service; so the second supply of bread and wine (if it shall inordinately so happen) may not altogether be denied to be consecrated by the blessing pronounced upon the first. And the words of institution are applied to every oblation of new bread and wine, for accommodation's sake only." Now, how well soever this exposition might agree to the Rubric bishop Morton refers to, (which I confess I have never seen) it is certain it will not solve the present rubric, or clear it from maintaining, as the Romanists do, that the *words of institution are all that is necessary to the consecration of the elements*. For, if whatever bread be brought and placed upon the altar a second or third time, *be consecrated by the blessing pronounced upon what was placed there at first*, as the bishop asserts, then the consecrated bread and wine cannot be all spent during the ministration, so long as they can have any fresh supply: because, according to the bishop's argument, *the second supply is consecrated by the blessing pronounced on the first*. But the Rubric plainly supposes this supply to be unconsecrated, and therefore orders the *priest to consecrate it*. Now I cannot persuade myself, that those who put this Rubric into the Liturgy, or any that subscribe to it, and officiate accordingly, were or are so weak as to think that what is already consecrated, needs a second consecration. The command therefore of the priest to consecrate this supply, evidently demonstrates that the Church of England does not suppose it to have been consecrated by the former blessing. How then is the priest to consecrate this supply? The Rubric directs that he shall only recite the words of institution. Is not this a demonstrative argument, that this Church teaches that nothing more is necessary to the consecration of the elements, than the pronouncing over them the words of institution? I think it is as evident as if she had said so in express words. What therefore bishop Morton says to the Romanists on this occasion, may too justly be applied to the communion office of the Church of England. "It will not suffice to say that you also use prayer in your Liturgy: for the question



is not merely of praying, but wherein the form of benediction and consecration more properly doth consist. Now none can say that he consecrateth by that prayer which he believeth is not ordained for consecration." The Reverend and learned Mr. Wheatly, a gentleman well versed in Liturgical forms,\* endeavours to mollify the sense of this Rubric, as not knowing how to defend it. His words are these: "In the Rubric after the form of administration, the Church seems to suppose that the consecration is made by *the words of institution*; for there it says, that *if the consecrated bread and wine be spent before all have communicated, the priest is to consecrate more according to the form prescribed; beginning at, Our Saviour Christ in the same night, &c. for the blessing of the bread: and at, Likewise after supper, &c. for the blessing of the cup.* This Rubric was added in the last review; but to what end, unless to save the minister some time, does not appear. For though all Churches in the world have, through all ages, used the words of institution at the time of consecration, yet none, that I know of, except the Church of Rome, ever attributed the consecration to the bare pronouncing of those words only: but the change of the elements into the body and blood of Christ was always attributed by the most ancient fathers to the prayers of the Church. Whether this was the opinion of those that added this Rubric, I know not; but yet I humbly presume, that if the minister should at the consecration of fresh elements, after the others are spent, *repeat again the whole form of consecration*, he would answer the end of the Rubric, which seems only to require that the latter part of the form from those words, *Who in the same night, &c.* be always used at such consecration." This worthy and learned gentleman plainly saw the error of this Rubric, and finding no means of reconciling it to the doctrine of the Primitive Church in this matter, with which he appears to be well acquainted, and being unwilling to own the Church of England to have run into the error of the Church of Rome in this point, he would intimate, that the Church does not suppose the consecration to be made by those words *only*, but that she should not have those words omitted in any consecration. And I confess, I should be as ready as any one to give the same interpretation of it, if I

\* "Church of England Man's Companion," &c. 2nd Edit. p. 191.

conceived the words of the Rubric might bear it; for I have been, and am still very unwilling to find any defect in the Church of England, or any blemish either in her doctrine or discipline: but if the blemish is so apparent that it cannot be hid, and of such consequence that it ought not, I think it is then every man's duty to take notice of it, and (according to his station) to use his best endeavour to have it recited. And therefore I commend Mr. Wheatly, for proposing that *the minister should at the consecration of fresh elements. after the others are spent, repeat again the whole form of consecration*, (supposing, but not granting, for which I shall hereafter give my reasons, that the whole form is a proper form of consecration) and I suppose his own practice is agreeable thereto; which is all that he can do in the station he is in towards an amendment of this matter; and I suppose he may be connived at for so doing. But if his diocesan should see convenient to take notice of it, and require him to adhere strictly to the Rubric, which expressly requires him to begin at the words, *Our Saviour Christ in the same night that he was betrayed, &c.* I see not how he would justify himself in this matter. For he certainly breaks the uniformity required by the Church of England, if he will say the whole prayer, where the Church enjoins but the latter part of it. And besides, he shews his opinion to be contrary to that of the Church whereof he professes himself a member and a minister, by saying, that the priest does not consecrate by the *words of institution*, when the Rubric so expressly tells him, that he *is to consecrate by those words*. Mr. Wheatly indeed supposes that *this Rubric was added in the last Review, only to save the minister some time*; but I conceive the words of the Rubric shew that could not be the design of it, for they are clear and plain; *the priest is to consecrate more, beginning at Our Saviour Christ in the same night, &c.* And can he consecrate without saying all that is necessary to the consecration? I cannot have so mean opinion of those that reviewed the common prayer at the restoration, as to think they were so careful of an expence of time as to order or allow the minister to omit any thing which they thought necessary to consecration, when they required him to consecrate. But Dr. Comber, (who lived with many who had an hand in this Review, and who, I doubt not, conversed with several of them, having many opportunities to do so, and I question not but when he

formed his design of writing, which he did whilst many concerned in the Review were still alive, he consulted with them concerning their reasons for the additions and alterations they had made) tells us, that *the words of institution are the consecration itself*. For in his "Analysis of the Prayer of Consecration," he calls the last part of it, beginning with the words, *Who in the same night, &c. The consecration itself, reciting the acts and words of Jesus in the first institution*. But the placing the consecration in such a recital of the acts and words of Jesus in the first institution, bishop Morton, a bishop and champion of the Church of England, condemns as a Romish error, and *calls it a transgression of the canon of Christ's institution*, and not only calls it so, but has very clearly and fully proved it to be so. And Mr. Wheatly, a learned divine of the Church of England, who has taken a great deal of useful pains to explain and defend her Liturgy, says expressly, that *none he yet knows, except the Church of Rome, ever attributed the consecration to the bare pronouncing of these words only*. So that if the Church of England does, like the Church of Rome, place the form of consecration *in the bare pronouncing these words only*, as I think it is clear from her Rubric that she does, she is plainly condemned by a very learned bishop and a learned priest of her own communion as guilty of a Romish error.

§ 16. The next observable passage in the Clementine Liturgy, is the mixture of the eucharistical cup, particularly expressed in the recital of the words of institution, *Likewise also mixing the cup with wine and water and blessing it, he gave it to them, &c.* Thus this most ancient Liturgy not only testifies that it was the practice of the Church to mix water with the eucharistical wine, but teaches us that Christ himself did so also, thereby informing us of the necessity of such a mixture, since it is necessary that we should offer the same elements which Christ offered, or we do not do as he did, and commanded us to do. All the Liturgies here published take notice of this mixture, and either direct by some Rubric that water should be mingled with the wine, or make express mention of such a mixture in the recital of the words of institution, as the Clementine Liturgy has here done. Thus the Liturgy of St. James, like the Clementine, in the recital of what our Saviour did, says, *Likewise after supper*



*he took the cup and mixed it with wine and water.* So the Liturgy of St. Mark says, *Likewise also after supper he took the cup and mixed it with wine and water.* The Liturgy of St. Chrysostom orders the deacon to put *wine and water into the cup* before the priest takes it to place upon the altar. The Constantinopolitan Liturgy of St. Basil is directed by the same Rubrics with that of St. Chrysostom: consequently the deacon is obliged to mix the cup when that Liturgy is used in the same manner. Also there is mention made of the mixture in the recital of the words of institution, *Likewise taking the cup of the fruit of the vine, mingling it, &c.* The Alexandrian Liturgy of St. Basil speaks also like the Clementine, *Likewise also the cup, after they had supped, mixing it with wine and water, &c.* The Ethiopic Liturgy orders *the water to be mixed with the wine* in the beginning of the administration. The Liturgy of Nestorius mentions the mixture in the recital of the words of institution, *In like manner also he mingled the cup with wine and water.* The Liturgy of Severus speaks in the same manner, *Likewise also he took the cup after they had supped, and mingling it with wine and water, &c.* In the Roman Missal, as soon as the offertory is said, and the priest has put the bread upon the paten and the wine into the cup, he is ordered to *pour a little pure water into the cup* also. That the same custom was observed in the Gallican Church, before the Roman Missal was there received and used, and consequently in the British Church\* which used the Gallican Liturgy, we may learn from the fourth canon of the fourth Council of Orleans, held in the year 541, where the priest is forbidden *to offer any thing in the chalice but wine mixed with water.* That the African Churches always mixed water with the eucharistic wine, we learn from the testimony of St. Cyprian, which I shall have occasion to mention hereafter. Consequently it was also the practice of the Church of Spain, whilst they used the Mosarabic Liturgy, which they received from the African Church, and which was used there before the Roman Missal was received in that country. Thus have we the testimony of all the ancient Churches from East to West, from North to South, testifying their universal practice and agreement in the mixture of water with the sacramental wine; and the

\* Stillingfleet, *Origines Britannicæ*, p. 216.

same was also ordered in the first reformed Liturgy of king Edward VI. Which testimonies are, I conceive, a sufficient proof of the universality and consent of all Churches, and consequently of all Christians in this practice. It is indeed urged against this universal consent, that the Armenians offer only *wine unmixed with water*, or any thing else in the eucharist, and have done so for many ages. But then it is evident from the Council in Trullus,\* that they began not this practice till after St. Chrysostom's time, about the beginning of the fifth century, founding it upon a passage in his interpretation of the gospel according to St. Matthew, which they misunderstood. But a practice introduced so late can never have any pretence to apostolical tradition; neither can an innovation made by one particular Church, as this plainly was, overthrow that universality and consent, which, according to the rule of Vicentius Lirinensis, we plead for; especially when such innovation has been condemned by a general Council, as this of the Armenians was by the Council in Trullus. This practice of the Armenians is so far from overthrowing the universal consent of all Churches in this point, that it confirms and establishes it, since the practice, soon after it was received and became known to other Churches, was so unanimously condemned by all of them. And I do not remember to have met with any other, besides the Armenians, that excluded water from the eucharistic cup, till Calvin and his followers began the practice at Geneva, from whence it was brought hither by Bucer, Martyr, P'agius, and their partizans, by whose interest the water was also excluded from the sacramental cup in the English Liturgy, where our first reformers had thought expedient to retain it. I conceive, therefore, I have sufficiently proved the universality of this tradition; for the Armenians casting it off, and introducing a contrary practice near or altogether 400 years after the institution, and for the Church of England and the other reformers to do the same 1500 years after in direct opposition to the uninterrupted practice of all other Churches in the world, is plain innovation and not tradition; and therefore cannot be fairly urged to impeach the universality of this tradition, which is allowed on all hands to be as old as Justin Martyr's time, who wrote his first Apology not above fifty years after the death of St.

\* Can. 32.

John, which \* I have already proved *to be early enough to give testimony to apostolical doctrines.* The only objection to this † is, *that the writings of the New Testament could not have been expected to pass over this usage in silence, had it been then known to be a part of our Saviour's institution.* ‡ This is also the argument of Chemnitius against the decree of the Council of Trent. So the learned Mr. Johnson says, "It is certain, that the Primitive Christians did offer water mingled with wine in the eucharistical cup. Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Cyprian, do expressly mention it: and though we know there were Heretics that used water only in the sacrament; yet we have not heard of any in the most primitive times that used wine alone, either in the Church or without it: and this practice remained universal for the first fifteen hundred years after Christ, in all Churches, excepting that of **Armenia**. It is certain three of the Evangelists do intimate, that the cup offered by Christ was wine, or the fruit of the vine; and since the Scripture makes no mention of water, I hope all learned, charitable Christians will judge favourably of the Church of England for using none." ||

But though this very worthy and learned gentleman seems to think the water not necessary, because not expressly mentioned in scripture, yet, he plainly enough shews that he thinks the Church of England had done better not to have omitted the water, saying: "And on the other side, we of the Church of England ought by no means to censure others who put water into the cup; for they have the consent of the Church Catholic of all ages with them in this particular. Pfaffius shews that the cup of blessing among the Jews did for the most part consist of wine mixt with water, and from thence concludes that the primitive church took this practice from them, as it is certain they did several others. He might from the use of the Jews have safely inferred, that it is most probable our Saviour qualified the wine with water; for the wine blessed by our Saviour for the eucharist, was what remained after the conclusion of the passover. It is observable, that Moses takes no notice of the water mingled with the blood of the cove-

\* Postscript to Necessary Use of Tradition, &c. p. 173.

† No Sufficient Reason, p. 37.

‡ Examin. Concil. Trident. par. 2. fol. 897, &c.

|| Unbloody Sacrifice, Part 2. pp. 58, 59.



nanting sacrifices offered at his own directions ; yet St. Paul assures us, that Moses took the blood with water. No certain conclusion can be drawn from the evangelists' omission, any more than from that of Moses. The mixture of water with the wine, makes the old and new covenant more exactly to answer to each other." But because such a stress is laid upon the words *fruit of the vine*, as if that must necessarily be understood to mean wine alone without any mixture, and to say that those words, *fruit of the vine*, do plainly teach us that the wine was mixed which our Saviour gave to his disciples, seems to be a great absurdity to some persons ; therefore, though the words *fruit of the vine* have been, I think, sufficiently proved to signify, in the Jews' language, which our Saviour spake at the institution, \* not pure but mixt wine, yet I judge it proper to shew here that the scripture itself evidently teaches us, that our Saviour, by the words *fruit of the vine*, plainly meant the paschal cup. I will then prove, that not only the Jews, but the Primitive Christians, also understood those very words to imply a *mixed cup*. Now that our Saviour, when he used the words *fruit of the vine*, evidently understood thereby the paschal cup, is manifest from St. Luke's relation of the institution. "And he said unto them, With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer. For I say unto you, I will not any more eat thereof, till it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God. And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and said, Take this and divide it amongst yourselves. For I say unto you, I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come. And he took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave it to them, saying, This is my body which is given for you : this do in remembrance of me. Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, This cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you."† This demonstrably shews, that when our Saviour used the words *fruit of the vine*, he spoke of the paschal cup ; his words, *With desire have I desired to eat this passover with you*, evidently teach us that it could be no other. And when

\* Reasons for restoring some prayers and directions, as they stand in the communion service of the first reformed Liturgy, &c. page 1. &c. Defence of the reasons, page 2. Vindication of the defence, page 15. Necessity of an alteration, page 2. And in the postscript to the necessary use of tradition, page 170.

† Luke xxii. 15. &c.

they had divided that cup amongst them, and so concluded the paschal supper, then he instituted the eucharist, and gave them bread and the cup again, as the emblems of his body and blood. Now the paschal cup, as all that are acquainted with the Jewish customs agree, was a mixed cup, a cup containing wine and water mingled together, which cup they always called the *fruit of the vine*. And therefore though St. Matthew and St. Mark do not so plainly tell us that it was the paschal cup which our Saviour called the *fruit of the vine*; yet since St. Luke has done it, we cannot say that the scripture does not clearly teach us that our Saviour spoke of the paschal cup when he used those words. Consequently, as the paschal cup was always a mixed cup, the text of St. Luke teaches us that it was a mixed cup, which our Saviour gave to his disciples when he instituted the eucharist, though denoted by the words *fruit of the vine*. And though St. Luke does not say that this paschal cup, which he mentions, as given before the institution, was the same cup which he afterwards gave in the institution, yet St. Matthew and St. Mark denoting the cup given in the institution in the same manner with this which was given before it, shew that also to be a paschal cup, and if not the same cup with the former, yet a cup of the same kind, since what it contained was denoted by the same name. And that the Primitive Christians understood the words *fruit of the vine* to signify not pure wine, but a mixture of wine and water, is evident not only from their constant practice in always so mixing the eucharistic cup from the Apostles' days, as is testified by Justin Martyr, the earliest writer that has given us any account of this matter since the evangelists, and who wrote within fifty years of the apostolical age, but also from the express testimony of St. Cyprian, who lived about an hundred years after Justin; who writing against the Aquarii, those who put only water into the communion cup, speaks thus; *Our Lord, on the day of his passion, taking the cup, blessed it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Drink ye all of this; for this is my blood of the New Testament, which shall be shed for many for the remission of sins. I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day I shall drink new wine with you in my Father's Kingdom.\** Now if St. Cyprian, and

\* Calicem etenim sub die passionis accipiens, benedixit, & dedit discipulis suis, dicens, Bibite ex hoc omnes; hic est enim sanguis Novi Testamenti, qui

the Church in his time, had understood the words *fruit of the vine* to signify pure wine, and not a mixture, he must have thus argued from them, That the Aquarii certainly transgressed our Saviour's institution, because they offered *water only* in the eucharist; whereas there is not the least mention made of water in the institution, or of any thing as contained in the cup but *wine only*. But he, contrary to our modern notions of this phraseology, infers a *mixture* from these words, saying, *Here we find that the cup which our Lord offered was mixed, and that it was wine which he called his blood.\** But where or how do we find this to have been a *mixed cup* in any words cited by this father, but in those words *fruit of the vine*? for there are no other words in the text which informs us what was in the cup. And yet he says expressly, that from hence we learn that the *cup was mixed*. A sure evidence that by those words the ancients did not understand *pure wine*, but a *mixture*: for if they had understood *pure wine* by the words *fruit of the vine*, and not a *mixture*, St. Cyprian must have exposed himself to the laughter and scorn of all his contemporaries, to pretend to find a mixture so clearly expressed in words that implied no such thing, if we would hearken to some of our modern interpreters, who pretend to understand the language of the ancients better than the ancients themselves. Indeed St. Cyprian does immediately add, that *it was wine he called his blood*: but by taking the whole passage together, it is evident he meant *mixed*, and not *pure wine*: so he goes on, and argues farther:—"From hence it appears that the blood of Christ is not offered if there be no wine in the cup, nor is the Lord's sacrifice celebrated with a lawful consecration, unless our oblation and sacrifice answer to the passion. But how shall we drink new wine of the fruit of the vine with Christ in the Kingdom of the Father, if we do not offer wine in the sacrifice of God the Father, and of Christ, nor *mix* the cup of the Lord according to the Lord's tradition."† Then again reciting

pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Dico vobis, non bibam à modo ex istâ creaturâ vitis, usq; in diem illum, quo robiscum bibam novum vinum in regno Patris mei. *Cypr. Epist. 63. ad Cecilium.*

\* Quâ in parte invenimus calicem mixtum fuisse quem Dominus obtulit, & vinum fuisse, quod sanguinem suum dixit. *Ibid.*

† Unde apparet Sanguinem Christi non offerri, si desit Vinum Calici; nec sacrificium Dominicum legitimâ sanctificatione celebrari, nisi oblatio & sacrificium nostrum responderit passioni. Quomodo autem de creaturâ vitis novum



the whole institution as set down by St. Paul, he adds, "But if it be both commanded by the Lord, and this same thing is also confirmed and delivered by his Apostle, that as often as we drink in remembrance of the Lord, we ought to do as the Lord did; we find that is not observed by us as the Lord commanded, unless we also do those things which the Lord did, and in like manner **mixing** the cup of the Lord, we recede not from the divine commandment."\* Thus he all along argues from the words of institution, that the eucharistical cup ought to be *mixed*: he plainly takes it for granted, that the words *wine* and *fruit of the vine* signify not *pure wine*, but a mixture, or *wine diluted with water*. A sure argument, that in that age when the words *wine* or *fruit of the vine* were used indefinitely, without any limitation, either by some epithet, or the words set in opposition to or joined with it, they always signified a *mixture*; otherwise we must believe St. Cyprian a weaker man than his greatest enemies can think him to have been. It would have answered his purpose (which was merely to refute those that offered only water in the eucharist) full as well, or indeed better, to have interpreted these words as the moderns do to signify *pure wine*; for if our Saviour offered *pure wine*, it is most certain they that offered *only water* could not offer what he did: but if our Saviour offered water together with wine, then it is certain they offered nothing but what he did, only they did not offer all that he did. And to offer a quite different element from that which Christ appointed, would have been a more notorious violation of Christ's command, than to leave out a part of the ingredients. But though this would more fully have proved the Aquarii to have entirely departed from Christ's institution, yet St. Cyprian did not urge it; he does not tell them that the evangelists take no notice of water in our Lord's cup, and that it does not appear from them that there was any thing besides pure wine in that cup, which our moderns would certainly have done, but allows that they do testify there was a *mixture*, which he would not have done if he had known it to be

vinum eum Christo in regno Patris bibemus, si in sacrificio Dei Patris & Christi vinum non offerimus, nec calicem Domini dominicâ traditione miscemus. *Ibid.*

\* Quod si & à Domino præcipitur, & ab Apostolo ejus hoc idem confirmatur & traditur, ut quotiescunq; biberimus in commemoratione Domini, hoc faciamus quod fecit & Dominus; invenimus non observari à nobis quod mandatum est, nisi eadem quæ Dominus fecit nos quoq; faciamus, & Calicem Domini pari ratione miscentes à divino magisterio non recedamus. *Ibid.*

customary to call a *mixture* by the name of *wine*, or the *fruit of the vine*. And that he thought this *mixture* to be necessary as well with regard to the *water* as the *wine*, and that he did not think any one of them sufficient without the other, appears from his own words a little after. *Thus in sanctifying the cup of the Lord, water cannot be offered alone, as neither can wine be offered alone.\**

Thus this very ancient father, who I am persuaded understood the Scripture phraseology much better than we can do, as living much nearer to the time when it was written, could find a mixture to be commanded and enjoined to us by our Saviour, in those very words which the moderns suppose to command or enjoin no such thing. St. Irenæus also, who lived above fourscore years before St. Cyprian, and was the scholar to St. Polycarp, the disciple of St. John the apostle, speaking of our Saviour, says, *Taking bread, he declared it to be his body, and the temperament of the cup to be his blood.†* And what he in this place calls the *temperament of the cup*, he afterwards expressly calls the *mixed cup*, saying, “When therefore the mixed cup and the made bread receives the word of God, and is made the eucharist of the blood and of the body of Christ.”‡ And again he says, “For these things also our Lord taught, when he promised his disciples that he would drink the mixture of the cup new with them in the kingdom.”|| Thus Irenæus plainly testifies, that the cup which our Saviour gave to his disciples when he instituted the eucharist, and which he promised to drink again new with them in his Kingdom, was a *mixed cup*. Now as Irenæus was the scholar of St. Polycarp, and St. Polycarp the disciple of St. John, who leaned on our Saviour’s bosom at his last supper, it is evident that Irenæus received this tradition concerning the mixed cup but at second hand from St. John, who saw and knew what was contained in that cup, which our Saviour himself blessed

\* Sic autem in sanetificando calice Domini offerri aqua sola non potest, quomodo nec vinum solum potest. *Ibid.*

† Accipiens Panem, suum Corpus esse confitebatur, et temperamentum calicis suum sanguinem confirmavit. *Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. iv. cap. 57.*

‡ Ὅποτε ἐν και τὸ κεκραμένον ποτήριον,⁹ και ὁ γεγωνὼς ἄρτος ἐπιδέχεται τον λόγον το Θεῷ και γίνεται ἡ εὐχαριστία αἵματος και σώματος Χριστοῦ. *Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. v. cap. 2.*

|| Hæc enim et Dominus docuit, mixtionem calicis novam in regno cum discipulis habiturum se pollicitus. *Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. v. cap. 36.*

and gave to his disciples: and what the Evangelists tell us, that our Saviour (who spake the Jewish language, and according to the Jewish phraseology) called the *fruit of the vine*, that he calls the *mixed cup*: there is no question to be made but that he learned to call it so from his master Polycarp, who learned it from St. John and other Apostles with whom he conversed: consequently that the Apostles themselves taught their disciples, whom they instructed, that the cup our Saviour blessed, and which he commanded them to bless as he had done, was not pure, but mixed wine. Therefore, if we had no elder testimony for the mixed cup than this of Irenæus, yet considering that he was educated under a disciple of the Apostles, I should think it old enough to satisfy us that the mixture of the cup is an Apostolical Tradition. However, we have somewhat an elder testimony, and that is Justin Martyr, who wrote about twenty years before Irenæus, who in giving the emperors an account of the Christian sacrifice, says, "That bread and a cup of water and mixture is offered to him that presides over the brethren."\* Then having spoken of their being blessed by a long prayer of thanksgiving, of which I have already largely treated, he says, "That the deacons distribute to every one present, that he may partake of that bread and wine and water, which has been blessed by thanksgiving."† But a learned gentleman, who seems to me in this and some other cases to be like a drowning man that catches at every straw, and holds it fast, lays hold on the word Κράμα, mixture, as if it rendered this passage of Justin unintelligible: his words are, "What Justin Martyr meant by his Κράμα, or mixture, is not easy to determine. That this word frequently (I believe he might have said always, when it is applied to a mixture of liquids in a cup) denotes a composition of wine and water, no one that I know of will pretend to deny; I am sure I will not. But how it can signify so in this place, where the father speaks of a mixture before the water was put to it, will be somewhat hard to show."‡ The consequence of which is, that the word Κράμα, mixture, being not easy (as he supposes) to be understood in this

\* Ἐπειτα προσφέρεται τῇ προεσῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος καὶ ποτίρον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος Apol. i. p. 85.

† Διάκονοι διδάσιν ἐκάτω τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτος καὶ οἶνου καὶ ὕδατος. Ibid.

‡ No Reason, &c., p. 4.



place, the passage of Justin will prove nothing, since it is not clear. But forasmuch as what Justin calls in this place, ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος, *a cup of water and mixture*, he immediately after calls οἶνῳ καὶ ὕδατος, *wine and water*, we cannot be at a loss to understand his meaning. But the reason of my producing this passage of Justin Martyr, was not to refute the criticism of this learned gentleman, who is disposed to make Justin unintelligible in this place, in order to overthrow the authority of this testimony,\* for that I had done before; but to shew how agreeable Justin's account of this matter is to the Clementine Liturgy now under consideration, and to the other Liturgies, which in reciting the words of institution assert, that our Saviour himself mixed the cup which he gave to his disciples, and put water into it. So that although the paschal cup which he consecrated and gave them, was Κράμα, or a mixed cup before, yet he put water again into it, to shew that the water was not added merely to dilute the wine and make it palatable, but as an essential ingredient which ought never to be omitted. So this most ancient father, who was contemporary to the immediate disciples of the Apostles, teaches us, that although the wine which was brought to the bishop or priest, was already Κράμα, or diluted with water, and made palatable, yet water was also brought with it, that it might be openly put into it by the priest as a necessary ingredient. And the word Κράμα, mixture, in this passage, is a clear evidence, that the water in the days of this father, and consequently of the Apostles, was not put into the wine because the wine in those hot countries was too strong to drink without it, but as an element necessarily to be offered with the wine on this occasion; and is a good evidence that the tradition delivered in the Clementine Liturgy, concerning Christ's putting water to the wine, was a tradition as old as Justin's days, and consequently apostolical. Since it is so evident from this father, that the priest did receive water to be put even into such wine as had been mixed before; and Justin after tells us, that this is agreeable to what the Apostles had taught and what Christ had commanded: this passage therefore in the Clementine Liturgy concerning our Saviour's *mixing the cup with wine and water*, though the paschal cup had been before diluted, being so very agreeable to

\* Postscript to the Necessary Use of Tradition, p. 176.

Justin Martyr's ποτηριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος, *water and mixture*; I can by no means think this an interpolation in this Liturgy, foisted in after the Council of Nice, but at least as old as Justin's time, that is, within fifty years of the death of St. John, whilst St. Polycarp and other bishops, disciples of the Apostles, were still living, who I cannot persuade myself would be guilty of innovating in such a point as this, or acting contrary to any practice taught them by the Apostles. However, as the Evangelists have testified nothing concerning the putting water into the cup which was already mixed, I shall draw no other consequence from this argument, than that this was a tradition as old as Justin's days, and therefore no evidence that the Clementine Liturgy, or the other Liturgies, which testify Christ himself to have mixed the cup, have been interpolated as to this particular since that time. It is sufficient for us that the paschal cup was a mixed cup; that the Evangelists testify that to be the cup which our Saviour gave to his disciples: that the Jews, who were best acquainted with the composition of the paschal cup, tell us in the Mishna, that it was *wine and water*, and that they called it the *fruit of the vine*; which is the word spoken by our Saviour, who spake the Jews' language. Now that our Saviour, not only used the Jews' language, but their idiom or way of speaking when he instituted the holy eucharist, is evident from the words, *This is my body*, which if they are not understood according to the Jewish idiom or phraseology, necessarily imply the doctrine of transubstantiation. But as Doctor Comber observes upon those words on which the Romanists found that doctrine, "That our Lord did herein (as in other things) imitate that phrase which the Jews used at the feast of the passover, *This is the bread of affliction, which our fathers did eat, &c.*, and, *This is the body of the Paschal Lamb, which our fathers did eat, &c.*, (as the 'Talmud Tract de Pasch.' declares. For as that was not the very bread, nor the very Lamb, yet they called it so, because it did represent and continue the memorial of that, and was used to the same purpose: so in like manner, he calls this his own body, who was the true Paschal Lamb, because this action doth signify and remember it, and by this bread we are partakers thereof." Thus if we understand our Saviour to have spoken according to the Jewish manner of speaking, we keep clear enough from transubstantiation; but if we will understand the words literally,

and according as they sound to a vulgar ear, without any regard to the Jewish phrase or most ancient tradition of the Christian Church, as the learned author of the "No Reason" would have us do, I see not but we must admit the doctrine of transubstantiation. For to say it is an absurd doctrine, and contrary to sense and reason, cannot be of weight, if it appear plainly that Christ has taught it. And I conceive he has plainly taught it, if the words be not understood according to the idiom of the Jews already mentioned. And, if he is to be understood according to this idiom when he says, *This is my body, This is my blood*, as I verily believe he is, and I suppose no Protestant will deny it; why should he be supposed to have changed his idiom of speech when he says, *This fruit of the vine*? Why should he not, according to the Jewish signification of these words, be understood to mean thereby a *cup of wine mixed with water*; especially when the most ancient Christian bishops, as I have shewed from St. Cyprian and St. Irenæus, understood him to mean so? Therefore I wish that those who will not have us interpret Scripture according to the Jewish forms of speech, or pay any regard to the concurrent interpretation of the most ancient fathers, agreeable to the constant tradition of the whole Church, but will have us expound every phrase according to what appears to us (who live in a country and in an age very distant from the pen-men of the Scripture) to be the plain literal sense of them, would consider what advantage they give to the Romanists as to the point of transubstantiation, and to the other professed enemies of the Church of England in a great many other points. And if we do interpret the words *fruit of the vine* according to the Jewish manner of speaking, particularly when applied to the paschal cup, of a *cup of wine mixed with water*, as the text in St. Luke plainly teaches us that our Saviour applied it, and the whole Church understood it to do for fifteen hundred years, as appears from the testimony of the ancient fathers, and the universal practice of the Church for so long time, then have we a Scripture precept in the words of institution; and the objection that water is not necessary, because not particularly mentioned in Scripture, falls to the ground: because the paschal cup denoted by those words, was a mixed cup, as is taught both by Jews and Christians in all places and in all times.



§ 17. Immediately before, and immediately after the words of institution, there is, in the Clementine Liturgy, a thankful remembrance of Christ's death. Before the words of institution it says, *We therefore remembering those things which he suffered for our sakes, give thanks unto thee, O God Almighty, not so as we ought, but so as we are able, and fulfil his institution; who in the same night that he was betrayed, &c.*, and immediately after the words of institution it proceeds with this thanksgiving, saying, *Wherefore having in remembrance his passion, death, &c.*, but having just treated largely on this head, I shall not repeat again, but proceed to the oblation, which, as well as the words of institution, accompanies and is included in this thanksgiving form, that so the whole may be one continued eucharistical sacrifice. Here then it says, *We offer to thee, our King and our God, according to his holy institution, this bread and this cup; giving thanks to thee through him, that thou hast vouchsafed us the honour to stand before thee, and to sacrifice unto thee.* And herein also all the Liturgies agree with this. Thus the Liturgy of St. James says immediately after the thanksgiving, for Christ's death, resurrection, &c., *We sinners offer to thee, O Lord, this tremendous and unbloody sacrifice.* St. Mark's Liturgy, *Of thine own gifts have we laid thine own before thee, O Lord our God.* St. Chrysostom's Liturgy, *We offer to thee thine own of thine own, through all and in all. We praise thee, we bless thee, we give thanks to thee, O Lord, and beseech thee, O our God. We offer to thee this reasonable and unbloody service.* St. Basil's Liturgy has the very same words with those before-going of St. Chrysostom, and a little after adds these, *Most holy Lord, we approach thine altar, laying before thee the antitypes of the holy body and blood of thy Christ.* St. Basil's Liturgy, as used at Alexandria, makes also the oblation with the same words which are used in St. Chrysostom's. The Ethiopic Liturgy uses near the same words with the Clementine, saying, "We offer to thee this bread and this cup, giving thanks to thee, that through them thou hast made us worthy to stand before thee, and perform this priestly ministry unto thee." The Liturgy of Nestorius says, "We offer to thee this living, holy, acceptable, excellent, and unbloody sacrifice." The Liturgy of Severus says, "Therefore offering this unbloody sacrifice, O Lord Jesus." The

Roman Missal has it, "We offer to thy most excellent Majesty, of thine own gifts and presents, this pure sacrifice, this holy sacrifice, this unspotted sacrifice, this bread of eternal life, this cup of everlasting salvation." And the first Liturgy of king Edward VI. has it thus, "We thy humble servants do celebrate, and make here before thy Divine Majesty, with these thy holy gifts, the memorial which thy Son hath willed us to make."

Bishop Hickea in his "Christian Priesthood Asserted," and Mr. Johnson in his "Unbloody Sacrifice," have very fully proved the eucharist to be a proper sacrifice, and that to perform that ministration rightly, *the bread and wine* ought to be presented to God as other *material gifts or oblations*, of which the ancient sacrifices consisted, were presented. I cannot pretend to add any thing to what these very learned gentlemen have said upon this head; Mr. Johnson, who wrote the last, having exhausted the subject, and also fully answered all the objections which have been made against this doctrine of the eucharistical sacrifice by Dr. Hancock, Dr. Turner, Dr. Wise, and other answers that have been made to it, so effectually, as to put all his adversaries to silence. Therefore I shall refer my reader to these two excellent books for the full proof of this point, which when he has read, I doubt not but he will be well satisfied, that such an oblation as we find in all these Liturgies, is necessary and required by the institution. I shall only, for the sake of those who have not those learned and judicious books, give a brief account of what those worthy gentlemen have more largely proved, which I hope may not only satisfy them what it is they have proved, but may also excite their curiosity to read the books themselves, that they may receive a full conviction in a matter of so great moment.\* Bishop Hickea then proves that the Christians have a material altar on which they are obliged to offer a material gift, from Matt. v. 23, 24. "*If thou bring thy gift unto the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.*" The original word **gift**, is a sacrificial term of a general signification, and denotes a material sacrifice or offering of any sort, and therefore it is to be taken here in that sense in

\* Christian Priesthood Asserted, p. 42. 3rd. Edit.



which it is to be understood in Matt. viii. 4. *Shew thyself to the priest, and offer the gift or oblation that Moses commanded.* So in chap. xxiii. 18. *Whosoever shall swear by the altar, it is nothing; but whosoever sweareth by the gift that is upon it, he is guilty.* In this sense of the word our Lord spake to the Jews in their common language. But then it is to be observed that those Jews were his disciples, and that this precept of reconciliation was therefore intended by him for an ordinance of the New Testament. And as the Primitive Church conceived this precept of reconciliation to be intended for a gospel precept, so they always applied it to the eucharist as the gospel sacrifice, or oblation, not thinking (as Mr. Mede well observes) that our Lord would make a new law; or, let me add, inforce an old one concerning legal sacrifices, which he was presently to abolish, but that it had reference to that oblation which was to be instituted by him for the gospel dispensation, and to continue with and under it for ever." Then he shews that the book called the "Apostolical Constitutions," St. Irenæus, Tertullian, St. Cyprian, Eusebius, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Chrysostom, St. Jerom, and St. Augustin; all of them Ante-Nicene fathers, or contemporary with the Council of Nice, or though living after it, yet within the same century. And indeed I am persuaded, it was never otherwise interpreted by any Christian, till Calvin and his followers took upon them to deny the eucharist to be a real sacrifice, and maintained it to be but a metaphorical one. And then because this text stared them in the face, and shewed that the Christian Church was designed by our Saviour to have a material gift, and a material altar, they would have it relate only to the Jewish altar and temple, because they were not destroyed when our Saviour gave this precept. So that according to them, the precept concerning the gift and the altar was not intended for the observation of Christians. But the Christian Church for 1500 years never understood it so, and the faithful always brought their gifts to the Christian altars, out of which the oblation of bread and wine was always taken and made, as we learn from the Liturgies of the Church. The next proof which this learned bishop has brought from the Scripture\* for the eucharistical oblation of the bread and wine, is taken from the words of the

\* Ibid, p. 53.



institution, recited by the apostle in these words, "The Lord Jesus in the same night that 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: this **do** in remembrance of me. After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, This cup is the New Testament in my blood: this **do ye**, as oft as you drink it in remembrance of me." Then he proves from the testimonies of St. Cyprian, and the Apostolical Constitutions, and St. Irenæus, that the Primitive Church understood the words of institution to be a command to us to *offer* the bread and wine as an oblation to God. And also proves both from sacred and profane authors, that the word ΠΟΙΕΙΝ, which is translated **do**, in our bibles signifies also to *offer*, and gives several instances of its being so used in the Old Testament. From hence he argues thus: "According to this sacrificial signification of the verb ποιεῖν, *facere*, and in particular from the signification of it, *to offer*, in the paschal sacrifice, we may justly observe, that the words τὸ ποιεῖτε, *hoc facite*, either relate to the whole action and ministration of the holy eucharist, as כָּרַן in the Hebrew, and τὸ in the Greek, relate to the whole service of the Passover, Exod. xii. 27. and then it proves the celebration of the Lord's Supper, (in which the oblation of the bread and cup to God the Father was a principal part) to be ἱεροποιΐα or ἱερουργία, a sacrificial service: or else they relate more especially to the bread and wine; and then by a natural and easy interpretation they may be translated thus: *Take, eat, this is my body, offer this in remembrance of me: and, This is my blood, offer this as oft as ye drink it in remembrance of me.* Either of these senses of τὸ ποιεῖτε, *hoc facite*, gives us a good account of the reason, why the ancient fathers treating of this mystery, affirm it to be *the oblation of the Church, which Christ appointed to be offered*, as I have already shewed. The next places of the New Testament, from which I shall prove that the Christian religion hath a sacrifice, are those which imply or express that it hath an altar. For if it hath a sacrifice or oblation, as I have shewed, then it must have an altar at which to offer that oblation; and if it have an altar, as I am going to shew, then it must have an oblation to be offered at, or upon it, and then by consequence the gospel ministers must be altar-ministers, as well as offering-priests. I will begin with that text 1 Cor. ix. *Do ye not know that they,*

*who minister about holy things, live of the things of the temple, and they who wait at the altar are partakers with the altar?*"\* Then he proves from St. Irenæus and St. Cyprian, that these words may be very justly applied to the Christian priests, who wait at the altar as well as the Jewish priests did, and shews that these fathers have so applied them. The next place he produces is Heb. xiii. 10. "We have an altar, of which they have no right to eat who serve the tabernacle." The very word *we*, set in opposition to *they*, shews that this must be a Christian altar. "But," says the bishop, "perhaps, sir, your late writer will say, the apostle doth not mean a proper material altar upon which offerings were made, and then eaten, but an improper metaphorical altar, by way of allusion and similitude; and so, sir, if he pleases he may say, the apostle meant only an improper metaphorical High Priest, when he says in the same epistle, *We have a great High Priest that is passed into the heavens, &c.* The phrase is the same, ἔχομεν θυσιαστήριον, *We have an altar*, and ἔχομεν ἀρχιερέα, *We have an High Priest*. And since the High Priest we have is a more proper High Priest than the Jewish High Priest, who was but his shadow, it would be very arbitrary in him to assert that the altar we are said to have is not a proper altar, especially considering that the Jerusalem altar is several times called the table of the Lord, in Malachi i. 7. 12. and Ezekiel xli. 22. xlv. 16. as the offerings upon it are called *his food*, which he consumed by fire. Levit. iii. 11. 16. And that the altar we are said to have is such an altar, of which, that is of the sacrifices of which, neither the priests who were ministers of the tabernacle, nor the people, had any right to eat, but the Christian ministers and people have; the apostle proves by an argument taken from their own law. For if they could not eat of the sacrifices of atonement and expiation, which prefigured the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, how could they partake at the Christian altar of the Christian sacrifice, which was the mystical flesh and blood of Christ, by which the sacrifice of himself upon the cross was represented by his own institution under the new Law, as it was under the old by the sacrifices of expiation, whose bodies were burnt without the camp? 'We have an altar,' saith he, 'that is, *an altar-sacrifice*, whereof they have no

\* Ibid, p. 67.

right to eat who serve the tabernacle. For the bodies of those beasts, whose blood is brought into the sanctuary by the High Priest for sin, are burnt without the camp; wherefore Jesus also, that he might sanctify the people with his own blood, suffered without the city gate; and his suffering there signifies the exclusion of all legal eaters from partaking of him, who as a sin offering was carried without the camp.\* Here is altar answering to altar, and sacrifice to sacrifice; the sacrifice, which was a figure of Christ's sacrifice upon the cross before his suffering, to that which is the figure of it after."\* Then he proves this to be the genuine interpretation of this place from several passages of the fathers. Then he proceeds, and says, "Having shewed from one place of the New Testament, that the ministers of Christ are proper altar ministers, because they minister at a proper altar, I now proceed to shew from another place, 1 Cor. x. 20, 21. that they offer sacrifice, and by consequence that they are proper offering or sacrificing priests. These are the words: 'But the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God, and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils. Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils; ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table and the table of devils.' For the devils had their tables for their sacrificial feasts, as well as the true God.—The whole parallel between eating and drinking at the table of the Lord and the table of devils, supposes that the Christians eat and drank of things which had been offered to the Lord.—Hence, as I have shewed, and shall shew again, in the time of the Apostles, the bread and wine in holy eucharist came to be called *ἑῶρα* and *προσφοραὶ*, *gifts* and *offerings*.—I say, according to this parallel of the apostle between the communion with the true God, and that of devils, bread and wine in the holy eucharist were called *gifts* and *offerings*, and the ministers of the gospel, offerers and sacrificers in the age of the Apostles, as appears from two or three passages in St. Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians, who was fellow-labourer with the Apostles, and understood their meaning. Saith he, cap. xl. 'Seeing then these things are very evident, it is our duty, who have looked into the depths of divine knowledge, to do all things in order, whatsoever our Lord hath commanded us to do:

\* Ibid, pp. 70, 71.



especially that we perform our offerings and ministrations to God at the times appointed for them. For these he hath commanded to be done not unseasonably, and disorderly, but at certain appointed times and hours. Wherefore he hath ordained by his sovereign authority, both where and by whom they are to be performed, that so all things being done without fault, to all well-pleasing, they may be acceptable to his will. They therefore who make their offerings at the appointed seasons, are blessed and accepted; for being obedient to the orders of the Lord; they offend not.' So chap. xliv. saith he, 'It would be an heinous sin in us, if we should cast out those from their episcopal charge, who without blame or default offer up the holy gifts.' And therefore since St. Clement not only calls the holy eucharist *an offering*, but the ministers of it *offerers of the holy gifts*, which is a proper sacrificial phrase, it must needs follow, that the Lord's table hath its proper sacrifice or oblation, of which the faithful Christians are partakers.—From this I proceed to another place of the New Testament, Rom. xv. 15, 16. where alluding to the ministration of the Christian sacrifice, in which, at the oblation of the bread and wine, the priest, as I shall shew, prayed unto God to send down his Holy Spirit upon them, he says, 'Nevertheless, brethren, I have written the more boldly to you in some sort, as putting you in mind of the grace that is given to me of God, that I should be the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering the gospel of God, that the offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost.' The words in the original for *the offering up of the Gentiles* are προσφορὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν, *the offering of the Gentiles*, as the eucharist is called by Justin Martyr in his Dialogue with Trypho, in these words, p. 260. 'But as to the sacrifice offered up by us Gentiles in every place, that, is of the eucharistical bread and cup, the prophet Malachi foretold it in this place.'”\*

Then he also proceeds to prove the same from the concurrent testimonies of the most ancient fathers of the Church. Thus this right Reverend Prelate has proved from divers texts of Scripture, as they were understood by the fathers of the Church, that it is necessary that *the bread and wine in the eucharist be offered to God*. However, I have only transcribed the texts of Scripture,

\* Ibid, p. 80.

with his inferences from thence, excepting a passage or two of St. Clement, whose Epistle is older than some books of the New Testament, and this last passage of Justin Martyr, not only because to have transcribed more would too much swell this Dissertation, but because I would have those that require farther satisfaction in this point to read the book itself. The very worthy and learned Mr. Johnson, who has exhausted this subject, and left nothing now to be said upon it, after having proved from the unanimous testimony of the fathers, that *Christ sacrificed in the eucharist*, proceeds to prove the same from the words of institution, saying, "We have the express words of Christ Jesus himself, recorded by St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. Paul, fully attesting this great truth; namely, that he did in the institution of this sacrament, actually offer bread and wine to God, as his mysterious body and blood; and that he commanded his Apostles to do the same. First, I will shew that these words, *This is my body given for you, This is my blood shed for you*, do prove that Christ gave or offered the bread and wine to God as his mysterious body and blood: and, secondly, that he commanded his Apostles to do the same. Now, in order to prove the first point, I take it for granted, that when our Saviour says, *This is my body given*, by *given*, he means offered or sacrificed to God: this is a thing very plain in itself, and is, nay must be acknowledged by all, when he said, *Take, eat*, he gave his sacramental body *to* his disciples: when he adds, *given for you*, he must mean given, or offered in sacrifice to God for them. The giving his body *to* the Apostles, and giving it *for* them, are two things perfectly distinct: his putting it into their hands or mouths, was not giving his body *for* them; this was an action performed *to the Apostles*: his giving, or offering, *for* them, was an action directed *to God*; which as it is very plain in itself, so is expressly taught us by St. Paul; for Christ, says he, *has given himself for us, an offering and sacrifice to God*. Eph. v. 2. And if we duly consider this particular, which can be denied by none, that do not want common sense and judgment, the rest inevitably follows. I take it for certain, and indisputable, that the body here spoken of, was now actually given, yielded, offered to God by our Saviour, as a priest according to the order of Melchisedech. The three Evangelists before mentioned, and St. Paul, do every one of them speak in the present tense, διδόμενον,

Luke xxii. 19. κλώμενον, 1 Cor. xi. 24. ἐκχυρόμενον, Matt. xxvi. 28. Mark xiv. 24. Luke xxii. 20. The Spirit by which they wrote, directed them all, with an unanimous harmony, to represent our Saviour as now performing the most solemn act of his Melchisedechian priesthood, and therefore as offering his body and blood to God, under the symbols of bread and wine. It is well known to all that are not perfect strangers to the Hebrew or Hellenistic diction, that the strongest and most strict way they have of expressing the time present, is by a participle of the present tense: this way of expressing himself our Saviour uses, and all the four holy writers, that give us the history of the institution, do agree in using this present participle; and do therefore most gloriously conspire to teach us this truth, that our Saviour did now actually offer himself to God under the representatives of bread broken, and wine poured out. The rankest Deist, I apprehend, will scarce be able to persuade himself, that four writers should all by mere chance, in describing the same action, use the same tense, and yet use it in the stead of another tense; that they should all speak of the same thing as done in the present instant of time, and yet mean that it was to be done some considerable time after. What then can we think of those Christians who can believe, that these holy penmen were all moved by the Holy Ghost to speak improperly concerning an action of the greatest moment; and particularly to say that it was done now at this instant moment of time; when yet they believed, and knew, that it was yet to be done; that twenty hours were to pass before it was to be completed? If indeed one or two of these inspired writers had represented our Saviour as speaking in the present tense, and the others had expressed it in the future, our adversaries might have had some umbrage for saying, that the two former were to be interpreted by the two latter; but that they had no regard to grammatical niceties; nor are we to hold any thing upon such uncertain bottoms. But when every one of those holy penmen, who give us the minutes of this action, which was one of the most considerable that ever he did, and which is related by four of them, do all say that our Saviour said, *is given, is broken, is shed*; I cannot think it becomes modest men to pretend to correct these holy writers, as if they knew the meaning of Christ's words better than they who were present when they were spoken: it is therefore preposterous



to tell us, that by *is* we are to understand *shall be*. Nor have our adversaries any pretence for giving so unnatural a sense to these words: they tell you it is the present tense for the future; and if you ask upon what grounds this is said, they have nothing to reply but this; viz., that Christ's body was not in any sense given or offered to God, till it was crucified, which is to take that for granted, which my reader sees was denied by the ancient fathers: nor does the Scripture give any countenance to our adversaries, while they would persuade us that Christ's oblation was performed on the cross only. The four histories of the institution plainly declare, that Christ's body was given or sacrificed in the eucharist; nor is there one word in all the New Testament that can be urged in contradiction to it. Christ is often said to have *given himself for us*; but that by this phrase is meant nothing but his dying for us upon the cross, we are nowhere told; and since he himself has informed us, that in the eucharist his body was given, his blood was shed for us, we have just reason to believe him. He is sometimes said to have *borne our sin*; and that this was done upon the cross; that the maceration was performed is not disputed. It is said that *Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many*, Heb. ix. 28. And that the oblation was but one, is a most certain apostolical truth; and yet they who link this one oblation to the six hours time, during which he hung upon the cross, are destitute of any proof from Scripture. That the sacrifice was not finished till our Saviour expired on the cross, nay, till he entered into the holy of holies, even heaven itself, is evident enough; nor is it less evident, that he began this sacrificial solemnity by offering his own body and blood when he instituted the eucharist. Christ indeed bore the punishment of *our sin in his own natural body on the tree*, 1 Pet. ii. 24. But when St. Paul, as above cited, says, *He was offered to bear the sins of many*, it is manifest that there was an oblation previous to the sufferings or bearing there mentioned; as when the apostle says in the 26th verse of that chapter, that *Christ appeared once to put away sin*, his *appearing* was before his putting away. So when he says here, that he was *once offered to bear*, he must in some sense offer himself before he could be capable of *bearing*; and it is evident that his crucifixion was a consequence of his offering himself; and this is the full of what St. Paul says, Heb. ix. 25, 26. that *Christ*

*was not often to offer himself, for then he must often have suffered*; he offered himself but once, and therefore suffered but once. He began his oblation in the eucharist, and continued it on the cross. Nothing but his death could be a satisfaction for our sins; and this was actually accomplished on the cross: and this death of his was never to be repeated; it was the effect of his personal oblation of himself, which he began in the eucharist; and since he was but once to offer, he was but once to die.—Let the Papists then go on with their *dabitur* and *effundetur, shall be given, shall be shed*; and it fits their notion well enough, who believe that the same body and blood was substantially offered in the eucharist, and on the cross; but let Protestants stick close to the Primitive Church, and to the Evangelists, and to Christ Jesus himself; who undoubtedly declared, that in that very instant of time in which he celebrated the original eucharist, he did at once offer, or give to God bread and wine, and gave them as a pledge of the natural body and blood, which was soon after yielded to God on the cross. But to make this matter more clear if possible, I will propose two questions: first, What is it which Christ here calls his body and blood? And here all antiquity and the greatest part of Protestants, but especially the Church of England, give in their unanimous answer, that it is consecrated bread and wine. The other question is, What is that, of which Christ here says, that it *is given* or offered to God? and yet it seems strange to me that this should be a question with those, who believe that Christ here calls bread his body, wine his blood; for certainly if *this bread*, of which our Saviour speaks, is his body, then this bread is also given to God, if our Saviour speak according to the common rules of construction; for the bread and the body of Christ are here the same thing: for no other body of Christ could be eaten, no other body of Christ had yet been substantially offered to God. The argument used by Protestants, that what Christ gave to his Apostles, and what they received was bread, runs thus: What he took, that he blessed; what he blessed, that he brake; what he brake, that he gave; what he gave, that they received; therefore what they received was bread, for that was what he took. But there are some words omitted in this induction, viz. *My body given for you*; and therefore I must take leave to add, what he gave, was his body; what was his body, was given for them; what was

given for them, was given to them; what was given to them, they received; therefore what they received was bread, actually offered to God as his sacramental body: and this is to be applied to the wine, *mutatis mutandis*. And indeed St. Luke so expresses our Saviour's words at the delivery of the cup, that *poured out* cannot be understood to belong to the natural blood of Christ, but to the representative blood, or the wine: this cannot be perceived by reading our translation; but the words grammatically rendered are these: *This cup poured out for you*, (or offered as a libation to God for you) *is the New Testament, or covenant in my blood*; for ἐκχυνόμενον being a nominative, cannot agree with αἵματι, which is in the dative; but our adversaries will rather make St. Luke guilty of a solecism, than allow that he could speak so decisively against their notions: for this is their way of dealing with the holy writers on this occasion.—Thus the reader may see, that the main stress of the dispute lies in effect in this single question, Whether our Saviour did offer his body and blood in the eucharist? To which our Saviour's express answer is, *This bread is my body now given for you: this wine is my blood now shed for you*. Our adversaries, to shift off this, tell us, our Saviour used one tense, but meant another; he said *is given*, he meant *shall be given*; and further, they will not allow the word *given* to be applied to his sacramental body; though every word in the sentence, excepting that, is by them acknowledged to belong to that *body*. Now this is perfectly precarious and evasive; and because our adversaries will not be convinced with the most plain, natural, obvious construction of the words, we have no means left us, but to refer our cause to the arbitration of the most complete, disinterested and uncorrupted judges, the Primitive Fathers and Councils, and the earliest Liturgies that are now in being; and they do unanimously, whenever they have occasion to speak of this matter, pronounce in favour of us; and I am bold to say, that none of them ever said the contrary. Secondly, whatever Christ did himself, the same he commanded us to do: if therefore he offered his own sacramental body and blood in the eucharist, he has positively commanded us to do the same; and we are without excuse, if we do wilfully and designedly omit it.\* Thus has this learned divine of the Church of

\* Unbloody Sacrifice, vol. i. p. 82. &c.



England proved, I think, to demonstration, from the very words of institution as related by every one of the inspired writers that has given us an account of it, that Christ *offered bread and wine* in the holy eucharist as his sacramental body and blood, and consequently that we are obliged to do so also. And those who will consult his two excellent books on this subject, called, "The Unbloody Sacrifice and Altar Unveiled and Supported," will find many other arguments to prove this necessary doctrine, and also full and complete answers to all the objections, evasions, or subterfuges of its adversaries. And whereas he says, that *we are without excuse, if we do wilfully and designedly omit it*, that is, *we can by no means excuse ourselves, if, when we pretend to celebrate the holy eucharist, we do not make an oblation of the bread and wine as the sacramental body and blood of Christ*, I wish he could have shewed us where the Church of England has appointed such an oblation of the sacramental body and blood of Christ as he speaks of, such as Christ instituted, such as the Primitive Church practised, and such as we are commanded to do according to the natural sense of the words of institution, or that she has not wilfully and designedly omitted it. That it is omitted in the communion office of the Church of England, is evident to all that are acquainted with that Liturgy; and that it was not *casually* but *wilfully* left out there, is no less evident, because not only in the Roman Canon, the form used here before the Reformation, but also in the first reformed Liturgy of king Edward VI. there was such an oblation immediately following the words of institution, as in all the ancient Liturgies of the Christian Church. The Roman canon says, *We offer to thy excellent Majesty of thine own gifts*. The first Liturgy of king Edward says, *We thy humble servants do celebrate, and make here before thy Divine Majesty, with these thy holy gifts, the memorial which thy Son hath willed us to make.—Entirely desiring thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving*. But in the second Liturgy of king Edward, and ever since, this prayer (that is, what the second Reformers thought fit to leave of it) has been removed to the post communion, that it might not be used till after the elements were distributed and consumed: and the words *do celebrate and make here before thy Divine Majesty, with these thy holy gifts, the memorial which thy Son hath*

*willeth us to make*, which are plain, oblatory, and sacrificial words, which can be referred only to the bread and wine lying on the altar, are entirely left out. The other words indeed, viz., *to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving*, which as they stood in the first reformed Liturgy, were also applicable to the bread and wine,\* which, as Mr. Johnson has proved, were always called in the language of the Primitive Church by that name. But as they are now placed in the post communion, can by no means be applied to the material elements. For it is absurd to pretend that we may offer to God that which is not, or present to him that which we have eaten and consumed. Now I cannot suppose that those who made this second reformation of the Liturgy, could casually and inadvertently entirely blot out those words *do celebrate and make*, &c. or that they could remove the remaining part of that prayer from before the distribution and consumption of the elements, and order it to be used afterwards, without considering what they did. This omission and transposition could not be made otherwise than with design. Consequently, the Church of England *has wilfully and designedly omitted to make the oblation of the sacramental body and blood of Christ, which he himself made and commanded us to make*, and therefore, according to what Mr. Johnson says, she is *without excuse* as to this matter. However, Mr. Johnson himself has made no such inference, nor ought any one to charge him with laying such an imputation on the Church of England. It is possible, he might not consider how heavy the censure he bestows on those that *wilfully or designedly omit the oblation*, falls on his own Church, and leaves it *without excuse*. Yet I cannot but think it a very plain consequence of this doctrine. But whether Mr. Johnson saw it must have this consequence or not, is none of my business to enquire: for sometimes we do not see that which is most obvious. But when we have framed the premises, consequences will follow which sometimes we are not aware of. But whatever this worthy and learned gentleman's opinion may be with regard to the Church of England, and whether he thinks she may be excused or not in this point, it is certain, some of her own fathers have thought her wilful and designed omission of the oblation, would not justify their omitting

\* Unbloody Sacrifice, Part i. p. 262, &c.



it. Thus bishop Hickeſ\* acquaints us, that Dr. Overall, ſome time the right reverend biſhop of Norwich, always uſed, immediately after the words of institution, the prayer which ſtands in the poſt communion, and ſo offered the ſacred elements with thoſe words, *Accept our ſacrifice of praiſe and thanksgiving.* “Using,” as biſhop Hickeſ’s author ſays, “this oblation in its right place, when he had conſecrated the ſacrament, to make an oblation of it (as being the true public ſacrifice of the Church) unto God.—If men would conſider the nature of this ſacrament, how it is the Chriſtian ſacrifice alſo, they could not chooſe but uſe it ſo too: for as it ſtands here, it is out of its place.” This gentleman from whom biſhop Hickeſ had his information concerning biſhop Overall’s practice, was† alſo himſelf a preſbyter at leaſt of the Church of England; and when we read what he has here ſaid concerning that prelate, we cannot doubt of his own practice in this point. What Archbiſhop Laud’s own practice was in this particular, I do not find; but it is certain that the Scotch Common Prayer Book, which was compiled by him, or at leaſt under his direction, has not only this prayer put into the old place where it ſtood in king Edward’s firſt book, but has likewiſe the other oblatory words reſtored which were omitted in the ſecond book, viz., “We thy humble ſervants do celebrate and make here before thy Divine Maſteſty, with theſe thy holy gifts, the memorial which thy Son hath willed us to make.” Which ſhews that he by no means approved the omiſſion and tranſpoſition. Biſhop Taylor, when he durſt not uſe the Common Prayer when it was aboliſhed by an ordinance of Parliament during the Rebellion, compoſed a form for his own uſe, where preſently after the words of institution, he has, as in the ancient Liturgies, a prayer beginning with a thankful remembrance of Chriſt’s death, in which he makes the oblation in theſe words: “We humbly preſent to thee, O Lord, this preſent ſacrifice of remembrance and thanksgiving.” Biſhop Hickeſ alſo declared for and approved of biſhop Overall’s practice, and highly recommended and publiſhed the communion ſervice of the firſt Liturgy of king Edward VI. and the Scotch Liturgy; and therefore I cannot but perſuade myſelf, that his practice was according to it, though I cannot ſay it of my own knowledge. It is plain,

\* Prefatory Diſcourſe in Answer to the Rights, &c. pp. 63, 64.

† Ibid, p. 45.



that all these learned bishops saw and believed the want of the oblation to be a very great defect in the Liturgy of the Church of England, and as far as they were able endeavoured to supply it: whether they thought it an essential defect, (as I do, and think Mr. Johnson has proved it) I shall not pretend to say. But sure, if it be but a very great defect, it ought to be corrected: and if it is an essential one, it is of fatal consequence. And surely it is essential, if it be what our Saviour did and commanded us to do, as Mr. Johnson has proved it is, and the very words of institution teach us; and the practice of the whole Church, from the Apostles days to the Reformation, has been agreeable thereto.

§ 18. Having thus offered the sacred elements, the bread and the cup to God, then (according to the Clementine Liturgy) the bishop or priest proceeds and says, "And we beseech thee, to look favourably on these thy gifts, which are here set before thee, O thou self-sufficient God; and do thou accept them to the honour of thy Christ, and send down thine Holy Spirit, the witness of the passion of our Lord Jesus, upon this sacrifice, that he may make this bread the body of thy Christ, and this cup the blood of thy Christ; that they who are partakers thereof, may be confirmed in godliness, may obtain the remission of their sins, may be delivered from the devil and his snares, may be replenished with the Holy Ghost, may be made worthy of thy Christ, and may obtain everlasting life; thou, O Lord Almighty being reconciled to them." In like manner the Liturgy of St. James says, "Have mercy upon us, O God the Almighty; have mercy upon us, O God our Saviour: have mercy upon us, O God, according to thy great mercy, and send down upon us, and upon these gifts which are here set before thee, thy most Holy Spirit; even the Lord and giver of life, who with thee, O God the Father, and with thine only begotten Son, liveth and reigneth a consubstantial and coeternal person, who spake by the law and by the Prophets, and by the New Testament, descended like a dove upon our Lord Jesus Christ in the river Jordan, and rested upon him, and came down in the likeness of fiery tongues upon thy Apostles when they were assembled on the day of pentecost in the upper room of holy and glorious Sion. Send down, O Lord, this thy most Holy Spirit upon us, and upon these holy gifts here set before thee; that by his holy, good, and glorious presence, he may sanctify

and make this bread the holy body of thy Christ, and this cup the precious blood of thy Christ; that all, who are partakers thereof, may obtain remission of their sins, and eternal life; may be sanctified in soul and body, and bring forth the fruit of good works; for the confirmation of thy holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, which thou hast founded upon the rock of faith, that the gates of hell may not prevail against it; delivering it from all heresy and scandal, and from the workers of iniquity, and preserving it to the consummation of the world." Thus also St. Mark's Liturgy, "We pray and beseech thee, O thou gracious lover of mankind, send down from thy high and glorious habitation, from thine infinite bosom, the very paraclete, the Spirit of truth, the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the giver of life, who spake in the law and in the Prophets, and in the Apostles; who is every where present, and filleth all things, and according to thy good pleasure sanctifieth whom he will by his own power, and not ministerially: uncompounded in his nature, diversified in his operations, the fountain of divine graces, consubstantial to thee, and proceeding from thee, sitting in the throne of thy kingdom, together with thee, and thine only begotten Son our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ. Send upon us, and these loaves, and these cups, this thy Holy Spirit, that he may sanctify and perfect them, as being God Almighty. And may he make the bread to be indeed the body, and the cup to be the blood of the New Testament, of our very Lord and God, and Saviour, and most great King, Jesus Christ; that they may be to us, and to all that partake of them, for faith, for sobriety, for healing, for temperance, for sanctification, for the renewing of soul and body, and spirit, for communication of the blessing of eternal life and incorruption, for the glorifying of thy holy name, for the remission of sins; that in this as in all other things, thy most holy, precious, and glorious name, may be glorified, praised, and sanctified, with Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit." St. Chrysostom's Liturgy: "We pray, beseech, and entreat thee, send thy Holy Spirit upon us, and upon these gifts here lying before thee; and make this bread the precious body of thy Christ, and that which is in this cup the precious blood of thy Christ, changing them by thy Holy Spirit." St. Basil's Liturgy, as used in the Constantinopolitan Church; "Wherefore also, O most holy Lord, we sinners, and thy unworthy servants, who are vouchsafed the honour to minister



at thy holy altar, not for our righteousness, (for we have done no good thing upon earth,) but for thy mercies and compassions which thou hast abundantly poured out upon us, we approach thy holy altar, and setting before thee the antitypes of the holy body and blood of thy Christ, we pray and beseech thee, O thou Holy of holies, that through thy good pleasure thy Holy Spirit may come upon us, and upon these gifts laid before thee, and bless and sanctify and perfect them. Make this bread the precious body of our Lord and God, and Saviour Jesus Christ, and this cup the precious blood of our Lord and God, and Saviour Jesus Christ, which was shed for the life of the world; changing them by thy Holy Spirit." The Liturgy of St. Basil, as used in the Alexandrian Church: "We sinners, and thy unworthy servants, pray and beseech thee, O gracious Lord, the lover of mankind, and we worship thee, that through thy good pleasure thy Holy Spirit may come upon us thy servants, and upon these thy gifts here set before thee, and make them the Holy of holies; and make this bread to become the body of our Lord God, and Saviour Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and eternal life to those that partake of it; and this cup the precious blood of the New Testament of our Lord God, and Saviour Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and eternal life to those that partake of it." The Ethiopic Liturgy: "We pray and beseech thee, O Lord, to send thy Holy Spirit and power upon this bread and upon this cup, and may he make them the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, for ever, Amen. And grant that they may be to all that receive them, for sanctification and fulness of the Holy Ghost, and strengthening of faith, that they may sanctify thee, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, with the Holy Ghost, for ever, Amen." The Liturgy of Nestorius: "And, O Lord, may the grace of thy Holy Spirit come and dwell and rest upon this oblation which we offer before thee, and may he sanctify it and make it, that is, this bread and this cup, the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, thou changing them and sanctifying them by the operation of the Holy Spirit; that the participation of these holy mysteries may be to all that receive them, for eternal life, for resurrection from the dead, for expiation of bodies and souls, for illustration of knowledge, for confidence before thee, and for eternal salvation." The Liturgy of Severus: "And send unto us from thy holy height thy Spirit the paraclete,



the Lord, the giver of life, who spake in the law, in the Prophets, and in the Apostles, who is every where present, and fills all things; who also by his own proper power worketh holiness in those that are worthy. May he descend upon us, and upon these oblations set before thee, and sanctify them, that this bread may be made the life-giving body, the heavenly body, the body that is salutary both to our souls and bodies, the body of our Lord God, and Saviour Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and eternal life to those that partake of it. And may he make the mixture that is in this cup the blood of the New Testament, the life-giving blood, the salutary blood of the Lord God, and King of all, Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and eternal life to those that receive him." Thus all the Greek and Eastern Liturgies, as well as the Clementine, have an invocation for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the elements, immediately following the oblation and the words of institution, and so also had the Gallican, the Gothic, and Mosarabic Liturgies, as appears from the fragments still remaining and here published of those Liturgies. But the Roman canon, contrary to all others, does not invoke the descent of the Holy Ghost; however it prays for God's particular blessing upon the elements, and that he would make them the body and blood of Christ, which is much to the same effect: for to pray to God to bless the elements, and make them the body and blood of his Son, is not materially different from praying for the descent of the Holy Ghost for that purpose, since the spiritual blessings of God are all conferred upon us by the operation of his Holy Spirit. And the Roman Missal prays thus: "Which oblation we beseech thee, O God, that thou wilt vouchsafe to make in all respects blessed, firm, valid, reasonable and acceptable, that it may be to us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ." But the first Liturgy of king Edward VI. has added the word *Holy Spirit* to this invocation, saying, "And 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."

But in this the Roman canon, and that English Liturgy which was made from it, are singular and particular, in that they place this invocation before the words of institution and the oblation of the elements, which in all other Liturgies follows in the last place;

which certainly is the most natural order, the Holy Spirit by his descent completing and perfecting the consecration. It is certainly most natural and agreeable to order, that we should first perform our parts, place our gifts upon the altar, declare that we do this in obedience to Christ's institution, make an oblation of them to God, as what he has appointed to be the sacramental or representative body of his Son, and then desire that the Holy Ghost may come down upon them, to make them that body and blood in power and effect, that by his gracious operation in them and with them, they may convey to us all the blessings purchased for us by Christ. But first to pray that the Holy Ghost may bless and sanctify them, and then proceed to declare, that we are doing what Christ instituted by a recital of the words of his institution, and making the oblation with a thankful remembrance of Christ's death, according to the form of the Roman canon, or the first Liturgy of king Edward VI., framed agreeably to it, though full in substance, does not seem so natural a situation: neither is this order agreeable to the ancient forms; the present Roman canon being certainly of a later original than any of the other Liturgies here published. That the invocation for the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the elements, to make them the body and blood of Christ, was the practice of the universal Church in all places, is manifest from these Liturgies: that it was practised in all times, \* Mr. Johnson has proved from the testimony of the most ancient fathers, to whom therefore I shall refer the reader for full satisfaction as to what is said by the fathers on this occasion. I only think it proper to transcribe from him what he has to say from scripture for this invocation. "Now," says he, "I expect our adversaries should demand upon what authority of scripture this doctrine of the ancients was grounded; to which I answer, That it seems evident that they thought, when our Saviour blessed or eucharistized the bread and wine, the meaning of those words is, that he caused a divine benediction to rest upon them. It is allowed, I think, by learned men, that *ἐυχαιριζειν* has the same signification in the history of the institution, with *ἐυλογειν*; and it is very evident that *ἐυχαιριζειν*, as well as *ἐυλογειν* is used transitively; and that therefore as we render the Greek words, Matt. xxvi. 26. 'Jesus took bread and blessed it;' so in strictness

\* Unbloody Sacrifice, part I. p. 183. &c.

the following words (verse 27.) should be rendered, ‘He took the cup and blessed or eucharistized it;’ and the same may be said in relation to Mark xiv. 22, 23., St. Luke xxii. 19, 20., and St. Paul 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25., use the word *εὐχαριστεῖν* only in relation both to the bread and cup; and therefore to render these texts so as that they may fully come up to the sense of the Greek, there ought to be the accusative case expressed after the participle *εὐχαριστήσας*, viz. *He took bread, after he had blessed or eucharistized it, he brake it and said*: for it is certain the blessing or eucharistizing terminates on the bread: it indeed imports, that Jesus addressed himself in prayer to God for a divine benediction; but it is clear beyond dispute, that this benediction was to rest on the elements. It was rational to suppose, that the most divine institution was to be attended with the most eminent benediction; and it was justly believed, that this consisted in the immediate presence of the Holy Spirit. In St. James’s Liturgy, the words of institution, in relation to the cup, run thus: *Taking the cup—eucharistizing it, consecrating it, filling it with the Holy Ghost, &c.* For they or he who drew the Liturgy did take for granted what I now argue for, viz. that *εὐχαριστεῖν* does import a consecration wrought by the grace of the Holy Spirit; and not only the ancient fathers, but even the heretics of the first ages allowed this; and the eucharistized bread, in the language of Irenæus and Justin Martyr, is the bread that has by this means been sanctified; and indeed the Apostle St. Paul does give great countenance to this doctrine, in saying: ‘By one Spirit we have been all baptized into one body, and we have all been made to drink into one Spirit.’ 1 Cor. xii. 13. For as in the first clause he speaks expressly of baptism; so in the other he does not obscurely speak of our drinking the cup blessed with the Holy Ghost in the eucharist. But I conceive the ancients chiefly built their judgment in this particular on the 63d. verse of John vi. viz. ‘It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing: the words which I speak unto you they are Spirit, and they are life.’ I think it is universally agreed that these words are an explication of that mystery, which he had spoke so much of in the foregoing part of the chapter, viz. *eating his flesh, and drinking his blood*. I hope to give my reader satisfactory proof, before I conclude this book, that this eating and drinking the flesh and blood of Christ, was by him meant of the eucharist



only; and that this was the sentiment of the generality of the ancients: so taking this at present for granted, I will only consider how they interpreted this verse in conformity to that opinion, and applied it to the eucharistical body and blood; and particularly that by Spirit in this text, they understood the sacramental body consecrated by the Spirit. Mr. Calvin, upon this verse, takes notice, that St. Austin so takes these words, as that when our Saviour says, 'the flesh profiteth nothing;' the sense is, 'the flesh alone profiteth nothing without the quickening Spirit;' and that by the flesh, he understood the sacramental flesh, will in due time be sufficiently proved. St. Cyril of Alexandria expressly says, 'Christ calls his flesh Spirit;' and he had given the reason for it in the foregoing words, viz. 'He fills his body with the energy of the Spirit;' and that he means this of his body in the eucharist, will hereafter be proved. And again, 'Common flesh cannot give life; of this our Saviour is a witness, saying, my flesh profiteth nothing, it is the Spirit that quickeneth; so since it is the Word's own body, on this account it is considered as giving life, and is so;' and that he means it of the eucharist, the learned reader may convince himself by turning his eyes to the original. St. Ambrose, as already cited, has sufficiently shewed that he was of this mind; for he proves the eucharist to be *the body of Christ, because it is the body of the Divine Spirit*. St. Athanasius has been already cited, applying this text to the eucharist, and telling us, that *by spirit and life, is meant the body given for the world, and distributed to, or in every one, &c.* And yet he speaks more expressly, if possible, to the same purpose, when discoursing of the eucharist, he says, *The flesh of the Lord is a quickening Spirit*. And Ammonius took it so above an hundred years before him, in these words, *What he here calls the spirit, is the flesh, replenished with the energy of the life-giving Spirit*. Now considering that these passages in the ancients are so directly for our present purpose, to prove that by *the Spirit* here is meant the sacramental flesh of Christ, and that all that goes before, concerning eating the flesh and drinking the blood of Christ, relates to the eucharist, as I am hereafter to shew; we are not to wonder that the priest and people of these ages did expect, that at their prayers the Holy Ghost should communicate his influences to the holy symbols. It must be owned, that this text is far from being easy or obvious, even though it be acknow-

ledged to be an explication of what goes before this : it is indeed no difficult matter for any new interpreter to clap an arbitrary sense upon this place, and make it chime with his own inventions ; but I must declare, that if I had so good light from antiquity for explaining other obscure texts of the New Testament, as I have for this ; and if the writers and the whole Church of the four first centuries did so clearly determine the meaning of any other context, as they do this of the sixth chapter of St. John, I should desire no other help for the understanding the Scriptures of the New Testament, but what I receive from them ; and indeed we must once for all discard the authority of antiquity, in determining any controversy, which either now does or shall hereafter depend in relation to any point of Christianity, if such evidence may not cast the scale, when there is nothing to weigh against it but the airy conjectures of modern doctors. And that the glosses of late interpreters are but conjectures, will, I suppose, be easy to be demonstrated from the great variety and inconsistency of them.”\* Then he gives us the several expositions of this text made by the moderns, and shews that scarce two of them keep harmony with each other. Thus this very worthy and learned gentleman proves, that the Primitive Church understood the words of our Saviour, “It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing,” to denote that the flesh and blood, which whosoever eat and drank, should have eternal life, should have his quickening Spirit communicated to them, because without it the bare flesh could be of no advantage for that purpose. And as the flesh and blood he there spoke of was his sacramental body and blood which he afterwards gave to his Apostles, and commanded them and their successors to give the same to all under their charge till his coming again ; therefore the Primitive Church did understand that the Holy Ghost descended on the sacramental body and blood of Christ, to infuse into them this quickening virtue ; without which, material elements could have no quickening virtue. And therefore they supposed not the elements to be fully consecrated and made the body and blood of Christ in power and effect, that flesh and blood, which communicated eternal life to the worthy receivers, till they had prayed that the Holy Ghost might come down upon the elements, and make them the body

\* Unbloody Sacrifice, part 1. p. 195.

and blood of Christ; because his descent upon them, and operation in them and with them is that alone which can make them the food of eternal life, since, as our Saviour expressly teaches, "It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing:" And if we had not forsaken that doctrine and practice of the Primitive Church, which they had learned from the Apostles, (otherwise it could not have prevailed at all times and in all places) and followed the fancies of Calvin, Beza, and other moderns who have paid too much regard to their authority, we should all have understood the sixth chapter of St. John as treating of the holy eucharist, and then this text concerning the flesh's being able to work nothing without the spirit, had been plain and obvious to us, and we should no more have been divided about the meaning of it than the ancients were. But after Calvin had taught that the sixth chapter of St. John was not to be understood of the eucharist, the Protestant critics and commentators all ran into that notion; then, indeed, the 63d. v., as well as other passages of that chapter, became difficult, and not easy to be understood; so that scarce two expositors gave the same interpretation of it. But as Calvin, and his followers, the modern commentators, were certainly in the wrong, in maintaining that this chapter related not to the holy eucharist, as Mr. Johnson has proved,\* so it is manifest that they must be in the wrong in the exposition of the 63d. verse. For if our Saviour, in that chapter, as I doubt not but he did, spake concerning his sacramental body and blood, the only body and blood which he appointed us to eat and drink, then we have no reason to question, but when he tells us that the flesh, that is, the bare elements, which he appointed to be the perfect representative of his broken body and effused blood, "profiteth nothing," but it is the "spirit that quickeneth," adding, "The words that I speak unto you they are spirit, and they are life;" he plainly teaches that his Holy Spirit, the Lord and giver of life, should descend upon, and operate in and with those holy elements, and by them convey to us the seed or principle of eternal life. As therefore the Primitive Church had this plain Scripture evidence, that the sacred elements in the eucharist, though as full and perfect representatives of the flesh and blood of Christ as possibly might be, yet could not profit alone

\* Unbloody Sacrifice, part 1. p. 351. &c.



without the Spirit, they had certainly very good authority from Scripture, to pray to God the Father, that he would send down his Holy Spirit on the bread and the cup, that he might make them that body and blood of Christ which should be indeed profitable to our salvation: and they had just reason also to conclude, that when our Saviour himself blessed those elements, he communicated his Holy Spirit to them. And forasmuch as there is no Church, no Liturgy which has not a prayer or petition for this purpose, till Bucer and Martyr contrived to have it expunged the Liturgy of the Church of England, we may very reasonably conclude from the golden rule of Vincentius Lirinensis, that having such *Antiquity, Universality, and Consent*, to support the practice, it is an institution of Christ, which the Apostles taught wheresoever they preached the gospel: consequently that without such a petition, the consecration is lame and defective, and not performed according to our Saviour's institution. And in all the Liturgies, except that of the Church of Rome, and the first Liturgy of king Edward VI., taken from that, this prayer or invocation follows the words of institution, and the oblation and thankful remembrance of Christ's death. The Roman canon or mass being therefore particular in this point, and in the order in which this petition is placed, ought certainly to have the least regard paid to it in this particular. For certainly, as I have already observed, the consecration is completed and perfected by the descent of the Holy Spirit on the bread and the cup, by which descent they receive their quickening and life-giving virtue, without which they cannot profit, as our Saviour himself has taught us. But it may perhaps be said, that according to our own doctrine, when our Saviour blessed the elements, and thereby communicated his holy and life-giving Spirit to them, it is evident that he did this before he spake the words, "Take, eat, this is my body," &c., and therefore we being appointed *to do as he did*, ought, in the first place, to *bless the elements*, and in his words declare them to be his body and blood, according as is done in the Roman canon, and the first Liturgy of king Edward VI., which seems in this to have followed the order used by Christ himself more strictly than all the world besides. But we must consider, that though we are commanded to *do* or *offer* what Christ did, that is, bread and wine mixed with water as his representative body and blood, yet there is and must be a difference

betwixt the manner in which he offered, and that in which we ought to offer. For, first, he offered himself, that is, he offered the sacred symbols of his *own body*; but we do not offer the symbols of our *own body*, but of *his body* who is a different person from any of us, and therefore we cannot offer exactly in the same manner as he did; for there must be a difference betwixt a person offering the representative of himself, and his offering the representative of another. Secondly, Christ offered the symbols of his body which was not yet broken, and of his blood which was not yet shed upon the cross, but which was to be there broken and shed; but we offer the symbols of his body long since broken, and of his blood long since shed: he, in his oblation, gave his natural body to be broken, and his blood to be shed; but we, in ours, only commemorate and offer to God the memorial of what was then done; for the command is, "Do this in remembrance of," or as a memorial "of me:" which makes a very material difference betwixt what he did, and what we are obliged to do. So that if the words which our Saviour used when he *gave thanks* or *blessed*, or consecrated the sacred elements, had been recorded by the Evangelists, and so made known to us, they would not have been proper to have been used by us. For to offer a thing to be done, and to offer the memorial of that which is already done; to offer one's self to suffer, and to offer the commemoration of another person that has already suffered, can never be done with the same words, or exactly in the same manner; there must be what we call *mutatis mutandis* in such a case. We are indeed obliged to *give thanks*, to *bless* or consecrate, and offer as Christ did; but we cannot do it in the same words, if we knew what those words were, for the reasons here given.

Again, in the last place, Christ instituted a new sacrament, and therefore it was proper for him to perform consecration in the first place, and then to declare to his disciples the reason why he had done it, and what he required them to do: but we are to administer a sacrament already instituted, and therefore ought to declare our authority and commission for that ministration in the first place. So that although our Saviour first consecrated the elements before he spake the words, *Take eat, this is my body*, &c. yet it is not proper for us to do so, because we use them not on the same occasion and to the same purpose he did: for he spake them at the very time he delivered the elements to his

disciples, and in order to let them know what they then received at his hands; but we use them as declaration of the commission and authority by which we act in this ministration, and as a testimony that we believe this not to be common food, but that it is so perfect a representative of the body and blood of Christ by virtue of the institution, as to be fit to be called and dignified with the name of his body and blood. But if it be still thought necessary or expedient by any one, that these words of our Saviour should be used in the last place as they were used by him, and that it is more regular for them to follow than precede the invocation of the Holy Spirit, because it is certain that if our Saviour did use any such invocation, it was before he pronounced these words which we commonly call the words of institution; I desire them to consider that he spake not these words till he began the very act of distribution, and was actually delivering the bread to his disciples when he said, *Take, eat, &c.* Therefore if it be necessary to use those words in the same order and manner they were used by our Saviour, they ought not to be used in the act of consecration, but in the act of distribution. But neither the Roman Canon, nor the first Liturgy of king Edward VI. compiled from the Roman, which are the only Liturgies that have placed the invocation of the divine benediction upon the elements in the first place, ordered our Saviour's words, *Take, eat, &c.* to be used in the act of distribution; neither does the present Liturgy of the Church of England, which has no invocation at all for a divine benediction on the bread and wine, order these words to be said in the act of distribution as they were used by our Saviour; but all these, as well as those Liturgies which place the words of institution in the first place, have appointed different words to be used when the elements are distributed to the communicants: consequently all of them differ from our Saviour's practice in the use of these words. A certain evidence that all are agreed, that we cannot, neither ought we to pretend to administer the eucharist exactly in the same manner and with the same form of words our Saviour did, but with such an alteration as the different circumstances of our Saviour's own oblation and ours have made necessary. And therefore we ought not only to enquire how our Saviour administered this holy sacrament, but also how the Apostles administered it according to his institution. For though our Saviour's circumstances were



different from ours, the circumstances of the Apostles as to this matter were exactly the same with ours, and for this reason we ought to celebrate it exactly as they did. Now forasmuch as the holy Scriptures have not informed us how the Apostles did celebrate it, we can learn this only from tradition : and forasmuch as we have an universal uninterrupted tradition, that this sacrament was consecrated by pronouncing the words of institution, by making an oblation of the elements as the representative body and blood of Christ, with a thankful remembrance of his death, and by a petition for the divine benediction, or the Holy Spirit to descend upon the elements, and that this recital of the words of institution, the oblation and invocation, follow each other in this order in all Liturgies used before the Reformation, except the Roman only, we have as good evidence as we have for the canon of Scripture itself, that this form and order was used and prescribed by the Apostles, and therefore that we ought not to deviate from it. For if the Apostles had not ministered in this form and order, it had been impossible it could have prevailed in all times, in all places, and amongst all the faithful ; so that we should be able to find no time or place for fifteen hundred years together in which it was not celebrated in this manner, only as the Church of Rome inverted the order, and put the invocation of the divine benediction in the first place. But where a particular Church differs from all others, though it be only in the order of a petition, which is not a very material circumstance, a man would not choose to follow it in that particularity. And where a Church finds it necessary to alter her Liturgy, she should rather, though it be but in a circumstance of order or place, choose to reform even as to that circumstance agreeable to the practice of the most ancient and pure Churches, than to that of a most corrupt Church. For though I will not say that this inversion of the order, with regard to the invocation of the divine benediction in the Roman canon, is such a corruption as would justify a separation from it, if it had not essential corruptions and deviations from Apostolical practice ; yet, as it is particular in this inversion of the order, I conceive it is not proper to be followed in this point by those who have found it necessary to forsake its communion. And, therefore, as the first Liturgy of king Edward VI. has followed the Roman order in this particular, in which the Roman Church is singular and different from all other ancient Churches, I cannot think it

proper that the invocation should be restored as it stands in that Liturgy, but that it should be restored as in the Clementine, and all other ancient Liturgies in which it follows the words of institution and the oblation, since we have all the reason imaginable to believe that was the Apostolical order. But the Romanists have another objection against the putting this petition for the descent of the Holy Ghost, to give a divine benediction to the bread and the cup after the pronouncing the words of institution, and that is, that the using such an invocation in this place implies, that those who use it, as all the Greek and Eastern Churches do, plainly shew that they do not suppose the consecration to be made and perfected by the bare recital of the words which our Saviour spake to his disciples, but that after the priest has duly and regularly pronounced those words, they make this petition necessary to complete and perfect the consecration. This Cardinal Bona calls a wicked and detestable error of the modern Greeks, saying, that “Nicolaus Cabasilas puts upon the Latins the most wicked and detestable error of modern Greece, that is to say, that the consecration is not made by the words pronounced by the priest in the person of Christ, but by the prayer of the same priest afterwards praying and saying, *Make this bread the precious body of thy Christ*; which petition follows the words of consecration in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom.”\* He might have added, and in all other ancient Liturgies but the Roman. “But,” says he a little after, “the Orthodox Greeks holding fast the doctrine and faith of their ancient fathers, being asked by the Latins concerning this matter in the Council of Florence, openly professed that the bread and wine are transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ by his own words: but that prayer, *Make this bread the precious body, &c.*, which they afterwards add, is to be understood in this sense, that what is already consecrated by the words of Christ, may be for the salvation of those that receive them. These are their very words in the twenty-fifth session of the Council: *We have said that we confess that the holy bread*

\* Nicolaus Cabasilas, in expositione Liturgiæ Latinis appingit recentioris Græciæ pessimum ac detestandum errorem, consecrationem scilicet non fieri verbis in personâ Christi à sacerdote prolatis, sed precatione ejusdem sacerdotis postea orantis & dicentis: *Fac hunc panem preciosum corpus Christi tui*, quæ post verba consecrationis extat in Liturgiâ Chrysostomi. Bona de rebus Liturg. lib. 2. cap. 13. p. 780.

*is transubstantiated and made the body of Christ by these words, This is my body : but afterwards as you also say, command these to be carried by the hands of thy holy angel unto thy sublime altar : so we also pray, saying, that thy Spirit may descend upon us, and make this bread the precious body of thy Christ in us, and may he change these very gifts by his Holy Spirit, that they may be made to those who communicate of them for the cleansing of the soul, for the remission of sins, and may not bring upon us either judgment or condemnation.\** Then he acknowledges, that the Mozarabic or ancient Spanish Liturgy, the Missal of St. Germanus, or ancient Gallican Liturgy, and the Liturgies of St. James, St. Mark, St. Clement, and St. Basil, and also the Armenian Liturgy, have every one of them such a prayer following the words of institution ; but maintains, that in all these Liturgies they are to be understood in the sense put upon them by the Greeks in the Council of Florence. Goar says the same with the learned cardinal as to the opinion of the Greeks concerning this prayer, and tells us particularly, that the bishops of Russia, Nice, Trapezond, and Mitylene, who were chosen by the rest of the Greeks which came to the Council to treat with the Latins concerning an union, to manage the conferences that were held on that occasion,† all agreed in this answer which I have recited from Cardinal Bona. Arcudius also tells us, “ That the Greek fathers, in the last session of the Council of Florence, being asked by pope Eugenius the fourth, Why they added those prayers after the words of Christ, as if the consecration was not yet perfected ? Answered, That they made no doubt, but the consecration was made by the words of Christ :

\* At Græci Orthodoxi veterum patrum suorum ac fidei sententiæ adhærentes, hæc de re in Concilio Florentino a Latinis interrogati, apertè professi sunt panem & vinum in corpus & sanguinem Christi per ipsius verba transubstantiari : Illam verò orationem, *Fac hunc panem preciosum corpus*, &c., quam postea adjungunt, hunc sensum habere, ut quod jam consecratum est verbis Christi, fiat suscipientibus in salutem. Hæc ipsorum verba sunt sess. 25. Concilii. *Fateri nos diximus, per hæc verba, Hoc est corpus meum, transubstantiari sacrum panem & fieri corpus Christi : Sed postea quemadmodum vos dicitis, Jube hæc perferri per manus S. Angeli tui in sublime altare tuum ; ita nos quoque oramus dicentes, ut spiritus sanctus descendat super nos, & efficiat in nobis panem hunc preciosum Corpus Christi sui, transmutetque ipsa dona spiritu sancto suo, ut fiant communicantibus in purgatorium animæ, in remissionem peccatorum, & non fiant in judicium & condemnationem nostram.* Bona de rebus Liturg. lib. 2. cap. 13. p. 784.

† In St. Joan. Chrysost. Miss. Not. num. 139.



but nevertheless they said those prayers, that benefit might accrue to us by that sacrifice." \* Divers other learned Romanists urge this declaration of the Greeks in that Council, and from thence argue, that even the Greeks themselves, who always use this prayer after the words of institution, do not understand them as in any measure contributing to the consecration of the elements. Consequently that all the Churches both of the east and west, that is, all Churches now in the world, hold that the elements are completely consecrated by the priest's regularly and duly pronouncing the words, *Take, eat, this is my body*, &c., and that the prayers for the divine benediction or descent of the Holy Spirit upon the elements contributes nothing to the consecration, even in the opinion of those that use it. But I desire it may be considered, that whatever was said or done by the Greeks at the Council of Florence, is by no means to be esteemed a good testimony of the opinion of the Greek Church. For though that Council was called to procure an union betwixt the Greeks and the Latins, and the Greeks, or the most of them, which were present at that Council, did subscribe what was there determined, and so made an union (as it was called) betwixt the two Churches; yet the Greek Churches unanimously condemned every thing that was done by their delegates in that Council. The case was this: in the year 1438., about 15 years before Constantinople was taken by the Turks, and the Greek empire entirely destroyed, John Palæologus, the last emperor but one of that city, being reduced to great straits by the prevailing power of the Mahometans, who had dispossessed him and his predecessors of a vast empire, and scarce left him any territory beyond the imperial city itself, desired the assistance of the western princes against the infidels. But all these princes being at that time strict adherers to the Church of Rome, and looking upon the Greeks as schismatics, the emperor found that no assistance was to be obtained from them, except he could bring his Church under the dominion of the See of Rome, and oblige the Greeks to embrace the opinions

\* Patres Græci in Concilio Florentino sess. ultima, interrogati ab Eugenio quarto summo pontifice, cur illas preces adderent post verba Christi, perinde ac si nondum effet peracta consecratio: Responderunt, se nihil dubitare, quin consecratio fieret verbis Christi; dicere tamen illas preces, ut nobis utilitas ex tanto sacrificio proveniat. *Arcud. de concordia Eccles. Occident. & Orient.* lib. 3. cap. 33.

and doctrines of the Romans, which were contrary to their own. Hereupon he, with the patriarch of Constantinople, and many other Greek bishops, came to a Council, which the pope had summoned to meet at Ferrara, but which, by reason of the plague, was removed from thence to Florence. Here the patriarch died, and the emperor, who was resolved to have the union made and completed, in order to procure the assistance which he wanted, obliged his bishops to agree to whatever the pope and his Council required of them. And Sgyropulus, the great ecclesiarch of the Church of Constantinople, who accompanied the emperor and patriarch on this occasion, and who was present at all the debates, shews, in his history of this Council, wherein he is very particular as to what concerns the Greeks, that the Greeks were directly compelled and forced by the emperor to comply with every thing the pope required of them, though never so contrary to their own sentiments, and that he himself and most of the rest subscribed the articles required of them with the greatest reluctance; and when they came back to Constantinople, the bishops and clergy of the Greek Church refused to admit to communion all the subscribers to this pretended union. Therefore what was done by any of the Greeks at this Council, cannot be a testimony of the opinion of the Greek Church, which condemned every thing that was there done by their delegates. And in particular as to this prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the elements, which the Romanists tell us the Greeks interpreted in the manner before mentioned, he tells us expressly, that this interpretation was given by the bishop of Nice only, and that without the knowledge or consent of the rest. He tells us, that after they had subscribed to the definitions of the Council, which he says was done by many of them with tears and sighs, the emperor called all the subscribers to him, and speaking kindly to them, told them they should now go to the pope, and see with what countenance he subscribed: and when they were all got upon their horses to ride to the palace, the emperor called aloud to them, that the bishop of Nice had orders to make a speech to the pope, which they should hear when they came there. So they went with an implicit faith, not one of the company knowing a word that the bishop was appointed to say. When they came to his holiness, as soon as the bishop opened his mouth, Cardinal Julian called to the notary to write: wherefore the notary took

his place, and with his clerks wrote down every thing the bishop said. The bishop of Nice, in the beginning of his speech just touching upon some other matters, came, in the conclusion, to speak of the consecration of the tremendous and mystical sacrifice, to this effect:—"Whatsoever is held by the holy Roman Church in the article of consecrating the divine gifts, that we hold also; that is, that the divine words of our Lord, *Take, eat, this is my body: drink ye all of this, this is my blood*, are those which consecrate and perfect the divine gifts: in this we agree with you, nor do we hold any thing otherwise than you do. Nevertheless, the ministry of the priest may be compared to the labour of the husbandman, that the earth may bring forth fruit: but we refer all to those words of our Lord, in which we perfectly agree with you."\* This, adds he, was the scope of Nice's speech, which he enlarged with ornament and rhetorical flourishes, and he spoke them as the sentiments of the community, we knowing nothing of the matter, neither did the community assent to any of these things. He tells us farther, that the Latins desired this speech of the bishop of Nice might be inserted amongst the resolutions of the synod; but the emperor would not consent to it, fearing lest at his return to Constantinople, he should be censured as having overthrown the sacred order of the Liturgy which the great Basil, and the divine Chrysostom had delivered to us, and which had been derived from James the Lord's brother. Thus we learn from this eminent Greek, who was present at the Council of Florence, and a manager there, that the real sentiments of the Greeks which were at that Council, as well as the sentiments of the whole Greek Church, were indeed very different from that of the Romans, with regard to the invocation of the Holy Ghost, to bless the elements, and make them the body and blood of Christ, notwithstanding so many learned men of the Church of Rome have from their acts of that Council asserted the contrary. And there was but one Greek in that Council who offered to say the

\*"Οπερ δοξάζει ἡ ἁγία ρωμαϊκὴ ἐκκλησία περὶ τῆς τελειώσεως τῶν θείων δώρων τῷτο δοξάζομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς. "Ὅτι αἱ θείαι καὶ δεσποτικαὶ φωναὶ εἰσὶν αἱ ἀγιάζεσαι καὶ τελειῶσαι τὰ θεία δῶρα, ἤγεν τὸ, λάβετε, φάγετε, τῷτο ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα μου. Καὶ τὸ πιετε ἐξ αὐτῆ πάντες, τῷτο ἐστὶ τὸ αἷμα μου, καὶ συμφωνῶμεν καὶ κατὰ τῷτο ὑμῖν· ἐ γὰρ δοξάζομεν ἄλλο παρὰ ὑμεῖς λέγετε καὶ δοξάζετε. Συμβάλλεσθαι δὲ φαμέν καὶ τὸν ἱερέα πρὸς ταῦτα ὡς τὸν γεωργὸν πρὸς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυομένων. Τὸ δὲ πᾶν εἰς τὰς δεσποτικὰς ἐκείνας φωνὰς ἀνάγομεν, καὶ ἐσμὲν καὶ εἰς τῷτο σύμφωνοι ὑμῖν. Sguropul. Hist. Concil. Florent. Sect. x. Cap. viii. p. 293.



contrary, and he did it at the command of the emperor, without the consent or knowledge of any of his companions : and even the emperor himself, notwithstanding the pressing reasons he had to yield to the Latins in every thing they required, yet durst not agree that what this man said should be put into those resolutions of the Council to which the Greeks subscribed, being apprehensive how highly his Church at home would resent it. His fear to comply here, when he had agreed to so many other matters, plainly shews, that he knew that what the bishop of Nice had said was what his clergy and people at home would by no means be brought to assent to. And the man who made this speech, so much to the good liking of the Latins, when he returned to his own country again, found such reception there, that he quitted the archbishoprick of Nice, and went back to Italy, going entirely over to the Church of Rome, where he was honourably received, and made a cardinal, and continued firm in that communion to his death. His name was Bessarion.

Thus all the mighty noise which the Romanists have made concerning the declaration of the Greeks at the Council of Florence, proves at last to be no more than the declaration of one man amongst them, without the knowledge or consent of the rest, and that too of a man who, though a Greek by birth and education, did in many instances at that time, and particularly in this, shew a greater affection and inclination to the doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome than his own, and very soon after entirely quitted the communion of the Greeks, to embrace that of the Romans. So that what was done with regard to this point in the Council of Florence, is a clear testimony that the Greeks had then, as well as before and since, very different sentiments from the Church of Rome as to the form of consecration of the eucharist, and that they did not even then think that the priest's recital of the words, *This is my body*, &c. consecrated the elements alone, without also desiring the divine benediction by the descent of the Holy Ghost to make the bread and wine the body and blood of Christ in power and effect. And if we would know the real opinion of the modern as well as ancient Greeks on this head, we may have it from Mark archbishop of Ephesus, the only Greek that had the courage to oppose the Latins in the Council of Florence, and who would not be drawn to give up the doctrines of his own Church through the threatnings

either of his own emperor or of the pope. He, in a book, the title of which is, *That the divine gifts are not consecrated by the Lord's words only, but by the subsequent prayer and benediction of the priest*, tells us, as Arcudius himself has cited him, that "we find none of the Apostles and doctors of the Church who have sanctified and consecrated the eucharistical gift with our Lord's words only : but all of them, with one unanimous consent, having by way of narration recited those words, and put us in mind of what he did, and thereby as it were qualifying those gifts for a change, then by the prayer and benediction of the priest, the gifts are energetically, that is, in power and effect, made the prototype, the very body of the Lord."\* This was, therefore, the opinion of the Greeks at the Council of Florence, not one of them, as we learn from Sgyropulus, declared himself there to be of another opinion, except Bessarion archbishop of Nice, who was then beginning to leave the Greeks, in order to go over entirely to the Latins, as he afterwards did. Neither did Mark of Ephesus maintain any new doctrine in this matter, and which was not before generally received amongst the Greeks ; for Arcudius tells us, that what he here wrote is taken almost word for word from Cabasilas archbishop of Thessalonica, about an hundred years before him ; and that Simeon of Thessalonica, who wrote a little before Mark, was in the same error, as he calls it. In short, Arcudius, with all his endeavours to make the Greek and Latin Churches agree in this point, cannot find any one writer among the Greeks that speaks otherwise of this matter, than the bishop of Ephesus has done, and can find nothing for his purpose but the declaration made at the Council of Florence, which he would fix upon all the Greeks that were there, though it was made by one only, without the consent or knowledge of the rest ; and that one a person that was then beginning to forsake the communion of the Greeks.

But besides all this, the prayer itself will not bear the interpretation put upon it by the archbishop of Nice, afterwards cardinal

\* Οὐδενὶ τῶτων ἔυρομεν, ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν δεσποτικῶν ῥημάτων καὶ μόνων ἁγιάζεσθαι καὶ τελειῶσθαι τὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας δῶρον. Ἄλλὰ προλεγόμενα μὲν διηγηματικῶς τὰ ῥήματα παρὰ πᾶσι συμφώνως, ἡμᾶς τε ἀναφέροντα πρὸς τὴν μνήμην τῆς τότε πραχθέντος, καὶ δυναμὶν ὡς περ ἐνιέντα τοῖς προκειμένοις εἰς τὴν μεταβολὴν, ἐπιγινομένην δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν εὐχὴν τε καὶ ἔυλογίαν τῆς ἱερέως, ἐνεργεῖα μεταποιεῖν ἤδη τὰ δῶρα πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ πρωτότυπον ἐκεῖνο σῶμα τὸ δεσποτικόν. Arcud. de Concordia Eccles. Occident. & Orient. lib. 3. cap. 28.

Bessarion. His words, as Goar transcribes them from the Roman impression of the Council, were these :—“ We say that we confess the holy bread to be completely consecrated and made the body of Christ by those words : (that is, the words, *This is my body*, &c.) but afterwards as you say, *Command that these gifts be carried by the hands of thy holy angel to thy heavenly altar ;* so we also pray, saying, *Let thy Holy Spirit descend upon us, and make in us this bread to be the precious body of thy Christ, and that which is in this cup the precious blood of thy Christ ; and change them with thy Holy Spirit, that they may be to all that receive them for the cleansing of the soul, and remission of sins, and not for judgment and condemnation.*”\* But the words in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, which is the Liturgy used by all the modern Greeks subject to the patriarch of Constantinople, are these, *Make this bread the precious body of thy Christ, and that which is in the cup the precious blood of thy Christ, changing them by thy Holy Spirit.* And the words *in us*, on which the whole of Bessarion’s interpretation lies, are not in the prayer, either as it stands in St. Chrysostom’s, or in any other Greek Liturgy. And yet this is all which the Romanists have to say in order to reconcile this prayer (which they acknowledge to be in all Liturgies but their own) with their opinion, that the consecration is completely finished by the priest’s saying, *This is my body*, &c. So that they have no way of reconciling this petition to their own doctrine, and so to prove their doctrine Catholic, but from words which are not to be found there. This is fairly and ingenuously confessed by a late writer of the Roman communion, who frankly acknowledges, that the Greek and Eastern Churches do not suppose the consecration to be made and perfected by the bare pronunciation of those words which our Saviour spoke to his disciples. In his comment upon the Coptic Liturgy of St. Basil, when he comes to this prayer of invocation, he says :—“ This is that famous prayer, which all the

\* Ἡμεῖς εἰπομεν ὅτι ὁμολογοῦμεν διὰ τῶν ῥημάτων τῶτων τελειῶσθαι τὸν θείον ἄρτον, καὶ γίνεσθαι σῶμα χριστοῦ. Ἀλλ’ ὕπερον καθὼς καὶ αὐτοὶ λέγετε· Κέλευσον προσενεχθῆναι τὰ δῶρα ταῦτα διὰ χειρὸς ἁγίας ἀγγελῶν εἰς τὸ υπερβράνιον σου θυσιαστήριον· Οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐνυχόμεθα, λέγοντες, κατελθεῖν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς· Καὶ ποιῆσαι ἐν ἡμῖν τὸν ἄρτον τούτον, τίμιον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ· Καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ ποτηρίῳ τῷ τῷ, τίμιον αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ· Καὶ μεταβαλεῖν αὐτὰ τῷ πνεύματι αὐτῷ τῷ ἁγίῳ, ὥστε γένεσθαι τοῖς μεταλαμβάνουσιν εἰς νῆψιν ψυχῆς, εἰς ἀφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, μὴ γένωνται εἰς κρίμα ἢ εἰς κατακρίμα ἡμῶν· Goar in St. Joan. Chrysost. Miss. Not. num. 139.



oriental Liturgies retain, which being pronounced, the whole divine work of consecration is believed to be completed and perfected.\* Then he proceeds to give us the several forms of this prayer, which are all to the same effect in the Liturgies of Basil, Chrysostom, James, Mark, and Clement, as he observes, which I need not here transcribe, having already set them down in the beginning of my discourse on this head: and lets us know, that in many Liturgical offices published at Rome, and pretended to be translated from the Eastern languages, and particularly in one form compiled out of divers of those Liturgies for the use of the Maronites, the old true form is changed in this manner:—*“And make this bread, which is the body of Christ, to be profitable to us for remission of sins and eternal life: and this cup, which is the precious blood of Christ, make profitable to us. But in the manuscripts of all those Liturgies, and of all others which we have, there is nothing like it.”*† For in all the original manuscript or printed Liturgies we have either of the Eastern or the Greek Churches, I may add, and of the Western Churches too, except the Roman, the prayer is made in the same form with that in the Clementine Liturgy, and plainly invokes the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the elements as well as upon us, to make them the body and blood of Christ; evidently implying that they are not made so by the recital of the words, *Take, eat, this is my body*, &c. And upon this account the Romanists, to reconcile it to their commonly received doctrine, have in the Maronite versions before mentioned altered it as above. Therefore, as Renaudotius further observes:—“From the words of this prayer (if they cannot be drawn to that sense which confines the descent of the Holy Ghost to the pious and profitable receiving the holy mysteries) many divines immediately suppose, that the Coptics, no less than the other oriental Christians, are in the same error which they charge upon the modern Greeks; which they thus define, *That they give no consecrating power to our*

\* Hæc est insignis illa oratio, quam omnes orientales Liturgiæ representant, quâ demum pronuntiata, omne divinum consecrationis opus perfectum & consummatum esse intelligitur. *Renaudot. Comment. ad Liturg. Copt. St. Basil.* p. 238.

† *Et hunc panem, corpus videlicet Christi, faciat nobis prodesse sumentibus, ad remissionem peccatorum & vitam æternam: et hunc calicem, sanguinem preciosum Christi, faciat nobis prodesse, &c.* In codicibus vero manuscriptis illarum omnium Liturgiarum & aliarum quos habemus, nihil simile legitur. *Ibid.* p. 243.

*Lord's words, but to the prayers of the priest, especially the invocation.* Which opinion they attribute to Cabasilas and to Mark of Ephesus, as lately introduced by them, and pretend that it was condemned in the Council of Florence: abjured indeed at first by the Greeks, but afterwards revived at Constantinople by the schismatics, and especially Mark of Ephesus. A learned man, Richard Simon, who has wrote much upon this subject, affirms, that all the orientals are of this opinion; which he seems to acknowledge is no other than what is commonly attributed to them: that is, *that the consecration is made, not by the sacramental words of our Lord Christ, but by the invocation of the Holy Ghost.* But this opinion, he says, is wrongfully accused of error, because it is not a matter of faith to believe that the eucharist is consecrated by our Lord's words only, neither has it been determined by the Church; forasmuch as not a few divines have without censure opposed that doctrine, which he proves chiefly by the authority of Ambrosius Catharinus, and Christopher de Capite Fontium.\* Renaudotius seems afraid to speak so plain himself in this case as father Simon has done, knowing that the Missal of the Church of Rome clearly attributes the whole form of consecration to the words, *This is my body*, &c. However, he shews that this opinion was not condemned in the Council of Florence, saying:—"The use of this prayer is of the highest antiquity, derived even from the Apostles' times; neither for

\* Ex illius igitur orationis verbis, si quidem in eam sententiam trahi non possunt, quæ totum illapsus spiritus sancti effectum determinet ad piam fructuosamque mysteriorum perceptionem, statim plerisque theologis veniet in mentem, Coptitas, non minus quam orientales reliquos Christianos, in eodem versari errore, quo teneri affirmant Græcos recentiores. Illum porro ita definiunt: quod verbis Dominicis vim consecrandi nullam tribuant; sed Sacerdotum preeibus, invocationi præsertim: quam opinionem Cabasilæ & Marco Ephesio quasi noviter ab illis introductam attribuunt; damnatamque perfundunt in Concilio Florentino: ejuratam quidem priùs à Græcis, sed Constantinopoli postmodum à schismaticis, Marco præsertim Ephesio, renovatam. Vir Doctissimus qui de hoc argumento multa commentatus est, orientales in eodem opinione esse affirmat, quam quidem videtur agnoscere, non aliam esse quam quæ vulgo illis tribuitur. Ea est consecrationem fieri, non per verba sacramentalia Christi Domini, sed per invocationem spiritus sancti. Illam verò opinionem frustra in erroris suspicionem vocari contendit, quia solis verbis Dominicis eucharistiam consecrari fide certum non est, neque ab Ecclesia determinatum, cum theologi non pauci eam doctrinam impune propugnasse reperiuntur, quod autoritate Ambrosii Catharini, & Christophori de Capite Fontium potissimum probant. *Renaudot. Comment. ad Liturg. Copt. St. Basil. p. 216*

twelve hundred years and more did any one discover any error in it. Some Latin divines first began a dispute about it in Greece, whom Nicolas Cabasilas modestly refuted, vindicating the Liturgy of his own Church from their objections, and endeavouring to reconcile it to the Latin Canon without accusing the Latins. From hence to the Council of Florence, there was no controversy about this matter; and when there had been conferences for near two years together at Ferrara and Florence concerning the *procession of the Holy Ghost, unleavened bread, the primacy of the pope, purgatory*, and other heads of doctrine, which gave occasion to the division of the Churches, and the decree of union by the consent of both parties was now written; John de Turrecremata began to accuse the Greeks, that they added the invocation to the words of Christ, which seemed to destroy their efficacy. The Greeks denied that they held any opinion which diminished the force or dignity of the words of Christ; they only preserved the invocation of the Holy Spirit, as it was delivered to them by the holy fathers, against which no offence could be taken without calling in question the faith and religion of those fathers, which the Church has ever esteemed as her masters. In the mean while Bessarion and five more bishops, without consulting the patriarch and the other bishops, made that profession which was agreeable to the sentiments of Turrecremata. John Palæologus and the bishops required Mark of Ephesus (who had not yet separated from the rest) briefly to expound the doctrine of their Church, which he performed in a short writing, where he endeavours to prove that the eucharist was consecrated not by the Lord's words alone, but by the prayers joined with them, especially the invocation of the Holy Spirit. The emperor, Joseph the patriarch, and all the bishops, six only excepted, approved what he had written, neither could they be drawn from it. Turrecremata insisted that so much might be added to the synodical resolutions, as might be sufficient to make what those few had declared to be their opinion, to be prescribed to all as a rule of faith. This did not please pope Eugenius, and the resolutions were published as they stood before without any addition.\* Thus this learned Romanist

\* Orationis illius antiquissimus usus est, ab Apostolicis usque ductus temporibus, neque per annos mille ducentos & amplius, quisquam in ea errorem deprehenderat. Primi litem movere cœperunt in Græcia, Latini quidam theologi, quos Nicolaus Cabasilas modestè refutavit, Liturgiam Ecclesiæ suæ ab illorum



testifies, that it was so far from being determined in the Council of Florence both by Greeks and Latins, as is pretended, that *the consecration of the eucharist was perfected by the words of institution only*; that not only the Greeks declared the direct contrary, but even the pope himself would not permit it to be so decreed. This is the account Renaudotius gives us of this matter, according to the acts of this Council as published at Rome; only he has given a more faithful account of it than Arcudius, or Goar, or Bona, who would put upon us the opinion of Bessarion, and five more, as the opinion of all the Greeks who were present at that synod, except Mark of Ephesus; whereas there were twenty one Greek bishops, besides many other eminent priests and deacons of that Church, present at this Council: so that these six were little more than a quarter part even of the bishops. So that supposing the account of this matter, which is given us by the Romanists, be a truer account than that which is given us by Sgyropulus, who makes Bessarion only to have joined with the Latins in this opinion, and to have made a declaration of it, yet still it made no part of the resolutions of that Council, neither was it admitted among the articles of the union. And yet both

criminationibus vindicans & cum Latino canone conciliare satagens, neque Latinos accusans. Inde usque ad synodum Florentinam de illo argumento controversia nulla fuit; cumque Ferraræ & Florentiæ per annos prope duos actum esset in congregationibus de processione spiritus sancti, de Azymo, de primatu papæ, de purgatorio, & aliis doctrinæ capitibus, quæ Ecclesiarum divisioni causam dederant, & jam decretum unionis utriusque partis consensu scriptum fuisset, cæpit Joannes de Turrecremata Græcos accusare, quod verbis Christi invocationem conjungerent, quæ illorum efficaciam destruere videbatur. Negaverunt Græci, ulla se, quæ verborum Christi vim & dignitatem imminueret, opinione teneri; invocationem sancti spiritus antiquitus à sanctis patribus traditam, solummodo servare se, de qua suspicio nulla esse posset, quin vocaretur simul in dubium illorum fides & religio, quos Ecclesia ut magistros semper coluerat. Interea Bessarion cum aliis quinque episcopis, inconsultò patriarcha & reliquis antistitibus, eam professionem edidit, quæ Turrecrematæ rationibus congruebat. Joannes Palæologus & episcopi Marcum Ephesium, qui nondum secessionem fecerat, hortati sunt ad Ecclesiæ suæ doctrinam paucis exponendam, quod ille brevi scripto præstitit, quo probare aggressus est, non solis verbis Dominicis, sed adjunctis precibus, præsertim invocatione spiritus sancti, eucharistiam consecrari. Illius sententiam Imperator, Joseph patriarcha, & episcopi, sex exceptis, omnes probaverunt, nec ab ea avelli potuerunt. Institit Turrecremata ut definitioni synodali, adjiceretur quantum satis esset, ut, quod pauci illis credere se testati fuerant, omnibus tanquam fide certum præscriberetur. Id Eugenio pontifici non placuit, & definitio absque ulla additione promulgata est. *Renaudot. Comment. ad Liturg. Copt. St. Basil. p. 246, 247.*

accounts may be reconciled : for it might be that five bishops more might declare themselves in a conference, where Sgyropulus was not present, to be of this opinion, and Sgyropulus not take notice of that conference ; for he tells us little of any thing where he was not himself particularly concerned, and yet none of them might know or consent to what Bessarion was appointed by the emperor to say at the conclusion of all, and after the Greeks had subscribed the union, and the Latins were going to subscribe it also. So that which account soever we believe, (and nothing hinders but we may believe both) it is evident, that the declaration made by Bessarion was far from being the opinion of the majority, even of those Greeks who were at the Council ; and it is acknowledged by all, that it was not the opinion of any other of the Greeks. Again, the same Renaudotius, speaking concerning the invocation of the Holy Spirit, in another place, having observed that the Gothic, Gallican, and Mosarabic Liturgies, the Liturgies used in the Latin or Western Churches, had such a prayer following the words of institution, no less than those in the Greek or Eastern Churches, says :—"The first amongst those who have written concerning Liturgical matters, who has observed this conformity between the Mosarabic and the Greek practice in this point, is cardinal Bona, and he judges it is to be understood according to the same orthodox sense, as he calls it, in which the Greek fathers explained their prayer, **Make this bread the precious body of Christ ; that is to say, that the bread already consecrated may be sanctified to us and to our salvation by the descent of the Holy Ghost.** But six bishops, who gave this explanation unknown to the emperor and the other bishops, and who afterwards when they did know it opposed them, cannot be called the Greek fathers. But however that be, it cannot by any means relate to the Syrians and the other orientals who had no concerns with them. For what the followers of Bessarion and Arcudius say, that *the whole prayer refers to the profitable receiving the mystery*, cannot bear. For the descent, the coming, and the overshadowing of the Holy Spirit upon the gifts already consecrated into the body and blood of Christ, ought not to be prayed for, *only* that those who are going to receive them may receive them worthily."\* Having thus shewn that this prayer of

\* Primus inter eos qui de Liturgicis rebus scripserunt, hanc vetusti Mosarabici Ritus cum Græco conformitatem observavit cardinalis Bona, eamque intelli-

invocation is of primitive antiquity, and has made a part in all the Liturgies of the Church, both of the East and the West, and that it has been used after the words of institution in all those Liturgies, except the Roman, and that the interpretation given of that prayer by Bessarion, Arcudius, Goar, and Bona, is neither agreeable to the words of the prayer, nor did the Greeks in the Council of Florence put that sense upon it, as those learned authors pretend, I trust I have proved that it has Antiquity, Universality, and Consent, to convince us that it always made a part of the form of consecration, till it was cast out of the English Liturgy for the satisfaction of Bucer and Martyr, foreign Presbyterians invited over hither to spoil our Reformation. I should now have proceeded to another head, but that a learned gentleman has been lately pleased to make another objection against this prayer as it stands in the Clementine Liturgy, the Liturgy I am at this time examining particularly. Toward the latter end of the year 1717., a book was published, called, "Reasons for restoring some prayers and directions, as they stand in the communion service of the first English reformed Liturgy compiled by the bishops in the 2nd. and 3d. years of the reign of king Edward VI.", wherein the learned author proved that there were four things requisite to the due celebration of the holy eucharist:—"1. The mixture of water with the sacramental wine. 2. Prayers for the faithful departed. 3. The invocation of the Holy Ghost to bless the elements. 4. The oblation of the bread and wine to God, as the commemorative sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ;" which were all ordered to be performed in that Liturgy, but were laid aside in a year or two after, and have ever since been disused by the Church of England. These things he shews ought to be restored, to make the eucharist complete and perfect, and agree-

*gendam judicavit secundum eundem sensum orthodoxum, inquit, quo patres Græci in Synodo Florentina suam orationem, fac hunc panem preciosum corpus Christi, explicarunt: ut nimirum hostia jam consecrata, nobis nostræque saluti sancti spiritus illapsu sanctificetur. At patres Græci dici non possunt, episcopi sex, qui imperatore & aliis episcopis nescientibus, & postea reclamantibus, talem expositionem dederunt. Qualis vero cunque illa sit, ad Syros & reliquos orientales, qui cum illis commune nihil habuerunt, pertinere nullatenus censenda est. Nam quod aiunt Bessarionis & Arcudii imitatores, totam orationem referri ad fructuosam mysterii susceptionem, sustineri non potest. Neque enim postulari oportet spiritus sancti illapsum, adventum & obumbrationem super dona consecrata in corpus & sanguinem Christi, ut qui illa percepturi sunt, digni eadem suscipiant. Renaudot. Observat. in Liturg. Syriac. p. 92, 93.*



able to the institution of Christ and the practice of the Primitive Church, and of the whole Christian Church in all times and all places for above fifteen hundred years. These reasons were soon answered by another learned gentleman in another little book, called, "No Reason for restoring," &c. To which a reply was quickly returned, called, "A Defence of the Reasons," &c. Not long after the publication of this Defence, a book was published, entitled, "A Communion Office, taken partly from the Primitive Liturgies, and partly from the first English Reformed Common Prayer Book," designed for the use of those who did not think those essential points, before mentioned, sufficiently provided for in the present Liturgy of the Church of England. This office was published in the beginning of the year 1718. Some time after, a learned author of the opposite sentiment thought proper to write against the Defence, &c., which answer he published in two parts, called, "No sufficient Reason," &c. In this book he has thought fit to take notice of the communion office before mentioned, in which is inserted the prayer of invocation, taken from the Clementine Liturgy, which prayer he has particularly been pleased to animadvert upon. And, therefore, as I am now vindicating that prayer, and proving it to be truly Primitive and Catholic, I think it proper to take notice of his objection to it. For though I doubt not but the learned author of the Reasons will give a satisfactory reply to the second part of the "No sufficient Reason," as he has already done to the first, yet, forasmuch, as I know myself to be more particularly concerned in this point, (for it was at my request this most ancient prayer was put in the communion office before mentioned, rather than that which is in the first Liturgy of Edward VI.) I think it behoves me to give my reasons for it, and to vindicate it from the charge this learned gentleman brings against it. He says then:—"It has been judged proper to frame a **new communion office**, different from both the first and second Liturgies of king Edward: where, instead of praying to God *to bless and sanctify the gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of Christ*, they now require to pray in these words:—*Send down thy Holy Spirit, the witness of the passion of our Lord Jesus, upon this sacrifice, that he may make this bread the body of thy Christ, and this cup the blood of thy Christ*, without any manner of restriction, and in as express terms as C.

du Perron, or Bellarmine, or any of the most zealous transubstantiators could ever desire, and beyond what is used in the canon of the mass. And there being such an improvement already made, what may be suspected to follow in time? Or, who can undertake to promise where these reasons will stop at last? Of which, yet we ought to be very well assured, before it can be expected that we should come into their new measures, it being very unreasonable to leave a certainty for an uncertainty, a fixed and stated Liturgy for a new one, that perhaps in a little time may as easily be parted with as that of king Edward has been."\*

Now here are two points which I think myself obliged to vindicate; first, that we have not exactly followed the first Liturgy of king Edward VI., and then that we use the Clementine prayer, which, in this learned gentleman's opinion, is as strong for transubstantiation, as any thing that the most zealous for that doctrine can desire. As to the first of these, the reason why we have not exactly followed the first Liturgy of king Edward VI. in this point, is because that Liturgy has not herein exactly followed Primitive antiquity, and comes too near the *canon of the mass*, where this prayer for the divine benediction, to sanctify the bread and wine, precedes the words of institution, contrary to all other Liturgies of the Christian Church, whether in the east or west: and as that prayer was always placed in the last place to complete and perfect the consecration, and not to begin it as in the Roman canon and the first Liturgy of king Edward, so it was judged most proper that in the restoration of Primitive usages, the Primitive order should be observed, and the most Primitive form of prayer also. It is true, the author of the Reasons, when he first pleaded for the restoration of these usages, pleaded for them as being contained in the first reformed Liturgy used in this realm, thereby to shew that they were agreeable to the doctrine taught by our own bishops at the Reformation. But he did not plead for them as reformed, but as Primitive and Catholic usages. And, therefore, when he or his friends were convinced that it was necessary to restore those practices, they lay under no obligation to restore them exactly according to that book, which was but modern. And as they declared their value for

\* No sufficient Reason, part ii. p. 85, 86.

that book no further than as it was more conformable to the Primitive pattern than the present Liturgy of the Church of England, so where they found it not agreeable to the Primitive patterns, as it was not in the order wherein the invocation of the Holy Ghost was placed, or in the words of that prayer, they chose rather to follow the best exemplar of the Apostolical form, as I have shewed the Clementine Liturgy to be, than the modern form as placed in that book. Though for peace sake, and if their brethren would have agreed to the usage of the communion service as it stands in that first book of king Edward, they would have complied with it, and made no further alteration; but that being refused, and it being said that they could not deviate in an iota from the present established Liturgy, those who were convinced that that Liturgy was defective in the communion service, finding it necessary to supply those defects, judged it most proper to do it in the most Primitive manner, by observing the same order of consecration which they found in the most ancient and Catholic Liturgies both of the east and west, where the oblation and invocation followed the words of institution, and did not precede them, as in the canon of the mass, and the first Liturgy of king Edward. But the second objection is of greatest moment, and which, if it had not been made, I should not have thought the other worth my notice. It seems in this communion office, the words **unto us** are left out in the prayer of invocation in the communion office. Now I confess those words are in the canon of the mass, and in the first Liturgy of king Edward, which was plainly taken from that canon, and differs very little from it, except in the Rubrics: but they are in no other ancient Liturgy. For in all the Greek and Eastern Liturgies, as well as in the Gallican, Gothic, and Mosarabic Liturgies, which were the ancient Liturgies of the Western Church before they gave place to the Roman canon, there is no such word as *nobis* or *unto us* in this petition for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the elements; they all, as has been shewed, run in these words, *Make, or let him make this bread the body of thy Christ, and this cup the blood of thy Christ*, without any manner of restriction, and in as express terms as are in this prayer, which this learned gentleman reflects upon. Whether the cardinals, Du Perron, or Bellarmine, could ever desire more, is a question not very difficult to answer. But this is certain, and I have already proved it, that the cardinals,



Bessarion, and Bona, and Arcudius, and Goar, as zealous transubstantiators as either Du Perron or Bellarmine, have pleaded as hard for those words **unto us** as this gentleman or any of his friends can do. A sure argument that those words **unto us**, did not, in their opinion, in any wise tend to overthrow the doctrine of transubstantiation, nor that the leaving them out did in any measure tend to support that doctrine. I am persuaded this learned answerer had not duly considered what advantage he gives the zealous transubstantiators by maintaining such an assertion, that to pray to God to send the Holy Ghost to *make this bread the body of Christ, and this cup the blood of Christ*, without restriction, is as much as they can desire. For this is as much as to say, that all that use such a prayer maintain, or at least countenance, the doctrine of transubstantiation, otherwise the zealous transubstantiators can have no desire gratified by it. If so, then they have a better argument for that doctrine than I thought they had. They have the concurrent sense of the Primitive Church from the Apostles' days downwards, of the whole Catholic Church, of all Churches but their own, (their's being the only Church which has the restriction) both Eastern and Western for eight hundred years at least, and of all the Greek and Eastern Churches to this day, to countenance this their absurd opinion. So that they must have Antiquity, Universality, and Consent, to support the doctrine of transubstantiation, if the objection here made against this prayer be of any weight. Whereas for my part I took the doctrine of transubstantiation to be modern, first started and maintained by Paschasius in the ninth century, when the Roman canon only had prevailed in all the Churches of the west, and excluded those Liturgies in those parts wherein this prayer was used in the form, and order, and words, which this worthy person is pleased to condemn as teaching that doctrine. But if to call the *consecrated bread and wine the body and blood of Christ*, or to pray that they *be made so by consecration*, is to teach the doctrine of transubstantiation, (and if it be not, the objection is made to no purpose) then what shall we say to our Saviour's own words, *This is my body, This is my blood*, which were spoken by him without any restriction? he does not say, *This is my body unto you, This is my blood unto you*. Cardinal Du Perron and Bellarmine, and the most zealous transubstantiators, say, that they are as express as they can

desire, which is more than many of them have said of this prayer ; which, if they had thought so very much to their purpose as is now pretended, they would not have been so zealous in the Council of Florence to get an interpretation of it by the words **unto us**, the words which the learned answerer blames us for leaving out. However I do not deny but they may prove transubstantiation from those words, *Make this bread the body of thy Christ*, &c., just as they prove it from the words, *This is my body*, &c., and no otherwise. And as Christ spoke those words without any manner of restriction, so the Catholic Church in all ages and places, where the canon of the mass has not prevailed, have used the words of this prayer without restriction. For since Christ himself has so expressly declared the consecrated bread and cup to be his body and blood in most express terms without limitation, I cannot see that the Church is to be blamed for praying that it may be made that body and blood which Christ called it, without adding any limitation thereto. For why should we make a restriction in our prayers, where Christ himself hath made none ? The same answer that is made to prove that our Saviour's own words do not countenance the doctrine of transubstantiation, will prove that this prayer also gives no countenance to it. For our Saviour's words always precede the prayer, (except in the canon of the mass and king Edward's first Liturgy) and, therefore, when we afterwards pray that *the bread may be made the body, and the cup the blood of Christ*, we plainly shew that we pray it may be made that body and blood which he appointed it to be. Therefore these words cannot be charged with giving countenance to transubstantiation, unless our Saviour's words do likewise countenance that doctrine, for they follow our Saviour's words, and are used with a plain reference to them, and the meaning of the latter cannot be different from that of the former. This anonymous gentleman, therefore, in order to bring an accusation against us, as if we were running into the very dregs of popery, has unthinkingly given greater advantage to the Romanists than, I am well assured, he intended. For he argues, that to *call the bread the body, and the cup the blood of Christ*, or to *pray that they may be made so* without adding a restriction, is as good an argument for transubstantiation as can be desired by the most zealous maintainers of that opinion. These I confess are not directly his words ; but if his words do not bear this sense

and meaning, they signify nothing. Now our Saviour himself called the *bread his body, and the cup his blood*, and the most Primitive Church, and the whole Catholic Church in all times and places, for eight hundred years together, excepting Italy, (if that may be excepted whilst it was Primitive, and before pope Gregory had drawn up his sacramentary) did pray to God to send the Holy Ghost to *make this bread the body, and this cup the blood of Christ*, without any restriction; therefore Christ himself and the Catholic Church, not excepting the most Primitive, have given as good an argument for transubstantiation as can be desired by the most zealous maintainers of that opinion. And I freely own I shall think it no discredit to be thought as much a favourer of that doctrine, as our Saviour and his Primitive Catholic Church were. And I am sure no argument can affect me, or any that approve of this prayer, with regard to transubstantiation, but it must also affect our Saviour himself and his whole Church, even the most Primitive Ante-Nicene Church, when I believe our learned antagonist himself will own that doctrine and religion were most pure and uncorrupt. And yet in order to asperse us as favourers of transubstantiation, and as paving the way to downright popery, he unwarily makes our Saviour himself and the Primitive Church to give countenance to that doctrine. I say, this is plainly done in order to asperse us as paving the way to popery. For having accused us of going beyond the mass in favour of transubstantiation, even as far as *the most zealous transubstantiators could ever desire*, (though we have gone no further than the Primitive and Catholic Church did in the earliest ages, of which I thought that a man of his learning could not be ignorant) he proceeds and says:—*There being such an improvement already made, what may be suspected to follow in time? or, who can undertake to promise where these restorers will end at last?*

Now this improvement must mean that we have made an alteration different from what the author of the “Reasons” has proposed, and in another form than any which he had put down in that little book; for if it be no more than what he has there expressly mentioned, there is no improvement, nothing different from the first proposal: and this improvement, according to what he has said before, must be in favour of transubstantiation. But if there be really no improvement, nothing in this prayer which



was not fairly proposed before by the author of the "Reasons" in that very book, then this is a very false suggestion. And that there is no more in this prayer which this learned gentleman calls *an improvement*, than what the author of the "Reasons" pleaded to have restored, is most certain from that very book where he has inserted this prayer, as what he thought proper to be restored. *The third passage*, says he, *to be restored, is the prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the sacramental elements*.<sup>\*</sup> Then he gives us that prayer in the words of king Edward's first Liturgy; and immediately after in the words of the Clementine Liturgy, the prayer which this learned gentleman calls *an improvement*. He pleads that the prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost may be restored: but plainly shews, it is indifferent to him whether it be done in the words of king Edward's Liturgy or of any other, especially this, which he as particularly mentions in the "Reasons" as he does the other. Nay, he is more particular upon it, for he but barely cites the words of king Edward's first Liturgy, but he enlarges upon the prayer as it is in the Clementine Liturgy, saying, "This invocation for the descent of the Holy Ghost to make the elements the body and blood of Christ, being spoken at some distance after the words pronounced by our Saviour at the institution; it is plain, the author of the 'Apostolical Constitutions' did not believe the pronouncing the words, *This is my body, This is my blood*, either *trans* or *consubstantiated* the bread and wine: for if our Saviour had been corporally present, either by changing the elements into his body and blood, or united to them by consubstantiation; if this effect had followed upon pronouncing these words, *This is my body, &c.*, to what purpose should the descent of the Holy Ghost have been afterwards invoked, to make the elements the body and blood of Christ? To what purpose should this be done, when, according to the "Trent Catechism," they were so already in the most full and wonderful sense imaginable?" Now from what he before says concerning the antiquity of this prayer, and what he here speaks of it, as so opposite to the doctrine of the Church of Rome contained in the "Trent Catechism," it is evident that he thought it preferable to that in king Edward's Liturgy; and that though he could be contented if the prayer for the descent

\* Reasons, p. 22.

of the Holy Ghost was restored as in that first English reformed communion office, yet he would rather choose to have it restored from the "Apostolical Constitutions." So that here is no *improvement* made with regard to this prayer, it is the very same in the new communion office with what it is in the "Reasons." And this learned gentleman's zeal against that office has made him forget the antiquity of this prayer, which he charges as favouring transubstantiation, and so blinded him, that he could not see that this very prayer was set down in the "Reasons," and therefore could be no *improvement* of any thing there proposed. The first time that I was so happy as to meet with this excellent prayer, was in the reading bishop "Hickes's Christian Priesthood," where\* he has given it us both in the original and in his own translation. Then after a short account of the manner of administering the holy sacrament according to the "Apostolical Constitutions," of which this prayer is a part, he immediately adds—"This account of the eucharistical service is, as I have before observed, most agreeable to the accounts we have of it, and of the administration thereof, both in the first Apology of Justin Martyr, and also to the doctrine of it in his Dialogue with Tripho, and **I do not doubt, but it is most conformable to the Primitive and Apostolical form.**" And I must confess, I little thought that popery and transubstantiation would have been found in a *Primitive and Apostolical form*, or in what bishop Hickes judged to be so: for I am verily persuaded, he was as far from popery, or from believing transubstantiation, as any man whatsoever, of which his excellent letters against popery are a sufficient testimony. Much less could I think that any *non-juror* (as this learned gentleman styles himself in his title page) would have charged a prayer commended by him, as teaching the doctrine of transubstantiation *in as express terms as C. Du Perron or Bellarmine, or any of the most zealous transubstantiators could ever desire, and beyond what is used in their Canon of the Mass.* But what does he mean by *beyond the Canon of the Mass*? Does this prayer, or any rubric in the new communion office, direct us to elevate the elements, and to worship them, as the *Canon of the Mass* does? How then does it go beyond it? Or indeed, how is it in any respect like it? If he says that he

\* Christian Priesthood asserted, p. 131., &c. 3d. edition.

speaks not of Rubrics, but only of prayers; I answer, that the prayers in the *Canon of the Mass* no more favour transubstantiation, than the prayers in the established Liturgy of the Church of England. The *Canon of the Mass*, generally speaking, is very innocent and inoffensive as to the prayers, and does not favour the superstitions and corruptions of the Church of Rome, particularly in the point of transubstantiation, more than the communion office of the Church of England, or of any other Church that protests against that doctrine. For that Canon, as to the prayers, was compiled at latest in the latter end of the Sixth Century, by Pope Gregory the Great, above two hundred years before transubstantiation was taught by Paschasius, and has received little or no alteration since. But then superstitious rubrics have been added for the elevation and adoration of the host, and the absurd doctrine of the elements being changed into the very natural body and blood of Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and is now in heaven, is taught in their creed and Catechism, and authorized and enjoined to be believed by the highest authority of that Church. Therefore, if by the *Canon of the Mass* he means the prayers alone without the Rubrics, I see no harm if the new form had been agreeable to it, as the first Liturgy of kind Edward is, otherwise than it would not have been so agreeable to purer antiquity, as I conceive it now is. For though the *Canon of the Mass* has a terrible sound with it to those that know nothing of it, yet read it without the rubrics, and very little amiss will be found in it. It is here published in English, and therefore I may fairly submit what I here assert to the reader's judgment, without adding any thing more on that occasion. And if we have chosen another prayer different from what is in the *Canon of the Mass*, which this gentleman is pleased to call *going beyond that Canon*, it has been only because we believe that to be the more ancient form, and the form more universally used than the other, which seems peculiar to the Church of Rome; all other Churches whatsoever that we have any account of, whether orthodox or heretical, that were before the Reformation, using this form as it stands in the new communion office. But we pray that the *bread may be made the body, and the cup the blood of Christ, without any manner of restriction*. So did the ancient Churches, and so do all Churches at this day, but the Roman and the Reformed: so did



our Saviour at the institution style it his *body and blood* without restriction. But we pray that the Holy Ghost may make them Christ's body and blood, which implies as if we expected some extraordinary change to be made in the elements, requiring an omnipotent power to produce it. And I freely confess, for my own part, (and believe I may say the same for my brethren in communion with me) that I do believe so. But I believe no transubstantiation.

I do not believe the bread and wine to be annihilated, and the substance of them, the accidents remaining, to be changed into the natural body and blood of Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary, suffered on the cross, and is now in heaven, which is the doctrine of the Church of Rome: neither do I believe with the Lutherans, that the substance of the bread and wine remaining, the very individual body and blood of Christ is by a certain ubiquity so united and incorporated with them, as to be eaten and drunk by the faithful in the Lord's supper. Neither do I believe with the Calvinists, that the body and blood of Christ, which are now in heaven, are sacramentally, or in an inconceivable manner, united to the bread and wine, so as to be received together with them by the faith of the communicants. But I do believe the bread and wine to be the only body and blood appointed to be received in the holy eucharist. And I believe them to be made his sacramental flesh and blood, that is, the full and perfect representative of his body and blood, his very body and blood in power and effect: that very body and blood which he spake of, when he said:—"Except ye eat of 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."\* Mr. Johnson, to whom I refer the reader, † has proved these words, and all belonging to them in the same chapter, to refer to the flesh and blood of Christ in the holy eucharist, and that that flesh and blood are the bread and wine there given and received. And I believe that the Holy Ghost descends upon them and rests in them, not barely to sanctify them or separate them to an holy use, but to infuse in them a quickening virtue to nourish and feed our bodies and souls unto eternal life. And, therefore, I think it necessary, whenever I re-

\* John vi. 53, 54.

† Unbloody Sacrifice, part 1. p. 251. &c.

ceive or administer this holy sacrament, to desire God to *send down his Holy Spirit, that he may make the bread the body of Christ, and the cup the blood of Christ*. Nor do I see any occasion to make any restriction in that case; for being then celebrating that sacrament, the meaning is plain and obvious, that I understand thereby the sacramental body and blood of Christ; that body and blood which he gave to his disciples, when he said, *Take, eat, this is my body, &c.*, without any restriction. And what authority have we to put a restriction where Christ himself has put none? does the Established Church, or any Church in the world, put a restriction upon the words, *body and blood*, in their consecration prayer? why then should we? Why should that be charged as a fault in us, which is so charged in no other communion? St. Chrysostom's Liturgy, after having said, *Make this bread the precious body of thy Christ, and this cup the precious blood of thy Christ*, adds, **changing them by thy Holy Spirit**. Which cardinal Bona translates, **transubstantiating them by thy Holy Spirit**. So ready are some persons to find out *transubstantiation*, where no such thing was meant or thought of; for though there be a change made in the elements, there is no *transubstantiation*; for there was no such thing or word known in the days of St. Chrysostom, or whensoever that Liturgy, used in the Greek Church at Constantinople, was composed. Mr. Johnson has proved this very plainly from St. Chrysostom's words, which I shall, therefore, give as cited by that learned gentleman. "St. Chrysostom, in his homily on the 11th. chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, v. 16, 17., says, *That the Apostle speaks so as to make us believe and tremble; for what he says is this, that what is in the cup is that which flowed from our Saviour's side, and of that we partake*. And he adds not far from the same place, *After he had spoken of the communion of the body, and because that which partakes is different from the thing it partakes of, he takes away the distinction, though it seem but a small one. Having spoken of the communion of the body, he endeavoured to say something that was yet more close still; wherefore he adds, we being many, are one bread and one body; for (says the Apostle) why do I speak of communion? we are that very body. For what is the bread? says the Apostle: The body of Christ. What are the partakers? The body of Christ; not*

*many bodies, but one body.* In which words as he speaks decisively against the Church of Rome, not only in making bread the body of Christ, but likewise in making the sacramental body to consist of the members as well as of the head ; so he is very express, that in the eucharistical bread and wine we receive the body of Christ Jesus more than in a type or figure. For what is there in a type, to make a man tremble ? And he makes the communion to be the eucharistical body and blood, and not our *declaration*. And I am the more confirmed in this exposition of St. Chrysostom, when I consider that St. Irenæus understands the body and blood in this text to be the bread and wine consecrated for this purpose : for speaking to those heretics, who vilified the creation, and would not allow it to be the workmanship of the good God and father ; *Then, says he, neither will the cup of the eucharist be the communication of his blood, nor the bread which we break the communication of his body.* And in another place, *How could our Lord, in common justice, take that bread, which is, according to our doctrine, a part of the creation, and declare it to be his body, if he be the Son of another Father ? And affirm the mixt cup to be his blood ?* Ignatius himself (who was contemporary to divers of the Apostles) supposes the *eucharist to be the body of Christ, which suffered for our sins, and was raised from the dead.*\* “ But,” says he a little after, “ though the ancients believed the bread and wine in the eucharist, to be the body and blood ; yet they did not believe that they were the natural or substantial body and blood, but that they were so in a spiritual manner, in power and effect : so that the bread and wine are not the body and blood in themselves considered, nor merely by their representing or resembling the body and blood, but by the inward visible power of the Holy Spirit, by which the sacramental body and blood are made as powerful and effectual for the ends of religion, as the natural body itself could be, if it was present : and it is on this account that it is called Christ’s spiritual and mysterious body, as being discerned to be what it is by the inward not the outward eye ; by our faith, our minds, and spirits, not our senses. And this, when proved, is a full answer to the objections above mentioned ; for though bread and wine, abstractedly considered. are indeed

\* Unbloody Sacrifice, part 1. p. 171.



weak elements ; yet when enriched with the special presence and invisible operations of the Spirit, they are very efficacious and beneficial : though bread and wine in themselves can be no more than figures, yet when the Holy Ghost has blessed and sanctified them, they are in power and effect to us the very same, that the archetypes could be : and though we cannot apprehend this by our taste or sight, yet we may by our reason, informed by a right faith."\* This doctrine Mr. Johnson has very well and fully proved in his book, both from Scripture and the testimony of the fathers, to which I, therefore, refer the reader, and it is a doctrine, which as he, by solid and unanswerable arguments, proved to be a true doctrine, so it is intirely inconsistent with *transubstantiation*. For the sacramental, representative body, that which is the body only energetically, or in power and effect, cannot be the individual natural body. Nevertheless there is a great change made in the elements, a change that requires an Omnipotent power to effect it ; for a less power cannot infuse such a virtue into weak elements, and make that which, in its own nature, can only nourish the body and preserve its life a while in this world, become the food of eternal life. Man may, indeed, consecrate or dedicate bread and wine to God, and set them before him, or offer them in remembrance of Christ's death, or a testimony of his firm belief of it : but man cannot infuse any quickening or life-giving virtue into those symbols, and yet without that virtue they can profit him but little. For, as our Saviour says, speaking concerning his body and blood in the eucharist, "It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing."† If, therefore, this quickening Spirit, the Holy Ghost, be not present to be received by us with the bread and wine to communicate to them a quickening power, the bare elements can profit us nothing. Though they may be symbols or representatives of Christ's body, or bare types, (as under the Jewish dispensation there were many types of Christ) they cannot be his body and blood in power and effect, and convey to us all the benefits purchased by the breaking of his body and the shedding of his blood, by the resurrection of his body and ascension into heaven.

We therefore, (as the whole Catholic Church has done from the Apostles' days to the Reformation) think it necessary to pray to

\* Unbloody Sacrifice, part 1. p. 177.

† John vi. 63.

God on this occasion to *send down his Holy Spirit, the witness of the passion of our Lord Jesus, upon this sacrifice, that he may make this bread the body of his Christ, and this cup the blood of his Christ*, because without this Spirit our Saviour has taught us, that even his own flesh cannot profit us. And if we had added, *Changing it by thy Holy Spirit*, as it is in St. Chrysostom's Liturgy, we could very well, as I have shewed, have cleared those words from teaching the doctrine of transubstantiation. But as they are peculiar to that one Liturgy, we had no regard to them, resolving in this particular to use this prayer in the most Primitive and universal form, that no one might condemn us for it, without at the same time condemning the most Primitive and Catholic Church; and to be condemned in such company will never afflict us. But the learned author of "No Sufficient Reason" tells us, that "the consecration has been anciently held to consist in the words of institution. Tertullian is as express for it as can be. *Having taken the bread, and distributed it to his disciples, he made it his body, by saying, this is my body.* Here I would ask any opponent; could it have been more fully expressed, supposing the consecration really to consist in the words of institution? If it could, let it be shewn. But if that cannot be done, the conclusion is inevitable, that according to Tertullian's doctrine, our words of consecration are all that can be said to be necessary to that purpose."\* Now though I have already answered this passage of Tertullian in answer to cardinal Bona, who makes the same objection, yet it may not be amiss to take notice of it again here as it is revived and urged by this learned gentleman. He also urges the testimony of St. Augustine, who says, "*I have told you that before Christ's words (of institution) what is offered is called bread; but after the pronounciation of those words, is no longer called bread, but is named the body.*" Here St. Augustine teaches the bread to receive the effect of consecration, upon our Lord's words being pronounced over it. And if this was true doctrine then, it must be so now; and by consequence, our learned author's objections against the sufficiency of our Liturgy in this respect, must vanish." Now I might answer our author in his own words, and tell him that Tertullian and St. Augustine were African

\* No sufficient Reason, p. 120.

fathers, "who whatsoever tradition they might follow in Africa, it can never be proved that their practice in that part of the world could make it universal."\* For if this be a good argument against us in one case, I see not why it should not be a good argument for us in another: especially since in this case, supposing his citations proved what he thinks they do, we have the authority of all other Churches expressly against them, as appear from their Liturgies; but he has no authority of any other Church, or so much as one single father, against their testimony in the other case, where he thinks it a sufficient answer to say *the tradition of Africa cannot make it universal*. But we have no occasion for such a shift in the case before us: the passages he cites do not prove this point. For Tertullian does not say that the priest makes the bread Christ's body by reciting these words of Christ, but that Christ himself made them his body *by saying, This is my body*. And this is confessed by all; for if Christ had not said those words, *This is my body*, we could never have known or believed *bread* to be *his body*, or the *figure or type of his body*, as Tertullian afterwards explains himself. And if I was disposed to cavil, I might say as he has done to us, *How comes he to cite Tertullian, as saying he made it his body without restriction, in as express terms as C. Du Perron or Bellarmine, or any of the most zealous transubstantiators could ever desire*, when Tertullian himself has added a Limitation in the very next words, saying, *that is, the figure of his body*. Whereas we left out nothing in that prayer which he so severely reflects upon us for, but put it down just as we found it in the most ancient Liturgy of the Catholic Church. But God be praised, our cause has no need of such artifices to prejudice a reader. Christ, as Tertullian says, *made the bread his body, by saying, This is my body*, that is, he gave us his word to satisfy us, that bread so blessed and consecrated as that was which he gave his disciples, was made the type or figure of his body. Consequently those words of Christ, as spoken by him at that time, not only made the bread which he then blessed and broke, and gave to his disciples, to be his body, but have also made all bread which has been so blessed, and broken and distributed according to his institution, to be his body ever since. And all

\* No Reason, p. 64.



that have undertaken to prove the eucharistical bread to be Christ's body, taking the word *body* either in the sense of the Primitive Church, or of the Church of Rome, or of the Lutherans, or of the Calvinists, they have no other proof for it but these words of Christ, *Take, eat, this is my body*. Therefore by these words at that time spoken by him, he made the bread his body both when he gave it to his disciples, and ever since when it is administered according to his ordinance: consequently Tertullian has very truly said, that *he made the bread his body, by saying, This is my body*: for if he had not said the words, *This is my body*, and so made it his sacramental or representative body, *his very body in power and effect*, no other power could have made it so. But this is very far from saying, *that the whole consecration consists in the reciting or pronouncing those words*, as this learned gentleman pretends they do, when he says, *Could it have been more fully expressed, supposing the consecration really to consist in the words of institution?* For Tertullian is not here speaking any thing concerning the form of consecration. He is arguing against Marcion an heretic, who denied Christ to have a *real body*: to confute which opinion, he brings this as a demonstrative argument; *Having taken the bread, and distributed it to his disciples, he made it his body, by saying, This is my body, that is, the figure of my body. But it could not have been a figure, if there had not been a body of a truth:* \* or, if he had not had a real body. But what is this to the words of consecration? It is, as he intended it, a good argument against Marcion, that Christ had a real body, because he made bread the type, figure, or representative of his body, and he could not make a true type, figure, or representative of that which had no being. Consequently since he made the figure of his body, *by saying, This is my body*, it is certain Christ had a body. This is the sole design for which Tertullian produces the words. And there are no other words in the whole Scripture, by which it can be proved, that our Saviour did make *the figure of his body*. But *the conclusion is not therefore inevitable, that, according to Tertullian's doctrine, our words of consecration are all that can be said to be necessary to that purpose.* That father only

\* Acceptum panem & distributum discipulis, corpus suum illum fecit, hoc est corpus meum dicendo, id est figura corporis. Figura autem non fuisset, nisi veritatis esset corpus. *Contr. Marc. l. 4. c. 40.*

shews, that those words of Christ make the bread, when rightly and duly consecrated, to be the body of Christ; but he by no means teaches, that the recital of those words is the form of consecration, which is the point they are brought to prove. These words, it is confessed, are the Word of God, and it is by the Word of God that whatever he has appointed or ordained, is sanctified or consecrated to us. But then it is by that word spoken originally by himself, and not as recited by man. Thus, for instance, every thing that is proper for food, is sanctified for the use of man by the Word of God, and was so sanctified by him when he said to Adam, and afterwards to Noah, *Behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed: to you it shall be for meat. And the fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every fowl of the air, upon all that moveth upon the earth, and upon all the fishes of the sea; into your hand are they delivered. Every moving thing shall be meat for you: even as the green herb have I given you all things.\** Thus the Word of God has sanctified all creatures proper for food to be food for man. And without this sanctification by the Word of God, they could not have been food for us to preserve our life. For, as our Saviour has said, *It is written, man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.†* But then it is by this Word of God as spoken by himself, and not as recited or pronounced by us, that this sanctification is made. Nevertheless, prayer is also required of us to make this food *good* and *truly beneficial* to us. The Word of God has made it food for us, and by virtue of that word once spoken by God, it will nourish us, and preserve our life, though we never recite or pronounce it, nay, though we know it not. For Heathens and Infidels are nourished by their meat and drink, though they either know or believe nothing of that Word which has made those creatures for that purpose. But then it is not fully sanctified to them, nor does it preserve their lives to a beneficial use, as the food of Christians does, which is farther sanctified by prayer. For St. Paul says, *Every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with*

\* Gen. i. 29.; ix. 2, 3.

† Matth. iv. 4.; Deut. viii. 3.

**thanksgiving.\*** Which implies, that without such thanksgiving, it is not good. *For it is sanctified by the Word of God and prayer.* Not *by the Word of God only*, but *by prayer also*.

But though our common food, according to St. Paul's doctrine, is not sufficiently sanctified by *the word of God* only, but requires *thanksgiving* or *prayer* to be added by us to consecrate it for our use, yet it seems, according to this learned gentleman's doctrine, the eucharistical bread, the bread of life, which is of far more value, and therefore requires a more solemn consecration, is sufficiently consecrated, not by the words of Christ as spoken by himself, but by those words as recited or pronounced by the priest, without any prayer or thanksgiving. And for this he produces the authority of Tertullian, who says not a word of what is to be said by the priest, but only of what was said originally by Christ. And nobody denies, but that original word of Christ does make that bread to become his body, which is also sanctified or consecrated by thanksgiving and prayer, and offered to God in remembrance of him in the manner he has appointed. But then we say, that this is done by virtue of that word once spoken by Christ himself, and not merely by virtue of that word recited by the priest in the form of consecration. There we say, that prayer and thanksgiving are at least as necessary as St. Paul teaches us, that they are for the sanctification or consecration of our daily food. Neither will Tertullian's words prove any thing more, notwithstanding this learned gentleman is pleased to urge them as a demonstration for that purpose. But if Tertullian's words will not prove the point for which this learned gentleman produces them, St. Augustine's surely will. For he says expressly:—*That before Christ's words, what is offered is called bread; but after the pronounciation of Christ's words, it is no longer called bread, but is named the body.* Here it cannot be said, that he refers us to the words of Christ, as spoken by himself at the time of the institution, but to those words as recited by the priest at the consecration as celebrated in the Church. But still this is not saying that the consecration is performed by the recital of those words alone: the most that it implies is, that those words might conclude the form of consecration in the African Church, as they do in the Roman Canon, and in the first Liturgy of king Edward VI.,

\* 1 Tim. iv. 4, 5.



yet it does by no means imply, that the African Church, or even St. Augustine himself, believed the whole form of the consecration to consist in the priest's pronouncing those words. For it is certain, St. Augustine himself believed the consecration to be made *by prayer, and the invisible operation of the Holy Ghost*, as he plainly teaches, when he says:—*We call that only the body and blood of Christ, which being taken out of the fruits of the earth, and consecrated by a mystical prayer, is rightly received by us for our spiritual health in remembrance of our Lord's passion for us, which when it is brought by the hands of men into that visible shape, is not sanctified, that it should be made so great a sacrament, but by the invisible operation of the Holy Ghost.\** Therefore, unless we would make St. Augustine to contradict himself, we cannot understand him to mean what this learned author would infer from his words, that *the bread receives the effect of consecration, barely upon our Lord's words being pronounced over it.*

It may perhaps be said, that though St. Augustine and the Church of Africa might believe the consecration to be made by the invisible operation of the Holy Ghost, yet it does not thence follow, that they thought an invocation necessary for that purpose, but might believe, that upon pronouncing the words of institution, the operation of the Holy Ghost most certainly followed, whether they prayed for it or not. *And if this was true doctrine then, it must be so now*, as this author argues from the words he has cited from St. Augustine. Now having no Liturgy of the African Church now extant, unless the Mosarabic Liturgy (as it is highly probable) was so, it might be difficult to give a direct answer to such an objection. But as this *invocation* is not only in the Mosarabic Liturgy, which we have great reason to believe was that which was used in Africa, but we have also the testimony of Optatus (an African father, somewhat elder than St. Augustine) to assure us that this *invocation* was used in that Church, such an objection can be of no weight. Now he, writing against the

\* Corpus Christi & sanguinem dicimus illud tantum, quod ex frugibus terræ acceptum, & prece mysticâ consecratum rite sumimus ad salutem spiritualem in memoriam pro nobis Dominicæ passionis, quod cum per manus hominum ad illam visibilem speciem perducitur, non sanctificatur, ut sit tam magnum sacramentum, nisi operante invisibiliter spiritu sancto. *August. Tom. viii. De Trinitate*, l. 3. c. 4. p. 798.

Donatists, (a sect that was confined to Africa, who sometimes forcibly oppressed the Catholics, pulled down their altars, broke their consecrated vessels, and committed many other outrages) and speaking of their pulling down altars, says:—*Where the Almighty God is invoked, and where the Holy Spirit, being required, descends.\** And I am persuaded, they did not believe that the descent of the Holy Ghost was without any effect, or that they prayed to the Father to send his Holy Spirit upon the bread and the cup, to make them the body and blood of Christ, and that they did also believe that the Holy Ghost did actually descend according to the tenor of this prayer, not upon the people only, but upon the elements lying on the altar, and yet believe that this descent contributed nothing to the consecration, but all was performed by the priest's recital of the words of Christ. Nay, St. Augustine himself, whose testimony is brought to prove that the recital of those words gives to the bread the effect of consecration, tells us expressly, that *it is sanctified or consecrated by the invisible operation of the Holy Ghost.*

However, had Tertullian and St. Augustine been plainly of our author's side in this matter, the opinion or testimony of two single fathers, though of considerable weight in a matter where they are not contradicted by any other, yet are of no weight at all where they assert any thing contrary to the doctrine of the whole Church, as it appears from all the Liturgies of the Church that this opinion is which this author so zealously defends, and from the opinion and testimony of all the other fathers of the Church, as Mr. Johnson has proved, to whom therefore I refer the reader. But I trust I have proved, that neither of these two fathers have asserted or did maintain what the author of "No sufficient Reason," &c. pretends they did. In a word, this I conceive is manifest from the testimony of the fathers cited by Mr. Johnson on this occasion, and from the Liturgies here published, that the universal Church from the Apostles' days downwards to the Reformation, always used to recite the words of institution, to offer the elements to God as the sacramental body and blood of his Son, with a thankful remembrance of his death, and then to desire and pray for the descent of the Holy Ghost, to make the elements the body and blood of Christ in power and effect, as

\* Quò Deus omnipotens invocatus sit, quò postulatus descendit spiritus sanctus. *Optat. advers. Parmen. lib. 6. in Bibliothec. Patr. Tom. iv. p. 289.*

having been taught by our Saviour himself, that “it is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing,”\* and that they believed that every one of these contributed to the consecration, which, as St. Augustine says, was *sanctified by the invisible operation of the Holy Ghost*, who being prayed for, as Optatus says, was believed to *descend upon the elements*. Therefore, in their opinion, neither the words of institution, or oblation, or invocation, could be omitted, but it made an essential defect in the form of consecration.

Concerning the necessity of reciting the words of institution, there is no dispute betwixt us and our adversaries; they hold it to be necessary, that those words should be recited as well as we. The oblation, with the thankful remembrance of Christ’s death, which accompanies it in all the ancient Liturgies, is expressly commanded in those words, *Do, or offer this in remembrance of me*; and is therefore necessary, because so expressly enjoined: and the invocation for the descent of the Holy Ghost is no less necessary, because without his descent and invisible operation in and with the sacred elements, they can be of no benefit to us; for our Lord himself teaches us, that “it is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing. Every one of these particulars being therefore essentially necessary to the due consecration of the eucharist, and the *oblation* and *invocation* being so apparently laid aside in the present communion office of the Church of England, as any one must be convinced who compares that office with the Clementine or any other Liturgy here published, those are not to be blamed who endeavour to supply these defects in the best manner they are able, by following the most ancient Liturgies in these points, whatever be the consequence. For as the learned author of “No Reason,” &c. says very well:—“If these things are an essential part of religion, and of absolute necessity to salvation, in this case, no fear of its consequences must dissuade from nor can justify the refusal of it; but each one must faithfully discharge his duty, and leave the event to God’s all-wise providence, which over-rules all things, and can easily cause them to work together for good to them that love him.”† And Mr. Johnson observes:—“Though when some assert truth, and others contradict it, divisions must of necessity be the effect;

\* John vi. 63.

† No Reason, &c., p. 80.



yet the asserters in this case cannot but believe, that as their cause is right, so the divine providence will not permit such divisions to be lasting : for great is the **truth**, and will prevail, even against the most powerful opponents. In a word, the writers for the *oblation* and *invocation* may be impleaded as the ring-leaders of division and faction ; but then this accusation may with as good reason be laid against them who write for the necessity of episcopacy in Scotland, or who contend for the Liturgy in the vulgar tongue in Spain or Italy.”\*

§ 19. As soon as this prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost is concluded, the Clementine Liturgy adds a prayer for the whole Catholic Church, from one end of the world unto the other ; in which prayer all the other Liturgies agree with it in sense, though not in words. Only the Liturgy of St. Mark and the Roman Canon, and the first Liturgy of king Edward VI. which follows that Canon in this, as in most other points, use this prayer before the consecration of the elements. And the present communion office of the Church of England, following herein the Roman Canon, has appointed a prayer *for the whole state of Christ's Church*, preceding her form of consecration. So there is no question concerning the necessity of such a prayer to be used at this time as a testimony of our communion with the whole Catholic Church of Christ ; neither does the order in which this prayer may be used on this occasion, whether before or after the oblation, make any essential difference, though certainly it is most proper after the oblation, as it is in all the Liturgies but the Roman and that of St. Mark, and in the Ethiopic taken from St. Mark's, and in the first of Edward the VI. taken from the Roman. I shall only observe, that the Roman Canon, has part of this intercession following the consecration, as well as before it ; and where a custom or general practice is to be proved, a majority in the number of witnesses is of considerable weight ; and we are now enquiring into the general practice of the Church, and one or two exceptions are not sufficient to overthrow a general rule : and that it is also the more ancient practice, is evident from the Clementine Liturgy, the best exemplar of the traditional Liturgy taught by the

\* Prefatory Epistle to Unbloody Sacrifice, part 1. p. 22.

Apostles, and used in all Churches before stated forms were written for the use of particular provinces. The reason of the thing also pleads for the putting the prayer for all estates and conditions of men after the consecration; for as it is one general end of sacrifice, and of this eucharistical sacrifice in particular, to render our prayers more effectual,\* as Mr. Johnson has shewed, it is certainly most proper, that the sacrifice or oblation should be first offered, and that prayer should be made whilst it lies upon the altar, and is already dedicated to God. So that we have *antiquity, universality, and consent*, for praying for all estates and conditions of men whenever we offer the Christian sacrifice, which may satisfy us that such prayer is necessary at that time; and we have the more ancient and general practice of the Church, and the reason of the thing also, to satisfy us that it is most proper, at least, that this prayer should be made after the consecration, and not before it: which is sufficient to justify those, who having found it necessary to compile a new communion office for their own use, have judged it expedient so to place this prayer; though they would not have altered the old office merely for the sake of such a transposition. But there is another material point to be considered in this prayer; for in it, as it stands in the Clementine Liturgy, and in all the other Liturgies here published, that is, in the Liturgies of the Universal Church, not excepting any one Church before the Reformation, there is a petition for the faithful departed. In the Clementine Liturgy it runs thus: "We also offer to thee for all saints that have done what is pleasing to thee from the beginning of the world, patriarchs, prophets, righteous men, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops, priests, deacons, sub-deacons, readers, singers, virgins, widows, lay-men, and for all whose names thou knowest." In St. James's Liturgy, the priest having prayed, that "we may find mercy and favour with all thy saints, who from the beginning of the world have pleased thee in their generations, even with our fathers and forefathers, with the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, teachers, and saints, and every just spirit departed in the faith of Christ;" then adds, "Remember, O Lord, thou God of all spirits and of all flesh, the faithful whom we have now commemorated, or whom we have not mentioned,

\* Unbloody Sacrifice, part 2. p. 30, 31. 124, 125.

from righteous Abel unto this day. Make them to rest in the region of thy kingdom, in the delights of paradise, in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, our holy fathers : where there is no sorrow, grief, and lamentation, and where the light of thy countenance continually shines upon them." St. Mark's Liturgy : " Give rest, O Lord God, to the souls of our fathers and brethren who are before laid to sleep, remembering from the beginning of the world our forefathers, fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops, saints, just men, and every spirit departed in the faith of Christ, and those whose memory we this day celebrate, and our holy father Mark the Apostle and Evangelist, who shewed unto us the way of salvation." St. Chrysostom's Liturgy : " We offer unto thee this reasonable service, for those who sleep in Christ, forefathers, fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, preachers, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, continent persons, and every spirit departed in the faith of Christ." St. Basil's Liturgy, as used in the Constantinopolitan Church : " Remember all who are before gone to sleep, in hope of the resurrection to eternal life, and give them rest, O Lord, where the light of thy countenance shines upon them." The Liturgy of St. Basil, used in the Alexandrian Church : " Vouchsafe to remember, O Lord, those who have pleased thee from the beginning of the world, the holy fathers, patriarchs, apostles, prophets, preachers, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, and every just spirit departed in the faith of Christ. Give rest to all their souls in the bosoms of our holy fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Lead them, and put them into a green place upon the waters of rest, in the paradise of pleasure, where is no grief, or sadness, or groaning, in the light of thy holy saints. Give rest, O Lord, in that place to the souls of them whom thou hast taken to thyself, and vouchsafe to translate them to thy heavenly kingdom." The Ethiopic Liturgy : " Be merciful, O Lord, to the souls of thy servants, and of thine handmaids, who have eaten thy body, and drank thy blood, and received rest in thy faith." And again, " Give rest also to our fathers and brethren that are asleep and departed in the orthodox faith." Yet again, " Be merciful to us, and to all those that are at rest ; thou who hast sent thy Son born of a Virgin." Once more, " Remember, O Lord, all those that are asleep and at rest in the faith of Christ, and gather their souls into the bosoms of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." The



Liturgy of Nestorius: "We also pray and beseech thee, O Lord, that thou wouldest at this oblation remember the fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, teachers, bishops, priests, deacons, and all who have been partakers of our ministry that are departed this life, and all our brethren in Christ who are gone out of this world in the true faith, whose names thou knowest; loosing and remitting to them all their sins and iniquities, through the prayer and intercession of those who have done what is pleasing in thy sight." The Liturgy of Severus: "Remember also, O Lord, those who have been famous before thee from the beginning, the fathers, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, John the Baptist, Stephen the Deacon, the holy mother of God, and all pious and just men. Remember, O Lord, all bishops and doctors, who have stood in thy Church, and fed thy spiritual sheep with their doctrine, and have converted unto thee those that were gone astray; but especially St. James the chief of bishops, and other the holy fathers. O Shepherd and Giver of divine wisdom, bless with the light of thy countenance the wise men and messengers of the true faith, the lights and stars which have enlightened the people that sat in darkness, the founders of thy holy Church, the interpreters of thy chosen divine Word, the guides of the flock bought with the precious blood of thy only begotten Son. To the souls, and bodies, and spirits of all those, who out of flesh and blood are come to thee, O Lord of all flesh, give rest in the bosoms of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the paradise of pleasure, in the place of rest, and in the tabernacles of the saints; where is a multitude of those who celebrate a most eminent feast; where is the perfection of life without troubles, and the first fruits of ineffable promises: of the consummation whereof make them worthy, not imputing to them all their sins, nor entering into judgment with thy servants, because in thy sight shall no flesh be justified." The Roman Canon: "Remember also, O Lord, thy servants and thine handmaids who are gone before us with the sign of faith, and sleep in the sleep of peace. Grant unto them, we beseech thee, O Lord, and to all that are at rest in Christ, a place of refreshment, light, and peace, through the same Christ our Lord. *Amen.*" The first Liturgy of king Edward VI. "We commend unto thy mercy, O Lord, all other thy servants, which are departed hence from us with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace: grant unto

them, we beseech thee, thy mercy and everlasting peace, and that at the general resurrection, we and all they that be of the mystical body of thy Son, may altogether be set on his right hand, and hear that his most joyful voice :—Come unto me, O ye that be blessed of my Father, and possess the kingdom, which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world. Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate." Thus there is an universal consent and harmony in all these Liturgies; not one of them has omitted prayer for the dead in their prayer at the altar for all estates and conditions of men: though in other particulars, as to this very prayer, there be a variety, some of them bringing the *Ave Maria* into it, and others seeming to invoke her and other saints, of which I may take notice when I come to consider each Liturgy distinctly, and examine their interpolations. But here there is an unanimous harmony and consent, all praying for those dead which have died in the Lord, and are at rest from their labours. That it is also of Primitive antiquity, and was used before the Council of Nice, till which time, and after, the governors of the Church\* of England have declared that *doctrine and religion were most pure*,† has been proved by the learned author of the "Reasons for Restoring," &c. from the testimony of Tertullian toward the end of the Second Century, and of St. Cyprian in the middle of the Third: and the testimony of all these Liturgies may be sufficient to convince us that it was an universal practice, notwithstanding the learned author of "No Reason for Restoring," &c. would confine this practice to the Church of Africa, for the three first Centuries at least. And I have formerly shewed, "That it is commanded in Scripture, though not so fully and clearly as some other things, yet as clearly as some other things which the author of 'No Reason,' &c. and 'No Sufficient Reason,' allows to be commanded there, and particularly *infant baptism*. It stands on the same foot as to the lawfulness of it; for, as that learned gentleman says of *infant baptism*,‡ so we say of *prayer for the dead*, that *this practice has no opposition to any part of Scripture*. Then as to the *necessity* of it, he gives this reason, *that*

\* Strype's Life of Archbishop Whitgift, p. 98.

† Reasons, p. 11., &c. No Reason, p. 59. 64. No Sufficient Reason, Part I. p. 7.

‡ No Sufficient Reason, p. 26.

our blessed Saviour gave commission for baptizing all nations, of which children are undoubtedly a part. And the practice of the Church since is a good corroborating evidence, and makes the necessity more apparent and unquestionable. Now this is exactly what is pleaded for prayers for the dead. The Scripture positively requires to *make supplication for all saints*.\* The words *all saints* being as universal as the words *all nations*; this command as necessarily obliges us to pray for *all saints*, whether they be in this world, or whether they be departed, as the other does to baptize **all** persons of **all** ages: for I suppose neither this learned gentleman, or any of his friends, will deny the *faithful departed* to be *saints*."† This I published some time ago, but find since that I was mistaken in my supposition, though I had shewed in that very book, "that we are assured that there are dead saints as well as living ones by the Scriptures themselves,‡ as well as by the common language of the Church in all ages."|| For this learned gentleman in a book published some time after that treatise of mine, says, "Though the word *Ἅγιοι*, *saints*, be frequently used in the New Testament, to denote the members of the Christian Church here, I dare be positive he will not find it so applied to those that *are departed from us*."§ I was much surprised at this passage, because I really supposed that learned gentleman to have been better acquainted with the Scriptures, than such an assertion as this shews him to have been: for there are a dozen texts at least in the New Testament, where the word *Ἅγιοι* is applied to those *that are departed from us*; though I confess, it is not always rendered by the word *saints* in our translation: which, perhaps, might give occasion to the mistake; though the word *saints so applied* is in more places than one in the English New Testament. But the English Version could be no rule to the Catholic Church; and therefore if we find the word *Ἅγιοι* at least a dozen times *applied to those that are departed from us*, we may be satisfied that the Catholic Church had good ground from Scripture to pray for the *Ἅγιοι*, the *saints departed*, when they were commanded to pray for all saints. I will therefore produce the texts, and then leave the reader to judge, whether this learned author has not been guilty

\* Eph. vi. 18.

† Postscript to Necessity of Tradition, &c., p. 178., &c.

‡ Matt. xxvii. 52.

|| Ibid. p. 197.

§ No Sufficient Reason, Part II. p. 3.



of a very great rashness in daring to be positive in a matter so apparently false. The first is the text I formerly referred to, Matt. xxvii. 52. *And many bodies of SAINTS WHICH SLEPT, arose.* The original is *Κεκοιμημένων ἁγίων.* The second, Luke i. 70. *As he spake by the mouth of his HOLY PROPHETS WHICH HAVE BEEN SINCE THE WORLD BEGAN.* The original is, *τῶν ἁγίων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος προφητῶν.* The third, Acts iii. 21. *Which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his HOLY PROPHETS, SINCE THE WORLD BEGAN.* The original is, *τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος.* The fourth, 1 Cor. vi. 1. *Do ye not know that the SAINTS SHALL JUDGE THE WORLD?* The original is, *Οἱ ἅγιοι τὸν κόσμον κρινεσι.* The fifth, Eph. ii. 19. *Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but FELLOW CITIZENS WITH THE SAINTS, and of the household of God.* The original is, *Συμπολῖται τῶν ἁγίων.* The sixth, Col. i. 12. *Giving thanks unto the Father, which hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the SAINTS IN LIGHT.* The original is, *Τῶν ἁγίων ἐν τῷ φωτι.* The seventh, 1 Thess. iii. 13. *AT THE COMING OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST WITH ALL HIS SAINTS.* The original is, *Ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ.* The eighth, 2 Thess. i. 10. *WHEN HE SHALL COME TO BE GLORIFIED IN HIS SAINTS.* The original is, *Ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐνδόξασθῆναι ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ.* The ninth, 2 Pet. iii. 2. *That ye may be mindful of the words, which were spoken before by the HOLY PROPHETS.* The original is, *Τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν.* The tenth is, Rev. xi. 18. *That thou shouldest give reward unto thy servants the prophets, and TO THE SAINTS.* The original is, *Τοῖς ἁγίοις.* The eleventh, Rev. xvi. 6. *FOR THEY HAVE SHED THE BLOOD OF SAINTS.* The original is, *Ὅτι αἷμα ἁγίων ἐξέχεαν.* The twelfth, Rev. xvii. 6. *And I saw the woman drunken with the BLOOD OF THE SAINTS.* The original is, *Ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν ἁγίων.* The thirteenth, Rev. xviii. 20. *Rejoice over her thou heaven, and ye HOLY APOSTLES AND PROPHETS.* The original is, *Καὶ οἱ ἅγιοι, καὶ οἱ Ἀποστολοι, καὶ οἱ Προφῆται.* I shall not pretend to put a comment upon any of these texts, to prove that the word "Ἄγιοι, saints, is applied in every one of them to the saints that are departed from us; for I think the case so clear in each particular text, that I doubt not but the reader will at first sight be satisfied in the matter, and wonder, as well as I, how a man of so much learning as this anonymous gentleman has shewed him-

self to be, should yet overlook so many plain texts, and assert that there is no such thing in the Scriptures as every one of them contains. So that if I could have produced but one of them, it had been sufficient to shew, what he tells us *he dares be positive we cannot find*: much more will all together shew that he had not duly examined the Scriptures when he durst be so positive. A single text might be overlooked by a pretty careful examiner of the Scriptures; but how so many could be overlooked, I shall not enquire; but it is plain, they have been so. Since then the word "Ἅγιοι, *saints*, is in Scripture so frequently used, to denote those that are departed out of this life, we may as justly conclude, that when we are commanded to pray, *περὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων*, for **all** *saints*, we are as much required to pray for the *saints departed* as we are to *baptize infants*, because we are commanded to *baptize all nations*. And we have as early and as plain testimonies of the Church for prayer for the dead, as we have for the baptizing infants. I know indeed that *prayer for the dead* is commonly believed by the people of this realm, to be one of the great corruptions of popery: but that is only a vulgar error, and our most learned champions against the Church of Rome have not charged *prayer for the dead*, as used in the Primitive Church, to be a corruption of popery; but the corruption lies in the doctrine of Purgatory. For the Church of Rome teaches, that *there is a purgatory of fire, by which the souls of pious men are expiated, having suffered torment for a prefixed time*.\* And again, *before Christ died and rose again, the gates of heaven were never opened to any: but the souls of the godly, when they departed this life, were either carried into Abraham's bosom, or, which also now befalls those in whom something remains to be washed away or cleared off, were expiated by the fire of purgatory*.†

In the Council of Florence, where the Church of Rome, as I have already shewed, endeavoured to put her own peculiar doctrine upon the Greeks, and oblige them to subscribe and own

\* Est purgatorius ignis, quo piorum animæ ad definitum tempus cruciatæ expiantur. *Catechism. Roman. ex Decret. Concil. Trident. & Pii 5ti Pontifjussu Edit. ex Officina Plantiniana 1606. Part I. Art. 5. §. 3. p. 49.*

† Quamobrem antequam ille moreretur ac resurgeret, cœli portæ nemini unquam patuerunt: sed piorum animæ, cùm è vivis excessissent, vel in sinum Abrahamæ deferebantur, vel, quod etiam nunc iis contingit quibus aliquid diluendum & persolvendum est, purgatorii igne expiabantur. *Ibid. §. 6. p. 51.*

them, it was decreed, as I have from Du Pin, (having not the Councils at large by me) “that the souls of true penitents, dying in the love of God, before they have brought forth fruits worthy of the repentance of their sins, are purified after their death by the pains of purgatory, and that they are delivered from these pains by the suffrages of the faithful that are living, such as holy sacrifices, prayers, alms, and other works of piety, which the faithful do for the other faithful, according to the order of the Church: and that the souls of those who have never sinned since their baptism, or of those who having fallen into sins, have been purified from them in their bodies, or after their departure out of them, as we were just now saying, enter immediately into heaven, and see purely the Trinity, some more perfectly than others, according to the difference of their merits. Lastly, that the souls of those who die in actual mortal sin, or only in original sin, descend immediately into hell, to be there punished with torments, though unequal.”\* Now, this I take to be the fullest authentic declaration of the Roman opinion as to this matter: for in pope Pius the fourth’s Creed it is only said:—*I constantly believe a purgatory, and that the souls there detained are helped by the suffrages of the faithful.*† Nor does their decree in the Council of Trent explain what they understand by *purgatory* more clearly than their Creed. For it says:—“That whereas the Catholic Church, instructed by the Holy Spirit out of the Holy Scriptures, and the ancient tradition of the fathers, has taught in her sacred Councils, and lastly, in this oecumenical Synod, that there is a *purgatory*, and that the souls there detained are helped by the suffrages of the faithful, but chiefly by the acceptable sacrifice of the altar; the Synod commands the bishops diligently to take care that the wholesome doctrine of *purgatory*, delivered by the *holy fathers* and *sacred Councils*, should be believed, held, and taught, by all the faithful in Christ.”‡ Here, therefore, as also in the Creed of pope Pius, they only teach that there is a *purgatory, where souls are detained and helped by the suffrages of the faithful*,

\* Du Pin’s new Ecclesiast. History, cent. 15. chap. 3. p. 45. In the English Translation.

† Constanter teneo purgatorium esse, animasque ibi detentas fidelium suffragiis juvari. *Sept. Decretal. lib. 1. tit. 1. c. 4.*

‡ Cum Catholica Ecclesia spiritu sancto edocta, ex sacris literis, & antiqua patrum traditione, in sacris conciliis, & novissimè in hac oecumenica synodo docuerit, purgatorium esse, animasque ibi detentas fidelium suffragiis, potissi-



and in the Catechism they teach that they are *there expiated or purged by fire*. But in the Council of Florence they teach, that it is *a third state for separate souls, and a state of pain and temporal punishments*, and that there are *two other states of heaven and hell, into which some souls go immediately as they depart out of this life*. Which is a doctrine utterly unknown to the ancients, who never prayed for departed souls as in a *state of purgatory*, or of temporal punishment, but as in a state of rest. And therefore the Church of England says very well, that *the Romish doctrine concerning purgatory is a fond thing, vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God*.<sup>\*</sup> For the ancients, as well as the Holy Scripture, never speak of more than two states of departed souls, the one a state of happiness, and the other of misery, but both of them imperfect : that is, those in the happy state could not be completely happy, nor those in the unhappy state completely miserable, till the resurrection. Consequently, as those whom they believed to be in a happy state, were in such a state as was capable of improvement, they prayed for them, that they might yet enjoy rest and refreshment in a greater degree, and at last obtain a joyful resurrection when their happiness should be compleated. The learned Mr. Johnson, whom I have often quoted, takes notice of this in his discourse upon the eucharist, saying :—"There is one proof of the propitiatory nature of the eucharist, according to the sentiments of the ancient Church, which will be thought but only too great ; and that is the devotions used in the Liturgies, and so often spoken of by the fathers in behalf of deceased souls : there is, I suppose, no Liturgy without them, and the fathers frequently speak of them. St. Chrysostom mentions it as an institution of the Apostles. St. Austin asserts, that such prayers are beneficial to those who have led lives so moderately good as to deserve them. Cyril of Jerusalem mentions a prayer for those who are gone to sleep before us. And St. Cyprian mentions the denial of these prayers, as a censure passed upon some men by his predecessors. Tertullian speaks of

*mum verò acceptabili altaris sacrificio juvari : præcipit Synodus episcopis, ut sanam de purgatorio doctrinam, à sanctis patribus, & sacris Conciliis traditam à Christi fidelibus credi, teneri, doceri & ubique prædicari diligenter studeant. Concil. Trident. Sess. 25. § ult. cap. 1.*

<sup>\*</sup> Article xxii.

this practice, as prevailing in his time. And the constitutions do require priests and people to use these sorts of devotion, for the souls of those that die in the faith. I shall say nothing of this doctrine, but that the ancients did not use these prayers as if they thought of a purgatory. It is certain, this last is a modern invention, in comparison of the oblations and prayers offered by the Primitive Church in behalf of their deceased brethren. They did not allow prayers to be made for such as they thought ill men, either as to principles or practice : they prayed for the Virgin Mary, Apostles, Patriarchs, &c., and such as they believed to be like them. They seem to have learned this practice from the synagogue ; for it is probable the Jews in, and before our Saviour's time, did use it. Dr. Whitby has fully proved in his annotation on 2 Tim. iv. 4., that the Primitive fathers, **and even the Apostles**, did not believe, that the souls of the faithful are admitted into heaven before the day of judgment. It was, I suppose, from hence concluded, that they were in the interim in a state of expectance, and were capable of an increase of light and refreshment. Since praying for them in this state is no where forbidden, they judged it, therefore, lawful ; and if it were lawful, no more need be said : nature will do the rest."\* I shall, therefore, give some few instances to prove that it was the opinion of the Primitive Christians, and that before the Council of Nice, that the souls of saints departed did not go to heaven immediately upon their separation from the body, but to another inferior place of happiness, which they called Paradise. Thus Irenæus, in the second century, or the age immediately following that of the Apostles, speaking of the Paradise out of which Adam was ejected, says :—" Wherefore the elders, the disciples of the Apostles, say, that those which are translated are translated thither : (for Paradise is prepared for just men, and such as have the Spirit, into which Paul, the Apostle, was carried, and heard words unutterable as to us in this present world) and there those which are translated remain till the consummation, there together waiting for the incorruptible state."† And again he says :—" Wherefore

\* Unbloody Sacrifice, Part I. p. 287.

† Διὸ καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ Πρεσβύτεροι, τῶν Ἀποστόλων μαθηταὶ, τὰς μετατεθέντας ἐκείσε μετατεθῆναι (δικαίοις γὰρ ἀνθρώποις καὶ πνευματοφόροις ἡτοιμάσθη ὁ παράδεισος ἐν ᾧ καὶ Παῦλος Ἀπόστολος εἰσκομισθεὶς ἤκουσεν ἄρρητα ῥήματα, ὡς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ παρόντι) κ' αὖτε μένειν τὰς μετατεθέντας ἕως συντελείας, προοιμιαζόμενες τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν. Iren. l. 5. c. 5. p. 405. Ed. Grab.

the Apostle says, *Let no man think more highly than he ought to think, but think soberly* : lest feeding upon that knowledge of those persons which thinks more highly than it ought, we be cast out of the Paradise of life, into which the Lord brings all those which obey his voice.\* Origen speaks yet fuller and more plainly, saying :—“ For the very Apostles have not yet received their joy, but even they expect that even I be made a partaker of their joy. For neither do the saints, which depart from hence, immediately obtain the whole rewards which they deserve, but they wait also for us, although dilatory and negligent. For they have not perfect joy whilst they grieve for our errors, and bewail our sins. You may not, perhaps, believe me speaking thus : for who am I, that I should dare dogmatically to maintain such an opinion ? but I will produce a witness of these matters, of whom you cannot doubt ; the Apostle Paul, the instructor of the Gentiles in faith and truth. He, therefore, writing to the Hebrews, when he has reckoned up all the holy fathers which were justified by faith, adds this after all :—*And these all, says he, having obtained a good report through faith, have not yet received the promise ; God having provided some better thing for us, that they without us should not be made perfect.* You see then that Abraham yet waits, that he may be made perfect : that Isaac waits, and Jacob, and all the prophets wait for us, that, together with us, they may receive perfect blessedness. For these reasons therefore that mystery is preserved to the last day of judgment, which is hitherto deferred. For it is one body that is expected to be justified, one body that is expected to rise in judgment : for although there are many members, yet but one body.”† Lactantius also,

\* Quapropter & Apostolus ait : *Non plus sapere, quam oportet sapere, sed sapere ad prudentiam* ; ut non illorum manducantis agnitionem, eam quæ plusquam oportet sapit, projiciamur de Paradiso vitæ : in quem inducit Dominus eos qui obediunt præconio ejus. *Iren. cap. 20 p. 431.*

† Nondum enim receperunt lætitiā suā, ne Apostoli quidem, sed & ipsi expectant ut & ego lætitiæ eorum particeps fiam. Neque enim decedentes hinc sancti, continuo integra meritorum suorum præmia consequuntur, sed expectant etiam nos, licet morantes, licet desides. Non enim illis perfecta lætitia donec pro erroribus nostris dolent, & lugent nostra peccata. Hoc fortasse mihi dicenti non credas. Quis enim ego sum, qui confirmare sententiam tanti dogmatis audeam ? Sed adhibeo horum testem, de quo dubitare non potes. Magister enim gentium in fide & veritate Apostolus Paulus : Ipse igitur ad Hæbræos scribens, cum enumerasset omnes sanctos patres, qui per fidem justificati sunt, addidit post omnia etiam hoc. Sed isti (inquit) omnes testimonium habentes per fidem,



who flourished a little before the Council of Nice, says:—"Neither let any one think that souls are judged immediately after death; they are all reserved in one common prison, till the time comes wherein the great Judge shall examine their merits."\* I might produce many more express authorities from Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Cyprian, all Ante-Nicene fathers; but for these I shall refer myself to a little book lately written by the reverend and learned Mr. Deacon, called, "The Doctrine of the Church of Rome concerning *Purgatory*, proved to be contrary to Catholic Tradition, and inconsistent with the necessary Duty of *praying for the dead*, as practised in the Ancient Church:" and to bishop Bull's Sermon concerning "the middle state of happiness or misery," printed in the first volume of his posthumous works. And for Scripture proofs of this doctrine, though I think that produced by Origen from the Epistle to the Hebrews is sufficient, if we had no other, (but there are a great multitude besides) I refer the reader to a little book, printed by Keble 1713, called, "Some Primitive Doctrines revived, or the intermediate or middle state of departed souls (as to happiness or misery) before the day of judgment, plainly proved from the Holy Scriptures, and concurrent testimonies of the fathers of the Church." However, for the present satisfaction of the reader, I will produce two or three clear texts to this purpose. The first is what our Saviour said to the thief upon the cross, *Verily, I say unto thee, to day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.*† Now it is certain, our Saviour and the thief died that day, and their souls went into the place prepared for the souls of good men when they go out of this life. This our Saviour calls by the name of *Paradise*, thereby denoting it to be a place of ease, refreshment, and enjoyment; for such a place both Jews and Christians have always understood to be

nondum adsecuti sunt reprobationem, Deo pro nobis aliquid melius providente, uti ne sine nobis perfectionem consequerentur. Vides ergo, quia expectat adhuc Abraham ut quæ perfecta sunt consequatur. Expectat & Isaac, & Jacob, & omnes prophetæ, expectant nos ut nobiscum perfectam beatitudinem capiant. Propter hæc ergo etiam mysterium illud in ultimam diem dilati judicii custoditur. Unum enim corpus est, quod justificari expectatur, unum quod resurgere dicitur in judicio. Licet enim sint multa membra, sed unum corpus. *Origen. Hom. 7. in Levit.*

\* Nec tamen quisquam putet, animas post mortem protinus judicari. Omnes in una communique custodia detinentur, donec tempus adveniat, quo maximus judex meritorum faciat examen. *Lactant. lib. 7. cap. 21.*

† Luke xxiii. 43.

signified by that word. To this place then the soul of our Saviour, and also that of the penitent thief, went on the day that they died, as soon as they were separated from their bodies. All this is clear from the text. But on the third day our Saviour arose again from the dead, and ascended afterwards into heaven, as we are taught by the Scriptures, and profess in our Creed. And that he was not in heaven before, is evident from his own words, when after his resurrection he said to Mary, *Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended to my Father.* \* But the soul of the thief and consequently of other good men in Paradise, continued there still; neither he nor any of them arose with our Saviour, and ascended into heaven, but continued still in the state they were in before, and must continue so till the resurrection. For if our Saviour himself did not go to his Father into heaven till after his resurrection, can we think that any other shall be admitted to that privilege which was denied to our Saviour himself? This text therefore plainly confirms the tradition, which Irenæus tells us he received from the elders which were immediate disciples to the Apostles, *That those good men which are translated from hence, that is, which depart this life, are translated into Paradise, a place distinct from the highest heavens, there to remain till the resurrection.* Another clear text is this, *David speaketh concerning Christ, and saith, Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine holy one to see corruption.* † Now by *hell* in this place is not meant the state of the damned, as we now commonly understand the word, but only a concealed secret place, which is hidden from the eyes of those that live in this world, being a common receptacle for souls departed. For our Saviour's soul never went to the place of the damned, as we learn from the text before cited, but to *Paradise*, a place of rest and enjoyment. However, it went to "Αδης, which we translate *hell*, or a place in general prepared to receive all human souls when separated from the body, in which there are, nevertheless, many mansions, and a distinction made betwixt good and bad, and that part of "Αδης, or *hell*, which is appointed for pious souls, is the same which is called *Paradise*. And in this place the text tells us, *Christ's* soul was not left, for it continued there but to the third day. But if other souls had not been left there, what had

\* John xx. 17.

† Acts ii. 25. 27.

been the peculiar privilege of Christ in this case? Therefore the Apostle making it a peculiar privilege of Christ, that his soul was not left in hell, the concealed secret state of the dead, plainly implies that all other souls were left there; particularly the soul of David, the man after God's own heart, for immediately after it is said, *David is not ascended into heaven.*\* And if David is not yet in heaven, what mere man can we suppose to be gone thither? And this confirms what Origen delivers, as taught by St. Paul in the Epistle to the Hebrews, that *those who are departed before us, whether patriarchs, prophets, or apostles, the best men that ever lived, have not yet received the promises, but are in a state of expectance, waiting for their perfect consummation and bliss, when the number of the elect shall be accomplished*; as the Church of England also teaches in one of her prayers in the burial-office. I shall produce but one text more, which I think is very plain and full to the purpose. *Beloved, now we are the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be: but we know that when he shall appear, we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is.*† From hence the learned author of "Some Primitive Doctrines revived", argues:—"By this text it appears, first, That until Christ's second coming or appearing, we are to be, in a great measure, *ignorant* of what *then* at that *time* we shall be allowed to know, even about ourselves, as well as concerning the glory which till *then* we only have in prospect and hope for. Which shews us, we are not till *then* to be possessed of *fulness of joy*, or of *knowledge*, or admitted into the *third heavens*; for if then we were, we could not be deficient in knowledge, nor could we desire more joy, nor more glory, than the being there necessarily supposes us to be possessed of. Secondly, That at Christ's second coming, we are to be made like unto him, and our bodies which are now, are then to be fashioned like unto his glorious body. And that thus it is to be with us *then*, we are **till then** firmly to believe and hope; we are to believe it is **then**, and **not till then**, to be performed." Since then this opinion and unanimous tradition of the ancient fathers concerning the state of the faithful departed, is founded upon such clear authority of Holy Scripture, there is no question to be made, but this is an opinion undoubtedly true. Consequently it is most certain, that

\* Acts ii. 34.

† 1 John iii. 2.



the *faithful departed* have not yet obtained their perfect consummation and bliss, that they are not yet in heaven, but in Paradise only; which, though a place of happiness, is yet much inferior to heaven itself. *It is certain*, as Dr. Hammond says, *that some measure of bliss, which shall at the day of judgment be vouchsafed the saints, is not till then enjoyed, and therefore may safely and fitly be prayed for them.\** And if it may **safely and fitly** be prayed for them, then, as Mr. Johnson says, *Nature will do the rest.* However, I conceive not only *nature*, but the Scriptures also, require it. For the Scripture requires us to *pray for all saints*, and also plainly teaches us, that the *faithful departed* come into that number. Therefore we disobey the Scripture when we exclude the *faithful departed* from our prayers. This the ancients never did, but as appears from all these Liturgies, and the testimony of the Primitive fathers, they always remembered them in particular, whenever they celebrated the holy eucharist. And so did the first reformed Church of England also, as appears from the first Liturgy of Edward VI. But Martyr and Bucer, and their friends here, were not content not to have them particularly prayed for, but clapt in words that should particularly exclude them, putting this preface to the general intercession in the communion service:—*Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church, militant here on earth*: as much as to say, *Let us pray for the faithful in this world, not for those which are departed.* So that whereas the Scripture expressly requires us to pray for **all saints**, this preface (the like to which, I am confident, was never set to any prayer before) directly excludes the greater number of those whom the Scripture calls *saints*, and instead of teaching us to pray for *all*, directly requires us to exclude the *most* and the *best*. But these gentlemen, Bucer, Martyr, and their followers, seem little to have considered what they did, so they run to what they believed the utmost extreme opposite to *popery*, as if there was no medium. But as Dr. Hammond also observes in the place before cited, and I trust I have also already proved, this prayer for the dead used by the ancient Church, which having Antiquity, Universality, and Consent, to authorise it, we therefore desire to have restored, is a very distant thing from that prayer which is now used in

\* Ham. Not. on 2 Tim. i. 16.

*the Romish Church for deliverance from temporal pains, founded in their doctrine of purgatory.*

§ 20. After this general intercession for all estates and conditions of men, though commonly at some interval, follows the *Lord's Prayer*, excepting in the Clementine Liturgy, which has it not at all, and the present Liturgy of the Church of England, where it is ordered to be used before the bread and wine are brought to the table, that is, before that which is properly and strictly speaking the *communion service*, is begun, and not afterwards, till the distribution is over. Whether the use of this prayer be *necessary* at this time, I shall not dispute, I think no doubt can be made but that it is very proper and expedient. And it was certainly the universal practice, after Liturgies were written and so used by public authority: for there is no ancient Liturgy except the Clementine that has it not. And I have already observed, that the Clementine Liturgy, though it be the best exemplar we have extant of the old traditional form, yet was not put into writing by the authority of any Church. I shall therefore content myself to recite what Mr. Johnson has said on this occasion. "Some might have expected, that I should speak of the *Lord's Prayer* as necessary to the consecration of the *eucharist*, because several of the fathers, about four hundred years after Christ, do mention it as constantly used in the consecration service: and I cannot but readily confess, that it may be very properly used on that or any other weighty occasion; nay, I dare not say, that the ancients were mistaken, when by the *supersubstantial bread*, they understood the eucharist: yet I can by no means believe, that the use of it is necessary to consecration; not only because it is not inserted into the consecration service of the most ancient Liturgy now in the world, nor mentioned by the fathers of the three first Centuries, as a part of the communion office; but because it is very evident, that our Saviour did first and chiefly design it for a private prayer to be used in the closet: and it is one thing for a private Christian, or for a congregation of Christians, to beg of God, that they may never want the eucharist, or food necessary both for their bodies and souls; and it is another thing to invoke the Divine Spirit, in order to render the present bread and wine the sacramental body and blood of Christ. Gregory, bishop of Rome, in the Sixth or

Seventh Century, did imagine, that the Apostles consecrated the elements with this prayer, and so have several others since him; but this seems to have been a late and ill grounded tradition. \* For I cannot think, that a writer of the latter end of the Sixth Century is a competent witness to establish a fact of this moment, when destitute of all testimony of the earlier ages."† Now I am of this learned gentleman's opinion, that this prayer was not thought by the ancients to be in any wise necessary to the *consecration* of the eucharist, and therefore shall by no means charge the Church of England as defective in her form of consecration, because she has not appointed this prayer to be used in any part of that office between the time she has ordered the bread and wine to be set upon the table, and the distribution of those elements, notwithstanding Gregory the Great, and divers after him, suppose that the Apostles consecrated with this prayer. For I am persuaded, Justin Martyr, who wrote within fifty years of the death of St. John, and whilst many immediate disciples of the Apostles were living, must know how they consecrated much better than pope Gregory, who lived not till near five hundred years after the Apostolical age. And he makes no mention of the Lord's Prayer, but only of a long eucharistical or thanksgiving prayer; which prayer, as I have shewed, was concluded with a petition for the descent of the Holy Ghost, to make the elements the body and blood of Christ: and then follows the general intercession for all estates and conditions of men. And then, and not till then, as St. Cyril of Jerusalem (the earliest father, I think, that has mentioned the Lord's Prayer as used in this service) observes, the Lord's Prayer was used.‡ But before he makes any mention of that prayer, he speaks of the consecration or sacrifice as fully completed.¶ Therefore the Lord's Prayer, which he mentions as constantly used afterwards, is not, according to him, used as tending to any consecration or sanctification of the elements, but as proper to be used by us, to sanctify and qualify us for the worthy participation or reception of them. And when he says, that we pray to God to *give us this day our supersubstantial bread*, it is evident he does not mean, that we thereby pray that God would make that bread *supersubstantial*, for it is already made so by the Word of God and prayer, but

\* Unbloody Sacrifice, part 1. p. 235.

† Ibid. part. 2. p. 181.

‡ Cateches. Mystagog. 5., § 8.

¶ Ibid. § 6.



only that he would vouchsafe us to be acceptable receivers of that bread, and that now it is made *supersubstantial*, he would graciously permit us to partake of it. This, according to the order in which the Lord's Prayer is placed in all the Liturgies, must plainly be the intent for which it is used. However, as we find this prayer in all the Liturgies, excepting the Clementine, and that these Liturgies were used by some Church or other in all parts of the Christian world, I see no reason to question but that the use of this prayer in the communion service, after the general intercession, and before the distribution, was of Apostolical practice; according to that rule of St. Augustine, *Whatsoever the Universal Church holdeth, and which was not instituted by any Council, but has been always observed, that we most rightly conclude to have been a tradition derived from Apostolic authority*.<sup>\*</sup> And though I look upon the Clementine Liturgy, where this prayer is not, to be the best exemplar we have extant of the old traditional Apostolical form, yet where it differs from the apparent practice of all Churches, as in this single case, I am not for following it. However, this is not an *interpolation* (which is the charge Renandotius brings against it without any proof) but an *omission*. Now an *interpolation* is what must be inserted on purpose and with design, but an *omission* may easily happen through the haste or inadvertency of a transcriber. Therefore finding that there is nothing in the Clementine Liturgy but what is agreeable to the practice of the Universal Church, and confirmed by all the other Liturgies, only that there appears this one omission, I think it not at all improbable to suppose that the compiler of that Liturgy did, at the conclusion of the general intercession, put down the initial words of the Lord's Prayer in this manner, *Our Father, &c.*, which by the inadvertency of the transcriber might be omitted, so that we may not have them in any of the copies now extant. I say this is probable, since there is no other point but this wherein the other Liturgies exactly agree, wherein they do not also agree with the Clementine. However I did not undertake to prove that the Clementine Liturgy was in no respect deficient, but only that it was not *interpolated*, which was the charge brought against it. And

\* Quod universa tenet Ecclesia nec conciliis institutum, sed semper retentum est, non nisi auctoritate Apostolica traditum rectissimè creditur. *August. de baptis. contr. Donatist. l. 1., cap. 24.*

even this deficiency touches no part of the institution, nothing that relates to the *consecration*, in which the office of the Church of England has been shewn to be plainly defective; and therefore if it be a defect, it is plainly no *essential* one. The Lord's Prayer is very proper and expedient to be used on this occasion; but it pertains not to the institution, and is not therefore *essentially necessary* to the ministration.

§ 21. That which follows next in the Clementine Liturgy is a form of *bidding prayer*, pronounced by the deacon, and is called a *bidding prayer for the faithful after the divine oblation*, in which the deacon briefly recapitulates the heads of what the bishop or officiating priest has before prayed for. To which the people answer, *Raise us up, O God, by thy grace: let us stand up and dedicate ourselves to God, through his Christ.* This form of *bidding prayer* after the oblation is peculiar to this Liturgy, and is not followed by any of the rest. And as it contains nothing but what has been mentioned before, so I need not examine the particular contents of it. I shall only observe from hence that the form of *bidding prayer*, still directed by the Canon of the Church of England, is very ancient. And though we do not find it used in the other Liturgies *after the oblation*, yet it may be found in other parts of those Liturgies, as also in this before the *Anaphora* or *Canon Missa* is begun; and therefore is very properly, and agreeably to the practice of the Primitive Church, ordered by the Church of England to be used before the sermon. I shall also further take notice, that the first petition directed in this bidding form of the Clementine Liturgy, is proper to be used only *after the oblation*; and therefore is not, as the other parts of it are, put into that form which precedes it. The words are these: *Let us yet again beseech God, through his Christ, for the gift which is offered to the Lord God; that the good God would receive it as a sweet-smelling savour unto his heavenly altar, through the mediation of his Christ.* Now as the other parts of this *bidding prayer* are a plain abridgment of the prayer for all estates and conditions of men, so this seems to be a comprehensive petition designed for an abridgment of the oblation: signifying to the people, that they are supposed to have borne a part in the oblation as well as in the intercession, and that it is now proper for them to recollect what they have prayed

for, and every one for himself renew their common requests in their private devotions. *For*, as Mr. Johnson observes, *the people before the eucharist were wont to pray every one secretly or mentally whilst they were in the Church.*\* And the form of *bidding prayers* was intended as a direction to them what they ought to pray for in those private prayers; so that though each man prayed by himself, yet there might be an harmony between them, and all might offer the same petitions. And the same we see was ordered also by the Clementine Liturgy after the oblation: that what the bishop or priest had before offered in all their names, every man might now offer for himself. And though this first petition, directed by this bidding form, was not in the foregoing prayers of the bishop, yet the purport of it was undoubtedly there; and in the Roman Canon, this petition, almost in the same words, immediately follows the oblation in the place where the invocation for the descent of the Holy Ghost follows in the Clementine and all the other Liturgies: "We humbly beseech thee, Almighty God, that thou wilt command that these gifts be carried by the hands of thy holy angel unto thy sublime altar, into the presence of thy Divine Majesty." This prayer the Greeks have urged against the Latins, to prove, that even according to their own Canon, the consecration is not supposed to be made by the recital of the words of institution, but by this prayer which follows the recital of those words and the oblation, as the prayer of invocation does in all the Greek Liturgies, and all the Latin ones too except the Roman. This cardinal Bona has observed as the objection made by Cabasilas, who maintained the doctrine of the Greeks, in this point against the Romanists; and having asserted that the consecration of the gifts was not sufficiently completed by the recital of the words, *This is my body, This is my blood*, as the Romanists teach; he says, "But what may effectually stop the mouth of gain sayers, is that even the Latin Church, to whom they seem to refer, does not refuse to pray for the gifts after the Word of the Lord has been recited. But if they are therefore deceived, because the Latins do not pray immediately as the Lord's words are pronounced, and that they do not clearly petition for the sanctification of the gifts, and changing them into the Lord's body; yet they use other expres

\* Unbloody Sacrifice, Part II. p. 100.



sions tending thereto, and which are to the same purport. And what is this prayer? *Command these gifts to be carried up in the hand of the angel to thy supercelestial altar.* For let them say what is the meaning of this, *Let the gifts be carried up?* For they either pray for a local translation of them from the earth, and these lower regions into heaven, or else that they may receive some honourable change from a lower to a more elevated state.\* And a little after (as Bona further says) Cabasilas adds, “Whence it is manifest that they very well know, that they are still but bread and wine which have not yet received the sanctification, and therefore they pray for them, as hitherto needing prayer.” And the learned cardinal has no other answer to make to this, but that the Greeks in the Council of Florence acknowledged the consecration to be made by the pronouncing those words, *This is my body, This is my blood*, which has been already fully answered. The truth is, did not the modern rubrics, which have been added to the Roman Canon since the time of pope Gregory, so positively assert the consecration to consist in those words, no body that read it, would think they could suppose it to do so; there being a prayer for God’s blessing on the elements before those words are said, and this prayer for their reception at his heavenly altar after them: which, as Cabasilas justly observes, cannot refer to any local translation of them, but can only mean that they may be perfectly sanctified and made acceptable in his sight. And some persons are pleased to brand us as *popishly* affected, because in this particular we declare for the Greeks against the Latins, because we believe, upon the clearest evidence the matter is capable of, that the opinion of the Greeks in this particular is most agreeable to the institution of

\* Quod autem os eis qui contradicunt omnino obstruit, est quod etiam Latinorum Ecclesia ad quam referre videntur, post verbum Domini pro donis orare non recusat. Si autem ideo falluntur, quod Latini non statim post Domini prolatus sermonem orant, & quod non aperte petunt sanctificationem & mutationem in Corpus Dominicum, sed aliis utuntur nominibus eo ferentibus & quæ tantundem valent. Quæ est autem ista oratio? *Jube sursum ferri dona hæc in manu angeli ad supercæleste tuum altare.* Dicant enim quid est hoc, *sursum dona deferri?* vel enim localem eis translationem precantur à terra & inferioribus locis in cælum, vel dignam aliquam & ab humilioribus ad altiora mutationem. *Et paucis interjectis.* Unde manifestum est eos omnino scire ea adhuc esse panem & vinum, quæ sanctificationem nondum susceperunt, & propterea pro ipsis quidem orant, quæ oratione adhuc indigent. *Bona de Reb. Liturg. lib. 2. cap. 13. pp. 183, 184.*

Christ, and the doctrine and practice of the Primitive and Catholic Church. They accuse us of *popery* for declaring against the plain, evident, modern corruptions of the Church of Rome, and think it to be a good testimony of their own abhorrence of those corruptions to contend strenuously for them. But I must confess, I shall never trouble myself to endeavour to satisfy some gentlemen that I am not *popishly* affected, who whilst they are themselves maintaining and defending plain *popish* corruptions, call me *papist* for opposing them.

§ 22. After the people in their private devotions have recapitulated the substance of what was before more largely prayed for by the bishop or officiating priest, as directed to do by the deacon in the *bidding form*, then the bishop proceeds to pray in particular for those that are then assembled, that they may be worthy partakers of that holy sacrament, saying, "Look down upon us, and upon this thy flock which thou hast chosen in him to the glory of thy name; and sanctifying us in body and soul, vouchsafe that we being cleansed from all filthiness of flesh and spirit may partake of the good things lying before thee: and judge none of us unworthy, but be thou our helper and defender, through thy Christ." St. James's Liturgy: "To thee, O Lord, we thy servants bow down our heads before thine holy altar, in expectation of the riches of thy mercy. Send down upon us, O Lord, thine abundant grace and benediction, and sanctify our souls, and bodies, and spirits, that we may be made worthy communicants and partakers of thy holy mysteries, for the remission of our sins and for eternal life." St. Mark's Liturgy: "We bow down the necks of our souls and bodies unto thee, thereby testifying our bounden duty and service, and we beseech thee to drive out of our minds the dark ways of sin, and cheer our mind with the divine light of thy Spirit, that being filled with the knowledge of thee, we may worthily partake of the good things set before us, the immaculate body and precious blood of thy only begotten Son, our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, forgiving us, of thy great and unsearchable goodness, every appearance of evil; through the grace and mercy and loving-kindness of thy only begotten Son." St. Chrysostom's Liturgy: "Thou, O Lord, look down from heaven upon those who have bowed their heads to thee: for they have not bowed to flesh and

blood, but to thee the dreadful God. Thou therefore, O Lord, divide these gifts lying before thee to every one according to his necessity. Sail with those that sail, travel with those that travel; heal the sick, thou Physician of soul and body." St. Basil's Liturgy, as used at Constantinople: "O Sovereign Lord, Father of mercies, and God of all comfort, bless, sanctify, keep, defend, confirm, turn from every evil, and lead to every good work, those who have bowed their heads to thee: and vouchsafe, that without condemnation they may partake of these immaculate and life-giving mysteries, for the remission of sins and communication of the Holy Spirit." St. Basil's Liturgy, as used at Alexandria, has this prayer in the same words with that of St. Basil's Liturgy as used at Constantinople. The Ethiopic Liturgy: "O Lord, who sittest upon the Cherubim, and beholdest thy people and thine inheritance, bless thy servants and thine handmaids and their children, and give to every one that cometh to partake of thy admirable table, with a pure conscience, remission of sins, together with the Holy Spirit, for the salvation of soul and body, and the obtaining the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven, through the grace and favour of thy only begotten Son." The Liturgy of Nestorius has not this prayer, and seems to be the only one which wants it. The Liturgy of Severus: "O God, who hast so loved us, and given us the adoption of sons, that we should both be and be called the sons of God, thy heirs, O Father, and co-heirs with thy Christ; incline thine ear to us, and hear us, O Lord, who bow down our heads before thee, and purify our inward man, even as thine only begotten Son, whom we are going to receive, is pure. Let fornication and all unclean thoughts fly from us in the name of God, who was born of a virgin; and let pride and loftiness of mind be driven from us, through him that humbled himself; and faint-heartedness through him that suffered in the flesh, and erected the sign of the victorious cross: Let vain glory be suppressed by us, through him that was beaten and scourged, and who turned not away his face from those that despitefully spit on him: let the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world, take from us envy, homicide, dissension, and hatred: let rage and anger be put far from us, through him that subdued the devil and enemy by his crucifixion, and cancelled the hand writing of our sins. Take from us every earthly thought, through him that took us with himself into hea-



ven, that we may with purity communicate in this most pure sacrament, and be perfectly sanctified in body, soul, and spirit, and give glory unto thee." In the Roman Canon the priest makes such a prayer for himself, but not in general for the people also, as in the other Liturgies. But in the first Liturgy of king Edward VI. there is the confession and absolution, and the prayer of humble access, *We do not presume to come to this thy table, &c.*, coming immediately before the distribution of the elements. These prayers are still retained in the communion service of the Church of England; but I know not for what service are placed in the beginning of the service, directly contrary to the most ancient and universal order of the Church. Now though the misplacing of these prayers would not justify the making alterations in the public Liturgy, yet when it was found necessary to alter it upon other accounts, by reason of essential defects in the very form of consecration, it was certainly then very proper to restore these prayers to their right place.

§ 23. After this prayer for pardon of sin and of humble access, whereby God is desired to make all that are present worthy partakers of the holy sacrament, then the bishop or officiating priest, according to the Clementine Liturgy, says, "Holy things are for holy persons." To which the people answer, "There is one Holy, one Lord, one Jesus Christ, in the glory of God the Father, blessed for ever. Amen. Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men. Hosannah to the Son of David, blessed be God the Lord that cometh in the name of the Lord, and hath appeared unto us: Hosannah in the highest." St. James's Liturgy, "Holy things are for holy persons." *People*, "There is but one that is Holy, one Lord Jesus Christ, to the honour of God the Father, to whom be glory for ever." The Liturgy of St. Mark, "Holy things are for holy persons." *People*, "There is one Holy Father, one Holy Son, one Holy Ghost, in the Unity of the Holy Spirit. Amen." The Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, "Holy things are for holy persons." *Choir*, "There is one Holy, one Lord Jesus Christ, in the glory of God the Father." In St. Basil's Liturgy, as used in the Church of Constantinople, the priest also says, "Holy things are for holy persons:" but there is no answer directed for the people. The Liturgy of St. Basil, as used at Alexandria, "Holy things are for holy persons."

*People*, "Lord have mercy upon us. There is one Holy Father, one Holy Son, one Holy Ghost. Amen." The Ethiopic Liturgy is the same only without the suffrage, "Lord have mercy upon us." The Liturgy of Nestorius, as I observed before, is imperfect. The Liturgy of Severus has the words, "Holy things are for holy persons." But the people are not directed to give any answer to it. The Roman Canon, and the first Liturgy of king Edward VI. have not this passage, neither can we say whether it was in any of the ancient Liturgies of the Western Church, the Gothic, the Gallican, and the Mozarabic, because those Liturgies have not been transmitted entire to us. However, it is certainly of very ancient use in all the Greek and Eastern Churches, and probably was so in the Western, till all other Liturgies in this part of the world were made to give place to the Roman, and by that means we have only fragments of them left. So that, although we know some things that certainly were in those Liturgies, and in particular that all the points now in dispute were in them as well as in all other Liturgies, yet we cannot say what was not in them which we find to be in other Liturgies.

§ 24. After this, in the Clementine Liturgy, immediately follows the distribution; the bishop or officiating priest giving the bread, and saying, "The body of Christ;" and he that receives, answers, "Amen." And the deacon follows with the cup and gives it, saying, "The blood of Christ, the cup of life." And he that drinks, answers, "Amen." The Liturgy of St. James, as transmitted to us, has not told us what were the words used at the distribution; nor does it tell us whether the bread and wine are given distinct, or both together in a spoon, according to the present practice of some Churches. However we learn from St. Cyril, that they were delivered distinct in the Church of Jerusalem, where St. James's Liturgy was used. For he directs the communicant to receive in this manner, saying, "When you come to receive the communion, do not come with your hands stretched out, nor with your fingers disjoined, but make your left hand the seat of your right hand, which is to receive so great a King, and receive the body of Christ in the hollow of your hand, saying, Amen. Then after the communion of the body of Christ, go also to the cup of his blood, not reaching out your hand, but bowing down in a posture of adoration and worship, saying, Amen." In

the Liturgy of St. Mark, they are given distinct, with these words, "The Holy Body;" and for the cup, "The precious blood of our Lord and God and Saviour." In the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, they are also plainly given distinct to all the clergy, with these words: "I give you the precious, and holy, and immaculate body of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins and eternal life." And at the giving of the cup, "Thou receivest the precious and holy body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, for the remission of thy sins and eternal life." And when he has drank, then he adds, "This has touched thy lips, and shall take away thine iniquities, and cleanse thee from thy sins." And I suppose the same words are used in the distribution to the people, to whom both the bread and wine are given together in a spoon, though that be not expressed in the Liturgy. The words of distribution are not in the Liturgy of St. Basil, as used at Constantinople: but when that Liturgy is used there, they on this occasion follow the directions of St. Chrysostom's Liturgy. Neither are they in the Alexandrian Liturgy of St. Basil. Therefore we may reasonably suppose, that when that Liturgy is there used, the elements are distributed with the same words as in the Liturgy of St. Mark. In the Ethiopic Liturgy, at the giving the bread, the priest says, "This is the bread of life, which came down from heaven, the very precious body of Emanuel our God. Amen." And he that receives says, "Amen." Then the deacon gives the cup, saying, "This is the cup of life, which came down from heaven, which is the precious blood of Christ." And he that receives says, "Amen, Amen." The Liturgy of Nestorius, as I observed, is imperfect. Neither does the Liturgy of Severus, as it is published, tell us the words of distribution. In the Roman Church, no one receives the cup but the officiating priest, nor are the words set down in the Canon which he uses when he gives the wafer to the people. However, when he receives himself, he is directed to say, "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my soul unto eternal life. Amen." And then, "The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my soul unto eternal life. Amen." The first Liturgy of king Edward VI. added the words which was *given for thee*, and also the word *body* in this sentence, ordering the priest to say, "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life." In the second Liturgy



of king Edward VI., to please Martyr, and Bucer, and their followers, these words, which were never in any Liturgy before, were ordered to be used at the distribution:—"Take, and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving." And, "Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful." And in the first year of queen Elizabeth, both these sentences were added together, as they stand in the present Liturgy of the Church of England. Thus we find that in all Churches the bread and cup were given as the sacramental body and blood of Christ, and accordingly in the words used at the distribution were always called by the name of his body and blood, the name by which he himself called those elements when he gave them to his disciples: and, therefore, the Church of England very wisely restored the old form, though she also retained with it Bucer and Martyr's new form. But as it was a perfect new form, and introduced at first in direct opposition to all the ancient forms of administration, which are all agreeable to each other in sense, though not in words, there was no reason it should be continued by those who profess to follow the practice of the ancient Church in their ministrations.

§ 25. Thus I have gone through the whole communion office, as contained in the Clementine Liturgy, from the dismissal of the Catechumens to the distribution of the elements to the communicants. And I trust I have very fairly and plainly proved it to be perfectly free from all interpolations, which is the charge Renaudotius has brought against it, without so much as offering the least proof of it. For I have shewed, that it contains nothing but what is agreeable to the Scriptures, and that every part of it has the testimony of Ante-Nicene fathers to vouch for it; which is sufficient to satisfy us of the antiquity of this form. I have also shewed, that every prayer in it is agreeable in sense, though not in words, to a like prayer in all the other Liturgies here published, that is, to the Liturgies used in all parts of the Christian world, which plainly prove the Universality and Consent of all nations, and of all Christians in this form, or in one perfectly agreeable thereto. So that here is an *agreement with the Holy Scripture*, together with *Antiquity, Universality, and Consent*, to satisfy us that the Clementine Liturgy contains the true form of admin-

istering the holy eucharist; consequently that it is, as bishop Hicke truly styles it, *The standard and test, by which all the others are to be tried*. And, as Mr. Johnson also says, *I am, in my own mind, persuaded, that if we had the very words in which St. Peter and St. Paul consecrated the eucharist, it would not differ in substance from that which is contained in this most ancient Liturgy*.<sup>\*</sup> I will, therefore, very briefly recapitulate the particulars contained in it, that so we may at one view see the true and ancient form of administering the holy sacrament. In the first place, as Justin Martyr teaches, bread, and wine, and water, being brought, the service begins with a form of thanksgiving to God for the creation of the world, and all his other mercies conferred on mankind, particularly for our redemption by the passion, death, and resurrection, of our Lord Jesus Christ, with some proper suffrages preceding and introductory thereto. This our Saviour did; for the three evangelists who have written of this institution, and also St. Paul, say expressly, that he *gave thanks*; and St. Matthew and St. Mark say, that he *blessed*; and all interpreters seem to agree, that *ἐυλογήσας* and *ἐυχαριστησας* signify the same thing in this place, that is, he *eucharistized* or blessed with thanksgiving. Therefore, as our Saviour plainly consecrated or blessed both the bread and the cup with thanksgiving, so ought we to do also. And in this thanksgiving, a recital is made of what our Saviour did and commanded us to do, about which there is no dispute. Then, in the Clementine and all other Liturgies, follows the oblation or presentation of the elements to God; which also appears to have been done by our Saviour: for if he had not, in the institution, actually so presented, or offered them, he would not have said:—*This is my body given for you*. For how could he have said *given*, if he had not then presented or offered it to the Father. Then follows a prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost, to make the elements the body and blood of Christ. Now it is certain, from the words of institution, that Christ did make the elements to be his body and blood; for he expressly tells us that they are so: but no power inferior to his own could make them so. As, therefore, the Holy Spirit is his Divine substitute, by which he is present with his Church unto the end of the world; whatever operations he now

<sup>\*</sup> Unbloody Sacrifice, part 2., p. 148.

performs in his Church, are wrought by that Divine Spirit, who with the Father and the Son is One God : therefore, that the elements may become his body and blood in power and effect, it is necessary that this Holy Spirit should descend upon them, and operate in them and with them, because *it is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing*.<sup>\*</sup> After this prayer for the descent of the Holy Spirit to make the elements the food of eternal life, then follows an intercession for all estates and conditions of men in the Catholic Church, which is certainly highly requisite at this time, as a testimony of our full communion with the Catholic Church, and our charity with all men, and therefore there is no dispute concerning the necessity of such a prayer in general, but only whether the *faithful departed* are to be included or excluded this prayer. The Scripture, in divers places, teaches us, that these are still saints, and consequently members of the Catholic Church ; and the Scripture also teaches us, that we should *make supplication for all saints*, without excluding those which are departed ; and it is also certain from the Scriptures, that there is a greater degree of bliss which shall, at the day of judgment, be vouchsafed to the saints, when their bodies and souls shall be re-united, and which will not till then be enjoyed by them ; and which may, therefore, very safely and fitly be prayed for them. Consequently to exclude the faithful departed out of our prayers, when we celebrate the holy communion, is a kind of exclusion of them from our communion, or rather we exclude ourselves thereby from their communion, and make a direct breach in the communion of saints. Then follows a prayer that God would pardon the sins of the communicants, and make them acceptable partakers of this holy sacrament, and then the elements are orderly distributed to every one, with these words only :—*The body of Christ, the blood of Christ* : agreeable to the words of institution :—*This is my body, this is my blood*. Thus has the Clementine Liturgy exactly followed the Holy Scriptures, and our Saviour's institution in particular, in the form of ministering the holy eucharist, and all the other ancient Liturgies are agreeable to it in all these particulars. And excepting in the use of the Lord's Prayer, which is omitted in the Clementine, but inserted in all the other Liturgies, and concerning the use of

\* John vi. 63.



which there is no dispute, the other Liturgies (as shall be shewed when I come to consider them particularly) are not agreeable to one another, where they disagree with the Clementine. Consequently as they want Antiquity, so they also want Universality and Consent in those points. Neither is there any thing in the Clementine Liturgy, except a Rubric, (which I am not concerned about, since all Rubrics are confessedly modern) but what has the testimony of the Scriptures and the most ancient fathers to authorize it, as I trust I have shewn; nor is there any thing wanting in it wherein all other Liturgies agree, except the *Lord's Prayer*, which also, as used in this office, wants the testimony of the Scriptures and the fathers of the three first centuries. So that no other Liturgy but this has *Antiquity, Universality, and Consent*, to vouch for it in all its parts. Renaudotius has, therefore, very unjustly charged it with interpolations, for there is not so much as one passage in it that is not agreeable to the Scriptures and the practice of the most ancient Church: but, as bishop Hicke says of it:—*It is the test and standard by which all other Liturgies are to be tried.* And we have good reason to believe, as Mr. Johnson says, that *if we had the very words in which St. Peter and St. Paul consecrated the eucharist, it would not differ in substance from that which is contained in this most ancient Liturgy.* And, indeed, as to the form of consecration, it is plainly the same in substance in all the Liturgies here published, though some of them were used by heretics as well as the orthodox, and some of them were also compiled by heretics. And their agreement with the orthodox in this matter is a good evidence of the Universality and Consent of the Church in these points. For though the testimony of heretics be but a weak evidence against the doctrine or practice of the Catholic Church, yet it is a strong testimony for it: the testimony of an enemy being always reckoned a very good evidence for a man, though it be scarce a probable evidence against him, since nothing but the force of truth can be a reasonable inducement to a man to give testimony in behalf of his enemy. And we reckon it a very good argument for the divine authority of the Holy Scriptures, that heretics, as well as Catholics, acknowledge and receive them as the Word of God. Therefore since the Liturgies used by the heretics, as well as those used by the orthodox, agree with the Clementine in all things contained in that Liturgy, we cannot

question but the Universal Church judged that the substance of that Liturgy, though not the words, was essential to the due celebration of the eucharist.

§ 26. When I had near finished what I had to say of the Clementine Liturgy, and shewed its agreement with the testimony of the Scriptures, the fathers, and all the Liturgies here published, I received the sixth volume of Mr. Bingham's "Ecclesiastical Antiquities," wherein he treats concerning the manner how the holy eucharist was celebrated in the Primitive Church, and having translated the Clementine Liturgy, and there published it as the best exemplar of the Apostolical practice that has been transmitted to us, he then proceeds to prove every part of it, from the unanimous testimony of the fathers. I cannot therefore forbear to transcribe what he has written, to confirm what has gone before; since he cannot be supposed to have searched the fathers with any partial view on this occasion, forasmuch as the account he has given, is so contrary to his own practice and so agreeable to ours. In the first place then, speaking of the mixture, having said, "Yet after all, as there is no express command for this in the institution, notwithstanding this general consent of the ancient Church, it is commonly determined by modern divines, as well of the Roman as Protestant communion, that it is not essential to the sacrament itself, as the reader that is curious may find demonstrated in Vossius in his Dissertation on this subject." He then immediately adds, "As to the ancients, they are not to be blamed in keeping strictly to this custom, because they thought it a part of the institution. Upon which account they censured all that made any alterations in the elements, either by addition, or subtraction, or changing one element for another. The Aquarians, as we have heard, were condemned for taking away the wine; the Armenians and others for not using water also."\* Here his testimony is plain, that notwithstanding the moderns both of the Roman and Protestant communion have thought fit to determine, that a mixed cup of wine and water is not necessary, yet the ancients were of another opinion, and believed it to be necessary. I shall observe farther, that neither Papists nor Protestants condemn the mixture

\* Antiquities of the Christian Church, vol. vi. p. 619.

as unlawful, so that the case plainly stands thus: The mixture is by none judged to be unlawful, and the ancient Church, who had best means of knowing what was required by the institution, thought it necessary, and practised accordingly, even as early as Justin Martyr's days, who was contemporary to the immediate disciples of the Apostles, who would not have thought it necessary, if it had not been the practice of the apostles themselves, whom it is safest to follow in this case. If we do mix the cup, no one can say we do amiss, for it is on all hands agreed to be lawful. But if we do not mix it, we are plainly condemned by the ancients, (who had better means of understanding this matter than we) as departing from the institution. So that there can be no danger in mixing the cup, but there may be danger in not mixing it. And would any man run such an hazard for what may be helped so very easily? And if we refuse to partake of an unmixed cup, we do no more than Mr. Bingham has shewed all the ancients did. There is good reason to believe an unmixed cup to be unlawful; but no modern has so much as pretended that the mixed cup is so. Therefore I cannot but think it hard that such as think it *necessary*, should be denied the mixed cup, when no body thinks it unlawful. It may perhaps be said, that the Church of England has not prohibited a mixed cup; she has only not enjoined it; that in some of the public parish Churches the priest does put water into the sacramental wine, and that we do not find any have been censured for it. And therefore supposing a mixed cup to be necessary, no one need to separate from the Church of England on that account; for he may have the mixed cup without separation. But not to insist upon the strictness of the act of uniformity, with regard to the administration of the sacraments in particular, which expressly forbids to *use any other rite, ceremony, order, form, or manner of celebrating the Lord's Supper, openly or privately, than is mentioned and set forth in the said book*: consequently since that book orders only wine to be put into the sacramental cup, to add water to it is to minister it in *another manner* than is there appointed, and so forbidden; and he that does mix the cup, seems to be liable to be censured for so doing: I say, not to urge this strict clause in the act of uniformity, this is certain, that the Church of England having not enjoyed the use of a mixed cup, if the priest will not mix it, the communicants have no remedy,



but must receive it unmingled or not at all, how much soever they are persuaded of the necessity of the mixture. And Mr. Bingham, who no doubt has examined the matter impartially, grants that the ancient Church thought the mixture necessary; and I am sure, if it was necessary then, it must be so still. Therefore those who think it necessary have the whole Catholic Church of their side, till some schoolmen, wiser than all the ancient fathers, discovered that the whole Church had been under a mistake in this matter, from the Apostles' days downwards, and the schoolmen we know were oracles to the Church of Rome, and therefore it is not to be wondered at, if that Church ran into their notions, and declared against the necessity of the mixture. And the second Reformers, who had very little regard to the practice of the ancient Church, not finding the word water or mixture in the history of the institution, not only declared against the necessity of it, but actually laid it aside, which the Church of Rome has not done in practice. But as the ancients had better means of knowing what was required in the institution than either *Papists* or *Protestants* at this time, except they will be guided by the ancients; I cannot but think the Primitive Church much rather ought to be followed than either *Papists* or *Reformers*. And this, as I have shewed, is also the declared opinion of the Church of England, though it has not been so well observed in her practice as I could wish. And her enemies, as well *Protestants* as *Papists*, have not failed to cast it in their teeth. Thus in the reign of king Charles II., when books were written to justify the Church of England, and to shew that she retained those ceremonies which the dissenters quarrelled with, out of conformity to the practice of the ancient Church, the dissenters immediately retorted.—*We may see how vainly it is pretended that these ceremonies were retained and imposed to manifest the justice and equity of the Reformation, by letting their enemies see they did not break communion with them for mere indifferent matters; or that they left the Church of Rome, no further than she left the ancient Church, as saith Dr. Stillingfleet; when it is manifest, that we left off praying for departed saints, the unction of the sick, the mingling water with the sacramental wine, the chrism, exorcism, the anointing the baptized person, crossing the breast at the consecration of the eucharist, and the baptismal water; with many other things which were*

*retained in the Ancient Church, and in the Liturgy of Edward VI.\** And in the very last year Mr. Pierce, the great champion of the Presbyterians, and who seems to be a man of the most learning among them, renews the same objection in his answer to Dr. Nichols. The Doctor had said, *This extraordinary prudence of our Reformers was upon many accounts commended by all good men; but upon this more especially, because they thought it fit to retain the discipline and ceremonies which were used most anciently in the Church, and to abrogate those only which were introduced under the Papal usurpation.*† In which words he says no more than the Church of England herself seems to say in her thirtieth Canon. So that the Doctor here has said nothing but what may be fairly taken as the declared doctrine of the Church of England. But Mr. Pierce answers to this: *As to the antiquity of our adversaries, if they will be consistent with themselves, while they pretend to be directed by antiquity in restoring purity to religion, why have they laid aside the mixing water and wine in the cup in the Lord's Supper, which Justin Martyr, who flourished in the middle of the second century, testifies was in use in his time, in which Cyprian, in the next age, labours to prove to be absolutely necessary?* Thus has the Church of England, by laying aside what the Primitive Church believed necessary, exposed herself to the reproaches of her adversaries, for the inconsistency of her practice with her received principles. And those who write in her defence, and endeavour to shew her conformity to the Primitive Church, have their mouths stopped by her adversaries, because she so apparently wants the things we plead for, and in particular the mixed cup. So that I can see no other way that she can put a stop to these reproaches, but either to drop her pretences to conformity with the Primitive Church, and alter that clause in her thirteenth Canon, where she declares, that *she departed from the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any such like Churches, only in those particular points wherein they were fallen both from themselves in their ancient integrity, and from the Apostolical Churches which were their first founders*, or else to restore those usages of the truly Primitive and Catholic Church, she has been pleased to lay

\* Delaune's Plea for Nonconformists, p. 49.

† Pierce's Vindication of the Dissenters, &c. p. 17—19.



aside to please the Presbyterians, who have only made use of that compliance to charge her with inconsistency.

§ 27. But to return to Mr. Bingham ; having told us that the ancients thought the mixture a part of the institution, he then in the next chapter proceeds to give us the Liturgic form of ministering the holy communion according to the “Apostolical Constitutions,” the same which is here published under the name of the Clementine Liturgy, as that which he judges to be the most Primitive form, and in which he can find no interpolations, but confirms every part of it from testimonies of the ancient fathers. After taking notice of the fan or fly-flap, which he says *may be let pass as a minute circumstance, about which it is not worth while to be solicitous to give collateral evidence out of the ancient writers* ; he proceeds thus :—“The next thing mentioned in the *Constitutions*, is the use of the sign of the cross, before the minister proceeds to the consecration. And of this there is more certain evidence in the ancient writers. For Chrysostom says expressly, that it was not only used by Christians every day, but particularly at the holy table, and the ordination of priests, and that its glory shined with the body of Christ in the mystical supper. Which implies, that it was used more than once in the celebration. St. Austin says likewise, that it was used in all their offices, in consecrating the waters of baptism, in the unction of confirmation, and in the sacrifice of the eucharist ; without which none of them were solemnly performed. Next after this, immediately before the great thanksgiving in the *Constitutions*, the priest having given the people another salutation in the words of St. Paul, *The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c* : and they answering, *And with thy Spirit* : the priest goes on and says, *Lift up your hearts* : to which the people answer, *We lift them up unto the Lord*. The priest says again, *Let us give thanks unto the Lord* : and the people answer, *It is meet and right so to do*. Now this is mentioned by all ecclesiastical writers that have said any thing of the *eucharist* or prayer. St. Cyprian calls it the *preface*, that was premised by the priest to prepare the brethren’s minds, to pray with an heavenly temper. St. Austin mentions it above ten times in his writings : the places have been noted above in the general discourse of *Liturgies*, and therefore I need not here repeat them. I will therefore only remark, that



he says it was the custom of the whole Church throughout the world, to say daily almost with one voice, *We lift up our hearts unto the Lord*: and that therefore the hearts of Christian people were a sort of heaven, because they are daily lifted up to heaven, whilst the priest says, *Lift up your hearts*: and they answer, *We lift them up unto the Lord*. St. Chrysostom also frequently mentions the use of this *preface* in his homilies. The reader that is curious may find the same forms related in Cyril's Mystical Catechisms, and Anastasius Sinaita, and Cæsarius Arelatensis, and Ebigius Noviomensis, not to mention the *Greek Liturgies*, or any later writers. I only observe further out of the Council of Milevis, where there is mention made of prefaces among other prayers, it is commonly supposed by learned men, that those forms are meant, *Lift up your hearts*; *We lift them up unto the Lord*. *Let us give thanks unto the Lord*; *It is meet and right so to do*. Which, as Mabillon observes, in the old *Gallican Liturgy* is called *Contestatio*, because by these answers the people gave in their attestation or testimony of their compliance with the priest's exhortation; declaring that their hearts were now in heaven, and that it was meet and right to praise the Lord. After this, the priest went on with the *εὐχαριστία*, properly so called, that is, the great thanksgiving to God for all his mercies both of creation, providence, and redemption; where a commemoration was made of all that God had done for man from the foundation of the world, and more particularly in the great mystery of redemption: upon which a solemn and magnificent glorification of God was framed, always including the *trisagion*, or *seraphical hymn*, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of hosts*, &c., which was sung by the minister and people jointly; and then the minister went on alone to finish the solemn thanksgiving. We have no where else indeed so long a thanksgiving, as is that in the Constitutions: but the substance of it is not only in the *Liturgies* that go under the names of St. James, Chrysostom, and Basil, but may be discovered in more authentic writings. For Justin Martyr describing the Christian rites and mysteries, says, as soon as the common prayers were ended, and they had saluted one another with a kiss, bread and wine and water were brought to the president; who receiving them, gave praise and glory to the Father of all things by the Son and Holy Spirit, and made *εὐχαριστίαν ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺν*, a long thanksgiving for the blessings he vouch-

safed to bestow upon them. And when he had ended the prayers and thanksgiving, all the people that were present answered with acclamation, *Amen.* After the same manner Irenæus ; We offer unto him his own gifts, thereby declaring the communication and truth both of flesh and spirit. For as the bread, which is of the earth, after the invocation of God upon it, is no longer common bread, but the *eucharist*, consisting of two parts, the one earthly, the other heavenly : so all our bodies, receiving the *eucharist*, are no longer corruptible, whilst they live in hopes of a resurrection. But we offer these things to him, not as if he stood in need of them, but as giving him thanks for his gifts, and sanctifying the creature. So Origen says, They eat the bread that was offered to the Creator with prayer and thanksgiving for the gifts that he had bestowed on them, which bread was made an holy body by prayer, sanctifying those that used it with a pious mind. Cyril of Jerusalem more particularly specifies the substance of this thanksgiving in his Mystical Catechisms, saying, after this, that is, after we have said, *Let us give thanks to the Lord*, and, *It is meet and right so to do*, we make mention of the heaven, and earth, and sea, and the sun, moon, and stars, and all the creatures, rational and irrational, visible and invisible, angels, archangels, hosts and dominions, principalities and powers, thrones and cherubim covering their faces, saying with David, *Magnify the Lord with me.* We also make mention of the cherubim which Esaias saw in the Spirit, standing about the throne of God, and with two wings covering their faces, and with two their feet, and flying with two, and saying, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of hosts.* This is much the same with the thanksgiving in St. James's Liturgy, which was used in the Church of Jerusalem in this form : *It is very meet and right*, becoming us and our duty, that we should praise thee, and celebrate thee with hymns, and give thanks unto thee, the Maker of all creatures, visible and invisible, the treasure of all good, the fountain of life and immortality, the God and Lord of all things, whom the heavens, and the Heaven of heavens praise, and all the host of them ; the sun and moon, and whole company of stars ; the earth and sea, and all that are in them ; the celestial congregation of Jerusalem, the Church of the first-born written in heaven, the spirits of just men and prophets, the souls of martyrs and apostles, angels and archangels, thrones and dominions,

principalities and powers, the tremendous hosts and cherubim with many eyes, and seraphim with six wings, with two whereof they cover their faces, and with two their feet, and with two they fly, crying out incessantly one to another, and singing with loud voices the triumphal song of the magnificence of thy glory, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of hosts, heaven and earth are full of thy glory. Hosanna in the highest. Blessed be he that cometh in the Name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.* St. Chrysostom also speaks of this thanksgiving, though he does not give us the whole form of it, but only the introduction.\* When Mr. Bingham has thus proved the Universal Primitive use of this general thanksgiving, which ended with the trisagion or seraphical hymn, *Holy, Holy, Holy, &c.*, he then further observes:—“Next after this, there follows in the *Constitutions* a particular enumeration of the mercies of God vouchsafed to mankind in the redemption of the world by the death of Christ, and a more special thanksgiving with respect to them; wherein also is contained a sort of Creed, or summary of the chief articles of the Christian faith: which was all the Creed that the Church in that age made use of in that service. For as yet the formal repetition of the *baptismal Creed* was no part of the communion service, as it was in after ages; but only such doctrines were related as were the subject of a particular thanksgiving for the great mysteries of the incarnation and redemption. Thus it is represented in the *Constitutions*, with which St. Chrysostom corresponds. For commenting on those words of the Apostle:—*The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ?* He brings in the Apostle thus explaining himself: when I speak of a blessing, I unfold all the treasures of God’s beneficence, and commemorate all his great and glorious gifts. And he adds, we also, in offering the cup, recite the ineffable mercies and kindness of God, and all the good things we enjoy: and so we offer it, and communicate; giving him thanks for that he hath delivered mankind from error; that he hath made us near who were far off; that when we were without hope, and without God in the world, he hath made us the brethren of Christ, and fellow heirs with him. For these, and all the like blessings, we give him thanks, and so come to his holy table. We cannot have a plainer proof

\* Antiquities of the Christian Church, vol. vi. p. 648.



of a particular thanksgiving than this is, and therefore I shall seek no further evidence in the case, but proceed to the immediate form of consecration.”\* Thus this learned gentleman shews, † (as I have also done before) that besides that general thanksgiving, concluded with the seraphic hymn, *Holy, Holy, Holy, &c.*, there was also another particular thanksgiving containing a sort of *Creed*, and also an enumeration of the mercies of God vouchsafed to mankind in the redemption of the world by the death of Christ. And such is that which immediately follows the seraphic hymn in the communion office lately compiled and published, and which some are so angry with, though taken from the Liturgy of St. James, used in the most ancient Church of Jerusalem: which runs thus, *Holiness is thy nature and thy gift, O eternal King! Holy is thine only-begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom thou hast made the worlds! Holy is thine ever-blessed Spirit, who searcheth all things, even the depths of thine infinite perfection!* Here, as Mr. Bingham observes of the most ancient eucharistic prayers, is a sort of *Creed*, expressing in this form of thanksgiving our belief in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Then it proceeds, *Holy art thou, Almighty and merciful God!* whereby we express our belief that these Three Persons are One God. And so we go on to enumerate his mercies to mankind. “Thou createdst man in thine own image, broughtest him into Paradise, and didst place him in a state of dignity and pleasure: and when he had lost his happiness by transgressing thy command, thou of thy goodness didst not abandon and despise him. Thy Providence was still continued, thy law was given to revive the sense of his duty, thy prophets were commissioned to reclaim and instruct him: and when the fulness of time was come, thou didst send thine only-begotten Son to satisfy thy justice, to strengthen our nature, and renew thine image within us. For these glorious ends thine eternal Word came down from heaven, was incarnate by the Holy Ghost, born of the blessed Virgin, conversed with mankind, and directed his life and miracles to our salvation: and when his hour was come to offer the propitiatory sacrifice on the cross; when he who had no sin himself, mercifully undertook to suffer death for our sins, in the same night that he was betrayed,” &c. So we

\* Antiquities of the Christian Church, vol. vi. p. 658.

† Supr. § 11.

proceed to recite the institution. Thus here is made a short history of the method, order, and several steps, by which the Son of God proceeded to work out our redemption, all recited in a form of praise and thanksgiving, as Mr. Bingham has proved to have been the practice of the ancient Church. And with this *εὐχαριστία*, or particular thanksgiving for the redemption of mankind, was immediately joined, and is also so joined in the office lately published, that which Mr. Bingham calls the immediate form of consecration. Though I should rather say, that the whole *εὐχαριστία*, or thanksgiving prayer, which is ended with the petition for the descent of the Holy Spirit, is the form of the consecration. It is certain, our Saviour *gave thanks* at the consecration, and all the ancient Liturgies, as I have shewed, continue their thanksgiving till the whole consecration is finished, whether with the Church of Rome, and the Church of England, and the Lutherans, and the Calvinists, and the learned author of "No Reason," &c., and his friends; we place the form of consecration in the bare recital of the words of institution; or with bishop Morton, Mr. Wheatly, and Mr. Bingham, we place it not only in that recital, but in that recital joined with prayer for the divine benediction. I say, as the ancients brought all these, that is, the recital of the words of institution, the oblation, (of which Mr. Bingham has thought fit to take no notice) and the invocation for the descent of the Holy Ghost, into their *εὐχαριστία* or prayer of thanksgiving, I conceive that they looked upon the whole thanksgiving prayer as making the form of consecration. And therefore they called the bread and cup the *eucharist*, which I cannot persuade myself they would have done, if they had not judged it to be consecrated with *thanksgiving*. And that they did call the bread and mixt wine the *eucharist*, even in the Apostolical age, we learn from Justin Martyr, who says:—*This food is called by us the eucharist.*\* And it would be very absurd to call that food the *eucharist*, that is the *thanksgiving*, if praise and thanksgiving was not used at the consecration of it. It is certain from the history of the institution related in the Scripture, that our Saviour gave thanks at the consecration. The Primitive and Universal Church also, as has been proved both by me and Mr. Bingham, did always use thanksgiving at the consecration, and

\* Καὶ ἡ τροφή αὕτη καλεῖται παρ' ἡμῶν εὐχαριστία. Just. Mart. Apol. iv, cap 86.

in particular a thanksgiving for the redemption of the world by Jesus Christ, according to Christ's command, *Do this in remembrance of me*: as if he had said, You have seen me bless the bread and cup with thanksgiving, do you also bless bread and a cup with thanksgiving in remembrance of me. So that to me here seems to be a command to bless or consecrate the elements with thanksgiving: and the practice of the most Primitive and Catholic Church was agreeable thereto. However, the learned Mr. Bingham does not deny even the immediate form of consecration to be eucharistical, and therefore I have not said this by way of opposition to him, who has certainly given a fair account of the practice of the ancient Church in this matter. But I was willing to take this occasion to shew the reasonableness of consecrating in a thanksgiving form, which though I have also done before, yet being a matter not commonly taken notice of, I could not but think it proper to remind the reader of it.

§ 28. Mr. Bingham in the next place proceeds to give us the immediate form of consecration, or that part of the thanksgiving or eucharistic prayer which seems more immediately to respect the bread and cup. On which occasion he says:—"Now this was not anciently a bare repetition of those words, *Hoc est corpus meum, This is my body*, which for many ages has been the current doctrine of Romish schools; but a repetition of the history of the institution, together with prayers to God, that he would send his Holy Spirit upon the gifts, and make them become the body and blood of Christ, not by altering their nature and substance, but their qualities and powers, and exalting them from simple elements of bread and wine, to become types and symbols of Christ's flesh and blood, and efficacious instruments of conveying to worthy receivers all the benefits of his death and passion. Thus it is evidently set forth in the *Constitutions*, which for the reader's ease I will here again repeat:—"We, therefore, in commemoration of these things which Christ suffered for us, give thanks to thee, Almighty God, not as thou deservest, and as we ought, but as we are able, so fulfilling his command. For he, in the same night that he was betrayed, took bread in his holy and immaculate hands, and looking up to thee his God and Father, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, This is the mystery of the new testament; take of it, and eat it, this is my body, which is



broken for many for the remission of sins. Likewise he mixed a cup of wine and water, and sanctifying it, he gave it unto them, saying, Drink ye all of this: For this is my blood, which is shed for many for the remission of sins; This do in remembrance of me, For as oft as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew forth my death till I come. We therefore being mindful of his passion, and death, and resurrection from the dead, and his return into heaven; and also of his second coming, when he shall return with glory and power, to judge the quick and the dead, and to render to every man according to his works; do offer unto thee, our king and God, this bread and this cup, according to his appointment; giving thanks to thee by him, for that thou dost vouchsafe to let us stand before thee, and minister unto thee: And we beseech thee to look propitiously upon these gifts here set before thee, and to accept them favourably to the honour of thy Christ, and to send thy Holy Spirit upon this sacrifice, the Spirit that is witness of the suffering of the Lord Jesus, that it may make this bread become the body of thy Christ, and this cup the blood of thy Christ; that they who partake of it, may be confirmed in godliness, and obtain remission of sins; may be delivered from the devil and his impostures; may be filled with the Holy Ghost, and made worthy of Christ, and obtain eternal life, thou being reconciled to them, O Lord Almighty."

This very prayer, (I mean that part which follows the words of institution) word for word, (as near as two translations made by two different persons from the same original can be word for word) is the prayer used in the new communion office, which the author of "No Sufficient Reason," &c. charges with Popery, nay, as asserting the doctrine of transubstantiation, beyond the very Canon of the Mass, as I have before observed: he has since also thought fit to renew the same charge against this very prayer in another pamphlet, written in part against my postscript to the "Necessity of Tradition;" and that the reader might not overlook it, he has put it in the very beginning of a short preface, which seems to have been written chiefly for having an opportunity to make that reflection on this prayer. But the learned Mr. Bingham, it seems, was so short sighted, that he could see nothing of transubstantiation in it. He quotes this prayer to prove, that the ancient Church prayed to God, *that he would send his Holy Spirit upon the gifts, and make them become the*

*body and blood of Christ.* But because they prayed that they might be made *the body and blood*, without any limitation or restriction, he does not therefore infer, as our learned antagonist does, that they maintained, or were ready to maintain, the doctrine of transubstantiation, No, he tells us that the ancients did not understand it so; the meaning of this petition, as he very justly observes, was not that he should *be made the body and blood by altering their nature and substance, but their qualities and powers, and exalting them from simple elements of bread and wine to become types and symbols of Christ's flesh and blood, and efficacious instruments of conveying to worthy receivers all the benefits of his death and passion.* But our learned antagonist will have it, that to pray thus, is as much as *C. Du Perron or Bellarmine, or any the most zealous transubstantiators, could ever desire, and beyond what is used in their Canon of the Mass:* that those who use this prayer, *pray that the bread may be made our Saviour's body, and the cup his blood, as formally as the forwardest transubstantialist in Europe could do it.* This is the difference between these two learned gentlemen, when they both speak of the same petition in the same prayer. Mr. Bingham finds no transubstantiation in it, he gives it us as a prayer used by the most Primitive Catholic Church, and sees nothing there but what is very reconcileable to the explication before given. But the other learned gentleman finds direct transubstantiation in the very words, as full as any transubstantialist whatsoever can desire. But I desire the reader to consider, in order to make a right judgment between these two learned gentlemen: the design of Mr. Bingham, in what he says of this prayer, is only fairly and plainly to set before us the practice of the ancient Church, and to let us know what was the form used by them in the consecration of the eucharist, and so he sets down the prayer they used, and tells us what they understood by the bread and cup, being made the body and blood of Christ. And then he proves by a multitude of testimonies, (as I shall shew immediately) that this very prayer, or one to the same effect, was used in the Primitive Church: taking occasion from hence to confute the error of the Church of Rome, which makes the consecration to consist in those words of our Saviour, *This is my body, This is my blood.* But our learned antagonist writes with another design, and so he can bespatter his adversaries, and

make the world believe them friends to transubstantiation, (how much soever they declare against it, as they unanimously do) he cares not if he makes this prayer to favour that doctrine; to favour did I say, nay, directly to assert and maintain it, as much as the most zealous transubstantiator can desire: not considering that if he gives up this prayer, as asserting the doctrine of transubstantiation, he gives up the whole Primitive Church too, who always used it, or one to the same effect. Nay, he must give up bishop Hickea too as a transubstantialist, for he recommends this prayer in his "Christian Priesthood;" and one would think a *non-juror* should be more tender of his reputation than to give him so deep a wound through our sides.

But sometimes our zeal blinds us so, that to give our enemy a wound, we care not though we wound a friend with him. But perhaps this prayer, as used by the Primitive Church, and as recommended by bishop Hickea, has no transubstantiation in it; but when it is used by us, it must assert and maintain that doctrine. If this be the case, as I suppose it may, nay must be, (except this gentleman will condemn both bishop Hickea and the Primitive Church as transubstantiators) the reader will easily see what judgment he ought to make on the reflection. And as this prayer, in the judgment of bishop Hickea, Mr. Bingham, and others, gives no countenance to the doctrine of transubstantiation, so in the judgment of Mr. Bingham it plainly condemns a popish doctrine, (as that learned gentleman thinks proper to call it) which teaches, that the elements are consecrated by the recital of the words of institution, a doctrine which our learned antagonist very strenuously defends. And it is in order to refute this doctrine, that Mr. Bingham refers us to those words which the other learned gentleman condemns as Popish. For immediately after the recital of the prayer, he says, "Who sees not that the consecration in this form is made by a repetition of the history of the institution, and prayer for the coming of the Holy Ghost on the elements to sanctify them? And for this there is the concurrent testimony of all antiquity. Justin Martin makes the consecration to consist in thanksgiving and prayers, which being ended all the people say, 'Amen.' Irenæus says more expressly, that it is done by invocation of God. For the bread which is taken from the earth, has the invocation of God upon it, and then it is no longer common bread, but the eucharist. Origen says,



it is sanctified by the Word of God and prayer. Cyril of Jerusalem tells his catechumens, that before the invocation of the Holy Trinity, the bread and wine of the eucharist is common bread and wine; but after the invocation, it is no longer bare bread, but the body of Christ. As the holy oil after invocation is not bare oil, but the gift of Christ. So again, after we have sanctified ourselves by those spiritual hymns, we then pray the merciful God, that he would send forth his Holy Spirit upon the elements lying on the altar, that he may make the bread the body of Christ, and the wine the blood of Christ: which manifestly declares that the consecration was made by prayer and invocation. And the same is implied by St. Basil, when he asks, Which of the saints hath left us in writing the words of the invocation, by which the bread of the eucharist and the cup of blessing is consecrated? Gregory Nyssen, St. Basil's brother, says, the bread is sanctified by the Word of God and prayer. Theophilus of Alexandria, that the bread and wine, which represent the Lord's body and blood upon the table, are consecrated by invocation and the coming of the Holy Ghost upon them. And Theodoret most plainly, in one of his dialogues, What do you call the gift that is offered, before the priest has made the invocation over it? Bread made of such seeds. What do you call it after sanctification? The body of Christ. The Latin fathers are as plain in their verdict. St. Ambrose says, the sacraments which we take, are transformed into flesh and blood by the mystery of holy prayer. And Optatus, describing the fury of the Donatists, asserts the same, when he asks them, What greater sacrilege they could be guilty of, than to put down the altars of God, where God Almighty was invoked, and the Holy Spirit came down at the supplication of the priest? St. Jerome says, it was the peculiar office of the Presbyters to consecrate the body and blood of Christ by prayer. And again, that prayer was necessary to this purpose. The author of the book *De Sacramentis*, under the name of St. Ambrose, gives us the very form of words used in this prayer: Make this our oblation a chosen, rational oblation, which is the figure of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. Juvenius says, Christ himself consecrated it by prayer. And Gregory the Great was of opinion, that the Apostles used only the Lord's Prayer as the form of their consecration. And Cyprian was probably of the same opinion:

for he thinks that petition in the Lord's Prayer, *Give us this day our daily bread*, may be understood both in a spiritual and common sense, to denote the body of Christ, which is our bread, that we pray may be given us every day. A great many other fathers speak of the benediction or thanksgiving, as that which consecrates the eucharist, which is not much different from this, for the thanksgiving was always a part of the eucharistical prayers. And therefore some join them both together, as Justin Martyr and Irenæus, in the places now mentioned. And so Origen tells Celsus, that by thanksgiving and prayer they made bread an holy body, sanctifying such as received and eat it with a pure mind. And St. Austin, who sometimes calls it barely the benediction or thanksgiving, in other places says more expressly, that the eucharist was consecrated by mystical prayer in a solemn manner, and so received by us unto salvation in memory of our Lord's suffering for us. And writing against the Donatists, who denied the validity of the sacraments when they were consecrated and administered by sinners, he asks them, How then does God hear a murderer, when he prays either over the water of baptism, or the oil for unction, or over the eucharist, or over the heads of those that receive imposition of hands? Implying, that the consecration of the eucharist, as well as the rest of the things mentioned, was performed by prayer. To this mighty cloud of witnesses, the Romanists have nothing material to oppose, but a few mistaken passages of the ancients, which the reader may find related, with proper answers, by Mr. Aubertine, upon the eucharist. I shall only take notice of one, which carries the fairest pretence, out of Chrysostom, who in one of his homilies, speaks of the consecration after this manner: It is not man that makes the elements the body and blood of Christ, but Christ himself that was crucified for us. The priest stands fulfilling his office, and speaking those words; but the power and grace are of God. Christ said, *This is my body*: this word consecrates the element. And as that Word which said, *Increase and multiply, and replenish the earth*, was spoken but once, yet at all times is effectual in deed to strengthen our nature to beget children: So this Word once spoken from that time to this day, and until his coming again, perfects and consummates the sacrifice on every table throughout the Churches. \*The meaning of which is not, as the Romanists mistake, that the pronouncing of these words

by the priest, is the thing that makes the sacrifice; but that Christ, by first speaking those words, gave power to men to make his symbolical body; as by once speaking those words, *Increase and multiply*, he gave them power to procreate children. Christ's words are the original cause of the consecration; but still prayer, and not the bare repetition of his words, is the instrumental cause and means of the sanctification. As Chrysostom says plainly in another place, where he attributes the consecration of the elements to the invocation of the Spirit, and the Spirit's descent pursuant to such invocation: What meanest thou, O man, says he? When the priest stands by the holy table, lifting up his hands to heaven, and invoking the Holy Spirit to come down and touch the elements, there should then be great tranquillity and silence. When the Spirit grants his grace, when he comes down, when he touches the holy elements, when thou seest the Lamb slain and offered, dost thou then raise a tumult and commotion, and give way to strife and railing? In which words, it is plain, Chrysostom attributes the consecration to the power of Christ and the Holy Spirit, as the principal and essential cause; to prayer and supplication, as the instrumental cause, operating by way of condition and means, to sanctify the elements according to Christ's command, by a solemn benediction, and to the words, *This is my body*, and *This is my blood*, as spoken by Christ in the first institution, implying a declaration of what was then done, and what should be done by his power and concurrence to the end of the world. So that in all things relating to the consecration, we find the practice of the ancients exactly corresponding and agreeing to the order prescribed in the *Constitutions*. And whereas the author of the *Constitutions* makes it a very great part of the consecration prayer, that they who partake of the *eucharist* may be confirmed in godliness, and obtain remission of sins, may be delivered from the devil and his impostors, may be filled with the Holy Ghost, and be made worthy of Christ, and obtain eternal life: St. Chrysostom evidently refers to such a prayer, when he says, In the oblation we offer up our sins, and say, *Pardon us whatever sins we have committed willingly or unwillingly*. We first make mention of them, and then ask pardon for them. And so it is in the *Liturgy*, which goes under Chrysostom's name:—'We offer unto thee, this rational and unbloody service, beseeching thee to send thy Holy Spirit upon us



and these gifts; make the bread the precious body of thy Christ, and that which is in the cup, the precious blood of thy Christ; transmuting them by thy Holy Spirit, that they may be to the receivers for the washing of their souls, for pardon of sins, for participation of the Holy Ghost, for obtaining the kingdom of heaven, for boldness toward thee, and not for judgment and condemnation.'” Thus has this truly learned gentleman maintained and vindicated what we plead for with regard to the consecration. He shews, that the ancients did not think the elements consecrated by a bare recital of the words of institution, which our opponents so zealously contend for: and he condemns that opinion as a Romish error. And if this be an error in the Church of Rome, as Mr. Bingham has not only asserted, but proved by a cloud of witnesses, is it no error in the Church of England, which plainly maintains the same doctrine? Mr. Bingham indeed does not charge the Church of England as holding this doctrine, but it is very plain from her own Rubric she does so. Whether he intended to reflect on his own communion, and give it a wound through the side of the Church of Rome, I do not know: but whether he intended it or not, it is certain, that he has proved her to be erroneous in her form of consecration, for want of such a petition, as our adversaries charge upon us as proper only to be used by such as believe the doctrine of transubstantiation. Whereas he shews, that such a petition, or one to the same effect, was always thought necessary to the consecration. Nay, he commends the passage in St. Chrysostom's Liturgy, which has the words, *transmuting them by thy Holy Spirit*; and yet I cannot believe him a friend to transubstantiation. For as much as he in this very place has so particularly declared against it, where he says, that this prayer is not to be understood as a petition, that the elements might be changed *by altering their nature and substance, but their qualities and powers, and exalting them from simple elements of bread and wine to become types and symbols of Christ's flesh and blood, and efficacious instruments of conveying to worthy receivers all the benefits of his death and passion*. And we say the very same: we use this petition as the ancients did, we understand it as they understood it, in that sense which Mr. Bingham has given of it: and we leave it to the candid reader, to judge betwixt us and our

adversaries, whether the most zealous transubstantiator can desire no more of us.

§ 29. In the next place follows a prayer for all estates and conditions of men, which Mr. Bingham examines particularly; but as there is no dispute about the use of such a prayer for all that are living in this world, I need not cite what he says with relation to praying for the Church in general, for the bishops and clergy, the king and magistrates, &c. But as there is a dispute about prayer for the dead, I think proper to transcribe what he says on that head. He says then, "Next after prayer for kings, followed prayer for the dead, that is, for all that were departed in the true faith of Christ; for so it is in the Constitutions. *We offer to thee for all thy saints, that have lived well-pleasing in thy sight, from the foundation of the world, for patriarchs, prophets, holy men, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops, presbyters, deacons, sub-deacons, readers, singers, virgins, widows, lay-men, and all whose names thou knowest.* And that this was the general practice of the Church, to pray for all without exception, appears from the concurrent testimony of **all** the writers of the Church. We have heard Arnobius say already, that they prayed for the living and the dead in general. And long before him Tertullian speaks of oblations for the dead, for their birth days, that is, the day of their death, or a new birth unto happiness, in their annual commemorations. He says, every woman prayed for the soul of her deceased husband, desiring that he might find rest and refreshment at present, and a part in the first resurrection, and offering an annual oblation for him on the day of his death. In like manner he says, the husband prayed for the soul of his wife, and offered annual oblations for her. St. Cyprian often mentions the same practice, both when he speaks of martyrs and others. For the martyrs, they offered the oblation of prayer, and of praise and thanksgiving; for others, prayers chiefly. Those for the martyrs he calls oblations and sacrifices of commemorations, which they offered especially on the anniversary days of their martyrdom, giving God thanks for their victory and coronation. But for others, they made solemn supplications and prayers, as appears in what he says of one Geminus Victor, that because he had

appointed a presbyter to be his executor, contrary to law, no oblation should be made for his rest or sleep, nor any deprecation be used in his name, according to custom in the Church. The author under the name of Origen upon Job, says, they made devout mention of the saints, and their parents and friends, that were dead in the faith; as well to rejoice in their refreshment, as to desire for themselves a pious consummation in the faith. And Origen himself says, they thought it convenient to make mention of the saints in their prayers, and to excite themselves by the remembrance of them. Cyril of Jerusalem, in describing the prayer after consecration, says, 'We offer this sacrifice in memory of all those that are fallen asleep before us; first, patriarchs, prophets, apostles and martyrs, that God by their intercessions may receive our supplications, and then we pray for our holy fathers and bishops, and all that are fallen asleep before us, believing it to be a considerable advantage to their souls to be prayed for, whilst the holy and tremendous sacrifice lies upon the altar.' Epiphanius disputes at large against the Aërians, who ridicule all prayer for the dead. For they said, if the prayers of the living will advantage the dead, then it was no matter for being pious or virtuous; a man only needed to get friends to pray for him after death, and he would be liable to no punishment, nor would his most enormous crimes be required of him. To whom Epiphanius replies, 'That they had many good reasons for mentioning the names of the dead, because it was an argument that they were still in being, and living with the Lord; because it was some advantage to sinners, though it did not wholly cancel their crimes; because it put a distinction between the perfection of Christ, and the imperfection of all other men: therefore they prayed for righteous men, fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, bishops, hermits, and all orders of men.' And it appears from all the ancient Liturgies under the names of St. Basil, Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzen, and Cyril, that they prayed for all saints, the Virgin Mary herself not excepted. And it is remarkable, that in the old Roman Missal, they were used to pray for the soul of St. Leo, as Hinomar, a writer of the ninth age informs us, who says the prayer ran in this form: *Grant, O Lord, that this oblation may be of advantage to the soul of thy servant Leo, which thou hast appointed to be for the redemption of the sins of the whole*



*world.* But this was thought so incongruous in the following ages, that in the later Sacramentaries or Missals, it was changed into this form: *Grant, O Lord, we beseech thee, that this oblation may be of advantage to us by the intercession of St. Leo;* as pope Innocent the Third assures us it was in his time. And such another alteration was made in pope Gregory's Sacramentarium. For in the old Greek and Latin edition, there is this prayer: 'Remember, O Lord, all thy servants, men and women, who have gone before us in the seal of the faith, and sleep in the sleep of peace: we beseech thee, O Lord, to grant them, and all that rest in Christ, a place of refreshment, light and peace, through the same Jesus Christ our Lord.' But in the new reformed Missal it is altered thus: 'Remember, Lord, thy servants and handmaids N. and N. that have gone before us,' &c. That they might not seem to pray for saints as well as others that were in purgatory, which makes it very probable, that St. Cyril's Catechism has also been tampered with, and a clause put in, which speaks of their praying to God by the intercession of patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs: since the ancient Liturgies prayed for them as well as for all others. St. Chrysostom says expressly, they offered for the martyrs. And so it is in his Greek Liturgy: 'We offer unto thee this reasonable service for the faithful deceased, our forefathers, fathers, patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, religious persons, and every spirit perfected in the faith; but especially for our most holy, immaculate, most blessed lady, the mother of God and ever Virgin Mary.' Though, as bishop Usher has observed, some of the Latin translators have also given a perverse turn to these words, rendering them thus: 'We offer unto thee this reasonable service for the faithful deceased, our forefathers, and fathers, by the intercession of the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, and all the saints.' For it sounded ill to the Latin ears, to hear St. Chrysostom say, the ancient Church prayed for saints and martyrs. And yet he says it, not only in the fore-mentioned places, but over and over again in others. In his forty-first Homily upon the first of Corinthians, speaking against immoderate sorrow for the death of sinners, he says, they are not so much to be lamented, as succoured with prayers and supplications, and alms, and oblations. For these things were not designed in vain, neither is it without reason that we make

mention of those that are deceased in the holy mysteries, interceding for them to the Lamb that is slain, to take away the sins of the world ; but that some consolation may hence arise to them. Neither is it in vain, that he who stands at the altar when the tremendous mysteries are celebrated, cries, *We offer unto thee for all those that are asleep in Christ, and all that make commemorations for them.* For if there were no commemorations made for them, these things would not be said. Let us not therefore grow weary in giving them our assistance, and offering prayers for them : for the common propitiation of the whole world is now before us. Therefore we now pray for the whole world, and name them with martyrs, with confessors, with priests, for we are all one body, though one member be more excellent than another ; and we may obtain a general pardon for them by our prayers, by our alms, by the help of those that are named together with them. He supposes here, that saints prayed for sinners, though at the same time the Church prayed both for the saints, and martyrs, and sinners, together. In another place he says, prayers were made in general for all those that were deceased in the faith, and none but Catechumens, dying in a voluntary neglect of baptism, were excluded from the benefit of them. At that time, says he, when all the people stand with their hands lift up to heaven, and all the company of priests with them, the tremendous sacrifice lies upon the altar, how shall we not move God to mercy, when we call upon him for those that are deceased in the faith ? I speak of them only : for Catechumens are not allowed this consolation, but are deprived of all assistance, except only giving alms for them. This then was a punishment inflicted on the Catechumens, of which Chrysostom speaks in other places ; and it appears to have been a settled rule by some ancient Canons of the Church, of which I had occasion to speak in a former book, to deny Catechumens the benefit of the Church's prayers after death. Chrysostom says again, that a bishop is to be intercessor for all the world, and to pray to God to be merciful to the sins of all men, not only the living but the dead also. Cassian says also, the *Biothanati*, as they called them, that is, men that laid violent hands upon themselves, were excluded from the benefit of the Church's prayers. And therefore when one Hero, an old hermit, had, by the delusions of Satan, cast himself into a deep well, Paphnutius the abbot could hardly be prevailed upon to let him

be reckoned any other than a self-murderer, and unworthy of the memorial and oblation that was made for all those that were at rest in peace. Which is also noted in the Council of Braga, where Catechumens and self-murderers are put in the same class together, as persons that deserved neither the solemnities of Christian burial, nor the usual prayers and commemoration that was made for the rest of Christians at the altar. St. Austin indeed had a singular opinion in this matter about prayer for the dead: for he thought the martyrs were not properly to be prayed for as other men, because they were admitted to the immediate fruition of heaven. There goes a common saying under his name, (which pope Innocent the III. quotes as Holy Scripture) that he who prays for a martyr, does injury to the martyr, because they attained to perfection in this life, and have no need of the prayers of the Church, as all others have. Therefore he says, when they are named at the altar, and their memorials celebrated, they did not commemorate them as persons for whom they prayed, as they did all others that rested in peace, but rather as men that prayed for the Church on earth, that we might follow their steps, who attained to the perfection of charity in laying down their lives for Christ, according to that aphorism of Christ himself, *Greater love than this hath no man, that he lay down his life for his friend*. Upon this account, St. Austin thought the oblations and alms, that were usually offered in the Church for the dead that had received baptism, were only thanksgivings for such as were very good, and propitiations for those that were not very bad; and for such as were very evil, though they were no help to them when they were dead, yet they were some consolation to the living. But as bishop Usher rightly observes, this was but an harsh interpretation of the prayers of the Church, that one and the same act of praying should be a petition for some, and for others a thanksgiving only: and therefore it is more reasonable to suppose, that the Church designed to pray for all; especially since St. Austin himself owns that the Church made supplications for all that died in the society of the Christian and Catholic faith, as all the ancient forms of prayer do manifestly evince beyond all possibility of exception. Supposing then that the ancient Church made prayers for saints and martyrs, as well as all others, it remains to be enquired, upon what grounds and reasons she observed this custom; whether upon a modern supposition of a



purgatory fire, or upon other reasons more agreeable to such a general practice? That she did not do it upon supposition of purgatory, appears evidently from what has been already observed out of the public offices of the Church, that she prayed for all the saints, martyrs, confessors, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and even the Virgin Mary herself, and all other holy men and women from the foundation of the world, who were supposed to be in a place of rest and happiness, and not in any place of purgation and torment. And this appears farther from the private prayers made by St. Ambrose for the emperors Theodosius, and Valentinian, and Gratian, and his own brother Saturus, and the directions he gives to Faustinus not to weep for his sister, but to make prayers and oblations for her. For all these were persons of whom he had not the least doubt, but that their souls were in rest and happiness. As all the funeral service of the ancients supposes, where they usually sung these verses of the psalms, *Return again unto thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord hath rewarded thee*: and again, *I will fear no evil, because thou art with me*: and again, *Thou art my refuge from the affliction that compasseth me about*. Which St. Chrysostom often bids his hearers remember, that whilst they prayed for the deceased party, they should not weep immoderately, as the heathen did, but give God thanks for taking him to a place of rest and security: which is utterly inconsistent with their going into the dreadful pains of purgatory. St. Austin both prayed in private for his mother Monicha, and also speaks of the Church's prayers for her at her funeral, and afterward at the altar; and yet he made no question of her going hence from a state of piety here to a state of joy and felicity hereafter. And after the same manner Gregory Nazianzen prays God, to receive the soul of his brother Cæsarius, who was lately regenerated by the Spirit in baptism. It is certain, these prayers were not founded on a belief of purgatory fire after death, but upon a supposition that they were going to a place of rest and happiness, which was their first reason for praying for them, that God would receive them to himself, and deliver them from condemnation. 2. Upon the same presumption some of their prayers were always eucharistical, or thanksgiving for their deliverance out of the troubles of this sinful world; as appears not only from the forementioned testimonies of St. Chrysostom, but from the author under the name of Dionysius, who on describing, their

funeral service, speaks of the *ἐυχὴ ἐυχαραίτηριος*, the eucharistical prayer, whereby they gave God thanks not only for martyrs, but all Christians that died in the true faith and fear of God.

“A third reason for praying for them, was, because they justly conceived all men to die with some remainders of frailty and corruption, and therefore desired that God would deal with them according to his mercy, and not in strict justice according to their merits: for no one was then thought to have any real merit or title to eternal happiness, but only upon God’s promises and mercy. St. Austin discourses excellently upon this point in the case of his mother Monicha, after this manner: ‘I now pour out unto thee, my God, another sort of tears for thy handmaid, flowing from a trembling spirit, in consideration of the danger that every soul is in, that dies in Adam. For although she was made alive in Christ, and lived so in the days of her flesh, as to bring glory to thy name by her faith and practice; yet I dare not say, that from the time she was regenerated by baptism, no word came out of her mouth against thy commands: and thou hast told us by him who is truth itself, that *whosoever shall say to his brother, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire.* And woe to the most laudable life of man, if thou shouldst sit and examine it without mercy. But because thou art not extreme to mark what is done amiss, we have hope and confidence to find some place and room for indulgence with thee. But whoever reckons up his true merits before thee, what does he more than recount thy own gifts? O that all men would know themselves, and they that glory, glory in the Lord! I therefore, O my praise, and my life, the God of my heart, setting aside a little her good actions, for which I joyfully give thee thanks, now make intercession for the sins of my mother. Hear me, through the medicine of his wounds who hanged upon the tree, and now sitteth at thy right hand, to make intercession for us.’ He adds a little after, that he believed God had granted what he asked: yet he prays, that ‘the lion and the dragon might not interpose himself, either by his open violence or subtlety; for she would not answer, that she was no debtor, lest the crafty adversary should convict her and lay hold of her; but she would answer that her sins were forgiven her by him, to whom no man can return what he gave to us without any obligation. Let her therefore rest in peace with her husband; and do thou, my Lord God, inspire all those thy servants that

read this, to remember thy handmaid Monicha at thy altar with Patricius her consort.' This was not a prayer for persons in the pains of purgatory, but for such as rested in peace, only without dependence upon their own merits, and with an humble reliance upon God's mercy, that he would not suffer them to be devoured by the roaring lion, nor deal extremely with them for the sins of human frailty. 4. Another like reason for these prayers, is that which we have heard before out of Epiphanius, that it was to put a distinction between the perfection of Christ, and the imperfection of all other men, saints, martyrs, apostles, prophets, confessors, &c. he being the only person, for whom prayer was not then made in the Church. 5. They prayed for all Christians, as a testimony both of their respect and love to the dead, and of their own belief of the soul's immortality; to shew, as Epiphanius words it in the same place, that they believed that they who were deceased were yet alive, and not extinguished, but still in being, and living with the Lord. 6. Whereas the soul is but in an imperfect state of happiness till the resurrection, when the whole man shall obtain a complete victory over death, and by the last judgment be established in an endless state of consummate happiness and glory; the Church hath a particular respect to this in her prayers for the righteous, that both the living and the dead might finally attain this blessed estate of a glorious resurrection. It is observed by some, that there are some prayers yet extant in the Roman Mass, which are conformable to this opinion, as that which prays, that *God would absolve the souls of his servants from every bond of sin, and bring them to the glory of the resurrection, &c.* All these were general reasons for praying for the dead, without the least intimation of their being tormented in the temporary pains of a purgatory fire.

" Besides which they had some particular opinions which tended to promote this practice. For first, a great many of the ancients believed that the souls of all the righteous, except martyrs, were sequestered out of heaven in some place invisible to mortal eye, which they called Hades, or Paradise, or Abraham's bosom, a place of refreshment and joy, where they expected a completer happiness at the end of all things. This is the known opinion of Hermes Pastor, Justin Martyr, Pope Pius, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Caius Romanus, Victorinus Martyr, Novatian, Lactantius, Hilary, Ambrose, Gregory Nyssen, Prudentius,



Austin, and Chrysostom. Therefore in praying for the dead, they may be supposed to have some reference to this, and to desire that the souls of the righteous, thus sequestered for a time, might at last be brought to the perfect fruition of happiness in heaven. 2. Many of the ancients held the opinion of the Millennium, or the reign of Christ a thousand years upon earth before the final day of judgment. And they supposed likewise, that men should rise, some sooner, some later, to this happy state, according to their merits and preparations for it. And therefore some of them prayed for the deceased on this supposition, that they might obtain a part in this resurrection, and a speedier admittance into this kingdom; it being reckoned a sort of punishment not to be admitted with the first that should rise to this state of glory. Tertullian plainly refers to this, when he says, every little offence is to be punished by delaying men's resurrection. And therefore he says, they were wont to pray for the souls of the deceased, that they might not only rest in peace at present, but also obtain part in the first resurrection. And for this reason St. Ambrose prayed for Gratian and Valentinian, that God would raise them with the first, and recompense their untimely death with a timely resurrection. And he says elsewhere, that they that come not to the first resurrection, but are reserved unto the second, shall be burned until they fulfil the time between the first and second resurrection; or if they have not fulfilled that, they shall remain longer in punishment. Therefore let us pray that we may obtain a part in the first resurrection. Bishop Usher also shews out of some Gothic Missals, that the Church had anciently several prayers directed to this very purpose. 3. Many of the ancients believed that there would be a fire of probation, through which all must pass at the last day, even the prophets and apostles, and even the Virgin Mary herself not excepted: which is asserted not only by Origen, Irenæus, and Lactantius, but also St. Ambrose, who says after Origen, that all must pass through the flames, though it be John the Evangelist, though it be Peter. *The sons of Levi shall be purged by fire, Ezekiel, Daniel, &c.* And these having been tried by fire, shall say, We have passed through fire and water. And St. Hilary, much after the same manner, They that are baptized with the Holy Ghost, are yet to be perfected by the fire of judgment. For so he interprets those words of the Evangelist, *He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with*

*fire.* And again, Do we desire the day of judgment, in which we must undergo the exact scrutiny of fire: in which we must give an account of every idle word: in which those grievous punishments, for expiating souls from sin, must be endured? If the Virgin herself, who conceived God in her womb, must undergo the severity of judgment, who is so bold as to desire to be judged by God? There are many like passages in Gregory Nazianzen, and Nyssen, St. Jerome, and St. Austin, which the Romish writers commonly produce for the fire of purgatory, when they plainly relate to this purging sacrament, as Origen calls it, or in St. Austin's language, the purging pains of the fire of judgment at the last day. And the fear of this was another reason of their praying for the dead. 4. Some of the ancients thought likewise, that the prayers of the Church were of some use to mitigate the pains of the damned souls, though not effectual for their total deliverance. And lastly, that they served to augment the glory of the saints in happiness. St. Austin says, they were of use to render the damnation of the wicked more tolerable. And this was the opinion of Prudentius and St. Chrysostom, who advise men to pray for the dead on this account, that it would bring some consolation to them, though but a little; or if none at all to them, yet it would be accepted of God as a pleasing sacrifice from those that offered it. And the like may be read in Paulinus, and the author of the Questions to Antiochus, under the name of Athanasius. St. Chrysostom says farther, that their prayers and alms were of use to procure an addition to the rewards and retribution of the righteous. These are all the reasons we meet with in the ancients for praying for souls departed, none of which have any relation to their being tormented in the fire of purgatory, but most of them tend directly to overthrow it. Whence we may safely conclude, that though the ancients generally prayed for the dead, at least from the time of Tertullian, who first speaks of it; yet they did it not upon those principles which are now so stiffly contended for in the Romish Church. Which is also evident from many ancient forms still remaining in the Mass Book, and the Liturgies of the modern Greeks, who continue to pray for the dead without any belief of purgatory, as it were easy to demonstrate out of their Rituals, but that it is wholly foreign to the design of the present discourse.

§ 30. Thus this very worthy and learned gentleman has shewed the practice and opinion of the ancients, as to three of the points contended for. He owns that the ancients believed the mixture of the sacramental cup to be necessary, and that they condemned those who administered only wine, as well as those who administered only water. He proves, that they did not believe that the eucharist was consecrated by the bare recital of the institution, as the Church of Rome maintains, which he particularly refutes on this occasion, shewing that the Primitive and Universal Church believed the consecration to be made by the Holy Spirit, and that it was necessary to pray for a particular benediction of the elements. And he also has proved the universal practice of prayer for the dead, and has brought a citation out of Origen for that purpose, a father who flourished but a little after Tertullian, and before St. Cyprian, who was a catechist of the school of Alexandria in Egypt, and ordained a priest in Palestine; so that his testimony concerning prayers for the dead, is a testimony out of the province of Africa, and shews that prayer for the dead was not peculiar to that province; as the learned author of "No Reason" pretends it to have been during the three first centuries, for no other reason than because he had found only African fathers cited for this practice before the Council of Nice. Indeed, as to the oblation, he has dropped that point, and seems industriously to have avoided taking any notice of it, for what reason I cannot say; but his citations prove that as well as any of the rest. Thus the consecration prayer he cites from the "Constitutions," has the ancient form of oblation clearly expressed in it: *We offer to thee, our King and God, this bread and this cup, according to his appointment.* So Irenæus, as he also has cited him, says, *We offer unto him his own gifts.* And Origen likewise, *They eat the bread that was offered to the Creator.* And St. Chrysostom says, *The bishop stands at this holy table to present our rational service, and offer the unbloody sacrifice.* And the same father again, speaking of the eucharist, says, *So we offer and communicate.* And Theodoret says, *What do you call the gifts that are offered?* All these passages are produced by Mr. Bingham in his citations, to prove that thanksgiving and prayer were always used in the consecration; and I conceive they also prove that the elements were likewise offered at the same time; and he might have given



a great many more evidences to the same purpose, if he had pleased, as the reader may be satisfied from Mr. Johnson's "Appendix to his Unbloody Sacrifice," where he will find that there is scarce a father of the Church, for the first five or six centuries, that has not given his testimony to the oblation; and therefore Mr. Bingham has forborne to speak of it, not for want of sufficient evidence as to this point, as well as all the rest, but designedly and for some particular reason. Perhaps it might be to avoid declaring his thoughts upon a point which was in dispute betwixt Mr. Johnson and his opponents, and was but just ended at the time when Mr. Bingham was writing the two volumes of his antiquities; and he could scarce have mentioned the practice and opinion of the ancient Church about it, without bringing himself into the controversy, which I suppose he was unwilling to do. And yet so numerous are the testimonies for the oblation, that he could not prove what he intended to shew us of the practice of the ancient Church, with regard to the eucharistical service, without citing some of them. But the other three points were not made the subject of a public controversy, till we may reasonably believe the greatest part of Mr. Bingham's sixth volume was written. Besides, it was a controversy managed, not by one party of the public communion of the Church of England and another, as the controversy about the oblation was, but by the *non-jurors* amongst themselves, and perhaps Mr. Bingham might know nothing at all of such a controversy; or if he did, it being only among persons with whom he looked upon himself to have no concern, he thought he might deliver a faithful account of those matters without engaging in the dispute. And I conceive he has given a very fair account of the practice and opinion of the Primitive Church in three of the controverted points, bating that he makes the opinion of *the souls being sequestered out of heaven in some place invisible to mortal eye, which they called Hades, Paradise, or Abraham's bosom, a place of refreshment and joy, where they expected a completer happiness at the end of all things*, to have been a particular opinion; whereas it was undoubtedly Catholic or Universal, and founded upon the authority of Scripture: and speaks of *prayer for the dead as only a general practice*, as if there had been some of the ancients who did not close with the practice; whereas excepting Aërius the Heretic, who was condemned for

it, I believe he will not find so much as one that declared against this practice, or will appear not to have observed it, from the Apostles' days to the Reformation. For as to *Hades*, or the separate state of souls out of heaven, I trust I have already proved it from Scripture, and I conceive no one can prove the article of *our Saviour's descent into hell* or *Hades*, but he must allow that separate state, unless he will say that our Saviour went into the hell of the damned, which is contrary to our Saviour's own words to the thief on the cross, *This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise*. Now if the soul of our Saviour went into *Hades* or *Paradise*, and continued there till his resurrection, and the soul of the penitent thief went thither with him, this is a certain evidence, that the souls of pious persons go also to *Hades*, and are detained there till the resurrection. And this being the opinion of Hermes Pastor, who was contemporary with the Apostles, of Justin Martyr who lived but fifty years after the Apostles, of pope Pius his contemporary, of Irenæus who flourished less than thirty years after them, of Tertullian who was within thirty years of the age of Irenæus, of Origen who was not forty years junior to Tertullian, of Caius Romanus who was his senior, of Victorinus Martyr who was contemporary to Tertullian, of Novatian who lived within twenty years after Origen, and of Lactantius who lived within fifty years of Novatian, and before the Council of Nice, as Mr. Bingham asserts it to have been, and it does not appear that in this they delivered any opinion contrary to the doctrine of the Church in their own times, as I am well assured they did not; this ought not to be reckoned as any particular opinion of these fathers, but as the approved doctrine of the Church in the most Primitive ages down to the Council of Nice, and is founded upon clear authority of the Holy Scriptures. Neither does it appear from any of the Ante-Nicene fathers, that they believed the martyrs to be carried immediately into heaven after their decease, only that they believed them to be in a better part of *Hades* or *Paradise*, in which are many mansions, where they enjoyed a greater degree of happiness and glory than other good men who had not received that crown. And as Hilary, Ambrose, Gregory Nyssen, Prudentius, Austin, and Chrysostom, maintained this doctrine after the Council of Nice, to the beginning of the fifth century, as Mr. Bingham also tells us they did, and I believe he will find none to contradict it



during those ages; we may safely conclude, that it was the doctrine of the Church till that time, and therefore is not to be called a *particular opinion*, as he has been pleased to term it. Then as to his calling the ancient practice of praying for the dead, a *general practice*, the foregoing Liturgies are an undoubted evidence, that the practice was not only general, but universal, and that it was no where omitted in the eucharistical service till the Reformation.

§ 31. There is one passage more in this part of Mr. Bingham's learned book which I cannot forbear to transcribe, relating to the form of consecration. He says, "There is one petition in the deacon's bidding-prayer, after the consecration in the *Constitutions*, which is not to be passed over in silence, that is, that God would receive the gift that was then offered to him, to his altar in heaven, as a sweet smelling savour, by the mediation of his Christ. This form seems as ancient as Irenæus: for he says, we have an altar in heaven, and thither our prayers and oblations are directed. And so it is in all the Greek Liturgies, with a small variation. And frequently in the Mozarabic Liturgy, and the old Gothic Missal published by Mabillon, there are prayers for the descent of the Holy Ghost, to sanctify the gifts, and make them the body and blood of Christ, even after the repetition of the words, *This is my body*, and *This is my blood*; which evidently shews, that the ancient formers of the Liturgy did not think the consecration to be effected by the bare repetition of those words, but by prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost on the elements of bread and wine. And it is very remarkable, that even in the present Canon of the Roman Mass, there is still such a prayer as this remaining after what they call consecration: the priest offering the host, says, *Be pleased to look on these things with a favourable and propitious eye, as thou wast pleased to accept the gifts of Abel thy righteous servant*. He adds, *We beseech thee, Almighty God, to command that these things may be carried by the hands of thy holy angels to thy altar on high*. Concluding, *By Christ our Lord, by whom thou dost always create, sanctify, quicken, and bless these good things unto us*. These words in this prayer, as our polemical writers have rightly observed, were used before transubstantiation was invented, and when the consecration was thought to be made by prayer, and not barely by pronouncing the



words, *This is my body*. And then they were good sense, when they were said over bread and wine, to consecrate them into the memorial and symbols of Christ's body and blood. But now they are become absurd and contrary to Primitive intention. For how can the real body and blood of Christ be called these gifts? or be compared to the sacrifice of Abel, who offered a beast? How can men pray (without indignity to the Son of God) that the sacrifice of God's only Son may be as acceptable to God, as the sacrifice of Abel was? Or how does Christ, who sits at the right hand of the Father, need the mediation of angels to be carried or presented to his Father at the heavenly altar? With what propriety of speech can Christ be called *all these things*? And the good things *which God createth always, and quickeneth and sanctifieth always*? Doth God create, and quicken, and bless Jesus Christ, by Jesus Christ? It is proper to say this of the gifts, supposing them still to be real bread and wine; but altogether improper, if they are transubstantiated into the natural flesh and blood of Christ. Whence we may conclude, that the first compilers of this prayer knew nothing of the new doctrine of transubstantiation, which makes this prayer absurd in every syllable of it; to enter here no further into a debate concerning the change which is made in the elements by consecration, which every one knows where to find discussed at large in our polemical writers, and something will be said of it hereafter."\* Thus this learned gentleman has shewed from our polemical writers, what I have also before shewed from the Greek writers,† that the popish doctrine of the consecration of the eucharist, by pronouncing those words, *This is my body, This is my blood*, though positively asserted in the present Rubrics of the Roman Missal, is yet utterly inconsistent with their present *Canon of the Mass*, and in particular with this prayer, as Cabasilas and other Greeks have objected to them. To which I do not find they have been ever able to return a satisfactory answer: neither, indeed, can they do it. But if it be necessary that there should be a prayer or petition to consecrate the elements after the history of the institution has been recited, as I conceive is the consequence of Mr. Bingham's arguments, and all the Liturgies, even the *Canon of the Mass* itself, shew such a prayer to have been constantly used in all

\* Antiquities of the Christian Church, p. 706.

† Supr. § 18.

Churches, from the beginning of Christianity down to the Reformation, so that the elements may be consecrated or sanctified by prayer joined to the Word of God, according to this universal practice, agreeable to this Scripture doctrine, that all food (and surely this spiritual food more especially) is *sanctified by the Word of God and prayer*; how can the form of consecration in the Church of England be justified, where no prayer is added after this Word of God is recited, but that Word concludes all, and the priest, after he has pronounced it, proceeds immediately to receive and distribute the elements, as if nothing more was required? But Mr. Bingham has shewed and proved, that a consecrating petition is required, and that it was always used by the Church after the words of institution had been pronounced, and that even by the Church of Rome herself. So that, according to him, the fault of that Church in this point is not that she wants a consecrating petition after the words of Christ, but that she has taught and maintains a doctrine which renders that petition useless, as being utterly inconsistent with that doctrine. But the Church of England is more consistent with herself in this matter; for as she teaches in her Rubric, that the consecration is performed by a bare recital of the history of the institution, so she has ordered nothing to follow it. But then Mr. Bingham's arguments, which prove the consecration to be made by the prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost, which follows the recital of the history of the institution in all the Liturgies, proves as much against the Church of England as it does against the Church of Rome, and shews her consecration to be defective in this point. However, I do by no means charge him with any such intention, and do believe that his just zeal against the Church of Rome, for teaching a doctrine so contrary to the doctrine and practice of the whole Primitive Church, even of their own Church before transubstantiation was invented, caused him not to consider that his own Church maintained the same doctrine, and that he wounded her also through the side of the Church of Rome. But as he has proved the premises, the consequences must follow; and if the Church of Rome be erroneous in this particular, as he has abundantly proved, I know not how he will excuse the Church of England, which maintains the same doctrine, and has no such prayer, or any thing equivalent to it, in her whole communion office, as he pleads for the necessity of. So that he has said as much on this



occasion as we have done, excepting he has applied it only against the Church of Rome, though it equally affects the Church of England. And however this learned gentleman differs from us in his own practice, it is plain he differs not from us in his account of the practice of the Primitive Church. He says upon three of the points disputed, the very same that we do:—*That the ancients kept strictly to the custom of mixing water with the sacramental wine, because they thought it a part of the institution. Upon which account they censured all that made any alteration in the elements, either by addition or subtraction.\** That the consecration *anciently was not a bare repetition of those words, This is my body, which for many ages has been the current doctrine of the Romish schools, but a repetition of the history of the institution, together with prayers to God, that he would send his Holy Spirit upon the gifts, and make them become the body and blood of Christ.†* That the ancients *did not think the consecration effected by the bare words, This is my body, This is my blood, but by prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the elements of bread and wine.‡* And that it was the general (he might have said the universal) practice of the Church to pray for all the faithful deceased without exception, appears from the concurrent testimony of all the writers of the Church. || And in all these three points he also sheweth, that the Church of Rome, either in doctrine or practice, has deviated from the Primitive Church. For as to the mixture of water with the wine in the sacramental cup, he says, *Notwithstanding this general consent of the ancient Church, it is commonly determined by modern divines, as well of the Roman as Protestant communion, that it was not essential to the sacrament itself.§*

Thus he shews, that though the Roman Church retains the mixture in her practice, she differs from the ancient Church in doctrine, by not holding it to be necessary or essential. So, as to the consecration, he says, she has a consecration prayer after the repetition of the history of the institution, ¶ and yet teaches that the consecration is made only by the pronouncing those words, *This is my body, This is my blood.* He also shews, that the ancients prayed for **all** the faithful deceased *without exception:\*\** That the ancient Church prayed for saints and martyrs: ††

\* P. 619.

† P. 659. 661.

‡ P. 767.

|| P. 672.

§ P. 619.

¶ P. 707. 659.

\*\* P. 672.

†† P. 676.



but that *this sounded ill to the Latin ears* ; that is, those of the modern Roman communion : that the Romanists had altered their own Missal since the ninth age, when there was a prayer in it for the soul of St. Leo, which some time after they changed to another, importing that they might receive *advantage by his intercession*.\* Thus has this learned gentleman proved three of the points we plead for, to be entirely agreeable to the doctrine and practice of the ancient Church, and also disagreeable to the doctrine of the present Church of Rome : notwithstanding our adversaries are pleased to charge us with popery, for desiring to have them restored. Indeed he has omitted to say any thing of the oblation ; but the communion office in the Apostolical Constitutions, which we call the Clementine Liturgy, proves this as well as the other points. And Mr. Bingham has given us that Liturgy as the test or standard of the practice of the ancient Church, and proved every part of it, from most authentic evidence, to be agreeable to the doctrine and practice of the most Primitive Church. And I have thought proper to transcribe most of what this learned gentleman has said on this occasion, because he is a person who has not entered into this controversy, and I am persuaded had heard nothing of it when he wrote this part of his book ; and I trust the reader will think that he is wholly disinterested in the matter, and consequently what he says will be of greater weight. I have not put down in the margin the passages of the fathers he refers us to, for every thing he cites from them, but he has done it himself, and I desire the reader to consult his very useful book, and hope that what I have cited from it will be an inducement to him to consult the book itself. And when he does so, he will also find the charge of Renaudotius, against the Liturgy or communion office in the Constitutions, is without any foundation ; who says, (as I have observed near the beginning of this Dissertation) † not only that the book of the Constitutions has been interpolated in several places (which I do not know any one denies, not even Mr. Whiston himself, though he has advanced them to an authority equal with, or even above the Canonical Scriptures, in which I hope he has no followers) but has accused the Liturgy or communion office of being interpolated rather more than any other part of that book. His words, as they are urged

\* P. 674.

† Dissert. de Liturg. Orient. Orig. p. 10.

again by an ingenious gentleman, are these:—*Which judgment, (that is, that the Constitutions have been depraved either by the carelessness of transcribers, or the malice of heretics) if it may be passed upon any part of that collection, certainly falls upon that wherein the order of the Liturgy or communion office is contained: which is so clearly and minutely expressed, that it is manifest many things are added from the later discipline of the Church.\**

But as I have before observed, Renaudotius gives no one instance of an interpolation or corruption in this part of the Constitutions; and I trust I have clearly proved that there is none, except the Rubrick concerning the fan and the bishop's shining garment, which I am not concerned about; neither does it appear that even that is not agreeable to the discipline of the Church in the earliest ages. However, if I have not sufficiently cleared this part of the Constitutions from the false charge cast upon it by Renaudotius, the learned Mr. Bingham has effectually done it, though he has taken no notice of the objection: for he has not only given us the Liturgy of the Constitutions as the best exemplar of the most ancient form of ministering the holy eucharist, but he has minutely examined every prayer in it, and proved every part of it to be agreeable to the practice of the Primitive Church, by testimonies of the most ancient fathers: excepting the form of oblation of the elements, which immediately follows the recital of the institution, which he seems industriously to have avoided the mention of. But that point has been so fully proved by Mr. Johnson in his "Unbloody Sacrifice", that its antiquity can no more be disputed, than any other part of that Liturgy. Therefore whatever may be objected against any other part of the book called the Apostolical Constitutions, the Liturgy or Communion-office, which is here published under the name of the Clementine Liturgy, stands free from any just objections, every part of it being proved by Mr. Bingham and Mr. Johnson to be perfectly agreeable to the practice of the Primitive Church before the Council of Nice, as well as afterwards. Having

Quod quidem Judicium, si in ullam Collectionis partem cadere potest, in istam certè qua Liturgiæ Ordo continetur, tam perspicuè et minutatim expositus, ut ex posteriore Disciplina—A D D I T A esse multa manifestum sit. *Conc. ad Cler. Temp. B. Mar. Cantab. Term. Mich.* 1718. *Auctore Sam. Drake.* p. 60, 61.

therefore, I trust, sufficiently vindicated the Clementine Liturgy or Communion-office, in the book called the Apostolical Constitutions, and proved it to be the best exemplar of that Traditional Liturgy which was delivered by the Apostles, and used in all Churches, without being committed to writing by any authority of the Church, before the empire became Christian; I shall now proceed to speak concerning the other Liturgies here published.

§. 32. The Liturgy of St. James is so called, not that it is believed to have been written by that Apostle, but because it was the ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem, of which St. James, the brother of our Lord, was the first bishop. And it bears his name, as being compiled or put into writing agreeable to that Traditional Liturgy which had been used in that Church from the time of that Apostle. So that though he cannot be called the writer, he may nevertheless be reputed the author of it. The main and principal parts being, no doubt, the same in sense, though not in words, with what were used by him when he celebrated the holy eucharist. That it was the Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem, appears from a passage in the beginning of the prayer for the Catholic Church, where it is said, *We offer also to thee, O Lord, for thy holy places, which thou hast glorified with thy presence, and the appearance of thy most Holy Spirit; but chiefly for glorious Sion, the mother of all Churches.*

Now this passage, which occurs in this Liturgy and no other, is an evidence, that those who used it, had a more particular concern for those places where our Saviour lived whilst he was here on earth, than any other Churches had; consequently were the inhabitants of that country where our Saviour preached, and wrought his miracles, and where the Holy Spirit descended upon the Apostles; that is, the mount Sion, the city of Jerusalem, the land of Palestine, which being a province of Syria, that whole country put in for a share in this honour, and used this Liturgy also. For that the Liturgy of St. James was the Liturgy of the Syrian Churches, and is so still for ought appears to the contrary, Renaudotius proves from the testimony of Dionysius Barsalibi the Monophysite archbishop of Amida, a famous city of Syria, who flourished at the time that Jerusalem was in the possession of the



Frances or Western Christians,\* that is, in some part of the eleventh century, who says, *there is a tradition, that on the third day after the descent of the Holy Ghost, St. James celebrated according to the same Liturgy which we now use. And when he was asked whence he had it, he answered, As the Lord liveth, I have neither added nor detracted any thing from what I heard from our Lord. Therefore this Liturgy is the chiefest and the first of all.*†

Now, though I have nothing to say in favour of the tradition he speaks of, as undoubtedly wanting a foundation, and having neither *antiquity*, *universality*, nor *consent*, to support it, yet Barsalibi's testimony is a sufficient evidence, that the Liturgy which goes under the name of St. James, was the Liturgy at that time used in the Syrian Churches of the Monophysite persuasion, and the tradition is an evidence that they were not able to trace the time when it was introduced there. And Renaudotius also observes, that this Liturgy was there used by the Melchites or Orthodox, as well as by the Monophysites, which is an evidence that it was used in those Churches before the Council of Chalcedon, that is, before the year 451. at which time the Monophysites first made their separation from the Church. For after that time, the Orthodox would not have taken a Liturgy from the Monophysites, nor the Monophysites from them: and therefore this must be the common Liturgy there used by both parties before the separation, and so continued to be afterwards. And the fathers of the Council in Trullo, above two hundred years after, appeal to the testimony of this Liturgy for the mixture of water with the sacramental wine, and speak of it as framed by St. James:‡ which they would not have done, if it had not been a Liturgy used and approved by the Orthodox as well as by the Heretics, and consequently elder than the Monophysite heresy, or the time when the Council of Chalcedon was held. As it is therefore certainly elder than the fifth century, it evidently appears that it was written as early as any other Liturgy was written for the use

\* Renaudot. Liturg. Syriac. pp. 453, 454.

† Traditur, quod feria tertia post descensum spiritus sancti Jacobus Apostolus Liturgiam celebravit, eandem omnino, quam hic habemus. Cumque rogatus esset, unde accepisset eam, ita respondit; Vivit Dominus, nihil adjeci aut detraxi ab eo quod audiivi à Domino nostro. Ea propter hæc Liturgia præcipuè eximia est & omnium prima. Ibid. p. 74.

‡ Concil. Trull. Can. 32.

of any Church ; there being none put into writing by any public authority till St. Basil's time, (as I have already shewed) that is, till toward the latter end of the fourth century.

But the Churches of Syria and Palestine were not therefore without a Liturgy till that time, they had their traditional Liturgy, as all other Churches had : and that this traditional Liturgy was the same in substance with the Liturgy of St. James, that has been transmitted to us in writing, (excepting where this Liturgy has been interpolated, of which interpolations I shall quickly take notice) is manifest from St. Cyril's Mystagogical Catechisms here published, wherein he sets forth the manner of celebrating the eucharist according to the form of this Liturgy, as divers learned men have observed. Which traditional Liturgy we have no reason to question was delivered by St. James, the first bishop of Jerusalem, to his presbyters in that Church, and from thence transmitted to the succeeding bishops and presbyters, till about the latter end of the fourth, or beginning of the fifth century, it was put into writing, as the Liturgies of other Churches then also began to be : and therefore, though St. James did not write it, nevertheless it may very reasonably bear his name, the main of it being delivered by him. And as cardinal Bona says, *Let us freely grant that some things are added by later hands, as is common in like cases ; are therefore all to be rejected as spurious, even those things that are genuine ? Is not the Pentateuch to be ascribed to Moses, because at the end of the book of Deuteronomy an account of his death and burial is added by another hand ? A sensible man would not argue so.* \*

I shall therefore proceed to observe these additions, which by making the Clementine Liturgy the test and standard, (as bishop Hicckes calls it, and I trust I have proved it to be) may be easily discovered. *And by comparing those with this, the invocations and additions in after times will appear ;* † as that worthy prelate has judiciously observed. For as he further says, *Among*

\* Sed ultro concedamus nonnulla addita à recentioribus, ut in similibus fieri solet, an ideo abjicienda omnia velut spuria illa etiam quæ genuina sunt ? An ideo pentateuchum Moysi tribuendum non erit, quia in fine Deuteronomii ipsius mors & sepultura ab alio scriptore addita est ? Non est hominis sani sic argumentari. *Bona de Reb. Liturg.* p. 94.

† Christian Priesthood, p. 141.

*the additions, some are good, and some are bad: and any man who is conversant in the history of the Councils, may see how and when both the sorts were introduced into the Liturgies of the Church.\** And we have additions of both kinds in this Liturgy of St. James. Thus in the eucharistical prayer, a little before the recital of the words of institution, the Virgin Mary is called the *mother of God*: which term does not appear to have been generally used by the Church till the time of Nestorius, who denied our Saviour as God and man to be one person, but divided the Godhead and manhood in one Christ into two persons as well as two natures, denying that the Virgin Mary was mother of a person who was God as well as man. For which heresy he was condemned in the third general Council, held at Ephesus in the year 431. Wherein it was decreed, that the Virgin Mary should be called the mother of God; not as supposing her to be in any respect the mother of the Godhead, but implying that the person born of her had the Divine nature united to the human nature immediately as he was conceived in her womb, and was so born of her God and man in one person; the two natures being so firmly united in that one person Jesus Christ, as never after to be separated. And therefore the Church from that time forward called the blessed Virgin the *mother of God*, to testify that they did not divide the two natures in Jesus Christ into two persons, as Nestorius did. So also in the prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the elements to make them the body and blood of Christ, that Holy Spirit is called *a Consubstantial and Co-eternal Person* with the Father and the Son. Which term *Consubstantial* was not used with respect to the Holy Ghost, till Macedonius took upon him to deny the Divine nature of that Holy Spirit, and not to place him in the rank of creatures: for which heresy he was condemned in the second general Council of Constantinople in the year 381. Wherein it being proved from Scripture, and the constant tradition of the Church, that the Holy Ghost was a Divine person of the same nature with the Father and the Son, the term *Consubstantial* which denoted him to be of the same nature, was made use of for that purpose; by which word, as applied to the Holy Ghost, the Orthodox Christians thought it convenient to distinguish themselves from the

\* Christian Priesthood, 3rd Edit. p. 143.



Macedonian heretics, as by the same word, with respect to the Son, they had before distinguished themselves from Arians in the first general Council of Nice. And a little after the deacon has said, *Let us bow down our heads unto the Lord*, the priest's benediction runs in this form: *The grace and mercy of the Holy, Consubstantial, Uncreated, and Adorable Trinity, be with us all.* And a little after he prays, *O Lord our God, the incomprehensible Word of God, of one eternal and inseparable substance with the Father and the Holy Ghost.*

These are good additions made after the Council of Nice. For though there be sufficient evidence in the Holy Scriptures, and the fathers of the three first centuries, to satisfy us that there are Three Persons and One God, which we call the Holy Trinity, and also that the Son is of the same nature and essence with the Father, yet the words *Trinity, consubstantial, or of one substance*, are not in the Scripture, neither are they frequently used by the fathers of the three first centuries, nor do they appear to have been used in any divine offices till after the Council of Nice: at which time they were more generally introduced, to distinguish the orthodox Christians from the Arians. But then as there are these justifiable additions in this Liturgy, so there are others which are plain corruptions and unjustifiable. Such is the apostrophe to the Virgin Mary in the middle of the prayer for Christ's Church:—"Hail, Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb; for of thee was born the Saviour of our souls." Which is also so awkwardly interpolated without connection with what goes before or follows after, that was it in this particular (as it is not) agreeable to all the other Liturgies, one might reasonably think it was not in the original Liturgy, but was added afterwards by some unskilful hand. Also the next words:—"Most holy, immaculate, superlatively blessed, and glorious lady," which cannot be applied to any mere human person as she was, are a plain interpolation. And what the singers say immediately after: "It is meet that we should truly magnify thee, the ever blessed and immaculate parent and mother of our God, who art of more honour than the cherubim, and incomparably more glorious than the seraphim; thee we extol, who broughtest forth the Divine Word without knowledge of man, and art truly the parent of God. Thou, O Truth of Grace, art the joy of the whole creation, both

of angels and men, a temple of holiness, a spiritual paradise, and the glory of virginity; of whom the Deity was incarnate; and our God, whose being is from eternity, was made a child. For thy womb was his throne, the seat of him whom the heavens cannot contain: for thou, O full of grace, art the joy of the universe! glory be to thee." Now these are extravagant praises, too great, most of them, to be given to a mortal, and are not so full in any other Liturgy. However there is nothing of them in the Clementine Liturgy, which I have shewed to be the test and standard by which the rest are to be tried: neither is there any thing like them in the Liturgies of Severus and Nestorius, and consequently they were introduced after the fifth century, in which age Severus lived. But then it is observable, that notwithstanding there are these high praises and encomiums here given to the blessed Virgin, yet there are no prayers made to her; but in the very next words she is plainly prayed for, as well as other departed saints. For the priest immediately says, "Remember, O Lord, the God of spirits and of all flesh, the faithful whom we have now commemorated, make them to rest in the region of the living," &c. As, therefore, the Virgin Mary was particularly commemorated before, she is plainly prayed for here.

Another addition to the Liturgy is, that after the priest has said, "Holy things are for holy persons," and the people have made the proper answer to it, "then the priest breaks the bread, and taking one half in his right hand, and the other in his left, he dips the right-hand piece into the cup, and says: 'The union of the most holy body and precious blood of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ.' Then he signs the left-hand piece, and after that the other half, and immediately begins to break and distribute part into each cup, saying, 'The union is made, sanctified and completed in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now and ever.' And when he signs the bread he says, 'Behold the Lamb of God, the Son of the Father, that takes away the sins, and was sacrificed for the life and salvation of the world.' And when he distributes a piece into each cup he says, 'This is a part of Christ's most holy body, full of the grace and truth of the Father and the Holy Ghost, to whom be honour and power for ever and ever.' Then he begins to break it into pieces.'" This custom of dipping a piece of bread into the cup is an ancient addition, and seems to have been elder in the Eastern

Church than the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, that is, than the fifth century, because we find it both in the Nestorian and Monophysite Liturgies. Now Nestorius was condemned, and he and his adherents excluded the communion of the Catholic Church in the year 431. Therefore after that time we have reason to believe they would not receive any new customs from the Catholic Church, nor the Catholic Church from them. And the same may be said of the Monophysites, who were excluded the communion of the Church about twenty years after the Council of Chalcedon, and who were great enemies both to the Nestorians and the Catholics, and consequently would not receive any additions made to the Liturgical Offices by either of them. But then as we do not find any thing of this practice before the fifth century, and can see nothing of it in the Clementine Liturgy, nor find it mentioned by St. Cyril of Jerusalem in any of his catechetical lectures concerning the eucharist, or in any father in the three or four first centuries, we are assured, that though it be ancient, it is not of primitive antiquity, or an apostolical practice. Neither was it a universal practice till many ages after the Council of Chalcedon. For though it be now in the Roman Canon, by which means it became a practice of the whole Western Church before the Reformation, yet we find no footsteps of this practice in the ancient Gothic or Gallican Offices; neither was it originally in the Roman Canon itself, as set forth by pope Gregory in his Sacramentary, as is acknowledged by the Romanists themselves. For in the Canon Missæ, published by the Divines of Cologne in their *Antididagma*, or book which they wrote in answer to the Book of Reformation made by Bucer and Melancthon in that electorate, by the authority of Herman then archbishop, at the end of the Lord's Prayer, in that edition of the Mass, are these words, *Here anciently the Canon ended, and they called that which follows an interpolation or excrescence*.<sup>\*</sup> Now the order to dip a piece of the consecrated host into the cup, follows the words here cited, and therefore by their own confession was no part of the ancient Canon of the Roman Church. So that it wants antiquity, as being not elder even in the East than the latter end of the fourth or the

<sup>\*</sup> Hic quondam finiebatur Canon, & quod sequitur embolismum seu 'excrescentiam' appellârunt. *Antididag. Paris, 1545. Fol. 123.*



beginning of the fifth century, nor in any of the Western Churches till many ages after.

Together with this practice of dipping a piece of consecrated bread into the cup, was also introduced another in the Eastern Churches of putting the bread and wine both into a spoon, and so administering to the laity. For this also, being the practice both of the Nestorians and Jacobites, appears to have been elder than the middle of the fifth century, and yet it is certainly later than the middle of the fourth century. For St. Cyril of Jerusalem, who delivered his catechetical lectures about the year 350, that is, in the middle of the fourth century, towards the conclusion of his fifth Mystagogical Catechism, which is here published together with the Liturgies, directs those he instructs, that every one of them, *after he has communicated of the body of Christ, should go and partake of the cup of his blood.* Which is a certain evidence, that in his time the bread and wine were given distinct, and the people received the wine not together with the bread in a spoon, but having first received the bread in the palm of the right hand, and eaten it as he before directs, they then received the cup also, according to the direction here cited. But though this custom began thus early, so that the Nestorians and Monophysites, as well as the Catholics, came into it, yet it is certain it was but then beginning, and was so far from being authorised, that it was directly condemned by the Church above two hundred years after the Council of Chalcedon.\* For in the Council of Trullo in the year 680, those are condemned who do not receive the eucharist in their hands, and those who do not administer it to them to be taken in their hands. The Canon, according to Mr. Johnson's Translation and Abridgment runs thus: *That men take the eucharist into their own hands, holding them in the form of a cross; that they who bring little vessels of gold or other metal, and do not receive the eucharist into their own hands, be suspended from communion; as also he that gives them the eucharist in this manner.*

This Canon teaches, as Balsamon the learned Greek Canonist observes from it, that divers persons, out of a pretended reverence to the sacred elements, would not touch them with their hands, as supposing that their hands were not fit to touch that which was so pure and clean as the consecrated elements. Upon this

\* Can. 101.

account they brought with them little vessels or spoons made of gold and silver, in which they received the consecrated elements, and then put them into their mouths. And in this practice the rich also seemed to insult the poor, who were unable to furnish themselves with such costly utensils. All which was very justly disliked by the bishops and superior governors of the Church. For they judged it an high reflection on the dignity of the human body, which the Son of God had honoured with an union of it to his own Divine nature, as if any part of it was less worthy than a vessel of gold, or silver, or other metal. Therefore they strictly forbad this practice; and ordered that every one should receive the communion in his hands put into the form of a cross; that is, according to the direction of St. Cyril in the Catechism here published, who orders his communicant to lay his right hand upon his left, (whereby the form of the cross will be made by the two hands so joined) and so to receive the bread in the palm or hollow of the right hand. And in so receiving the bread as is here ordered, it was necessary that they should receive the elements distinct: for the wine or the bread dipped in it, could not be so received without danger of spilling the wine, which the Church was always careful to avoid. From all which we may reasonably conclude, that this practice of giving the eucharist to the laity in a spoon, arose gradually from hence. In the latter end of the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth century, some people began the practice of bringing spoons with them wherein to receive the eucharist, under pretence of deeming their hands unworthy to touch it. This having a seeming shew of humility in it, was for a long time connived at, till at last it became an universal practice in the Eastern Churches. The Council in Trullo justly looked upon this as a corrupt practice, and therefore condemned it. But though that was a general Council, (at least of the Eastern Church) and its Canons are even to this day of great authority amongst the Greeks, yet the custom had so far prevailed, as that it could not be suppressed by it. Therefore the priests finding they could not make the people lay aside their spoons which they brought with them, any other way than by providing a spoon for them, they took that course, and did themselves put the eucharist into the mouth of every communicant with a consecrated spoon, kept for that purpose amongst their other sacred vessels. By which means, though they did not exactly conform to the Canon, which

ordered the eucharist to be taken by the people in their hands, yet they brought the people to comply with that part of it which forbade them to bring any vessels with them; and prevented the rich from insulting the poor on this occasion, by using spoons more rich and costly than the others could do. And when they thus had introduced the practice of giving the eucharist with a spoon, they seem to have brought in the custom of giving both elements together, only that they might make a quicker dispatch in the distribution of them. But however or whensoever this practice of giving the bread and wine together in a spoon began in the Eastern Churches, it is certain it is not of Primitive antiquity, how universal soever it be amongst them at this time, but stands condemned by a general Council of their own Church, as late as the latter end of the seventh century. This practice did also begin to creep into the Western Church, and even here in England, but it was of no long continuance, so that it could never get to be an universal practice: as the curious reader may see, by consulting what the learned Mr. Bingham says on this occasion.\* There is also another additional rite not of Primitive antiquity, which, though not mentioned in that part of St. James's Liturgy, which is here published, yet being mentioned in some other parts of that Liturgy, and being also in some other Liturgies as published before this discourse, I think it may not be improper to take notice of it here, and that is the use of *incense*. A ceremony which began to be used in the Eastern Church about the same time with the two last mentioned, but which, like them, did not prevail in the West till some ages after. It is certain, there is no mention of it in the three first centuries, if there be in the fourth. Indeed, in the third of those Canons which are called Apostolical, which Canons make the last chapter of the book called the Apostolical Constitutions, which the learned bishop Beveridge has proved were Canons made in the three first centuries, there is particular mention of the *offering incense at the time of the oblation*. But to this it may be answered, that though it be generally agreed by the learned, that the book called the Apostolical Constitutions, was compiled by some person or persons before the Council of Nice, and that therein is transmitted to us the best and fullest account of the customs and practices of the Church in those ages

\* Antiquity of the Christian Church, book xv. cap. v. § 2.



which is now extant in any one book of that antiquity, yet it is allowed by all, even by Mr. Whiston himself, (who has advanced that book to an equal authority with the Holy Scriptures) that there are many interpolations and additions which have been made and annexed to it in after-ages. So that where it contains any thing that is not to be corroborated by some contemporary evidence, it can be of no authority. Though where there is contemporary evidence, as I have shewn there is for every part of the communion office, its authority is valuable.

Now this part of the third Apostolical Canon which relates to *incense*, as used at the time of the oblation, is wholly destitute of all contemporary evidence. And when this was urged by Daillé against the authority of this Canon, bishop Beveridge had no other answer to make to it with regard to the three first centuries, but that it was mentioned by Hippolytus bishop of Porta, who flourished in the third century. But then the book he cites on this occasion, though published under the name of this Hippolytus, is certainly none of his, neither is it known by whom or when it was written, only the learned are agreed that it cannot be the work of that holy martyr, nor of any other of that antiquity. So that he might as well as have said nothing at all to it. Besides, whoever reads the Canon considerately, may easily judge, that the clause which relates to *incense*, did not originally belong to it, but was plainly added afterwards. I will, therefore, set down the Canon. *If any bishop, or presbyter, otherwise than our Lord has ordained concerning the sacrifice, offer other things at the altar of God, as honey, milk, or strong liquors, instead of wine, or birds, or any animals, or pulse, otherwise than is ordained, let him be deposed; excepting new ears of corn or grapes at the proper season.* Now here the Canon seems plainly to have ended, for what follows is an apparent addition made afterwards. *But let not any thing else be offered at the altar, except oil for the lights, and incense at the time of the oblation.* For had this clause been in the original Canon, it would in all probability have run thus:—*Excepting new ears of corn or grapes at the proper season, and oil for the lights, and incense at the time of the oblation.* But the making a complete stop at the words *proper season*, shews, that when the exception was made of *new ears of corn and grapes*, nothing else was then thought of as needing to be excepted. Consequently the other

exception for *oil* and *incense* was not put in till some time after. But admitting not only the former part of the Canon, but this clause also, to be of the second or third century, what does it prove? Not that *incense* was any part of our Lord's institution, but the direct contrary. The Canon is plainly made to reform an abuse or corruption that was crept into the form of oblation. It was the practice of the Primitive Church from the Apostles' days downwards, that every one that came to the holy communion, should bring an offering, something that might be proper for the maintenance of the bishop and clergy, and for the service of the Church and relief of the poor. Therefore St. Paul says:—*Do ye not know that they who minister about holy things, live of the sacrifice? and they who wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar? Even so hath the Lord ordained, that they who preach the gospel, should live of the gospel.\** And again, *Let him that is taught in the word, minister unto him that teacheth in all good things. Be not deceived, God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he reap.†* And the first converts to Christianity were so sensible of this duty, that *as many as were possessors of lands or houses, sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the Apostles' feet: and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need.‡* But this was a practice which, though expedient at that time, yet could not hold long in the nature of things; for if every Christian was obliged to sell all, then when all became Christians, (and it was the duty and endeavour of the Apostles, and was and is so of their successors, to make all men Christians, as far as they are able) there could be no buyers, and so this in its own nature must become impracticable. But the reason of the thing still continues, that a due provision should be made for the ministers of the gospel, for the service of the Church, and the relief of the poor. Therefore, though the succeeding converts did not sell all and lay it at the Apostles' feet, yet *collections were made for the saints, and for the service of the Church.||* And it became customary for every one to *lay by him in store as God had prospered him*, and to bring something with him for this purpose when he came to the holy communion.

\* 1 Cor. ix. 13, 14.

† Gal. vi. 6, 7.

‡ Acts iv. 34, 35.

|| 1 Cor. xvi. 1.

Now upon this occasion they brought not their offerings always in money, as is now the custom, but in other things; they brought drink and meat ready dressed for the love-feast, which was eaten in the Church in common by all, and for the abuse of which St. Paul reproves the Corinthians.\* And out of the bread and wine which was brought by some of the people at this time, the bread and wine for the celebration of the holy eucharist were always taken. Some therefore brought bread and wine for this service, others brought oil for the lamps. For in those times of persecution, the Christians were obliged to assemble early in the morning before daylight, that they might not be discovered by the heathen, and then such lights were necessary. Others brought frankincense, which, as we learn from Tertullian,† was much used by the Christians, not for fumigation, but for the embalming of the dead. Others brought honey, milk, and some strong liquors of their own making; others fowls; others sheep, or other animals proper for food; and others some sort of grain, as proper provision for the bishop and clergy. Now it appears from this Canon, that some bishops and presbyters did not only take bread and wine for the eucharist out of these oblations of the people, but would take something of every kind of thing that the people brought, and make a solemn oblation of it to God at the altar. This was a plain abuse and corruption, and therefore justly condemned by this Canon, which therefore forbids the *bishop or presbyter to offer any thing but what our Lord ordained concerning the sacrifice, excepting ears of corn and bunches of grapes in their season, and oil for the lamps and incense*. Now the very excepting these things is a plain testimony, that those who made this Canon, did certainly know and believe that none of these things were any part of Christ's institution; and that they did not look upon them to be in any respect necessary, but only as what might be permitted or allowed to those that had already introduced a custom of offering more than Christ had enjoined to be offered. For this reason, that they might not wholly disgust the people, who were desirous to see something of what they brought offered at the altar, they permitted such things to be there offered as might be consumed in the Church. Thus they permitted ears of new corn and bunches of grapes, because

\* 1 Cor. xi. 20—22.

† Apol. cap. 42.



the corn being afterwards ground, might be made into bread, and the grapes being pressed into wine, might be consumed at the altar; and oil for the holy lamp was necessarily to be consumed there, and frankincense for embalming the dead was looked upon as a pious use: it might therefore as well be permitted to be offered as any of the rest. And whereas frankincense gave a fine odour, (or at least what was anciently esteemed so when it was burned,) therefore in offering that at the altar, they always burnt a part of it. These seem to be the reasons for the exceptions in this Canon. But be that as it will, it is evident there is no injunction ordering the oblation of any of these things, but only a bare allowance or permission; so that the bishop or priest who does offer them, shall not undergo any censure for it: neither was he liable to censure if he did not offer them. But he was not so much as permitted to bring any other of the people's oblations to the altar. What was brought purely for the support of the bishop and clergy, was not suffered to come to the holy table, as appears from the very next Canon, where it is said, *Let all other fruits be sent to the house of the bishop, as first fruits to him, and to the presbyters, but not to the altar. Now it is plain that the bishop and presbyters are to divide them to the deacons, and the rest of the clergy.* It is therefore evident, by considering and comparing these two Canons together, that the third Apostolical Canon, which is the ancientest testimony that we have for the offering incense at the Christian altar, is so far from testifying it to have been an Apostolical practice, or an approved practice of the Primitive Church in the three first centuries, that it proves the direct contrary. For it shews, that it being the practice of the people, derived from the Apostles' days, to bring with them something for the service of the Church, and for the maintenance of the bishop and clergy, some bishops and presbyters had gone so far as to offer at the altar whatever was so brought: this was justly esteemed an abuse and corruption; and they were called back to the Primitive institution. Only they were permitted, if they pleased, but not that the Church saw it necessary or expedient, to offer such things at the altar as were to be consumed at the altar, or in a pious use, such as the embalming of the dead; but what was appointed for the maintenance of the clergy, was not upon any pretence to come to the altar. However this practice of offering the incense being thus permitted, did by

degrees, but not till several ages after, come to be an universal practice, first in the East, and afterwards in the West. He that is curious to know more of this matter, may consult the learned Mr. Dodwell's *Discourse concerning the use of incense in Divine offices: Wherein it is proved, that that practice, taken up in the middle ages, both by the Eastern and Western Churches, is, notwithstanding, an innovation from the doctrine of the first and purest Churches, and the traditions derived from the Apostles.* And this Canon, which admitting it to be as ancient as the third century, and bishop Beveridge pretends no elder authority for it, is so far from proving it an Apostolical tradition, that it proves it directly otherwise. For had it been Apostolical, it would not have been *παρὰ τὴν τῆ κυρίου διάταξιν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ*, otherwise than our Lord ordained concerning the sacrifice. For we cannot suppose that the Apostles would offer otherwise or in another manner than the Lord had ordained. And the very excepting these things, of which incense is one, is a testimony that this was otherwise and in another manner than the Lord had ordained. Besides, though it does appear that incense was used in the middle and latter ages in all Churches, and at the altar also, yet it never obtained to be used universally in the Canon Missæ, that is, in the proper immediate communion service, or in that part of the Liturgy which falls under our present consideration; it was not used as any ways tending to make the oblation of the sacramental body and blood of Christ. Neither is it in the Anaphora or Canon Missæ of St. James's Liturgy, which is now under consideration, and therefore I shall say no more of it here.

§ 33. The next Liturgy here published is called the Liturgy of St. Mark. Not that it was written by that Evangelist, but as it was the ancient Liturgy of the Church of Alexandria, and used throughout that patriarchate in the Churches of Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis: and it was called by the name of St. Mark, as it was the Liturgy of that Church of which he was the first founder and bishop. That it was written before the Council of Chalcedon, we learn from its being used as well by the Orthodox patriarchs of Alexandria, as by the Coptites or followers of Dioscorus, the patriarch of that Church, who was condemned by that Council, and who from that time to this have continued to hold

distinct communions, and to have different patriarchs and bishops of the same districts; and who after that time would not receive any new rites the one from the other, both of them pretending to stick to the ancient rites of that Church, used there before their separation. And therefore, if either of them had added any thing afterwards to their common Liturgy, the other would not have followed them therein, but that addition would have become a farther article of division betwixt them. And that this Liturgy was compiled for the use of the Churches of Egypt particularly, is manifest from that passage in the general intercession, *Raise the water of the river to their just height*: there being no country in which the Greek language was ever used that is annually overflowed by a river, as Egypt is by the Nile. And they have reason to pray that those waters may flow to their just measure, because if they exceed or fall short, they cause a dearth in that country. Also the putting into the same general intercession the name of St. Mark, as their father or first founder, is another demonstrable evidence, that this Liturgy was the Liturgy of the Church of Alexandria, no other Greek Church claiming that Evangelist as their first bishop. For though the name of St. Mark being put in that place be an evidence, that this Liturgy was not written by him in the form now published, for he is there named among the faithful departed, yet it is nevertheless a most full evidence, that it was the Liturgy of that Church which was founded by him, and who received the form of administering the holy communion from him. And the addition of this name in particular to that of the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops and saints in general, is such an addition as may be very well justified, and was very proper and natural to be made by his immediate successors, before this Liturgy or any other was committed to writing. Neither is it an addition that in any wise affects the substance of the Liturgy, or tends to introduce any doctrine or practice that is different from the received doctrine or practice of pure Primitive antiquity. So also the term *Orthodox king* could not be used till after the emperor became Christian, that is, till the reign of Constantine the Great, nay more probably not till the reign of Gratian or Theodosius, since it is most likely that in Constantine's days they might say, our *Christian king* or *emperor*, and that *Orthodox king* was not used till after they



had been subject for a time to some heretical princes, such as Constantius and Valens.

But such additions or alterations as these affect not the substance of any Liturgy; be they in or be they out, the Liturgy is still the same in substance, though not exactly in words. And the addition of the name of St. Mark to the petition for patriarchs, prophets, &c. deceased, or of Orthodox to the petition for the king or emperor in general, is no more a proof that this Liturgy was not the Liturgy used by St. Mark himself, than it would be a proof that the Liturgy now used in the cathedral and parish churches throughout England, is not the same which was confirmed by the Act of Uniformity under king Charles the Second, because we find in it the names of later princes. Therefore such additions as these are not to be reckoned as interpolations, but only as proper additions or alterations agreeable to the times and seasons. The same may be said of the word Pope, used also in this Liturgy, which though now in these Western parts of the Church it be appropriated to the bishop of Rome, yet was anciently used for any bishop, especially the bishops of patriarchal Sees, such as was that of Alexandria; and therefore I need not take notice of such particular words, though perhaps more modern than the apostolical age, wherein St. Mark flourished.

However, there is one thing particular to this Liturgy, and in which few of the other Liturgies are agreeable to it, and that is, that the intercession for all estates and conditions of men is here put before the consecration. But the order in which this prayer is placed, is no essential point; and therefore though the order in which it is put in the other Liturgies seem more proper, I shall not trouble myself to enquire how it comes to be otherwise here. This Liturgy has also some of the interpolations which I have before examined in the Liturgy of St. James, but not all. The Son and Holy Ghost are called *Consubstantial*, which was a good and proper addition after the rise of the Arian Heresy, as I have observed. The corrupt additions are, *Hail full of grace*, which is brought in as awkwardly here as it is in the Liturgy of St. James: the casting on of incense, which is brought within the Anaphora or Canon Missæ of this Liturgy, in which it is particular. But having already treated of these and other interpolations in what I have said on St. James's Liturgy, I need not say any more of the matter here. But there are two or three

things more in this Liturgy which may need explaining to any English reader, and that is, the deacons reading the Diptychs, and calling to those that sit to stand up, and to turn to the East, and calling to the deacons to come down or return. The Diptychs were a book or roll wherein the names of the bishops, saints, and martyrs of the Church were registered, wherein also were inserted the names of other bishops and eminent persons, both living and dead, as well as those of the Church to which the Diptychs belonged, especially the bishops of the great Patriarchal See. And these names, or as many of them as was judged expedient, (for it would have been endless to read all) were read or recited by the deacon in some part of the communion service, as a testimony that the Church wherein those Diptychs, or that register was kept, were in communion with all those persons whose names were so preserved, and with all the Churches with whom those persons held communion. And therefore to blot the name of any person out of the Diptychs, was looked upon as a renunciation of his communion. Thus when the name of St. John Chrysostom was put out of the Diptychs of the Church of Constantinople and other Eastern Churches, and that of Arsacius, who was the intruder into his See, was put in the room of it, this was a testimony, that those Churches who had done this, had renounced the communion of Chrysostom, as bishop of Constantinople: and when afterwards they blotted out the name of Arsacius, and restored that of John, though after both their deaths, this was an evidence, that they returned again to the communion of John Chrysostom, and renounced that of Arsacius, and that they looked upon John as the rightful bishop of Constantinople to the time of his death, notwithstanding his pretended deposition and violent expulsion; and that they esteemed Arsacius to be an intruder, and no rightful bishop. The use of the Diptychs was therefore to preserve the names of eminent bishops, saints, and martyrs, that they might be commemorated at the altar, and a testimony given of the Churches' communion with them whether alive or dead. As to the deacons calling to *those that sat down to stand up*, it is to be noted, that it was the custom of the Primitive Church that all persons should stand at the public prayers, and the service being very long, (for before they began what I have here published, there were many preliminary prayers, psalms, &c.) those that were weak and infirm

were forced to sit down to repose themselves a little, and therefore at certain times the deacon called upon these to stand up as well as others; thereby signifying to them, that though necessity might force them to rest themselves for a while, yet their devotion should also oblige them to stand up as much as they were able. So as to the deacons calling to them to *turn to the East*, it is well known, that it was the custom of Christians anciently as well as now to turn their faces to the East, which because in process of time some persons were not careful to observe, and would carelessly, not by way of opposition, turn another way, therefore the deacon reminded them of it. And as there were several deacons in the great Churches, some of them were sent about the Church to observe and see if the people in the several parts of it were orderly, and behaved themselves as they ought to do; and the deacon that staid by the bishop or officiating priest, called to them *to descend* or *return* to the altar at the proper time, that they might be ready there to receive the communion themselves, and to assist in the distribution of it to the people. These were pure ritual matters wherein every Church acted as they saw expedient.

§ 34. St. Chrysostom's Liturgy, is the Liturgy still used in the Church of Constantinople, and throughout that patriarchate, and probably was written by the holy father whose name it bears, excepting that, like other Liturgies, it has since received some additions or interpolations. For though we are assured that the Liturgies which bear the names, St. James, St. Mark, and St. Clement, were not written (however they might be delivered or taught) by that Apostle, and those Apostolical men whose names they bear; there being so much reason to believe, as I have already shewed,\* that there were not any written Liturgies till the time of St. Basil, forty or fifty years after the Council of Nice, by any person that had authority to establish such a Liturgy, or oblige any Church to the use of it; and that the Clementine Liturgy, though written before the Council of Nice, was put into writing by a private person, who had no such authority, and is therefore no more than an evidence of what the traditional Liturgy used in all Churches, before Liturgies in writing were brought in,

\* Necessary Use of Tradition, p. 123., &c.



did contain ; yet St. Chrysostom, who lived after St. Basil's days, or near the same time with him, might, for any thing that appears to the contrary, write a Liturgy for the use of his own Church, the practice of putting the Liturgy, as used in the several Churches of the world, into writing, beginning about his time. But whether St. Chrysostom was the author or rather the compiler of it or not, this is certain, that it is an ancient Liturgy, and is received in the Greek Church, as compiled by him : though, as that Church has degenerated from what it was in St. Chrysostom's days, so this Liturgy has also been corrupted in later ages : and by comparing it with the Clementine Liturgy, (which I trust I have proved to be the test and standard by which all others are to be tried) those corruptions will easily appear. Neither are all the additions, which we meet in this Liturgy, to be called corruptions ; there are, as in other Liturgies, some good, some bad, and some indifferent. The words, *consubstantial*, and *undivided Trinity*, I cannot reckon an interpolation in this Liturgy, though I put them in as such in the Liturgy of St. James, because they were words used by the Church in St. Chrysostom's days, though not in the days of that Apostle. But the phrase, *mother of God*, was not used in the Liturgy till after the Council of Ephesus, that is, a considerable time after the death of St. Chrysostom. However, though this be an interpolation or an addition that we know was made since this Liturgy was written, if it was compiled by St. Chrysostom, yet it is not a corruption, but a proper addition, made after the appearance of the Nestorian heresy, which the orthodox thought fit to use, to distinguish themselves from those heretics. As to the other additions, that of the people praising the Virgin Mary, by an address directed to her, is certainly sinful. That of the *priest's putting the bread into the cup, of his pouring in hot water, and of the deacon's burning frankincense, and the giving the bread and wine together in a spoon to the people*, though the priest and deacons receive them distinct, are what I shall not take upon me to defend, if any one shall condemn them as corruptions. Then as to the *deacon's taking the asterisc and air, and fanning the holy things, his putting his hand into the orarium, and pointing to the holy elements, his laying down his fan and taking it up again, his turning to the door and holding his orarium in three fingers, and girding himself with the orarium*,

and the priest's praying sometimes with a loud voice and sometimes with a low voice, and some other things which the reader may meet in the Rubrics of this Liturgy, though innocent in themselves, yet as here used, are too theatrical and unbecoming the gravity of this holy mystery. And therefore I shall not scruple to call them corruptions. But then as to the other uses of the *asterisc*, and *air*, and *orarium*, though I do not know that they were so used in St. Chrysostom's days, they are innocent enough. The *air*, as we learn from Goar,\* was a large linen cloth with which the holy elements were covered, and they called it by that name, because it covered the bread and wine as the air covers the earth. The *asterisc* was made of two large thin pieces of silver, or other metal, in the form of an arch, and crossing each other in the middle, which was set over the paten and the cup, to support the linen cloth or *air*, that it might not touch the elements. The *orarium* was a long narrow towel, which the deacon hung on his left shoulder;† and as the name of it was originally Latin, derived *ab ore*, the primary use of it was to wipe the mouth or the fingers as there was occasion, which might be very proper and expedient. Supposing then that the *asterisc*, *air*, and *orarium*, were introduced after St. Chrysostom's time, they had a very proper and innocent use, which I cannot call corruptions.

§ 35. St. Basil, archbishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, who was a little older than St. Chrysostom, is reasonably supposed to have been the first that compiled a communion office in writing for the use of his own Church. And therefore though he was soon followed in this by other bishops, yet his Liturgy was received by divers other Churches, and used there as well as their own, not constantly, but at some particular times, or on certain days. Thus in the Church of Constantinople, the Liturgy of St. Basil was and is still used upon all the Sundays in Lent except Palm-sunday, upon Maundy-thursday, and Easter eve, upon the vigils of Christmas and the Epiphany. At other times the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom is used; and the Rubrics or rules to be observed in the celebration are the same with those in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom. Therefore I have very little to

\* In Miss. Chrysost. Not. p. 121.

† Ibid. p. 110.

observe here concerning interpolations or additions, but what has been already taken notice of in what I have said concerning the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom. However, there is one particular in this Liturgy which I find to be charged as a corruption, which indeed I do not think so ; and that is, that after the commemoration of the Virgin Mary, St. John the Baptist, and the Apostles, there follows this petition :—*Through whose supplications look upon us, O God.* But in the Alexandrian Liturgy of St. Basil, which is here also published, this petition is something larger and more particular, and I shall give it in the words of a learned gentleman, who has thought fit to single it out as a most manifest corruption, saying, *It teaches us to pray ; we beg that we may obtain a place at thy right hand in that terrible and just day, by the intercession and supplications of our most glorious lady, the mother of God and ever Virgin Mary, and of all thy saints. If our author approves of this as no corruption, let him speak out and say so. But if he does not, as I verily believe he does not, let him not offer a corrupt Liturgy, &c.\** Now whatever may be that author's opinion of whom he here speaks, I cannot but declare it to be my opinion, that there is no corruption in this place. For though I am as much against praying to saints departed as this learned gentleman or any one else can be, because praying to them is giving them that religious worship which ought to be paid to none but God himself, and is therefore utterly unlawful. And if we practice this corruption, we must suppose, with the writers of the Church of Rome, that they see and know all things in *speculo trinitatis*, in the beatific vision, which it is certain they are not yet admitted to, nor shall be till the resurrection. Besides, if they were admitted to that utmost degree of happiness, there is no ground to believe that they must therefore know all things that pass in all parts of the world, or that they can hear the prayers of all, or of any that call upon them. But because for these reasons it is unlawful to pray to the saints, is it therefore unlawful to pray to God to hear their prayers for us ? or can they not pray for us, except we may be allowed to pray to them ? for my part I make no doubt of their praying for us. They are still members of the same body or society that we are of, that body of which Jesus Christ is the head ; for as we

\* No just grounds for introducing the new communion office, p. 74.



are Christians, the Apostle has taught us, that we are *come unto Mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and Church of the first born which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the mediator of the new covenant.\** As therefore the *spirits of just men made perfect* are still members of the same body with those that are not yet so perfected, we are assured by the Scriptures that they must have a care and concern for their fellow members. For St. Paul observes, *that the members should have the same care one for another: and whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it.†* Therefore as the saints departed do (as we have no reason to question) every thing they should do, they must still continue their care and concern for their fellow members: and if they have a care and concern for us, they will pray for us. It is true they cannot pray for this or that particular man, because as their knowledge is finite they cannot tell particularly what is done upon earth after they are departed hence, and are no more seen. But as they have themselves been members of the Church militant on earth, they know the state of it in general, they know the enemies we must daily fight with, they know the temptations that assault us, they know the power of the adversary, and our weakness, and therefore as their membership or communion with us is not cut off by death, any more than by other absence, which may cut off the particular knowledge of one person concerning the state and condition of another: therefore as we believe the *communion of saints*, we have no reason to doubt, but they perform all the duties of that communion, and pray for their fellow members. For if they do not pray for us, I do not see what care they can be said to have for us; because, by reason of the distance there is between us, they can express their care no other way. Does not the Church of England exhort us, to *pray for the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the whole world;‡* yet we, generally speaking, know no more of a great part of that congregation, than the saints in heaven know of the Church on earth. We know not

\* Heb. xii. 22—24.

† 1 Cor. xii. 25, 26.

‡ Can. 55.

the state and condition of particular men, no nor even the state and condition of many particular Churches, further than that we know that all men in this world are subject to casualties and to temptations, and that particular Churches are some in a flourishing condition, some in a state of persecution; some overrun with corruptions both in doctrine and discipline, and some, we hope, pure and undefiled. And thus much the saints departed know of the state of the Church on earth, and therefore know what to pray for it in general as well as we.

Wherefore if they still hold the *communion of saints*, and it is an Article of our Creed that they do so, we cannot doubt of their praying for us. And if they do pray for us, is it unlawful for us to pray that God would hear their prayers for us? Is it a corruption in a Liturgy to have such a petition in it? I can by no means think so. God has commanded us to pray one for another, and may not I desire him that the prayers which another makes for me may be heard? The Apostle speaking of our praying one for another, adds, that *the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much*.\* Now I cannot doubt but the saints departed are righteous men, and therefore cannot doubt but their effectual fervent prayer for their brethren on earth availeth much. Consequently that it is lawful for any private Christian, or any congregation of Christians, to pray that their prayers may be available to them in particular. But the learned gentleman before mentioned seems to think this derogatory to the honour of Christ; for speaking of those who lived in St. Cyril's time, and in his communion, that is, the Church of the fourth century, (till which time and after, as I have shewed,† the governors of the Church of England have declared *doctrine and religion were most pure*) he says, *They fled to the intercession of the patriarchs, prophets, martyrs, that God would receive their requests by virtue of the prayers and entreaties of these; which*, adds he, *is such an affront to our Saviour's mediatorial office, that I cannot imagine our learned author will ever take upon him to plead for it*.‡ But does this learned gentleman really think that the intercession of one person for another is an affront to our Saviour's mediatorial office? If so, how shall we pray one for another? Does he answer those who desire his prayers for them,

\* Jam. v. 16.

† Necessary Use of Tradition, &c., p. 4.

‡ No Sufficient Reason, Part II., p. 63.



and say that he cannot intercede for them, because this would be to affront Christ in his mediatorial office? Or should he say to them, that there is no virtue in his prayers, or in the prayers of any other good man, nor can be believed to be without derogating from the honour of Christ: would they not reply again, and say, this is directly contrary to Scripture, which expressly says, that *the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much*? And is there no virtue in a prayer that availeth much? And if there be virtue in the prayers of a righteous man, as the Scripture plainly teaches there is, it cannot be derogatory to the honour of Christ to believe what the Scripture so plainly teaches; or to pray that we may receive benefit from that virtue. Or is it more derogatory to the honour of Christ to believe that the prayers of the saints departed, which they make for their brethren on earth, have virtue in them, or are as available to the benefit of those they pray for, as the prayers of this gentleman, or of any saint on earth? Or does this learned gentleman refuse to pray for others? For if he does pray for any but himself, he makes himself an intercessor or mediator; and if his argument have any weight in it, *puts such an affront upon our Saviour's mediatorial office, that it cannot be imagined any one will plead for it*. But as I doubt not but he does pray for others as well as himself, (for I suppose he uses the established English Liturgy, which he so zealously pleads for, as a Liturgy without fault or blemish, where there are many prayers for others as well as ourselves) he must confute his own argument whenever he undertakes to defend his practice. We know as well as he that there is *but one Mediator betwixt God and man, the Man Christ Jesus*; but then we know also that this must be understood of *one Mediator* of redemption, because God has so frequently commanded us to pray one for another, that is, to be intercessors or mediators of intercession for each other. For these reasons I can by no means think it amiss to *pray that we may obtain a place at God's right hand, by the intercessions and supplications of the saints*, which is the passage in St. Basil's Liturgy which this learned gentleman condemns as a corruption. For if the prayers of the righteous which they make for others avail much, there is no question but they help forward, and further the salvation of those for whom they are made; and therefore it cannot be unlawful or unfit for those for whom these prayers are made by



the saints departed, that is, the whole Church on earth, to beg of God that the prayers of his saints now in paradise, which they make for their brethren here on earth, may be heard, and that we may receive the benefits prayed for, and particularly the great benefit of all, *a place at God's right hand in that terrible and just day*. As such intercessions of one Christian, or one part of the Church for another, are so far from being unlawful, that they are necessary, and our bounden duty to each other, so they can be no affront to the mediatorial office of Christ, because such intercessions are made in his name, and in virtue of his merits. And if the intercessions themselves are necessary, and for the honour of Christ, who requires them of us, to pray that such intercessions may be heard, or that we may be heard or receive benefit by them, even the greatest benefit of all, the salvation of our souls, can be no fault. And more than this cannot be collected from that passage in this Liturgy, which this learned gentleman condemns as so indefensible.

§ 36. This other Liturgy of St. Basil, which contains the passage now considered, as having been so sharply censured, as I think, without just grounds, is different from the Liturgy of St. Basil, as used in the Church of Constantinople, though I thought proper to examine the passage whilst I was animadverting on that Constantinopolitan Liturgy, because I there found one parallel to it, which I thought it not expedient to pass over without notice, and I supposed the same defence which served for the one might serve for the other also. This latter Liturgy, in the order it is here published, though it goes under the name of the same author with the former, yet is very different from it in words, though not in sense, as the reader will easily observe. Which of these was compiled by the great St. Basil, whose name they both bear, or whether either of them was compiled by him, I shall not pretend to say. This is certain, that as the former was and is still used in the Greek Church throughout the patriarchate of Constantinople, so this latter is the Liturgy most used among the Coptites in their patriarchate of Alexandria. But this is evident, that by whomsoever they were composed, they both of them were compiled agreeable to the traditional form derived from the Apostles, of which (as I have shewed) the Clementine Liturgy is the best exemplar. And by comparing

these Liturgies with that, we shall find this Liturgy of the Coptes to have much the fewest interpolations. The other Liturgy, which goes under the name of St. Basil, being used in the same Church where the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom is also used, has the same interpolations with that, as I before intimated. But this Liturgy which goes under the name of St. Basil, as to that part of it here published, has very few interpolations, indeed I think not any that are material, or can be called corruptions. Even that prayer wherein God is desired to grant unto his people *a place at his right hand, by the intercessions and supplications of the Virgin Mary, and all his saints*, though it be not in the Clementine Liturgy, yet cannot be judged an interpolation in a Liturgy ascribed to St. Basil; forasmuch as the learned gentleman who has been pleased to condemn that petition as a very great corruption,\* knows that St. Cyril, who was twenty years St. Basil's senior, testifies, that the Church in his time prayed, that *God would receive their requests by virtue of the prayers and intreaties of the saints*. Which is as old as any testimony we have during the first four or five centuries for the use of the Lord's Prayer in the eucharistic service.

The priest's breaking of the bread a second time, having before broken it when he recited those words of the history of the institution, *He brake it*, is not peculiar to this Liturgy, but the same is directed in almost all the other Greek Liturgies; but of what antiquity it is, I do not find. I am contented to allow it not to have been the practice from the beginning; but whether it may not be as old as St. Basil's days, I cannot say. However, I know not that any has censured it as a corruption, neither shall I. It is necessary and essential to the institution that the bread should be broken, and most proper that it should be done when the words *He brake it* are pronounced: and accordingly I conceive it to have been the practice of all the Churches to break it at that time. But then it has been and is still not broken at that time into many pieces, but only into two or three or half a dozen, that it may be visible to all that the bread is broken before it is offered to God as the memorial of Christ's broken body. But then as this bread is to be distributed to every communicant, it is necessary that it should be broken into more pieces than the

\* No Sufficient Reason, part II. p. 63.



priest can conveniently divide it into, whilst he recites the history of the institution. Therefore the Greek Liturgies have generally appointed a place in the service when it should be done, as in this Liturgy particularly. But the Clementine Liturgy has no such direction. But whether the pieces delivered to the communicants are broken off in one certain part of the service before the time of their delivery, or whether they be not broken off otherwise than piece by piece as they are delivered, is a purely indifferent matter, and not worth examining which is most expedient. The prayer at *the bowing of the head*, is a plain precatory form of absolution. It was the practice of the primitive Christians commonly to pray standing, and to stand with the head bowed down was certainly a more humble posture than to stand erect, and therefore when the priest was going to pray for mercy, consolation, sanctification, &c. for them, the deacon called to them to *bow their heads to God*, it being certainly proper to put themselves into the humblest posture at that time particularly, and hence the prayer was called *the prayer at the bowing of the head*. This prayer is common to all the Greek Liturgies, and I cannot say it is an interpolation, and I suppose none will call it a corruption. The priest's being directed to pray sometimes with a loud voice, and sometimes with a low voice, or secretly, might be justified, if the prayers appointed to be said with a low voice did not concern the people as well as the priest: but as most if not all the prayers appointed to be said privately in this and the other Greek Liturgies do concern the people as well as the priest, I cannot but look upon that direction as a corruption. And this is the only corruption I have yet discovered in that part of this Liturgy here published, excepting that from those words, *The holy body and precious blood of Jesus Christ the Son of God*, spoke at the delivery of the elements, it appears, that according to this Liturgy they are ministered both together in a spoon, according to the present practice of the Greek Church. But then I shall not conceal, that at the delivery of the elements, or when the priest begins to distribute them, as soon as he has said, *The holy body and precious blood of Jesus Christ the Son of God*, and the people have answered, *Amen*; he then proceeds and says, and the people all join with him, every one saying, *I believe, I believe, I believe, and confess even to my last breath, that this is the life-giving flesh of thy*



*only begotten Son our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ. He received it from our holy lady the mother of God and ever Virgin Mary; and made it one with his Divinity, not by commixtion, confusion, or alteration: and he witnessed a good profession under Pontius Pilate, and of his own free will delivered it for us all upon the word of the holy cross. I do truly believe that his divinity was never altogether separated from his humanity, not so much as for a moment or the twinkling of an eye. He delivered it for redemption and remission of sins, and eternal life to those that partake of it. I believe that it is this indeed. Amen. I thought it proper to take notice of this, because Renaudotius, who has lately published this Liturgy in the original Greek, triumphs in this passage, as utterly overthrowing the Protestant doctrine of a typical or representative body. This, says he, is a certain testimony, that they (that is the Coptites) believe the body of Christ is in the eucharist, not a typical or representative body, but the very same which was taken by the divine word of the Virgin Mary, and joined in the closest union to the Divine Person.\* A little after he adds, In the Latin Church there is nothing equals this, although the belief of the real presence is there certainly maintained. For where the priest there says, shewing the eucharist, Behold the Lamb of God, &c. and in the distribution of it, The body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy soul unto eternal life. Amen. There is nothing so express but what the Protestants are accustomed to interpret metaphorically. So that by a singular miracle of Divine Providence, more testimonies of this are preserved in those Churches which are separated from the Catholic by Schism and Heresy, than in the Catholic Church itself, that, as is done in this age, there can be no doubt of their faith concerning the eucharist. For there is nothing in the **Roman** Canon, nothing in the prayers confirmed by public authority, and the ancient discipline of the Churches amongst us, to testify our faith concerning the eucharist, which the Protestants are not accustomed to wrest to another sense. On the contrary, in the Oriental Churches*

\* Certissimum documentum est credere illos, esse in eucharistia corpus Christi, non typicum aut representativum, sed illud ipsum quod assumptum est à Verbo divino ex Maria Virgine, & divinæ personæ conjunctum ex intima unitate. *Comment. ad Liturg. Copt. St. Basil, p. 273.*

*there remain such prayers and ceremonies, which so confound all their reasonings, as plainly to be capable of no other sense than that of the real presence; and amongst all this confession especially, which is more full than those prescribed to Berengarius and others, whose faith was suspected.\**

He observes also, that this confession is in the Greek as well as the Coptic Liturgy of St. Basil, as used in the Church of Alexandria, and thence infers that it was in use there before the Coptites separated from the orthodox Greeks: for whatsoever the Coptites added afterwards was in their own language, and is not to be found in the Greek Liturgy. But how strong soever this confession may be to prove that the Eastern Churches believe the *real presence*, I do not conceive that it proves to believe the doctrine of transubstantiation; neither does Renaudotius, with all his flourishes upon this confession, pretend that they hold as the Church of Rome does, *That by the consecration of the bread and wine, there is a change made of the whole substance of them into the substance of the body and blood of Christ, and that conversion is properly and agreeably called by the Catholic Church transubstantiation.*† And it is not the *real presence*, but this doctrine of *transubstantiation* that is the matter in dispute betwixt the Protestants and Papists. The Church of England in particular teaches all her children to believe, that *the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's supper.* And the act, commonly called the *Test Act*, as being made to hinder Papists

\* In Latina Ecclesia nihil tale, etsi realis præsentiæ fides certissimè teneatur. Nam cum Sacerdos dicit, ostendens eucharistiam, *Ecce Agnus Dei*, &c. & eam distribuendo: *Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat animam tuam in vitam æternam. Amen*: Nihil tam expresse significat, quod metaphorice interpretari protestantes non soleant. Ita per insigne divinæ Providentiæ miraculum, illis in Ecclesiis quæ schismate & hæresi à Catholica separatæ sunt, ne, ut hac ætate factum est, dubitari possit de illarum circa eucharistiam fide, plura testimonia illius remanserunt, quam in ipsa Catholica. Nihil quippe in Canone Romano, nihil in precibus publica autoritate antiqua Ecclesiarum disciplina confirmatis, apud nos est ad contestandam fidem de eucharistia nostram, quod in alienum sensum à Protestantibus detorqueri non soleat. Contra in orientalibus Ecclesiis tales supersunt orationes & ceremoniæ, quæ omnes illorum rationes ita conturbant, ut sensum alium quam realis præsentiæ plane refugiant, & inter omnes præcipue hæc confessio, quæ longe plura continet quam præscriptæ Berengario & aliis de quorum fide dubitabatur. *Com. ad Liturg. Copt. St. Basil, p. 275.*

† Concil. Trident. Sess. 13. can. 4.



from coming into any places civil or military, does by no means require any one to deny the *real presence*, but only to *declare that he does believe that there is not any transubstantiation in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, or in the elements of bread and wine, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever.*\* It remains therefore to be examined, whether this confession, which he proves to be older than the Council of Chalcedon, (as being in that Greek Liturgy which was used in the Church of Alexandria before the Coptites separated from the orthodox) maintains the *real presence* in such manner as necessarily implies a transubstantiation; for if it do not, it is no evidence of the Eastern Churches believing in this point as the Church of Rome does, or that they differ from the Protestants, particularly from the Church of England in this particular. Here is no declaration, that *the bread and wine are changed into another substance*, and therefore how full soever the words may appear, they are no proof of the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation. *Indeed, as the learned archbishop Wake says, were there no other way for Christ to be present in the eucharist, but only by this change, it might then be allowed, that having, as he imagines, proved the one, he had in effect established the other.*† But may not Christ be present in the eucharist? May not the bread and wine be properly called the very body and blood of Christ which he received of the Virgin Mary, and which suffered upon the cross, unless the substance of it be destroyed and changed into the substance of that very body and blood? For both the Scriptures and the ancient fathers called it the body and blood of Christ, and yet declare also that it did not lose the nature and substance of bread and wine. Thus St. Paul having told us how the *Lord Jesus took bread, and said, Take, eat: this is my body which is broken for you. This cup is the new testament in my blood;* adds immediately, *As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, &c.*‡ Thereby plainly teaching us, that though our Saviour did make the *bread his body, which was broken for us;* yet it did, nevertheless, still retain the nature of bread; that the substance of it was not changed, and that it

\* 25 Car. II. c. 2, § 9.

† Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England against Monsr. de Meaux, p. 59.

‡ 1 Cor. xi. 23., &c.



was bread at the very time it was eaten. So in the beginning of the next age St. Ignatius, speaking of some heretics of his time, says, *They abstain from the eucharist and from the public offices, because they confess not the eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins, and which the Father of his goodness raised again from the dead.\** Now this confession which St. Ignatius condemns the heretics of his time for not making, and consequently which all the orthodox of that age were required to make, is as full as the confession which is in the Alexandrian Liturgy of St. Basil, though it be not so long. For if *the eucharist is that flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins, and which the Father of his goodness raised again from the dead*, then it is plainly *the life-giving flesh of the only-begotten Son, which he received of the Virgin Mary* : for that is the flesh which *was delivered for our offences, and was raised again for our justification.†* But then it is certain that St. Ignatius, as well as St. Paul, believed that the bread was made the flesh of Christ without any change of its substance. For as St. Paul calls it bread after it is consecrated, and at the time it is to be eaten, so does Ignatius also. For thus he says, *If a man be not within the altar, he is deprived of the bread of God.‡* And again, *Obeying your bishop and the presbytery with an entire affection, breaking one and the same bread, which is the medicine of immortality, our antidote that we should not die, but live for ever in Christ Jesus.||* Justin Martyr also, in that part of his apology here published, says, *We do not receive this as common bread or common drink : but are taught that it is the flesh and blood of the incarnate Jesus.* Yet after this he presently calls it *bread, and wine, and water.* A sure argument that he did not believe, that the *bread, and wine, and water*, lost their substance, and that they were so made the body and blood of Christ, as not to continue to be the same in substance that they were before. St. Cyril of Jerusalem also, in his fourth Mystagogical Catechisms, taking for his text the words of St. Paul :—*For I received of the Lord that which I also delivered unto you*, says, *This doctrine of the*

\* Εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσευχῆς ἀπέχονται, διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁμολογεῖν τὴν εὐχαρίστιαν σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὴν ὑπερ ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν παθῶσαν, ἣν τῇ χρηστότητι ὁ πατὴρ ἡγάγειν. Epist. ad Smyrn. §. 7.

† Rom. iv. 25.

‡ Epist. ad Eph. §. 5.

|| Ibid. §. 20.

*blessed Paul may be sufficient to satisfy you concerning the divine mysteries which you have received, that you have been made partakers of the body and blood of Christ. For he now says, That our Lord Jesus Christ, in the same night wherein he was betrayed, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat: **this is my body**. And taking the cup, and giving thanks, he said, Take, drink: **this is my blood**. When therefore Christ himself so affirms and says of the bread, **this is my body**, who shall from thenceforth dare to doubt of it? And when he affirms and says, **this is my blood**, who, I say, shall doubt and say, it is not his blood? He once changed water into wine in Cana of Galilee by his own power: and shall he not be thought worthy of belief in changing wine into blood? Being invited to a corporal wedding, he wrought this miracle, and shall we not much rather confess him, giving the fruition of his own body and blood to the children of the bride chamber? Therefore with full assurance let us receive it as the body and blood of Christ. Can any expressions be fuller than these, to satisfy us that we are bound to believe that what we do receive in the eucharist is the very body and blood of Jesus Christ? He urges our Saviour's words with all the force and earnestness imaginable. He says, that since he has said it is his body, and it is his blood, we dare not doubt of it. And yet after all, it is evident from the very next words, that he believed no change in the substance of the bread and wine, saying, *For under the species of bread is given to thee the body, and under the species of wine is given the blood; that receiving the body and blood of Christ, thou mayest be one body and one blood with him*. Now by saying the *species of bread*, and the *species of wine*, he plainly teaches, that he believed the substance and nature of the bread and wine still remains even after it is made the body and blood of Christ. For where the substance is changed, the nature and species must be changed also. But if this be not plain enough, what follows certainly is so, where he adds, *Heretofore Christ discoursing with the Jews, said, Except ye shall eat my flesh, and drink my blood, ye shall have no life in you. But they not understanding what was spiritually spoken, being offended, went their way, because they thought they were required to eat human flesh*. It is evident therefore that St. Cyril, though he scruples not to call the*



bread the body, and the wine the blood of Christ, and declares it necessary to believe it to be so, yet did not think the nature or substance of the bread and wine to be changed into the nature and substance of Christ's real flesh and blood, so as to be made human flesh, which is the doctrine of transubstantiation: but declares as plainly as can be, that he believes the words of eating Christ's flesh, and drinking his blood, are to be understood spiritually: otherwise he could not blame the Jews for understanding them in a literal carnal sense. And if this be not sufficient to prove, that this holy father did not believe the bread and wine to be transubstantiated into the very body and blood of Christ, in the fifth Catechism he expressly calls them the antitype or figure, saying, *For in tasting they are not commanded to taste bread and wine, but the antitype of the body and blood of Christ.* I might produce other passages from the Scripture, and many more from the fathers of the three or four first centuries, to shew that though they do call the bread and cup the body and blood of Christ, in as strong and as absolute terms as may be, yet both Scripture and fathers plainly teach, by calling it bread and wine after consecration, and by divers other expressions inconsistent with a change of the nature and substance of those elements, that they understood no transubstantiation when they called the bread the body, and the cup the blood of Christ. But as this has been done already in many treatises against this most absurd doctrine of the Church of Rome, I shall refer the reader to those treatises, or parts of treatises, where this point has been fully handled; and particularly to Mr. Johnson's "Seeming Excesses of the Fathers considered;" \* and to Mr. Bingham's "No Elevation of the host for Divine Adoration in the Ancient Church:" † but chiefly and more particularly to a small Tract written and lately published by the very reverend and learned Mr. Spinckes, called, "The Article of the Romish Transubstantiation enquired into and disproved from sense, Scripture, antiquity, and reason." From whence the judicious reader may gather, (though this confession in the Alexandrian Liturgy of St. Basil be not taken notice of in that book, nor do I suppose that the learned author, when he wrote that excellent treatise, had seen this confession, or Renaudotius's flourish upon it) that the confession now under considera-

\* Unbloody Sacrifice, part I. p. 248., &c.

† Antiquities of the Christian Church, vol. vi. book xv. chap. v. § 4. p. 791.



tion is as agreeable to the doctrine of the Church of England, as well as to that of the Church of Rome. For in this confession, upon the priest's holding out the elements to the communicants, in order to distribute it to them, and saying, "The holy body and precious blood of Jesus Christ the Son of God. Amen." Both he and the people say, "I believe, I believe, I believe, even to my last breath, that it is the very life-giving flesh of thy only-begotten Son our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ. He received it from our holy lady the mother of God and ever Virgin Mary," &c.

I see nothing in this confession which implies the bread to be more than *sacramentally* his body, or that the Church of Alexandria understood any thing more by it than that it was so full and perfect a representative of his body, so expressly so in power and effect, that it became them to declare and believe it. And does not the Church of England believe the bread to be Christ's body? This learned gentleman plainly proves from the words of institution that it does. *For, says he, what he told them was his body, was what he gave them to eat; what he gave them to eat, was what he brake; what he brake, was what he blessed; what he blessed, was what he took; and what he took, the text tells us expressly was bread: and it was therefore by necessary and inevitable consequence this bread of which he said it was his body. Agreeably whereto the Latin translation of the Ethiopic Version reads the words thus, Hic panis corpus meum, This bread is my body; and very justly, this being the only sense they will bear.\** Now as the Church of England professes to believe the words of institution, and as this is the *only sense* those words will bear, it is plain she believes them in this sense, and consequently believes the bread in the eucharist to be the body or flesh of Christ. And the Alexandrian Confession says no more, than that *they believe the consecrated bread which the priest holds out to them to be the life-giving flesh of Christ.* But they do not say that they believed it to be changed as to its substance, which is the doctrine of the Church of Rome, so as to be no longer bread. For any thing that appears in this Confession to the contrary, they believed it to be still *bread*, as we do, and the body of Christ in a full antitype, the name by which St. Cyril, as I have shewed, expresses it after he

\* The Article of the Romish Transubstantiation, p. 10.

has declared it to be the body, as fully as it is in this Confession. The learned Mr. Spinckes shews in the forementioned excellent Treatise,\* that we believe the bread to be the body more than in a bare sign, and proves it from the express words of Mr. Bradford, one who suffered in Queen Mary's reign, who says, "It is his body. This I believe, this I confess; and pray you all heartily to beware of these and such like words, that it is but a sign or figure of his body; except you will discern betwixt signs which signify only, and signs which also do represent, confirm, and seal up, (or as a man may say) give with their signification. The bread is called a partaking of the Lord's body, and not only a bare sign of the Lord's body." If therefore it should be asked, how the Alexandrians could declare that they believed the *bread to be the body of Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary, &c.* and yet not believe it to have changed its substance, but to continue bread and wine notwithstanding? I answer, that they believing as Mr. Bradford did, and as we do, they could not so well have said, *I believe it to be the sign of the life-giving flesh of Christ*, because they, as we, believed it to be more than a bare sign, and therefore having the authority of our Saviour to call it his body without any such limitation, they had no reason to scruple the making their confession in such words as they have done. But as they do not say that they believed the substance of the elements to be changed, we have no reason to think that they did believe so. Forasmuch as there are so many testimonies of those who have used as strong expressions as fully affirming the elements to be the body and blood of Christ, who have nevertheless plainly shewed that they did not believe them to be transubstantiated, but that they still continued to be bread and wine. And if we may interpret one of St. Basil's Liturgies by the other, the Liturgy used at Alexandria by that used at Constantinople, which it is but reasonable we should, since they both go under the name of the same author, it is certain this confession must be understood in the sense here given of it; that is, they did not believe the substance of the bread and wine to be changed into the substance of the body and blood of Christ; but only that they were sacramentally changed and became his very body and blood in power and effect. For in the Constanti-

nopolitan Liturgy that goes under the name of St. Basil, after the words of institution are pronounced, by which words alone the Church of Rome pretends that change is made, the gifts are called *the antitypes of the holy body and blood of Christ*, which Goar, though a Romanist, translates *the representatives of the body and blood of Christ*. Also after the prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost, to make *the bread and the cup the body and blood of Christ, and to change them*, which prayer a learned gentleman (as I have before observed) says *is in as express terms as the most zealous transubstantiators could ever desire*, the priest prays, that *those who are partakers of the one bread, and the one cup, may be joined in one Spirit*.<sup>\*</sup> A plain argument that they believed it not to have lost the nature or substance of bread after the consecration was fully completed, and consequently they believed no more of transubstantiation than this learned gentleman himself.

But what I conceive sets the matter beyond dispute, with relation to this confession, and evidently proves, that notwithstanding Renaudotius flourishes and triumphs in this confession, as if it was a demonstration that the Coptite Churches, and as he pretends all the Eastern Churches also, are of the same opinion with the Church of Rome in this doctrine of the eucharist, and that they believe it to be the body and blood of Christ in the same manner that the Romanists do, yet cannot bring any evidence of their believing a change in the substance of the bread, or their holding transubstantiation. Nay, from what he himself acknowledges, it appears evident that they neither believe nor know any such doctrine. For speaking of this confession in his notes upon the Ethiopic Liturgy,† where it is recited almost in the same words with this in the Alexandrian Liturgy, he takes occasion to make reflections upon Ludolfus, a Lutheran, who had undertaken to give an account of the Ethiopian Church, and accuses him of making no observations on this confession: but says, that Ludolfus tells us of a conversation he had with an Ethiopian, to whom he explained the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the Ethiopian denied that any such doctrine was maintained in that Church. And what has Renaudotius to reply to this? Can he say that Ludolfus did not rightly

\* No Sufficient Reason, part II. p. 86.

† Page 544.



expound the doctrine of transubstantiation to his Ethiopian, or that the Ethiopian did not make him such an answer, or that he himself had discoursed with a more learned Ethiopian, who had answered, that their Church did believe such a change of substance as is mentioned in the doctrine of transubstantiation? No such thing. But he tells us, that Ludolfus should not have asked the Ethiopian, whether they believed the elements to be changed into the substance of Christ's body and blood, and to have lost the substance of bread and wine? But whether, when they made that confession, they believed there was nothing in the paten or the cup but pure simple bread and wine? If he had done so, says he, the Ethiopian would have denied that to be his belief, as one Peter an Ethiopian did to me several years ago, when I was a young man. But certainly Ludolfus put the question right, and Renaudotius wrong, as to the difference betwixt us and the Church of Rome. For as the learned Mr. Spinekes judiciously observes, *the question here between us is not whether our Saviour's body and blood be in the sacrament, which is all that the words of institution teach; I may add, on this occasion, and all that is necessarily implied in this confession, Nor whether the elements are changed by a miraculous power of the Divine Spirit.\** I may add according to Renaudotius's question, whether they remain simple bread and wine as they were before consecration, and are not altered as to their quality, though not their substance, *so as of common bread and wine to become a supernatural food to our souls, by conveying to the devout Christian all the benefits of our Saviour's body broken, and his blood shed for him; each party being agreed in these points; but whether the bread and wine still retain their own nature, and are only spiritually, virtually, and sacramentally our Saviour's body and blood, or whether they are changed so as no longer to retain their own nature or substance, but to become flesh and blood, though under the appearance, and clothed with all the accidents of bread and wine.* As therefore the Ethiopian Church, (and consequently the Alexandrian and the Eastern Churches, who according to Renaudotius all hold the same faith in this point) does not, as Ludolfus testifies, and Renaudotius cannot deny, believe or know any thing of the

\* Article of Romish Transubstantiation, &c. p. 1.

doctrine of transubstantiation, it is plain, that how strongly soever they profess their belief, that the bread and cup are the very body and blood of Christ which was born of the Virgin Mary, &c. they must believe it as we do, not that they are substantially changed into the very body and blood, so as to lose their former substance, retaining only the accidents, but only that they are spiritually, virtually, and sacramentally so.

§ 37. The Ethiopic Liturgy is that which is used in the higher Ethiopia, a country beyond Egypt, and subject in spirituals to the Coptic patriarch of Alexandria, though I do not find that he exercises any other jurisdiction over them, saving that he consecrates a metropolitan for them whenever there is a vacancy. This country was first converted by Frumentius, a little after the time of the Council of Nice, who being taken captive and carried thither a young man, and sold or given to the king; as he served in the court, he took occasion to propagate the Christian religion there, and in time converted the king himself. Then going to Alexandria to St. Athanasius, he was by him consecrated a bishop, and sent back again to the same place, where he established a Church, consecrated bishops, priests, and deacons; and as he was consecrated by the bishop of Alexandria, and both he and his successors ever since have acknowledged that patriarch for their superior, we have no reason to doubt but he received the form of administering the communion from thence.

This Church of Ethiopia now receives her metropolitan from the Coptic patriarch of Alexandria, and has done so ever since the Mahometans gained the dominion of Egypt, in the year of our Lord 639. For Dioscorus the patriarch of Alexandria, though condemned by the Council of Chalcedon in the year 451, and deposed by that Council, for maintaining that the two natures in Jesus Christ, the human and divine, were not distinct after the incarnation, but united into one nature as well as one person; yet finding great numbers of the bishops, clergy, and people of Egypt were still willing to adhere to him, he continued to execute his patriarchal office amongst his followers, and was succeeded by other patriarchs of his own sect, notwithstanding there was a new orthodox patriarch put into his See. And though Dioscorus and his successors lay under a severe persecution for the greatest part of near two hundred years, yet his party in Egypt continued

all that time to be very numerous, and could not be suppressed. And when the Mahometans invaded Egypt, this party closing immediately with them, made the conquest easy to them; and the Mahometan general, to reward them for the assistances they had given him, fixed Benjamin, who was then their patriarch, in the full possession of the See of Alexandria, and also put all their other bishops into the possessions of the Sees which they claimed as their own: and the orthodox had no patriarch at all, if they had any bishops in Egypt, from the year 639 to the year 730. During which space the Coptic patriarchs, who claim their succession from Dioscorus, consecrated metropolitans for the Church of Ethiopia, and brought that country over to their sect. And therefore, though ever since the year 730 there has been an orthodox Greek patriarch of the Church of Alexandria, as well as a patriarch of the Coptites, yet the Ethiopians have always received their metropolitan from the Coptic patriarch, having closed in with that sect. All this we may learn from Renaudotius's history of the patriarchs of Alexandria. But though the orthodox and the Coptite patriarchs separated from each other, and have their different Churches or places of assembly in the same city, and they and their followers treat each other as schismatics and heretics, yet they use, or at least for many ages together did use the same Liturgy, the same communion office, that is, the Liturgy of St. Mark: for the Coptites still use that Liturgy, though called by them the Liturgy of St. Cyril, as Renaudotius has proved in his dissertation and notes on that Liturgy. And that the orthodox did also use that same Liturgy in that patriarchate, Renaudotius also proves from the testimony of Marcus,\* the orthodox patriarch of Alexandria, in the latter end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century, who in his letter to Balsamon, the famous Greek Canonist, plainly affirms it; though now the orthodox Church at Alexandria have conformed to the practice of the Greek Church at Constantinople, and use the Liturgies of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil as they do. But the Ethiopian Church, which still adheres to the Coptic patriarch, preserves also their old Liturgy, which is plainly taken from the Liturgy of St. Mark. For it begins as that does by setting the intercession for all estates and conditions of men before the eucharistical prayer

\* Dissert. de Coptit. Alexandria. Liturg. p. 105.



of consecration. The incense also is here used during the celebration of the Canon or Anaphora, in both which the Liturgy of St. Mark is particular and different from the generality of the rest. Here is also the confession concerning the belief of the eucharist to be the body and blood of Christ, near or altogether the same with that I have already considered in the Alexandrian Liturgy of St. Basil. Other particulars there are in this Liturgy, which I have not found or observed in any of those I have already considered; as the mentioning their patriarch and their king by name, our patriarch Gabriel, our king Lebna-Dingil. For though this be the common practice in England at this time, and it is certainly very justifiable and commendable, yet it does not appear to have been the practice of the ancient Church, and this is the earliest instance of it I have yet met with. In this Liturgy there is also a petition, that the prayers of the angels may be heard for us, and some names of angels are also mentioned, as Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Suriel. There are likewise the names of a great many of their own particular saints, of whom we know nothing. But it is evident from the priest's ministering the bread, and the deacon's ministering the cup, which is expressly ordered in this Liturgy, that the custom of giving both together in a spoon had not yet taken place in that Church.

§ 38. In the year 431, Nestorius patriarch of Constantinople was deposed in the general Council of Ephesus, for so separating between the Divine and human natures of Christ, as to divide him into two persons, not allowing any thing which was peculiar to the Divine nature to be spoken of the man Christ Jesus: not permitting it to be said that God was born of the Virgin Mary, or that God suffered or shed his blood for us, although the Scripture expressly says, that *God hath purchased the Church with his own blood*.\* Therefore being justly condemned and deposed for this heresy, so directly contrary to Scripture and the tradition of the Church, he was banished from Constantinople by the emperor, and confined sometimes to one place, sometimes to another, and wandered about to the time of his death. His followers also, which were pretty many,† finding no peaceable

\* Acts xx. 28.

† Renaudot. Dissert. de Nestor. Liturg. p. 567.

enjoyment of their meetings in the Roman empire, retired into Mesopotamia, which was then under the empire of the Persians, where they found not only protection but favour, insomuch that Chosroes the Persian king not only gave them the Church of Edessa, but also compelled the other Christians in his dominions to communicate with them: by which means they gradually spread themselves and are become very numerous in the East, where they erected a patriarchate at Seleucia or Ctesiphon, though they called not their Primate by the name Patriarch, but Catholic;\* which Catholic is their chief or sovereign bishop, who has authority over all bishops and archbishops, and who has for many ages kept his residence at Bagdad near Old Babylon. The Liturgy here published under the name of Nestorius is one of those used by that sect. It is indeed imperfect; but it seems Renaudotius could not find a perfect Nestorian Liturgy: for though he has published three of them, there are chasms in every one of them. There appears to be nothing peculiar to this Liturgy, excepting that the intercession is put between the words of oblation and the invocation of the descent of the Holy Ghost. There is also one passage which is apparently a Nestorian interpolation, clapt in by some of that sect in favour of their heresy: and it is this, which is put into the eucharistic prayer; *He took the form of a servant, perfect man, of a reasonable, intelligent, and immortal soul, and human flesh subsisting, and joined it to himself, uniting it with himself in glory, power, and honour.* These words, especially out of the mouth of a Nestorian, as Renaudotius observes, cannot be expounded to a Catholic sense.† For whereas the Orthodox believe the unity of the two natures in Christ to be a personal union, the Nestorians reduce this to a participation of honour, power, and dignity. Bating this, and the priest's praying sometimes with a loud voice, and sometimes with a low voice, I have not met with any thing in this Liturgy which deserves to be called an interpolation, or which is not agreeable to the Clementine Liturgy.

§ 39. Severus having some time led a monastic life, by the power of the emperor Anastasius, who had joined himself to the party that were enemies to the Council of Chalcedon, got Flavian,

\* Renaudot. Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin. p. 406

† Dissert. de Nest. Litur. p. 577.

the Orthodox patriarch of Antioch, to be driven from his See, and himself to be settled in his place, and then set himself to propagate the heresy for which Dioscorus had been condemned, and by the assistance of the imperial authority persecuted the Orthodox in Syria and Palestine very severely, causing several of them to be put to death, and denying them burial. By which means he much diminished the numbers of the Orthodox Christians, and increased the number of those who adhered to the Monophysites, or those who believed God and man in Jesus Christ to be united not only in one person, but one nature also. But as Severus had gotten his predecessor ejected by the imperial power of Anastasius, so also was Severus himself made to fly from Antioch by the emperor Justin, lurking about and wandering in some parts of Egypt till he died. However his party died not with him; and though the Orthodox emperors who succeeded Justin did what lay in them to extirpate this heresy, yet the Monophysites have to this very day many Churches in Syria, and a patriarch at Antioch, who holds a strict communion with the Coptic patriarch of Alexandria; those two patriarchs sending each of them his communicatory letters to the other, to give him notice of his advancement to that station, according to the practice of the ancient Church, as we learn from Renaudotius's History of the patriarchs of Alexandria. Whether this Liturgy which bears his name, was written by him, I cannot say, but it is certainly one of the oldest Liturgies amongst the Monophysites, and appears to have the fewest interpolations of any Liturgy since the Clementine now extant. Here is no incense, no *Hail Mary full of grace*, no dipping the bread into the cup, nor so much as any words intimating the bread and wine to be given together in a spoon. But there is nevertheless one thing peculiar to this Liturgy, not to be met with in any of the Liturgies here published; and that is, that after the words of institution, in making the oblation, the prayer is directed to the Son, and not to the Father: the priest saying, *We, therefore, O Lord Jesus, offering this unbloody sacrifice, beseech thee, &c.* Now though as we believe Christ to be God consubstantial with the Father, it is not at all improper, nay it is very fit that we should sometimes direct our petitions to him; yet surely in this place it is very improper to do so, because in the celebration of the eucharist we are commanded to do what Christ did, and not only to offer



*what* he did, but also to offer it *as* he did. Now we are certain he did not offer himself to himself, but to the Father. And this practice of making the oblation, or at least of the address accompanying the oblation to the Son, seems to be peculiar to the Monophysites, or followers of Dioscorus and Severus. For I find nothing like it in any Liturgies, but what appertain to those heretics. The Coptites have one entire Liturgy or communion office, in which every petition is directed to the Son, which they say was composed by one Gregory, whom they called the Divine: and the Syrian Monophysites have a great many Liturgies published by Renaudotius, where though the other prayers are directed to God the Father, yet the oblation or address at the oblation is directed particularly to the Son. But I do not remember to have met with any thing of this kind in any Liturgy used by any other sect or party of Christians.

§ 39. The Gothic, the Gallican, and the Mosarabic Liturgies, were used in these Western parts of the world till the Roman Liturgy displaced them. The Gothic or Gothico-Gallican Missal was used in that part of Gaul or France which was anciently called Gallia Narbonensis, containing the provinces of Narbon, Languedoc, Provence, and Savoy. The Gallican Missal was used in the other provinces of Gaul and in Britain also, being introduced here, as bishop Stillingfleet has proved, by St. German, who came over hither with Lupus, about the year 429, to free this Church from the Pelagian heresy.\* The Mosarabic Missal was used in the Churches of Spain, at least as early as the fifth century, as Cardinal Bona has proved.† It was called the Mosarabic or Mixtarabic Missal, because the Spaniards being conquered by the Moors or Arabians, and so intermingled with them, were for some time called Mixt-Arabians. These three Liturgies being, therefore, certainly as old as the fifth century, and it may be older, seem to have been the first written Liturgies used in these parts of the world. For St. Basil, as I have before observed, who flourished not till the latter end of the fourth century, seems to have been the first who authoritatively published any communion office in writing: and the Gallican Liturgy was introduced into Britain before the middle of the fifth century, and

\* Antiquities of British Churches, p. 216.

† De Reb. Liturg. l. 1. c. 11. p. 125.

was used in France for some time before, and therefore cannot be much later than St. Basil's days; and the Gothic and Mosarabic Liturgies are probably of the same age. Nor can we find any elder written Missals in the provinces where those Liturgies were used: and it is a misfortune that we have them not transmitted to us complete. But when Austin the Monk came over hither to convert our Saxon ancestors to the Christian faith, who had by that time confined the poor Britains to Wales and Cornwall, he brought with him the Roman Canon, which from that time forward was used in this realm. However, it is likely the Gallican Missal continued to be used in Wales till the reign of our king Henry the First, and about the year 1115, when the bishops of Wales were brought under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury. In France both the Gothic and Gallican Missals were laid aside,\* and the Roman introduced instead of them, in the time and by the power of Charles the Great, who being made emperor of Rome about the year 800, thought convenient to introduce the Roman rites into all his dominions. The use of the Mosarabic Missal was also abolished in Spain by the authority of Pope Gregory VII., about the year 1080.† Thus these Liturgies having not been used in any Church for many ages, are so far lost, that we have not any one of them transmitted to us complete or perfect; only some fragments of them have been found intermixed with the offices used on particular days: of which it has been thought proper to transcribe so much as may convince the reader, that these Liturgies were agreeable to the Clementine, or the Liturgy taken from the book called the "Apostolical Constitutions;" that they, every one of them, begin the oblation with an eucharist or thanksgiving prayer, which prayer is continued from the words, *It is truly meet, right, and our bounden duty*, till the petition for the descent of the Holy Ghost to bless and sanctify the elements; and that not only the words of institution, but a form of oblation and invocation of the Holy Ghost, were always used to complete the consecration. The Mosarabic Missal has also the words, *Holy things are for holy persons*, to be said by the priest immediately before he distributes the elements. Whether those words were used in the Gothic or Gallican Missals, we cannot say.

\* Bona de Reb. Liturg. lib. 1. c. 12.

† Ibid. c. 12.

§ 40. I come now to the Roman Canon ; which, though it has prevailed in all these Western Churches for several ages, that is, here in England, from the time that our Saxon ancestors were converted, till the Reformation, by the space of 900 years : in France, Italy, and Germany, from the time of Charles the Great to this day, which is about the same space of time ; and in Spain, from Gregory VII. until now, for between 6 and 700 years ; yet as its original is later than that of any other Liturgy here published, I conceive its authority ought to be less. The Romanists themselves, as we learn from Cardinal Bona, are not agreed about the author of it.\* Some make pope Gelasius to have been the author of it, who flourished about the year 492. And if that could be proved, it might challenge an antiquity not above an hundred years later than the time when the Greek Liturgies began to be written, and is a little older than the Liturgy of Severus before mentioned, and here also published. Now that pope Gelasius did compose some sacramental forms, Dr. Cave thinks sufficiently evident from several testimonies.† But then the learned doctor acknowledges, that in the book published by Thomasius, as the Liturgy of Gelasius, there are some things which are certainly of a later original, and not older than the time of pope Gregory the Great. And I cannot think, that if the present Roman Canon had been compiled by Gelasius, he would have omitted the mention of the Holy Ghost in the petition for a blessing on the bread and cup, to make them the body and blood of Christ, because, as Mr. Johnson observes, in that celebrated place in his tract against Nestorius and Eutyches, cited by all that write against transubstantiation, he says, *The bread and wine pass into a divine substance, their proper nature remaining, by the efficacy of the Holy Ghost.*‡ Others suppose Musæus, a presbyter of Marseilles, about the year 458, (which is before the time of pope Gelasius) to have been the author of this Canon, and others attribute it to Voconius, bishop of Castilla in Mauritania, about the year 460.|| But they assert this only upon conjecture, and for no other reason that I can find, but that these two persons did write some sacramentary offices ; but what they were we cannot now say, all

\* Bon. de reb. Liturg. lib. 2. cap. 11. p. 477.

† Histor. Lit. Vol. i. p. 375.

‡ Unbloody Sacrifice, Part I. p. 187.

|| Bona de reb. Liturg. lib. ii. cap. xi. p. 477.



their works being lost. Neither is it at all probable that the sacramentary of an African bishop, or of a French presbyter, should be received by the Church of Rome, and yet not received in the Churches to which they belonged for many ages after. For the Gothic or Gallican Liturgy, very different from the Roman Canon, continued to be used in the Church of Marseilles some hundreds of years after the time of Musæus, and we have no proof that the present Roman Canon was ever used in Africa. Others, says the learned cardinal, attribute it to Gregory the Great: but, says he, Gregory himself says, it was composed by a scholastic;\* but at what time he does not say. And without dispute, pope Gregory's evidence is very good in this case, it being what did not long precede his own time. For though Bona says, it is certain this scholastic, whosoever he was, must have been older than pope Gelasius, or any of the others before named, yet he brings no proof at all for this assertion. And it is very probable that he was but little older than pope Gregory, at least that he was later than Gelasius, since we have so much reason to believe that in Gelasius's time the Holy Ghost was desired to bless the elements; but he is not mentioned in the present Canon. However Bona endeavours to prove his assertion by the authority of pope Vigilius, who was fifty years before pope Gregory, who tells us in his epistle to Eucherius, that the Canon which the Romans then used *was received from Apostolical tradition*. But this I think so far from proving this scholastic to have been older than pope Gelasius, that it shews him to have been younger than Vigilius, and very little older than Gregory himself. For if the Liturgy used in the time of Vigilius was that which the Romans had used from the Apostles' days, and the Liturgy used in Gregory's time was one composed by a scholastic; that Liturgy which Gregory speaks of must have been composed or at least received by the Roman Church, and so acquired its authority betwixt the time of pope Vigilius and pope Gregory. If it be said, that this scholastic only put into writing the traditional Liturgy which the Church of Rome had received from the Apostles; and, therefore, Vigilius and Gregory might both mean the same Liturgy, yet this is no proof that the scholastic lived before Vigilius, much less before Gelasius, as Bona asserts. For

\* Gregor. lib. vii. Epist. lxiv.

Vigilius says nothing of the scholastic or any other compiler of the Roman Liturgy, but only of the Liturgy used in his own time. But by whomsoever or whensoever the Roman Canon was composed, it is certain from Gregory's own epistle, that he himself made several alterations in it, in particular that he added the Lord's Prayer to it, which was not used before in the Canon of that Church: for which he excuses himself, by saying, that the Apostles consecrated *with the Lord's Prayer only*. His words are:—*We, therefore, say the Lord's Prayer immediately after the form of consecration, because it was the custom of the Apostles to consecrate the host of oblation with that Prayer only.*\* But will the Romanists, or any other who make the whole of the consecration of the eucharist to consist in the recital of the words of institution, believe that the Apostles consecrated without any use of those words? Yet this is what pope Gregory asserts; for he says, *they consecrated with the Lord's Prayer only*, not with the Lord's Prayer and the words of institution, as he is commonly said to tell us. But then pope Gregory lived at too great a distance from the Apostles, to be able to say this of his own knowledge, and he brings no vouchers for his assertion; neither have we any reason to believe he had any, since the testimony of the Universal Church is against him in this point, as appears from what has been already said in this dissertation. However, if we could be certain that the Roman Canon we have now, was the same that it was in pope Gregory's time, it would deserve more regard than I can think it does at present.

It is indeed agreeable to the Canon in Pope Gregory's Sacramentary as published by Menardus, which is reckoned the best edition of it; but Du Pin, a learned Romanist, tells us, that "it cannot be affirmed that the Sacramentarium of St. Gregory is such now as it was in his time. But on the contrary, it is certain that we have it not in its purity, and that many things are added to it; for it is now a long time since three authors were placed before it, to distinguish what was St. Gregory's, and what was added. The Abbot Grimboldus, the Priest Rodradus Monk of Tours, who lived about the year 849, and Albinus or Alcuinus, took this care in the editions which they made of the

\* Orationem Dominicam ideirco mox post precem dicimus, quia mos Apostolorum fuit, ut ad istam solummodo orationem oblationis hostiam consecrarent. *Gregor. lib. vii. Epist. lxiv.*

Sacramentary. But they do not agree among themselves about what is added to it, which shews that they have no certain proof of it, but that they make this distinction only by conjecture.”\*

Now if the learned were convinced within 200 years after the death of Gregory, and about the time the Roman Missal began to be used in France and other countries, subject to the empire of Charles the Great, that the Missal was even then altered from what it was in Gregory’s days, and the most learned of that age, (for such were the three here mentioned) knew not how to correct it otherwise than by conjecture, what reason have we to believe the present Canon to be the same it was in Gregory’s time? Though if it could be proved so ancient, it would even then be more modern than any other of the ancient Liturgies here published, and consequently of less authority; however by the power of the bishop of Rome, and not by any excellency it had above other Liturgies, it prevailed to be the established Liturgy of the whole Western Church. But though the Roman Missal became hereby the standing Missal of all those Churches which submitted to the authority of the bishop of Rome, yet this was not without a mixture of different prayers and ceremonies in different Churches. Cardinal Bona taking occasion to refute Matthias Flaccus Illyricus, a learned Lutheran, and the principal author of the famous Magdeburgensian centuries, who about the year 1557 published a Missal, which he pretends was used in the Western Church before the Roman Missal was introduced, having proved this Missal of Illyricus to be no other than the Roman, interpolated with several other prayers, he says, *As a man when he is naked, and the same man when he has many garments on, is still one and the same man, so the Roman Missal is still the Roman, although many prayers are intermingled with it.*† A little after he shews, that this was customary in many places to join other prayers to those which belonged to the Missal itself, and upon that occasion says, *Forasmuch then as the Roman Mass, with many other prayers added to it, like that which Illyricus says was the ancient Gallican, was frequent in Italy, and common in other Churches, it manifestly follows that this was not the form of any kingdom or province, but was ordered to be used in one or a few Churches by the*

\* Du Pin, Bibliotheq. Centur. vi. pp. 101, 102.

† Bona de reb. Liturg. lib. i. cap. xii. p. 115.



*private authority of their own bishop, without any approbation of Synods or of the Apostolic See.\** From all which I think it is evident, that the Roman Canon was not so received in any part of the Church which acknowledged the authority of the Roman See, but that the bishops of these Churches thought themselves at liberty to add such other prayers and ceremonies thereto, as they judged expedient for the use of their own particular districts. And that this was done in this realm as well as in other places, we may learn from the preface to the present Common Prayer Book, where it speaks *concerning the service of the Church*, where we are told, that *heretofore there hath been great diversity in saying and singing in Churches within this realm; some following Salisbury use, some Hereford use, and some the use of Bangor, some of York, some of Lincoln: now from henceforth all the realm shall have but one use.* By which it is evident, these several uses continued here till the Reformation. And pope Pius V. in his bull for confirmation of the present Roman Mass-book, which is prefixed to the book itself, intimates as much to other countries, when he forbids *any other form to be used but that prescribed by him in any cathedral or parish Church, or in any conventual or collegiate Church or Chapel, except the form and order used by them has been approved by the Apostolic See, or have been used in that Church for above 200 years.* Yet in this case he recommends the present Roman form to them, saying, *As we do by no means take away this Constitution or custom of celebrating from them, so if this Missal we have now taken care to publish, please better than those they now use, we do allow them, notwithstanding any obligations to the contrary, with the consent of the bishop or ordinary, and of the whole chapter, to say Mass according to it.†* But then as to other Churches not so privi-

\* Cum igitur Missa Romana multis superadditis orationibus ad instar ejus quam Illyricus veterem Gallicanam fuisse dixit, in Italia quoque usitata atque aliis Ecclesiis communis fuerit, hinc satis perspicue infertur non fuisse eum ritum specialem alicujus regni vel provinciae; sed uni tantum vel aliquot Ecclesiis privata episcopi auctoritate absque ulla Synodorum vel Apostolicæ sedis approbatione tributum. *Bona de reb. Liturg. lib. i. cap. xii. p. 148.*

† Ut præfatam celebrandi constitutionem vel consuetudinem nequaquam auferimus, sic si Missale hoc quod nunc in lucem edi curavimus, iisdem magis placeret, de episcopi, vel prælati, capitulique universi consensu, ut quibusvis non obstantibus juxta illud Missas celebrare possint, permittimus.

leged by some pope, or by such prescription, he allows no such liberty but requires, *by virtue of the holy obedience due to him, that laying aside for the future all other forms and rites wont to be observed from other Missals how ancient soever they may be, they sing or read the Masses, according to the rite, order, and rule, which is now prescribed by this Missal: neither let them presume to add or recite other ceremonies or prayers in the celebration of the Mass, other than what are contained in this Missal.\** From all which I think it is evident, that till the time of pope Pius V. and the Council of Trent, by virtue of whose decree the pope corrected and published it, that is, till some time after the Reformation, there were various forms of using the Roman Canon, and different rites and different prayers were used with it in several places. Since then we are not only so uncertain of the time when the author lived by whom the Roman Canon was compiled, but are also assured that it has been interpolated as well as other Liturgies, and has not always been used with the same rites, ceremonies, and prayers, in all places where it has been received, and that as it is now used, it stands only upon the papal authority, and that of the Council of Trent, that is, an authority later than the Reformation, and not yet 200 years old; there is no reason to prefer it to the most exceptionable of the foregoing Liturgies, much less to make it a pattern or standard for a communion office, agreeable to the practice of the ancient Church, for it seems least agreeable to that practice of any office I have seen. Indeed Cardinal Bona says, that it has not been interpolated, and that it is unlawful to interpolate it;† and that though interpolations and additions have been made to other parts of the Missal, there have been none made to that which is strictly called the Canon, which is that here published; and that pope Vigilius says, they received it *by tradition from the Apostles*. But we have seen nevertheless that even the Canon has been interpolated; that pope Gregory, as appears from his own epistle, added the Lord's Prayer to it, which, though a good

\* Illis in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ præcipientes, ut cæteris omnibus rationibus, & ritibus ex aliis Missalibus quantumvis vetustis hætenus observari consuetis, in posterum penitus omissis, ac plane rejectis, Missam juxta ritum, modum ac normam, quæ per Missale hoc à nobis nunc traditur, decantent, ac legant: neque in Missæ celebratione alias ceremonias vel preces, quam quæ hoc Missali continentur, addere vel recitare præsumant.

† De reb. Liturg. lib. ii. cap. xi.

and proper addition, is yet an addition, and proves that it was not before in the Canon. I have also shewed before in my observation on the Liturgy of St. James, \* that what follows the Lord's Prayer has been added since Gregory's time, and is called by some of the Romanists themselves an embolism or interpolation. Nay, even the Council of Trent itself dares not say, that the Canon, as it now stands, was derived to them from pure Apostolical tradition: they only say, *That this sacrifice might be worthily and reverently offered, the Catholic Church many ages ago instituted the sacred Canon free from all error, compiled from the very words of our Lord, the traditions of the Apostles, and the institutions of popes.*† We have, therefore, the testimony of the Tridentine fathers, whose authority I suppose no Romanist will dispute, that this Canon is of a later date than the Apostolical age, and that it could not be the Canon prescribed by St. Peter and St. Paul, the founders of the Roman Church, being compiled as well out of the institutions of the popes, which succeeded them, as from their traditions. And indeed the Canon itself speaks it, when it celebrates the memory not only of those and the other Apostles, but of many other saints and martyrs which lived several ages after them. Though if there was no other objection to the Apostolical authority of this Missal, the bare addition of some names would be no material objection. Having therefore shewed, that this Missal can lay the least claim to antiquity of any that pretend to antiquity at all, I shall now proceed to examine it according to the Clementine Liturgy, which I think has been proved, by Mr. Bingham as well as myself, to be the best exemplar of the traditional Liturgy taught by the Apostles, and is asserted by bishop Hickeys to be the test and standard by which all others are to be tried. It begins as that and almost all other Liturgies do as to the Anaphora or Canon, with *The Lord be with you: Lift up your hearts, &c.* And then proceeds to the eucharistical prayer as far as to the conclusion of the Seraphic hymn; before which there are proper prefaces for several festivals, containing praises and thanksgivings

\* Supr. § 32.

† Ut sacrificium hoc dignè reverenterque offerretur, Ecclesiam Catholicam multis ante sæculis sacrum Canonem instituisse ab omni errore purum, ex ipsis Domini verbis, Apostolorum traditionibus, & pontificum institutionibus conflatum. *Concil. Trident. sess. xxii. cap. iv.*



proper to their particular occasions, and therefore very agreeable to an eucharistic prayer. But then this thanksgiving prayer concludes with the Seraphic hymn, and has no commemoration of God's mercy declared in the creation and redemption of the world, which was certainly the practice of the Apostles and of the Primitive Church, as we learn from Justin Martyr. And the Canon proceeds directly to a petition to God to accept the gifts laid before him, and then proceeds to a general intercession, which in the Clementine Liturgy, and in all the other Liturgies but that of St. Mark and the Ethiopic, which is chiefly taken from that, follows the oblation. The intercession also is very short and imperfect, particularly there is no petition for the king and those that are in authority under him, which is certainly contrary not only to Apostolical practice, but also to direct Apostolical precept,\* which requires us to offer eucharists as well as prayers for kings and all in authority; and therefore not to intercede for them when we offer the eucharist, is to break an Apostolical command. This intercession concludes with a commemoration of the Virgin Mary, the Apostles, and other saints, *through whose merits and prayers* God's protection is desired.

Now though I cannot think it unlawful to desire that we may be heard *through the prayers of the saints*, that is, that God would vouchsafe to *hear their prayers for us*, yet I can by no means approve of desiring to be heard *through their merits*; such a petition is plainly derogatory to the honour of Jesus Christ, who being God as well as man, was alone capable of meriting for mankind, and the very greatest and best of the saints were but unprofitable servants, who did but what was their duty to do. Then follows a prayer for God's acceptance of the oblation, and to desire him to bless and sanctify it: now this petition seems preposterously put in this place, it being certainly more proper to desire this acceptance after the oblation is made, rather than before it, and to desire that God would complete and perfect it with his blessing after we have performed our parts; for till then it is not properly an oblation, otherwise than as it may be so called by way of anticipation, as it is brought to the altar to be offered, though the oblation be not yet made: and therefore the Clementine and all other Liturgies place this

\* 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

petition after the words of institution and the oblation. But then there is also another defect in this prayer for the sanctification of the elements, in that there is no petition that they may be sanctified by the Holy Ghost: sanctification by the Holy Ghost may probably be implied in this prayer; but sure it would have been better to have expressed it as it is in the Clementine and other ancient Liturgies. Then follow the words of institution and the prayer of oblation, with a thankful remembrance of Christ's death, which are agreeable enough to the most ancient Liturgies, and what we find to have been the constant practice of the Church. Then comes another proper petition for God's acceptance of the sacrifice, and commanding it to be brought to his heavenly altar by the hands of his holy angel, agreeable to a like petition in the Clementine Liturgy in the bidding prayer of the deacon. And this prayer, as I have shewed,\* Mr. Bingham has judiciously proved is not reconcilable to the doctrine of transubstantiation: *For, says he, how can man pray (without indignity to the Son of God) that the sacrifice of God's only Son may be as acceptable as the sacrifice of Abel was? Or how does Christ, who sits at the right hand of the Father, need the mediation of the angels to be carried or presented to his Father at the heavenly altar?* The commemoration and prayer for the dead, which comes in the next place, is a testimony that this Canon, though not so ancient as other Liturgies, is yet elder than the doctrine of Purgatory. For here is no petition for those that are in pain or torment, but only for those that having died with the sign of faith, do now rest in the sleep of peace: to which is added a prayer, that those then present may have their portion in the society of the holy apostles, martyrs, and saints, ending with glory and honour to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Then follows the Lord's Prayer, which, as I have before observed, was added by Pope Gregory at the latter end of the sixth century: which though it be not in the Clementine Liturgy, nor appears to have been thought a necessary part of this office, yet is a good and proper addition, and was in the ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem, as we learn from St. Cyril's account of that office. When this prayer is ended, the priest repeats the last petition, and prays for deliverance from evil through the

\* Supr. §, 30.

intercession of the saints. Then turning to the people, and praying for their peace, he puts a piece of bread into the cup, praying that *this mixture of the body and blood may procure eternal life to those that receive it*. This custom I have already considered,\* and given my reasons why it is not to be approved, though it may seem to have been almost an universal practice; but there is nothing of it in the Clementine Liturgy, nor is it mentioned by any of the fathers of the four first centuries, and therefore plainly wants antiquity. Then the priest, after having said, *O Lamb of God, that takes away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us, grant us thy peace*, after a short Collect for the peace of the Church, he then gives the Pax, a little board with a cross or crucifix upon it, which every communicant kisses, as a testimony of his being in peace and charity with every body. Cardinal Bona produces upon this occasion a great many testimonies from the fathers, proving that the ancient Christians always gave to one another a kiss of peace before they received the holy eucharist, as a testimony of their mutual love and charity to each other.† And indeed I do not find it omitted in any of the ancient Liturgies, though in the constitutions and all the Greek Liturgies it precedes the words, *Lift up your hearts*, and therefore fell not so properly under my consideration till I came to this part of the Roman Mass. The English reader may see the authorities of the ancients produced for this practice in Mr. Bingham's "Antiquities of the Christian Church."‡ And we cannot doubt of its being an Apostolical practice, when we read St. Paul, saying, *Salute one another with an holy kiss.*§ *Greet ye one another with an holy kiss.*|| *Greet all the brethren with an holy kiss.*¶ And St. Peter saying, *Greet ye one another with a kiss of charity.*\*\* And this practice seems by the Liturgies to be still continued in the Eastern Churches for the clergy to kiss the bishop or officiating priest, the laymen their fellow laymen, and the women the women, as the book of the Constitutions or the Clementine Liturgy directs. But as Mr. Bingham observes, it seems to have been the custom in the Latin Churches to salute promiscuously, without distinction of

\* Supr. §. 32.

† Bon. de reb. Liturg. lib. 2. c. 16.

‡ Vol. 6. Book 15. §. 3. p. 640.

§ Rom. xvi. 16.

|| 1 Cor. xvi. 20. 2 Cor. xiii. 12.

¶ 1 Thess. v. 26.

\*\* 1 Pet. v. 14.



men and women. Because Tertullian, among other arguments which he uses why a Christian woman should not marry an heathen, says this is one, that he would be unwilling to suffer her to go into the prisons to kiss the martyrs' chains, or at other times *to give the kiss of peace to a brother*. Therefore Bona says, that *the ancient simplicity at length degenerating into maliciousness, this kiss by little and little was laid aside, and instead of it a custom introduced of holding out a little board with a cross or crucifix, which the writers of latter ages call the Osculatory, of which word Spelman speaks in his Glossary. This when the priest first kisses, and then the people, they testify that they have the same mutual charity and faith, which therefore was testified by the kiss. Others perform this by a mutual embrace, and the kiss with the mouth was yet in use in the time of Pope Innocent III. who particularly speaks of it in his fifth chapter of his sixth book of the Mysteries of the Mass: that is, as late as the latter end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century. I may add that Durandus, who lived to the latter end of the thirteenth century, speaks of no other kiss but the kissing each other with the mouth, though he expressly says, the men and women did not kiss promiscuously, but the men kissed the men, and the women the women.\* So that this practice of kissing a little board, instead of kissing each other with a kiss of peace, seems not to have been used in the Church of Rome till about two hundred years before the Reformation. I confess, I do not approve of this ceremony in the place the Romanists use it, it is certainly more proper before the eucharistic service begins, and cannot so well be performed afterwards, without giving a great interruption to the devotion of the communicants. But as to the thing itself, I am of Mr. Johnson's opinion, that it is one of those *rites or modes which are Apostolical, and which greatly deserves to be restored; but which does not seem necessary to the essence of the eucharist. This rite was intended to express the mutual charity of the communicants; and since it is authorized by the Apostles themselves, I cannot but think that it ought to have been retained; or if the kiss be not now thought consistent with that gravity of mind which best suits so solemn an institution, in an**

\* Rationale Divin. Offic. lib. 4. cap. 53.

*age so much disposed to turn every thing into jest and raillery, shaking of the hand or embracing (the men with the men, and the women with the women only) might have been used instead of it ;\** I may add, if it was but bowing or courtesying to each other. This is now indecently practised by too many in the public Churches in the midst of Divine service. What would it be for the governors of the Church to appoint such bowing or courtesying of the communicants immediately as the priest is gone up to the altar, and just before he begins the proper communion office after the sermon? This would be saluting each other, though not with a kiss, yet with a salute of charity or peace, and might answer the end of the holy kiss *much better* (as Mr. Johnson further says) *than the kissing of a crucifix, or some such instrument of superstition, which is now practised in the room of the holy kiss in the Latin Church.*

I must confess, I do not wonder at the Protestants for not retaining that superstitious modern practice of the Church of Rome of kissing an image: but I cannot but wonder, that those who plead so zealously for obedience to Scripture commands, should yet disobey this command, which is so often repeated in the New Testament, as not to use the *holy kiss*, the *kiss of peace and charity*, upon any occasion whatsoever, nor yet any thing instead of it to denote their mutual faith, love, and charity to each other. But to proceed with the Mass, after the kissing of the pax, the priest makes two or three private prayers for himself, which are very good and proper to the occasion; but it would certainly be more proper that these prayers should have been made for the people too. But these prayers seem contrived as if the Church of Rome was not concerned, whether the people received the eucharist or not; for if she had, she would have ordered the priest to have used the plural not the singular number in these prayers; he would have been appointed to have said, *Deliver us*, not *me* only, *by this thy holy body and blood, from all our*, not only *mine iniquities*, &c. And indeed the Missal plainly allows the priest to receive the elements alone, if there are none to communicate with him. This Cardinal Bona pretends to defend from the practice of the ancient Church.† But he can prove this no otherwise than from some expressions of the

\* Unbloody Sacrifice, Part II. pp. 172, 173.

† De Reb. Liturg. lib. I. cap. 11. p. 198.

fathers blaming the negligence of the people in not coming duly to this sacrament. Such a passage he quotes from St. Chrysostom particularly:—*In vain is the daily sacrifice, in vain do we stand at the altar, there is no body that will receive.* Does it hence follow, that if there was no body at all but himself, that St. Chrysostom received it alone? Does St. Chrysostom say any such thing? He was a priest in a very populous city, that is Antioch, and afterwards bishop of another more populous, Constantinople, where he had reason to expect a great number of communicants. And when amongst such a multitude he saw but two or three or half a dozen stay to receive the communion, he might very well in his rhetorical way say, there was no body to receive. Or supposing there was no one body, does he say that then he received it himself? by no means. He only says, *In vain is the daily sacrifice, in vain do we stand at the altar*; that is, in vain has the Church appointed this sacrifice to be offered daily, in vain am I ready to administer it. But would this have been *in vain*, if he had then received it himself, without any to communicate with him? If so, then it is *in vain* for a priest of the Church of Rome to receive it alone without communicants: and St. Chrysostom, who is brought to justify masses without communicants, plainly condemns them as vanity. After the priest has received the eucharist in both kinds distinct, then he is to drink up the whole cup, together with the piece of bread he had put into it; and after that, if there be any communicants, he is to distribute to them; that is, he is to give them the body or the bread only; which is so directly contrary to our Saviour's institution, who says expressly, *Drink ye all of this*, as nothing can be more so; and is also contrary to the universal practice of the Church for 1100 years. For Cardinal Bona himself says, that *from the first foundation of the Church to the twelfth century, always and in every place, the faithful communicated under the species of bread and wine: in the beginning of that century the use of the cup began by little and little to be laid aside; many bishops forbidding it to the people, by reason of the danger there might be of irreverence or of shedding it, which was inevitable when the multitude of the faithful was increased; amongst which there would certainly be some less careful and intent, and not so devout as they should be. This alteration was at first made by divers bishops in their own Churches, and*



*then was established for all by a Canonical sanction in the Council of Constans ;\** that is, in the year 1414, about an hundred years before the Reformation. But was not the multitude of the faithful as numerous before the twelfth century as after ? The nations amongst whom this practice of detaining the cup was introduced, were all converted to the Christian faith many ages before the twelfth century ; so that this plea, if it be of any weight, (as I think it is not) condemns all the preceding ages of want of a due reverence to the sacrament : nay, which is infinitely worse, it condemns Christ himself, as if he had not foreseen what multitudes would come into his Church, and that he should require *all* to drink of this cup, when it was not fit that *all*, or indeed *any but the officiating priest, should* drink of it. This is therefore a most scandalous practice, which the Romanists have not been able to justify, neither can do. But I think I need not spend time in refuting a practice which the Romanists themselves acknowledge was so very lately introduced into their own Church, and which by their own confession is contrary to the practice of the universal Church above 1100 years. I have now done with the Roman Canon, as far as concerns the prayers and the distribution of the eucharist ; and have, I trust, shewed, that as it was certainly written later than any other Missal or Liturgy here published, so it is less agreeable to the traditional Liturgy derived from the Apostles than any of the rest, and at least as corrupt and erroneous as any of them ; though such has been the misfortune of the Church, that there is scarce one of them except the Clementine that appears free from corruption. But then if we examine the Rubrics also, which are of a much later date than the prayers in this canon, we must say they are abominably superstitious and idolatrous. The multitude of crossings, the several postures of the priest, sometimes extending his hands, sometimes joining them together, looking first up, then down, kissing the altar, kneeling down and rising up without apparent

\* Semper & ubiq ; ab Ecclesiæ primordiis usq ; ad sæculum 12um sub specie panis & vini communicarunt fideles, cæpitque paulatim ejus sæculi intro usus calicis obsolescere, plerisq ; episcopis cum populo interdicentibus ob periculum irreverentiæ & effusionis, quod inevitabile erat aucta fidelium multitudine, in qua deesse non poterant minus cauti & attentis & parum religiosi. Hæc autem mutatio facta est primum a diversis episcopis in suis Ecclesiis, deinde in Synodo Constantiensi canonica sanctione pro omnibus stabilita. *Bona de Reb. Liturg. lib. 2, cap. 18, p. 862, 863.*

reason for it, taking the paten between his fore-finger and middle-finger, signing himself with the paten, with other things expressly enjoined by the Rubrics of pope Pius and the Council of Trent, make the service appear perfectly theatrical, and are utterly unbecoming the gravity of so sacred an institution: and to enjoin such rules and gestures, and make it faulty wilfully to omit any of them, is superstitious. But then requiring the priest, as soon as he has pronounced what they call the words of consecration, to bow down and worship the host, and then to hold it up to the people and oblige them to worship it also; this, unless transubstantiation could be proved, has a strong appearance of idolatry, and looks like paying that worship to a creature which is only due to God, the Creator of all. These things made it necessary, for those Churches on whom this Missal had been long imposed, as soon as they became sensible of the manifold errors and corruptions of it, to seek for proper means how they might have the holy eucharist duly and regularly administered, free from corruption and dangerous worship; and accordingly they set about it as soon as they found themselves in a capacity to effect it. How this was done in other countries, I shall not now trouble myself to enquire; but in this realm.

§ 41. In the second year of king Edward VI. A.D. 1548, a committee of select bishops and divines was appointed to examine and reform the offices of the Church, by order of, or at least at the desire of, the convocation:\* and the whole service or Common Prayer Book was reformed by them, and soon after established by convocation and parliament.† And the parliament had that high opinion of the Common Prayer Book thus drawn up, that they declared it to be done *by the aid of the Holy Ghost*. The communion office so drawn up and confirmed, (which makes a part of that Common Prayer Book) is that here published, and of which I am now to give an account. Now the Roman office being the communion office that had hitherto been used in this nation, they thought it not proper to deviate from that, further than they judged absolutely necessary, or at least highly expedient. And therefore, as bishop Burnet observes, *They set one general*

\* Bishop Atterbury's Rights, &c. of an English Convocation. 2nd edit. pp. 197, 198.

† 2. 3. Ed. VI. cap. 1.

rule to themselves, (which they afterwards declared) of changing nothing for novelty's-sake, or merely because it had been formerly used: they resolved to retain such things as the Primitive Church had practised, cutting off such abuse as the latter ages had grafted on them; and to continue the use of such other things, which though they had been brought in not so early, yet were of good use to beget devotion, and were so much recommended to the people by the practice of them, that the laying these aside would perhaps have alienated them from the other changes they made.\* First then, after the priest has prepared the elements, and put them upon the paten and in the cup, mixing the wine with a little pure and clean water, as is ordered also in the Roman Missal, he begins with the usual suffrages, *The Lord be with you, Lift up your hearts, &c.*, he proceeds in the eucharistic form as far as the conclusion of the Seraphic hymn, *Holy, Holy, Holy, &c.* So many also of the proper prefaces for festival days are retained as was then thought expedient. Then as the Roman Canon is a little confused in the intercession or prayer for the state of Christ's Church, some part of the intercession preceding, and some of it following the consecration for the commemoration of the dead; and the petition for themselves that are there present in the Mass book follows the oblation, though the prayer for the Church in general, and the commemoration of the living, precedes it: here they are all put together, as in the most ancient Liturgy, in *the prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church*; which is certainly a much more proper and uniform order. In this intercession also is a petition for the king, and all in authority under him, the want of which I have shewed to be a great failure in the Roman Canon. This intercession also, by leaving out the long roll of saints named in the Canon, is thereby made a much fuller and better intercession than that in the Canon, though it be the shorter of the two. In the petition for God's blessing on the elements to make them the body and blood of Christ, the Holy Spirit is expressly mentioned, as in the ancient Liturgies. And after the words of institution, is a most excellent form of oblation and thankful remembrance of Christ's death. After which follows the Lord's Prayer. Then instead of the suffrages in the Roman Canon, *O Lamb of God,*

\* Hist. of Reformat. Vol. II. p. 69. 1th edit.



*that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us, grant us thy peace* ; a confession is made, that we believe *Christ, our Paschal Lamb, to be offered up for us once for all*. Then the priest invites those that are truly penitent to receive these holy mysteries, and as a testimony of their repentance, to make an humble confession of their sins ; which being done, he prays that they may be absolved from them, agreeable to the prayer which is used in almost all the Greek and Eastern Liturgies, called *the prayer at the bowing of the head*. Then the priest having recited some comfortable texts of the New Testament, to raise in the hearts of the people a lively faith of God's mercies, through Christ, humbly prays not for himself alone, as in the Roman Canon ; but that he, and all there present, may receive the benefit of those holy mysteries. Which confession, absolution, and prayer of humble access, though more particular, is nevertheless agreeable to the prayer ordered to be made by the bishop or officiating priest in the Clementine Liturgy, immediately before he says, *Holy things are for holy persons*, and so proceeds to receive and administer the sacred elements, as the priest is also appointed to do in this Liturgy as soon as he has concluded this last prayer. Then as to the Rubrics or directions, they are all grave and serious, and becoming the dignity of such an holy mystery : the theatrical gestures are all removed, and the multitude of crossings reduced to two only ; and the adoration of the host entirely taken away. However this Liturgy, though thus reformed with so much care and judgment, did not please the followers of Calvin, who were even then too numerous in this realm, and were also persons of very great power. These soon gave Calvin an account of what had been done, and he quickly made many exceptions to it. And to please him and his partizans here, it was quickly brought under a review, and made more agreeable to Calvin's liking. I know some will have it, that this alteration was not made to please Calvin and his partizans ; but all our historians say the contrary. Dr. Heylin particularly proves it by unquestionable evidence ; saying thus to his adversary with whom he disputes concerning the altar ; which word, though used in the first Liturgy, was thrown out of the second Liturgy of Edward VI. He says :—" Now for the *alteration* of the *Liturgy*, which did indeed draw with it a full and final alteration in the thing now talked of, you take great pains to make it visible unto the world

that Calvin had no finger in it. It had been happy for this Church, if he and Beza could have kept themselves to their meditations, and not been *curiosi in aliena republica*, as they were too much.\* Then he shews from Calvin's epistles, and other clear testimonies which are indisputable, (as the curious reader may be satisfied if he consults the book itself, being too many to be here transcribed) that "leaving the word *altar* out of the Common Prayer Book last established, and **other alterations** which were therein made, grew not from any scandal taken at the altars by the country people, but a dislike that Calvin had conceived against the Liturgy."† And thus, "The alteration of king Edward's Liturgy proceeded rather from some motions from without, than any great dislike at home: the king declaring in his answer to the Devonshire men, that the Lord's Supper, as it was then administered, was brought even to the very use as Christ left it, as the Apostles used it, and as the holy fathers delivered it. And in the act of parliament by which that book was called in, it was affirmed to be agreeable to God's Word and the Primitive Church."‡ So that we find both king and people were satisfied with it, and had no fault to find with it, even when they consented to alter it, and establish another in its stead: which I shall also observe was done without consulting the convocation, as was done in the establishment of the first Liturgy. And I am persuaded that it will not appear that the second Liturgy, which is almost the same with that now used, ever passed a convocation, or was established by any ecclesiastical authority, till the restoration of king Charles II., so that for so long time it stood upon pure regal and parliamentary authority. However it has now the authority of convocation also. I will therefore very briefly examine the material alterations made on this occasion.

In the first place, the *mixing water with the wine* was laid aside, though that appears to have been the practice of the Universal Church from the Apostles' days to this Reformation. Then the general intercession, though appointed to be said after the bread and wine are placed on the table, yet seems to be excluded from the proper communion service or Canon, which it always made a part of, since the priest does not begin his exhor-

\* Antidotum Lincolnense, p. 110.

† Ibid. p. 120.

‡ Ibid. p. 121.

tation to the people to prepare and examine themselves, whether they are duly qualified to come to the altar, till after that prayer is ended. Another alteration made in that prayer, is, that the faithful departed are not only not prayed for there, but actually excluded by the words the priest is required to say before he begins it; *Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church Militant here on earth.* Which last words I believe never were set before any prayer used in a Christian Church till that time. Indeed, after the restoration of king Charles II. a thanksgiving was added with relation to the saints departed; but the words *Militant here on earth* were still left in the title of the prayer, to shew that no words in that addition should be construed to be a prayer in their behalf, as perhaps some of them might otherwise have been. "Though," as Mr. Thorndike says, "there is the same ground to believe the communion of saints in the prayers, which those that depart in the highest favour of God make for us, in the prayers which we make for those that depart in the lowest degree of favour with God, that there is for the common Christianity; namely, the Scriptures, interpreted by the perpetual practice of God's Church. Therefore there is ground enough for the faith of all Christians, that those prayers are accepted which desire God to hear the saints for us, to send the deceased in Christ rest and peace, light and refreshment, and a good trial at the day of judgment, and accomplishment of happiness after the same. And seeing the abating of the first form under Edward VI. hath wrought no effect, but to give them that desire it an appetite to root out the whole; what thanks can we render to God for escaping so great a danger, but by sticking firm to a rule that will stick firm to us, and carry us through any dispute in religion, and land us in the heaven of a quiet conscience; what troubles soever we may pass through, in maintaining, that the Reformation of the Church will never be according to the rule which we ought to follow, till it cleave to the Catholic Church of Christ in this particular."\* This quotation I borrowed from bishop Hicckes, who made use of it to justify the prayer for the saints departed in the intercession in the communion office of the first Liturgy of Edward VI. which he published in his Appendix to his third edition of his "Christian

\* Weights and Measures, chap 22. p. 159.



Priesthood:" and therefore plainly appears to be his opinion also. But to return to the alterations made from this first Liturgy: they have preposterously placed the confession, and absolution, and prayer of humble access, before the consecration; whereas these prayers answering to the prayer called the *prayer at the bowing of the head* in all the ancient Liturgies, ought, as it is there, and in the first Liturgy of king Edward, to have been placed after it. Then the confession which in that Liturgy precedes the confession of sins, beginning *Christ our Paschal Lamb, &c.* though expressed in the very language of the holy Scripture, is entirely left out. The additional clause to the seraphic hymn, *Hosannah in the highest, &c.* though taken also from the Scripture, is cast out. Then in the prayer of consecration itself, the petition that God *with his Holy Spirit and Word would vouchsafe to bless and sanctify the gifts*, is also omitted, which Mr. Bingham has proved,\* and I trust I have also done the same,† was believed to be essentially necessary to the consecration; so that without a prayer to that effect, I cannot conceive the elements to be consecrated. But not content with this, the Reformers of the first reformed Liturgy have also put out the prayer of oblation and thankful remembrance of Christ's death, which is certainly made an essential part of this sacrament by the very words of institution, as recorded in Scripture, when our Saviour says, *Do or offer this in remembrance of me.* And the Church Catechism also teaches the communicants, that they ought to have a thankful remembrance of Christ's death. But to please Calvin, for I can see no other reason for it, they are not permitted to express their thanks openly. And so much of this prayer as the second Reformers thought expedient to retain, was cast into the Post-communion Office, not to be used till after the bread and wine were distributed and consumed; that so there might be nothing like the making an oblation of the gifts unto God, which otherwise might have been implied in these words wherein God is desired, of his *fatherly goodness, mercifully to accept this sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving.*

The learned bishop Hicke takes notice of this, and says, "In the changes made in that office, the word *altar*, which had been used in all ages of the Church before, even in the purest as well

\* Supr. §. 27.

† Supr. §. 18

as the most corrupt, was left out of the rubrics. And the prayer of oblation, which had been ever used before the delivery of the sacrament, in which we pray God *mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving*, was put into the Post-communion after the Lord's Prayer, of which I read thus in my interleaved Common Prayer Book: 'This prayer in king Edward VI.'s Service Book was set before the delivery of the sacrament to the people, and followed immediately after the consecration, as certainly it was the better and more natural order of the two. Neither do I know whether it were the printer's negligence or no thus wrongfully to displace it. For the consecration of the sacrament being ever the first, it was always used in all Liturgies to have the oblation follow, (which is this) and then the participation which was before and after all the thanksgivings, which is here set next before **Gloria in Excelsis**. In regard whereof, I always observed my lord Overall, the reverend bishop of Norwich, to use this oblation in its right place, when he had consecrated the sacrament, to make an oblation of it (as being the true and public sacrifice of the Church) unto God; that by the merits of Christ's death, which was now commemorated, all the Church of God might receive mercy, &c. as in this prayer; and when that was done, he did communicate the people, and so end with the thanksgiving following hereafter. If men would consider the nature of this sacrament, how it is the Christian sacrifice also, they could not chuse but use it so too. For as it stands here, it is out of its place.' " \*

Thus have we the opinion of two very learned bishops of the Church of England, bishop Overall and bishop Hicke, together with that of a learned divine, who wrote this in the interleaved Prayer-book concerning this alteration. And we may be satisfied from the alterations made in the prayer itself, that it was not thus misplaced through the negligence of the printer, as it seems to be here questioned, whether it might not be so or not. But I have before spoken concerning the necessity of the oblation, and thankful remembrance of Christ's death, † and therefore need say no more of it here. Another alteration then made was the casting the Lord's Prayer also into the Post-communion, contrary to the practice of all the Liturgies which have used that prayer in

\* Prefatory Discourse in Answer to the Rights, &c. p. 63. 3rd edit.

† Supr. §. 14. 17.

the Communion Office. What reason or pretence of reason those who made these alterations had for this, I cannot pretend to guess. Certain it is, that the petition, *Give us this day our daily*, or substantial bread, as it is in St. Cyril, is much more proper to be said before the bread and the cup are eaten and drank, than after they are so consumed. Then at the distribution of the elements, the old words, "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life, and the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life," were changed for those words, "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving," and "drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful." By which those who made these alterations, shewed that they were afraid the communicants should believe the bread and wine to be in any sense the body and blood of Christ. Though our Saviour, when he instituted this sacrament, plainly called the bread his body, and the cup his blood, and therefore had undoubtedly made them so in some sense, though not by transubstantiation. But in the first year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the old words were restored and set before the new form, and so both sentences have been ever since used at the distribution of the sacrament in the Church of England. Though the last of them is purely new, and was never seen in any Liturgy till these second Reformers brought it into this, when they made so many unaccountable and unjustifiable alterations in the Communion-office. These alterations made at the instigation of Calvin, (who may be justly called the Protestant Pope, being for a great while thought by some to be as infallible as his holiness of Rome is by others) have been plainly displeasing to several bishops and other eminent divines of the Church of England, who though, for peace sake, they complied with them, yet have occasionally shewn their dislike of them. Bishop Overall, and the learned divine that speaks of his practice in the administration of the eucharist, Dr. Heylin in his *Antidotum Lincolnense*, Mr. Thorndike in his *Weights and Measures*, and bishop Hickes in his prefatory Epistle to the Rights, &c. and his *Christian Priesthood*, as I have before observed, have plainly shewed that they wished these alterations had not been made. Archbishop Laud shewed his dislike of the laying aside the mix-



ture of water with the sacramental wine, by his restoring it in his own practice when he was minister of All-Hallows, Barking, where that custom of putting water into the cup has been continued ever since. He also shewed that he could have wished the petition, "Vouchsafe to bless and sanctify with thy Word and Holy Spirit these thy gifts," and the Prayer of Oblation and thankful remembrance of Christ's Death, had not been omitted, since he restored both in the Liturgy provided for the Church of Scotland, and that he approved not of the Lord's Prayer being cast into the Post-communion, restoring that in the Scotch Liturgy to the place it had in the first of King Edward's. Dr. Grabe makes very honourable mention of this first Liturgy of Edward VI. and of the Scotch Liturgy, and it is well known he would receive the eucharist here by no other English form.\* I have not observed that Mr. Johnson says any thing of King Edward's first Liturgy, or the alterations made in the second, but he plainly shews, that he thinks the present form of the Church of England is essentially defective in the Communion-office, when he says, "That such priests and pious discerning laymen as are convinced of the truth and necessity of the primitive sacrifice, and do not think that the public provision for it is sufficient, should supply such defects, as well as they can, by their own private silent devotions."† And again, "In the mean time let every pious, well instructed Christian pray with good King Hezekiah, 'The good Lord grant atonement for every heart that directs itself to seek the Lord God of their fathers, though not according to the purity of the sacrament or holy institution.'"‡ But what need can there be of supplying such defects, or of making such a prayer, if the sacrament is purely and rightly administered according to the holy institution in the Communion-Office of the Church of England?

§ 42. Now some persons who were convinced by bishop Hiekes's and Mr. Johnson's arguments, that there were essential defects in the present Communion Service of the Church of England, but could not be of the mind to think that such defects in a public Office of Communion could be effectually supplied by pri-

\* Not. in Apol. Just. Mart. pag. 127.

† Prefatory Epistle to Unbloody Sacrifice, p. 22.

‡ Unbloody Sacrifice, part ii. p. 149.

vate devotions, thought it expedient to desire that either the first Liturgy of King Edward VI. might be restored, or at least such prayers and directions as were believed by them to be essentially necessary to the due celebration of the eucharist. For my own part, as I was fully convinced of some of these defects before I left the public communion, I did endeavour to supply them the best I could without making a public declaration of my opinion. I left out the words, *Militant here on earth*, and said only, *Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church*: conceiving that if those words were omitted, the petition, **That with them we may be partakers of thy heavenly kingdom**, might fairly be interpreted as a prayer for the saints departed, *that they as well as we might have a joyful resurrection, and be made together partakers of everlasting happiness*. And immediately after the words of institution, before I administered or received the elements, I privately said the prayer of oblation and invocation, very near the same as it is in the Clementine Liturgy. Or if I received where any other priest administered, as soon as he had said the words of institution, I privately used that prayer. When I had quitted the public communion, and joined myself to the communion of bishop Hickea, though I had not any particular directions from him, (he being so afflicted with stone and gravel when he received me to communion, which was the last time I saw him, that I had not opportunity to ask what he would direct on this occasion) yet from what I had formerly heard him say in conversation, and from what he had published in print, I conceived I might very reasonably conclude that I had his authority, or at least his leave, to do those things which he had so much recommended in his public writings. I from that time, when I did administer the eucharist, always *mixed water with the wine*; I left out the words, *Militant on earth*, and I said the prayer of *oblation* and *invocation* aloud. Other persons, who were sensible of these defects in the established communion office, endeavoured to supply them in such manner as they thought most expedient, some one way, some another, which broke our uniformity. This being observed by some amongst us, some months after the death of bishop Hickea, they thought it adviseable to lay the case before their superiors, and to desire their directions in these points, that the uniformity might not be broken. Hereupon the bishops and several presbyters met to consult what was to be done in this mat-

ter ; but the major part declared, that as there was a Liturgy established, the way to preserve uniformity was to stick close to that, and they had no authority to recede one tittle from it. That as to the matters proposed concerning *Mixing water with the sacramental wine, praying for the faithful departed, making an oblation of the elements, and invoking the descent of the Holy Ghost to sanctify and bless the cup*, some said they were indeed *desideranda* ; however it was not seasonable to introduce them at this time, and others seemed not to approve of them at any time. But as there were some there of both orders who thought these things to be essentially necessary to the eucharist, they very much pressed, that as there was an English Liturgy made in the second and third years of Edward VI. which contained all that was now desired, the Communion might be administered amongst us according to that office ; or at least that some of the prayers and directions in that Communion Office might be added to the present office. But the majority still insisted that they were obliged to adhere to the present Liturgy, and could make no alterations in it. Those therefore who believed and were firmly persuaded that these were necessary points, and that *what was proposed was an essential part of religion, thought that in this case no fear of its consequences might dissuade from or justify the refusal of it ; but that each one must faithfully discharge his duty, and leave the event to God's all-wise Providence, which overrules all things, and can easily make them work together for good to them who love him.\** And finding that their brethren would by no means join with them to make these alterations, they saw a separation was unavoidable. For how could they continue in communion with those from whom they could not receive the communion unmaimed ? And they could not receive the communion from them, unless they would receive it *without the mixture ; without prayer for the saints departed, without an oblation, and without an invocation for a blessing on the elements*, when they believed those things to be essential to the Christian sacrifice. However, that they might, if possible, prevent such an unhappy schism, they made these proposals for preventing a separation : “ 1. That water be constantly mixed with the wine. 2. That the words *militant here on earth* be

\* No Reason, &c. p. 80, 81.



always omitted. 3. That the petition in the prayer of consecration be always, *Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee; Bless these thy creatures of bread and wine; and grant that we &c.* 4. That the prayer of oblation, as it is worded in the present Liturgy, be used immediately after the words of institution, before communicating. Farther, notwithstanding our persuasion, that none of these primitive usages can be dispensed with, yet we don't insist upon their being received by our brethren as necessary things; provided they officiate by them, they may, if they please, declare their practice means no more than temporary concessions and expedients for union. These are the utmost lengths for an accommodation we can offer, and which we earnestly desire may be received."\*

However our brethren thought it not proper to comply with these proposals, whereby the schism became unavoidable. Which I hope God was pleased to permit, that he may bring good out of this evil; that this controversy being publicly controverted in print, not the *Non-jurors* only, (who are now reduced to a very inconsiderable number) but those also who are of the public communion of the Church of England, might see themselves concerned in it. And that if these things are necessary, as two of the most learned of their own presbyters, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Bingham, have proved them to be, they have just reason to question whether the Holy Eucharist be administered amongst them "in such wise as our Lord and Saviour did, and commanded to be done, as his Holy Apostles used it, and the good fathers in the Primitive Church frequented it:" which the Church of England says, *we must be sure of especially.*† And that by finding what great defects there are in the present Communion Office, they may be induced, as soon as God affords them the means for it, (which I trust in his own good time he will do) to make it more perfect and exactly agreeable to the primitive standard.

It is well known, that immediately after the Revolution, there appeared a great zeal in many of the highest governors both in Church and State to make several alterations in the Liturgy, in order to bring the Dissenters into the communion of the Church of England: I will by no means deny this to have been a very laudable design; for as archbishop Wake has judiciously said on

\* Vindication of the Reasons and Defence, Part II. p. 90.

† First part of the Homily concerning the Sacrament.

this occasion, "I hope it will not be thought any crime for the bishops and clergy of the Church to be willing to enlarge its communion, by any methods which may be likely to gain others, and yet not injure their own Establishment."\* And sure it will not be more for the honour of the Church of England, or more her interest and advantage, to bring a few Protestant Dissenters into her communion, than to bring the Apostolical and Primitive Catholic Church into it: or more fully and firmly to unite herself to that, by restoring those doctrines and usages which are apparently *Primitive* and *Apostolical*, which she has now laid aside. This will be the most likely means to enlarge the communion of the Church of England, when she can convince her adversaries, that her doctrine and worship are in all respects truly Primitive and Apostolical: when she can shew them that she has retained or restored whatever she finds to have been universally practised in the first three centuries, to the time of the Council of Nice: when she can fully answer that objection the Dissenters have made against her pleading a conformity with the Primitive Church, who say that plea is vain, *when it is manifest that we have left off praying for departed saints, the unction of the sick, the mixing water with the sacramental wine, the chrism, crossing the breast at the consecration of the eucharist, and the baptismal water, with many other things which were retained in the ancient Church, and in the Liturgy of Edward VI.*† Therefore by restoring these and other ancient practices, we may be more likely to gain even these Dissenters, who if they saw the doctrine and worship of the Church of England to be really as primitive as it is pretended to be, could not charge her with deviating from the Primitive Church, whilst she pretends to adhere to it: or at least if they should, she would be able to make them a better answer than she can do now: nay, such an answer as must be prevalent with those amongst them that are men of understanding and sincerity. For all men must see and be sensible that the age of the Apostles, and that of their immediate successors, who were sent by the Apostles, particularly directed by the Holy Ghost, were certainly the best and purest ages of the Church, and a pattern or standard for all that should succeed

\* See Bishop of Lincoln's Speech at Dr. Sacheverel's Trial, printed for John Morphew, 1710, p. 4.

† De Laune's Plea for the Non-Conformists.

them. And therefore a Church reformed according to that standard, has a great advantage above all others to enlarge its communion. Therefore if the Church of England was really so reformed, it would exceedingly tend to gain her proselytes. But now, when any of her Divines pretend to say that she is reformed in all things agreeable to the most pure and primitive Church, her adversaries of all sorts can bring testimonies from Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Cyprian, &c. most eminent and orthodox fathers of the first three centuries, to shew that she is not so. There seems at this time to be a general inclination and disposition in the Divines of the Church of England to enquire into the antiquities of the Christian Church, more than I am persuaded has been at any time since the Reformation: which I hope will induce them to desire to see this Church brought yet nearer to the primitive standard. And though there are but few of us, very few, who have yet endeavoured to make such a primitive reformation; I hope nevertheless there are many, very many, who would be glad to see a reformation of this kind established. For even those *nonjurors* who have thought expedient to condemn what we have done as irregular and unjustifiable, because they conceive we wanted a justifiable authority for the doing it, yet have shewn their approbation of the things themselves, and their desire to have them restored: the author of "No Necessity to alter the Common Prayer," beginning his treatise with these words, *Sir, what you propose as terms of communion, I freely own are desideranda, and should be heartily glad to have them, and many other valuable usages, in a regular way.* Only he dislikes our making a separation on this account, and says that we wanted a competent authority to introduce the use of them. The things themselves then are approved by him, and I trust by all that have a regard to the doctrines and usages of the primitive Church. But the fault is, that we have thought it necessary to introduce these ancient doctrines and usages into present practice, when he thinks we were not at liberty to do it, being before tied down to the strict use of a Liturgy established by the greatest authority of this realm, civil and ecclesiastical. Now in answer to this, and to justify what we have done on this occasion, I shall produce the directions given by the learned and judicious Dr. Hammond in his "Practical Catechism" which I think we have followed. "S. *But what if the particular Church wherein I*



*was baptized shall fall from its own stedfastness, and by authority, or law, set up that, which if it be not contrary to plain words of Scripture, is yet **contrary to the Doctrine or practice of the Universal Church of the first and purest times**; what will meekness require me to do in that case?* C. Meekness will require me to be very wary in passing such judgment on that Church; but if the light be so clear, and the defection be so palpably clear and discernible to all, that I cannot but see and acknowledge it, and in case it be true that I am actually convinced that the particular Church wherein I live is departed from the Catholic Apostolic Church; then it being certain that the greater authority must be preferred before the lesser, and that next the Scripture the Catholic Church of the first and purest times, (especially when the subsequent ages do also accord with that for many hundreds of years) is the greatest authority; it follows that **meekness requires my obedience and submission to the Catholic Apostolic Church, and not to the particular whereto I live**: so far, I mean, as that I am to retain that Catholic Apostolic, and not this novel, corrupt, not Catholic doctrine. And if for my doing so I fall under persecution of the rulers of that particular Church, meekness then requires me patiently to endure it, **but in no case to subscribe to, or act any thing which is contrary to this Catholic doctrine**. S. *But what if I may not be permitted to live in that particular Church without this submission, or such acting; what doth the doctrine of meekness then advise?* C. If the meaning of your words (*may not be permitted to live*) be, that they will put me to death, then meekness saith, I must meekly bear the loss of life itself, and so follow Christ. Or if the meaning be, that they will banish me out of the kingdom, I must venture my cause with God, and meekly submit to that punishment also, and depend on God's providence for my preservation in some other. Or if the meaning be, that they will divest me of my possessions, mulct or otherwise punish me, the answer is still clear, because all these are less than one loss of life is supposed to be. S. *But what if they should excommunicate me? has the doctrine of meekness any salvo for me then, or any thing which it requires of me?* C. Yes: meekly to lie under the censure, supposing that I am not excommunicated from the Catholic Apostolic Church of Christ by any such censure, but rather so much the

more firmly united to it by this means. Nor am I obliged in this case to seek out some other particular Church, which will receive me into their communion, out of which this has ejected me; but to submit to that lot contentedly, which God permits to befall me in the discharge of a good conscience. And in this case, as long as I continue constant to the doctrine of the Catholic Church, and maintain the inward communion, (that of charity) with all the true Churches of God, wheresoever they are, and with all particular Churches, (even with this that has excommunicated me) so far as to embrace them with the arms of Christian charity, to join even with erroneous Churches, so far as they are not erroneous, *i. e.* to embrace all Catholic truth wheresoever it is, separating only from the corruptions of it, (and that too only because they will not permit me externally to join with them in the Catholic truths and communion, unless I will profess to join in their corruptions also) in this case, I say, it is no fault of mine, if it should so happen that I live in no external public communion at all. The true Christian thus patiently abiding the good pleasure of God, ceaseth not to be such, by being cast upon a desert or other equal hermitage in the midst of men and Christians. Though after all this, if there be any purer Church that will receive me, or if any Church equally corrupt will yet give me liberty to join with them in the public service of God, without complying or joining with them (or seeming and appearing to the scandal of others so to do) in their corruption, I doubt not but it is lawful for me to associate with them, unless my particular calling or condition be such, as that (by some accident) some sin be consequent to my doing thus, as the forsaking those I am bound to cleave to, and the like. S. *But what if this particular erroneous Church, of which I am, do not excommunicate or exclude me from her communion, what doth meekness then prescribe in respect of that communion?* C. To communicate with her in all but her corruptions. My meaning is this, some other obligations there are upon every Christian (wherein meekness interposeth not) which do require me not to depart from any Catholic Apostolic truth or practice, at least not to submit to (or act) the contrary, or to do any thing which is apt to confirm others in so doing, or lead those that doubt (by my example) to do what they doubt to be unlawful. For in all these particulars, the Christian law of scandal obliges me not only not to yield to

any schism from the Catholic Apostolic Church, or other the like corruption, but not to do those things by which I shall be thought by prudent men to do so. And therefore thus far I must abstain. But this caution being given and observed, meekness then requires me, as far as I may without breach of these obligations, to communicate with that particular Church as long as I live in her arms; but permits me also to **seek out for some purer Church**, if that may conveniently be had for me. **Now, if I am by my calling fitted for it, and can prudently hope to plant (or contribute to the planting) such a pure Apostolic Church where there is none, or to reconcile and restore peace between divided members of the Church Catholic, my endeavour to do so is in this case extremely commendable, and that which God's providence seems to direct me to by what is thus befallen me."** \*

Now by what the catechist here says to his scholar, we may see that it was this learned person's opinion, and which he backs with very good arguments, that if the Church in which we have been baptized deviates from the Catholic and Apostolic Church, we are bound at all hazards to stick to the Catholic Apostolic Church, and not to that particular Church, although the points wherein that particular Church differs from the Catholic, are not contrary to plain words of Scripture: and that he had very good reason to teach such doctrine; for the Church which Christ founded was the Catholic Apostolic Church, and all other Churches are united to Christ no otherwise than as they are united to that Church which he and his Apostles established; therefore it is every one's duty to keep united to that Church: consequently if the particular Church wherein I live has departed from the union of the Catholic Apostolic Church in the first and purest times, as soon as I become sensible of this, I am obliged to quit that particular Church, that by adhering to it in these corruptions, I may not separate from the Universal Church in the best and purest times. But then the learned Doctor seems to say, that I am still to join in the public service of that erroneous Church where I live, if she will permit me to do it without joining in her corruptions. I say he *seems* to say so, for he puts in so many limitations and restrictions in the case, as makes it almost

\* Lib. 2. §. 1. p. 31. as printed in the first volume of the Doctor's Work.



impossible for a man to know whether he may join with such a Church or not ; and this he allows on no other terms than if there be no purer Church with which I may join. Therefore, if there be a purer Church with which I may join, the Doctor plainly says I may seek for it, and puts me no longer under any obligation of joining with the erroneous Church on any occasion. *Nay*, says he, *if I am by my calling fitted for it, and can prudently hope to plant (or contribute to the planting) such a pure Apostolic Church, where there is none*, that is, where there is no pure Apostolic Church, *my endeavour to do so, is in this case extremely commendable*. Now this we conceive to have been our case. We found the Church of England had *by authority and law set up that ; which, if it be not contrary to plain words of Scripture, is yet contrary to the doctrine or practice of the Universal Church in the first and purest times, and the defection so palpably discernible to all, that we could not but see and acknowledge it*. It was evident that she had by authority and law set up an office for the ministration of the holy communion, without appointing any *mixture of water with the sacramental wine* : this, if not contrary to plain words of Scripture, we found contrary to the practice of the Universal Church in the first and purest times, as appears from the testimonies of Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, and St. Cyprian. But a learned gentleman has been pleased to except against these testimonies as insufficient : for which he gives the following reasons :—*First, Because these evidences are only produced in behalf of the mixture, but not examined, and so their testimony signifies nothing*.\* But what he means by examined, I do not understand : the testimonies are plain, clear, and positive. Justin Martyr, as the very reverend and learned Mr. Spinckes observes, *calls the consecrated elements bread, and wine, and water, over which thanks are given*.† What examination does such evidence as this require ? And the testimonies of the other three are as plain. But he adds :—*Nor do they indeed bear the testimony desired of them, and for the which only they are produced ; they have nothing at all to say for the first age, and nothing sufficient for those that follow*. But has St. Cyprian particularly nothing at all to say for the first age ? when he says,

\* No Just Grounds, &c., p. 64.

† Article of Romish Transubstantiation, &c., p. 71.

*Our Lord, by the authority of his own example, taught that the cup was to be mingled with wine and water. Secondly, says he, because they are so thinly sown ; but four in all the world for above three hundred years. This is much too few ; and pray whoever thought or can think it is a sufficient number ?\** In answer to which it may be proper to observe what this gentleman says a little before, where we may see that there has been an answer made to it, which he makes a very insufficient reply to, and then renews the objection here. This learned objector had said, that *during the first three hundred years, there are only four witnesses produced for the mixed cup ; one in Palestine, one in France, another in Egypt, and another at Carthage.* In answer to which it was said :—*And is not this sufficient ? To produce a testimony from every part of the then known world, from Asia, Europe, and Africa, every one of them declaring the mixed cup to be the institution of Christ, is certainly such a proof of this practice, as cannot be shewn for the present Canon of Scripture.* To which this learned gentleman replies :—*What benefit this author propounds to himself, by undervaluing our evidence for the Canon of Scripture, I know not ; but I wish he would well consider it with himself.* But I must needs say, it is *this learned gentleman*, not that author, who undervalues the Canon of Scripture. For that author thinks four witnesses in about three hundred years a very sufficient evidence ; such an evidence, that if there had been but half the number, ought not to have been rejected : and says, so many witnesses during that time cannot be produced for the Canon of Scripture. But does he therefore say that there is not sufficient evidence for the Canon of Scripture ? I dare engage for him he never had such a thought. All Christians are agreed that the Canon of Scripture is sufficiently proved, though there are not four evidences of it during above three hundred years, and yet this learned gentleman says, *Who ever thought or can think this a sufficient number ?* Therefore if he cannot produce (as I am sure he cannot) more than four witnesses for the Canon of Scripture, as express as we have for the mixture, for above three hundred years, according to him no man can think this a sufficient number, and so we are like to lose the Canon of

\* Dominus Calicem docuerit exemplo Magisterii sui vini & aquæ conjunctione misceri. *Cypr. ad Cæcil Epist. lxiii.*



Scripture, if no man will be satisfied with less evidence than this gentleman requires. In a word, who is it that undervalues our evidence for the Canon of Scripture, he that allows it to be sufficient, as that author does, or he that says such evidence, nay more in number, is not a sufficient number, as this gentleman does? I wish he would well consider it with himself. But now comes the demonstration, that this is by no means sufficient *to prove the mixture an universal practice*. For he says, "Give me leave to argue in the same manner for withholding the cup in the eucharist. It is plain this is done at Lyons; and suppose there could be found an evidence for it in the East Indies, and another in Guinea, here would be as certain evidence as for that of the mixture in the same three parts of the world. Yet of what validity this would be, if you please we will try in Europe. Will this usage at Lyons prove the holy eucharist to be celebrated in one kind only amongst the Greeks in the Turkish part of Europe? Will it prove it to be so throughout all the vast territories of the Czar, or in the European Tartary? Will it prove it to be so through the dominions of the king of Prussia, or in Sweden or Denmark? Nay, will it prove it to be so in the Churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland, or any one of them? So far from this, that a great part of us can remember when it would not have proved it so much as for France. So poor and inconclusive an argument is this.—What opinion must one have of the understandings of mankind, before he can imagine they will be put upon with such trash as this?" And I must say, I cannot think what opinion he must have of our understandings, to hope to impose upon them with such trash as he has here given us. How does he know, that the cup in the eucharist is withheld in the Church of Lyons, but only as it is withheld in all Churches of that communion? Has he ever seen the communion administered in the Church of Lyons? Or has he particularly examined the practice of that Church? It is possible he may; but if he has not, he may conclude it, because it is a Church in communion with the Church of Rome, which does so withhold the cup, and therefore a man that knows nothing of the Church of Lyons but that it is of that communion, may know this to be practised there. And we know the cup is so withheld in all Churches of that communion, whether they be in the East Indies, or in Guinea, in Greece or Muscovy, in Sweden or Denmark, nay in



England, Scotland, and Ireland. But we know that the contrary is practised in other Churches in all these places, that is, by those that are of a different communion from the Church of Rome or of Lyons. And did ever any of us say that the testimony of Justin Martyr, or of Irenæus, or of Clemens Alexandrinus, or of St. Cyprian, for the mixture, was an evidence that those Christians who were not of their communion, though they might dwell in the same cities with them, did mix the cup? We think it sufficient proof of the practice of all that were of their communion, which I hope this learned gentleman will allow to have been the truly Catholic and Apostolic Church: and we are not at all concerned at what might be done by those who were not of that communion. If this gentleman can discover any amongst those that were not of their communion who did not mix the cup, but administered with wine only, we shall not be uneasy at the discovery. If he is disposed to chuse a communion different from that of these ancient fathers, he must do as he thinks fit, for our parts we are resolved to adhere to the communion of that Church in which these fathers lived and died: and we conceive their evidence is a good evidence, that the mixture was the practice of the whole Catholic and Apostolic Church in the ages wherein they lived, even as the practice of the Church of Lyons, in withholding the cup in the eucharist, is an evidence that the cup is so withheld in all Churches in the world, which are of the same communion. I thought it proper to answer this objection particularly, because, weak as it is, yet being urged as a demonstration, it might impose upon some who might not readily see where the fallacy lies. For we do not urge the testimony of the fathers as an evidence of the practice of all sects of Christians, but only as an evidence of the practice of that Church wherewith they held communion, that is, the Catholic and Apostolic Church. But he urges, the practice of the Church of Lyons is no evidence of the practice of other Churches, which hold no communion with it, which is nothing at all to the purpose; whereas he ought to have proved it, that the practice of the Church of Lyons was no proof of the practice of all other Churches of that communion; but that was what he could not do, the contrary being so manifest in that particular point he puts down for an example, the withholding the cup in the eucharist. For he says, *It is plain this is done at Lyons*. But how is this plain or known to every

body? Only it is plain that all who are of the Roman communion, wheresoever they are, whether at Lyons, or in any other place, do so withhold the cup. Therefore where we have the clear evidence of the doctrine or practice of any one Church in any material point which they maintain as necessary, as St. Cyprian plainly teaches the mixture to have been, we may safely conclude it to have been the doctrine of the Universal Church. And if this be not allowed as a sufficient evidence, there can be no evidence for the Canon of Scripture, or for any one practice of the Christian Church, for the first three centuries. For considering what a small number of authors of those ages have been transmitted to us, if this learned gentleman will not allow the testimony of one, two, three, or four of those, especially when this is corroborated by the subsequent evidence of general Councils, and the Liturgies of all Churches, as it is in these controverted points, it is impossible to prove the practice of the Church in any one point not expressly commanded in Scripture. Nay, it is impossible to prove the Scriptures we have to be Scripture. We cannot prove the gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, or St. Luke, to have been written by those Evangelists, or the epistle to the Hebrews to have been written by St. Paul, or that those books which now make up the Canon of the New Testament, are all of them written by Divine inspiration, or that those only were so written, and no other are of equal authority with them. So that those who maintain that this is not sufficient evidence *undervalue our evidence for the Canon of Scripture*, and not those who maintain this evidence to be sufficient. And we have no less evidence for every one of the controverted points. As therefore such evidence is thought sufficient to establish the Canon of Scripture, the observation of the Lord's day, and the baptism of infants, so having at least equal evidence for the mixture, prayer for the dead, the oblation and the invocation, we cannot but think we have sufficient evidence for these practices. And it shews our adversaries to be strangely prejudiced, when they will not allow that to be a good evidence in these points, which they allow to be so in matters of the same nature, that is, in matters which are to be proved by historical evidence only. And the Liturgies here published are good corroborating evidence of the universality of them. For there is no one of all these Liturgies, one or other of which is or has been used in all the

several Churches of Christendom, which has not prescribed the use of mixing water with the sacramental wine, of praying for the faithful departed, of offering the sacred elements after the recital of the words of institution, as the memorial of Christ's death, and which does not invoke the descent of the Holy Ghost, to make them the body and blood of Christ. Only the Roman Canon has not a direct invocation for the descent of the Holy Ghost; however there is a petition that fairly implies it, where God is desired to *make this oblation blessed, firm, established, reasonable and acceptable, that it may be to us the body and blood of Christ*. But as the Roman Missal is perfectly singular in this particular in leaving out the express mention of the Holy Ghost, and in placing this petition before the words of institution, and the prayer of oblation, its authority is of little weight, especially as it is plainly more modern than any of the other Liturgies, and also so contrary to the evidence of the most ancient fathers, who so frequently mention this invocation of the Holy Ghost. And the dissent of one Church, if the Canon could be proved apparently dissentient, where it is so apparently modern in comparison of the rest, is of no force to invalidate an ancient universal practice. And as all these Liturgies agree in these four points, so we find a disagreement betwixt them in all those matters which I have shewed to be corruptions. Thus though incense came to be almost an universal practice, yet where or when to use it, was never agreed upon, and it is used in the *Anaphora* or *Canon Missæ* in very few of these Liturgies. So also prayers to saints, and the extravagant praises given to the Virgin Mary, the dipping a piece of the bread into the cup, the giving the eucharistic bread and wine together in a spoon, are not in every one of these Liturgies, some have omitted one, and some another; as likewise the giving the laity no wine at all, is peculiar to the Roman Missal. So that in all those matters which can be called corruptions, there is a variety amongst the Liturgies; but in the controverted points, there is a perfect harmony and agreement. And being so, we cannot doubt of their being derived from apostolical tradition. For as the most reverend and learned archbishop Wake, speaking of the Liturgies which go under the names of St. Peter, St. Mark, and St. James, which he observes were the ancient Liturgies of the three patriarchal Churches, the Roman, the Alexandrian, and Jerusalem



Churches, first founded or at least governed by those first preachers of Christianity, says in his Dissertation to his Translation of the "Apostolical Fathers," that "since it can hardly be doubted but that those holy Apostles and Evangelists did give some directions for the administration of the blessed eucharist in those Churches, it may reasonably be presumed, that some of those orders are still remaining in those Liturgies which have been brought down to us under their names; and that those prayers wherein they all agree (in sense at least, if not in words) were first prescribed in the same or like terms by those Apostles and Evangelists; nor would it be difficult to make a further proof of this conjecture from the writings of the ancient fathers, if it were needful in this place to insist upon it." Now I trust that in this discourse the proof has been made from the writings of the ancient fathers, and is also corroborated by the evidence of many other ancient Liturgies, beside these he had occasion to take notice of. And we find a perfect harmony between them in the controverted points; so that there can be no doubt but that these things are derived from apostolical tradition. Here are not only the Liturgies which go under the names of the Apostles and Evangelists, spoken of by archbishop Wake, and used in three great patriarchal Churches, but here are also the Liturgies used in all other Churches we have an account of, or at least fragments sufficient to discover their practice in these matters; nay here are the Liturgies used by some of the ancient heretics, and compiled by them, as the Liturgies of Nestorius and Severus, who were heads of parties that left the Catholic communion as early as the fifth century, and yet they agree with the Catholic Liturgies in these things; which they would not have done, if these had not been used by the Church before those separations: for afterwards those that condemned each other as heretics, would not borrow any thing the one from the other. Now such an universal harmony in a matter never settled by any general Council, or any other means by which Christians from all parts of the world might consult together about them, could never happen by chance, or have any other original than that these things were taught and ordered to be practised by the Apostles, and their successors, who were the first founders of Churches in all parts of the world. And as Dr. Hammond says, "*Apostolical traditions*, such as are *truly so*, as well as *apostolical writings*,

are equally the matter of that *Christian's belief*, who is equally secured by the *fidelity* of the conveyance ; that as *one* is *apostolical writing*, so the other is *apostolical tradition*.”\*

Now we have certainly equal evidence, and I trust I have proved it to be so, that these controverted points are apostolical tradition, as we have to prove that the Scriptures of the New Testament, as now received amongst us, are apostolical writings. For we have the testimony of *all times and all places* where we can find a Christian Church, at least as full as we have their testimony, that such a book was written by the Apostle or Evangelist whose name it bears. And if this be not *sufficient testimony*, it is at least *equal testimony* ; and I hope those who maintain that this is not sufficient evidence, will either shew better evidence for the apostolical writings, or forbear for the future to charge this evidence with insufficiency, otherwise the undervaluing the evidence we have for the Canon of Scripture must lie at their door. For considering the distance we live at from Christ and his Apostles in respect of time, this historical or traditional evidence is as good as the nature of the thing is capable of. Finding therefore that the Church of England had so apparently departed from these apostolical traditions, of which we have as good evidence as we have of the apostolical writings, and that her form appointed for ministering the holy communion, *if it be not contrary to plain words of Scripture, is yet contrary to the doctrine or practice of the Universal Church of the first and purest times, with which the subsequent ages do also accord for many hundred years ; and these defects being so palpably discernible that we could not but see and acknowledge it, and being by our calling fitted so as we might prudently hope to plant (or contribute to the planting) a purer and more Apostolic Church*, according to Dr. Hammond's rule and direction, *we thought it commendable so to do*. Having then bishops, priests, and deacons, and a flock also, though a very little one with us, we could not but conceive we made a Church according to St. Cyprian's definition of it, *A people united to their priest, and a flock adhering to their pastor, a bishop in the Church, and the Church in the bishop*.† And conceived, that by restoring

\* Of Heresy, Sect. 3. first volume of his Works, p. 545.

† Illi sunt Ecclesia Plebs Sacerdoti adunata, & pastori suo grex adhærens : unde scire debes Episcopum in Ecclesia esse, & Ecclesiam in Episcopo. *Cyprian. Epist. lxxvi. ad Florentium.*

these primitive usages, we should also answer the definition of the Church of England, which says, *The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure Word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that are of necessity requisite to the same.*\* And in so doing we have followed the doctrine taught by many eminent divines of the Church of England, as Dr. Hammond, Mr. Thorndike, bishop Hicke, archbishop Wake, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Bingham, and others; and what is more than all these, the doctrine of the Church of England itself, that *before all other things, this we must be sure of especially, that this supper be in such wise done and ministered as our Lord and Saviour did, and commanded to be done, as the holy Apostles used it, and the good fathers in the Primitive Church frequented it.*† If it be said, as I think it has been, that these very learned and eminent bishops and divines, whatever they may have said to our purpose, yet have continued, and such of them as are living do still continue, to minister and receive this sacrament according to that form, which we say is erroneous, and not agreeable to the practice of the Universal Church; and the Church of England, whatever doctrine she teaches, has also prescribed that form, and ordered that no other shall be used: we answer, that our Saviour has taught us, that when bishops and divines teach what themselves do not practice, and the same may be said with regard to any particular Church also, we are to have regard to the doctrine, and not the practice. For he says expressly, *The Scribes and Pharisees* (that is, the rulers of the Church of God which then was) *sit in Moses' seat. All, therefore, whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works, for they say and do not.*‡ Wherefore finding the practice of the Church of England to be so plainly different from her doctrine, we thought it our duty, in obedience to our Saviour's command, to relinquish the practice, to observe the doctrine, and therefore composed the communion office here published after the first Liturgy of king Edward VI. for our own use, and the use of those that should approve of it.

\* Art. xix.

† First Part of the Sermon concerning the Sacrament.

‡ Matt. xxiii. 2, 3.



§ 43. In the compiling this office, we had a special regard to the communion office of the Church of England, as a testimony, that according to Dr. Hammond's direction before mentioned, we were willing and desirous still to join with it, where we did not find it erroneous, and to have departed from the doctrine and practice of the Universal Church, if not from the plain words of Scripture, adding some few things out of king Edward's first Liturgy, which though not essential, yet we conceived had been laid aside in the second, without so much as a colour of reason for it, but only to please Calvin: such as *Hosanna in the highest; Blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord*: which is an hymn of praise to our Saviour taught in the gospels. Such also is the naming the *ever-blessed Virgin Mary* in the general intercession, according to what she herself prophesied in her *Magnificat*, where she says, *All generations shall call me blessed*: and such likewise is that *Antiphon*, which begins, *Christ, our Paschal Lamb, is offered for us*, &c. Also in the order wherein the prayers have been placed, we have followed that Liturgy, and particularly have set the confession, absolution, comfortable sentences of Scripture, and prayer of humble access, immediately before the distribution of the elements: in which order of prayers, that Liturgy has followed the general practice of the ancient Church, and the present established Liturgy has deviated from it. But then where both these have deviated from the practice of the Church, there we thought it necessary to follow the much older Liturgies, rather than either of them. Thus we thought it expedient, after the conclusion of the Seraphic hymn, *Holy, Holy, Holy*, &c., to proceed with the eucharistic prayer to the words of institution, according to our Saviour's command, and the order of all the ancient Liturgies but the Liturgy of St. Mark, and the Ethiopic and Roman Missals, as I trust I have sufficiently proved.\* As to the controverted points, (for the sake of which only we thought it necessary to alter the communion office) we have followed the first Liturgy of king Edward VI., excepting where we found it not so agreeable as we could wish to the ancient Liturgies. Therefore we directed the elements to be placed on the table, and wine to be put into the cup, and a little pure and clean water to be put into it

\* Supr. §. 14.

immediately after the offertory. And our prayer for the saints departed is in the very words of that Liturgy. And our oblation and invocation had been the same as there, but that upon examination we found the order of those prayers to be inverted: for whereas in all the ancient Liturgies, except the Roman, the *words of institution, the oblation, and the invocation*, always follow one another in the order I have named them; in this Liturgy the last is put in the first place, and God is petitioned to bless and sanctify the elements by the Holy Ghost, before we have recited the words of institution, and thereby declared or set forth our commission and our duty to perform that service: which though a plain deviation from Catholic practice, as appears from the order observed in all other Liturgies, yet was by no means so material as the total exclusion of this invocation; and therefore had this been the only defect, we should have made no separation on that account: but being obliged to separate, because not an iota could be granted to satisfy us in these necessary things, as I trust they have been proved to be, the want of authority to alter a tittle being urged, we chose rather to follow the much more ancient practice of the Church, than the first Liturgy of king Edward VI. and for that reason only, immediately after the recital of the words of institution, appointed the oblation and invocation to be made in the express words of the most ancient and uninterpolated Liturgy, which is the form that Mr. Johnson says *he is persuaded in his own mind, that if we had the very words in which St. Peter and St. Paul consecrated the eucharist, it would not differ in substance from*—\* and which bishop Hicke has affirmed,† and I trust Mr. Bingham and I have proved to be, the test and standard of all others. However this prayer, which we had so much reason to believe was of unexceptionable authority, is now accused of rank popery, and to favour transubstantiation as much as the most zealous transubstantialist can desire:‡ though the Roman Missal is the only one that wants this prayer of all the Liturgies that preceded the Reformation, and this very petition, which is now accused of popery, was particularly excepted against by the Romanists in their conference with the Greeks at the Council of Florence as

\* Unbloody Sacrifice, Part II. pp. 148, 149.

† Christian Priesthood, p. 141. 3d edit.

‡ No Sufficient Reason, &c. Part II. p. 86. No Just Grounds, &c. Pref. p. 1.

contrary to their doctrine of transubstantiation, as I have already proved.\*

However though I have already, I trust, sufficiently refuted this calumny, where I have largely treated of this prayer, yet having (since I wrote that part of this Treatise) had the happiness to see these very words which are charged with being as express for transubstantiation as the most zealous transubstantiators can desire, produced by the very reverend and learned Mr. Spinckes as a clear evidence against that doctrine, I cannot but take notice of it; in hopes that his authority may induce a *non-juror* to consider them again, and judge who has most reason on their side, the author of "No Sufficient Reason," &c. and "No Just Grounds," &c. when he urges them as a proof, that those who use such a prayer must be the favourers of transubstantiation; or Mr. Spinckes, who produces them as an evident proof against that doctrine. Now Mr. Spinckes has lately published an excellent little treatise against *transubstantiation*, called, "The Article of the Romish Transubstantiation Inquired into and Disproved from Sense, Scripture, Antiquity, and Reason;" for which I take this occasion to return him my hearty thanks in as public a manner as I can. Here he observes, that the great difference betwixt the Church of Rome and us "is not whether the elements in the holy eucharist do, upon their consecration, become our Saviour's flesh and blood, but how, and in what sense, and after what manner they do so."† And again he says, "the question here between us is not, whether our Saviour's body and blood be in the sacrament, which is all that the words of institution teach; nor whether the elements are changed by a miraculous power of the Divine Spirit, so as of common bread and wine to become a supernatural food to our souls, by conveying to the devout Christian all the benefits of our Saviour's body broken, and his blood shed for him, each party being agreed in these points; but whether the bread and wine still retain their own nature, and are spiritually, virtually, and sacramentally, our Saviour's body and blood; or whether they are after an inconceivable manner turned from being any longer bread and wine, into our Saviour's very nature flesh and blood; so as no longer to retain their own nature or substance, but to become flesh and

\* Super §. 18.

† Art of Rom. Transub. p. 2.



blood, though under the appearance, and clothed with all the accidents of bread and wine. The former of these we maintain, namely, that the elements are so changed into our Saviour's body and blood as to remain still bread and wine. On the other hand, those of the Church of Rome teach that they are no more bread and wine, but literally and physically our Saviour's flesh and blood under these appearances."\* Then after many other arguments from reason and Scripture, to prove that our opinion is right, and that of the Church of Rome is wrong, he says, "The words of institution are not tolerable sense, if understood otherwise. For when our Saviour says, *This is my body*, it is certain the particle *this* must have reference to something of which he spake. And if that were his own body, the sense of the words would be, *This my body is my body*; which is too improper an expression to father upon our blessed Lord. If it were bread, the expression is significant enough, and no more exceptionable than multitudes of others, both in the Old and New Testament. And besides, that this is the truest and most genuine exposition of the words, themselves sufficiently inform us, declaring that *he took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you*. For hence it appears, that what he told them was his body, was what he gave them to eat; what he gave them to eat was what he brake; what he brake, was what he blessed; what he blessed, was what he took; and what he took, the text expressly tells us was bread. And it was therefore by necessary and inevitable consequence this bread, of which he said it was his body. Agreeably whereto, the Latin translation of the Ethiopic Version reads the words thus: *Hic panis corpus meum, This bread is my body*; and very justly, this being the only proper sense they will bear. Thus, according to our Lord's own words, it was bread and his body, bread naturally, and his body sacramentally; which is all we contend for."† From whence it is very justly inferred, that where the words *bread* and *Christ's body* are put together in the same sentence, as in this petition now under consideration, they plainly favour our doctrine, and not that of transubstantiation. And therefore amongst other ancient testimonies against this doctrine of the Church of Rome, he produces

\* Art of Rom. Transub. p. 4.

† Ibid. pp. 39, 40.

this passage, which is by the author of "No Sufficient Reason," &c. made to be so express for it, saying, "Here I take occasion to mention also the Apostolical Constitutions, in which we find these words, *That he may shew this bread the body of thy Christ, and this cup the blood of thy Christ.*"\* He makes no remarks at all upon it, but puts it down as a clear and plain evidence in itself, even as plain as that which precedes it, cited from Eusebius, which is, *Having received an order by means of the new covenant to commemorate this sacrifice* (of our Saviour's death for us) *upon the table, by the symbols of his body and his saving blood.* And then immediately, without the intervention of a word, follows what is cited from the Apostolical Constitutions: which, from what Mr. Spinckes has before said upon the words of institution, are necessarily to be thus understood, *That he may shew this*, which is *bread* naturally, *to be the body of thy Christ* sacramentally. However Mr. Spinckes cites them without any limitation or restriction, as they stand in the Constitutions, and as we use them, and thinks them so to be clear enough against the doctrine he is confuting. But perhaps the author of "No Sufficient Reason," &c. and his friends may say, that the passage, as cited by Mr. Spinckes, and as used by us, is different, because he says, *That he may shew this bread the body of thy Christ.* But I must say, that the words *shew* and *make* have really no different signification in this place. For the bread is not naturally Christ's body, even in the sense of the Church of England, but is made so by consecration, being, as I have before observed, Mr. Spinckes says, *changed by a miraculous power of the Divine Spirit.* Therefore to pray, *that the Holy Ghost may shew this bread to be the body of Christ, and the cup his blood*, is no other than to pray that he may *make* them so, since it is necessary that they be *changed by his miraculous power*, as Mr. Spinckes expresses it. And we chose to use the word *make* rather than *shew*, because we conceived it to be plainer English; the expression, *shew this bread the body of thy Christ*, being hardly intelligible to most persons without an interpreter: therefore bishop Hicke translated it, *That he may (make) shew forth this bread to be the body of thy Christ*,† putting the word *make* in a parenthesis, to explain the word *shew forth*, which he thought

\* Art of Rom. Transub. pp. 77, 78.

† Christian Priesthood, p. 124. 3d edit.

the more literal translation of the original. For it must indeed be owned, that the original word ἀποφάνη does properly signify to *demonstrate*, or to *shew plainly and clearly*: but then it also signifies to *make*, and is sometimes used by authors in that sense. And that it is to be used here, is evident from all the Greek and Eastern Liturgies, not one of which wants this petition, and they all use the word ποιεῖν, which properly signifies to *make*; and the Latin translator renders the word ἀποφάνη in this place by the word *efficiat*, *may he effectually make*, and Mr. Johnson\* and Mr. Bingham† do both translate it *make*. Having therefore such good reason and authority to use the word *make* in this place, rather than the word *shew*, we hope we shall not be thought favourers of transubstantiation, which we so heartily declare against, upon that account; especially when this word does really make no manner of difference in the sense of the passage, as I trust I have clearly proved. And therefore if this passage of the Constitutions be an evidence against the doctrine of transubstantiation, as cited by Mr. Spinckes, it is so also as used by us: and I am sure I ever thought it to be so from the time I was acquainted with this prayer; and the Romanists themselves thought it so too in the Council of Florence. And because I thus thought it more opposite to transubstantiation than any thing in the first Liturgy of king Edward VI. was one great reason why I earnestly insisted to have it inserted into the communion office lately compiled; little thinking that this very passage, which I thought so opposite to transubstantiation, would ever be urged against us as favouring that doctrine as much as the most zealous transubstantialist can desire. However, I heartily thank the Reverend Mr. Spinckes for clearing us from this aspersion, by citing this very passage as a plain evidence against that absurd doctrine: for I am persuaded his authority may at least incline some persons to re-consider this passage, who by reading “No Sufficient Reason,” &c. and “No Just Grounds,” &c. may have been made to believe that it is really as express for transubstantiation as can be desired. I confess indeed, the learned author of those two books has not directly said, that the words, *That he may shew or make this bread the body of thy Christ, and this cup the blood of thy Christ*, do

\* Unbloody Sacrifice, Part II. pp. 91. 249.

† Antiquities of the Christian Church, Vol. VI p. 631.



expressly teach the doctrine of transubstantiation. But he has said, that we *require to pray in these words, without any manner of restriction, and in as express terms as C. Du Perron or Bellarmine, or any of the most zealous transubstantiators could ever desire, and beyond what is used in their Canon of the Mass:*\* and that we *have taken upon us to pray, that the bread in the eucharist may be made our Saviour's body, and the cup his blood, as formally and expressly as the forwardest transubstantialist in Europe could do it.*† Which are such words as may lead an unwary reader to believe, that no one can use that prayer who is not a transubstantialist. But Mr. Spinckes has shewn that, in his opinion, it is far otherwise, by citing those very words, without restriction also, as a clear evidence against transubstantiation. And he has also shewn, that the bread in the eucharist may be properly called Christ's body without restriction, and that it has been so called even by those who have given their bodies to be burned, rather than own the doctrine of transubstantiation. For having observed, "That the question is not, whether our Saviour's body and blood be in the sacrament, which is all that the words of institution teach; nor whether the elements are changed by a miraculous power of the Divine Spirit, so as of common bread and wine to become a supernatural food to our souls; — each party being agreed in these points."‡ He tells us in a marginal note, that "this is well expressed by Mr. Bradford the martyr, in the second of his two notable Sermons concerning the Lord's supper. *It is, says he, his body. This I believe, this I confess; and pray you all heartily to beware of these and such like words, that it is but a sign, or a figure of his body: except you will discern betwixt signs which signify only, and signs which also do represent, confirm and seal up, (or as a man may say) give with their signification.*"

Thus we see that Mr. Spinckes has taught us, that Mr. Bradford the martyr, who died at the stake for denying transubstantiation, was not afraid to say that *he believed and confessed that the bread in the eucharist is Christ's body*, without restriction: nay, that he condemns the putting a restriction to it, unless that restriction be explained. And indeed to call the *bread* in the

\* No Sufficient Reason, &c. pp. 85, 86. † No Just Grounds, &c. Preface.

\* Art of Rom. Trans. p. 4.

eucharist *the body of Christ*, and the *wine* the *blood of Christ*, without restriction, or to pray that it may be made so, is so far from being what *the most zealous transubstantiators could ever desire*, that I believe no transubstantiator was ever satisfied concerning a man's belief of that doctrine by such a declaration of it. To call the elements *Christ's body and blood without restriction*, is by no means express enough for them, you must put a *transubstantiating restriction* to it, or you do not say as much as a transubstantialist can or will desire. A transubstantiator will not say the *bread in the eucharist is Christ's body*; for he says, *it is his body and no bread*. Therefore to pray that *the bread may be made Christ's body*, cannot agree with a transubstantiator's opinion. The thing made must retain the substance of the thing it is made of: but the doctrine of transubstantiation teaches not that the *bread is made the body of Christ*, but that the bread is directly annihilated; that no part of its substance remains there, and the whole body of Christ is substituted in its place. Therefore none who knows what transubstantiation is, can make the words under consideration favourable to it: but the author of "No Sufficient Reason," &c., and "No Just Grounds," &c. knew, that it might be easy to impose upon unwary or ignorant readers, and give them an abhorrence of this newly compiled office, if he did but put into their heads a notion that it favoured transubstantiation, which I confess he has artfully enough done. However, I hope if any have been prejudiced against this form by this anonymous author's misrepresenting this petition of it, they will now be satisfied from the learned Mr. Spinckes, that it is a very plain evidence against transubstantiation. And I hope they will have more regard to Mr. Spinckes's judgment, than to that of an anonymous author, we know not whom, though he should really be, as he styles himself, a *Non-juror*. I fear I may be thought to have said a great deal more than was needful on this occasion; but to have it insinuated that we have made a very fair advance towards transubstantiation, and that nobody knows how far we may proceed, as if downright popery was at the bottom of all we have done, is so foul an aspersion, that I thought I could not say too much to wipe it off: knowing how ready people are to believe every thing to be popery, which they have not before seen practised in any Protestant communion. However, hoping that what I have said may satisfy

the unprejudiced at least, that we are as far from favouring transubstantiation, or any other corrupt or erroneous doctrine of the Church of Rome, as any of those that most zealously oppose us, I shall proceed to consider what has been farther done in this alteration of the communion service, with the reasons for it. The general intercession for the state of Christ's Church is taken wholly from that in the present established Liturgy, or that in the first Liturgy of king Edward VI. The petition for the bishops and clergy is set before that for the king and his Council, as more agreeable to all the ancient forms. And as to the petition for the saints departed, as in the first Liturgy of king Edward VI. from whence it is taken into this, I trust I have already sufficiently proved the necessity of it.\* This intercession is also removed to its proper place after the oblation and invocation, as it is in all the ancient Liturgies, but that of St. Mark, the Ethiopic, and the Roman; and we thought it proper to follow the greater number in this point, especially since it is also more agreeable to the Clementine Liturgy, which is certainly the most ancient. Then follows the Lord's Prayer, which is also in all the ancient Liturgies, except the Clementine, and was in the Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem as early as the Council of Nice; since St. Cyril, who flourished within twenty years after that Council, speaks of it so particularly in his *Mystagogical Catechism* here published, without any intimation of its being newly put there, which it would have been proper for him to have done if it had been so, and to have given some reasons for that addition, as pope Gregory did when he added it to the Roman Canon. It stood so just before *Christ our Paschal Lamb* in the first Liturgy of king Edward VI., but in the second was removed, together with the prayer of oblation, (I mean so much of the prayer of oblation as was permitted to remain) into the Post-communion. So that though the Lord's Prayer be twice used in the communion office of the Common Prayer Book, yet care was taken it should not be said whilst the elements were on the table, being ordered to be said the first time before the priest is directed to place the bread and wine there, and the other after the bread and wine have been distributed to the communicants. What the reason of this was, I cannot say: but as we found it in all the

\* Supr. §. 19.



Liturgies (except the Clementine, where it is not at all) standing before the prayer particularly made for the communicants, begging pardon for their sins, and begging God's acceptance of them, notwithstanding their unworthiness, commonly called in the Greek Liturgies, *The prayer at the bowing down the head*, we thought it expedient to restore it to the same place. The Antiphon, beginning *Christ our Paschal Lamb*, &c., I have already accounted for, as being cast out of king Edward's first Liturgy, without any reason that we could see for it. The invitation, confession, &c., are the very same as in the established communion office, and therefore need no defence with regard to those that oppose us. As to their being placed here immediately before the distribution, I have already accounted for it. The words of distribution are the same with those in the first Liturgy of king Edward, and seem to be the same that have been used in the Latin Church. But the sentence following does not appear to have been used in any Church whatsoever, till it was coined by Calvin or some of his partizans, and put into the second Liturgy. Thus is this communion office made as agreeable to the ancient Liturgies as could well be, without deviating more from the established form than we were willing to do. It is true, we have made some alterations which we did not think *absolutely necessary*, as we do the four points which have been so much controverted. However we judged them to be expedient for the reasons here given. But this is no argument of our unsteadiness, which the author of "No Just Grounds," &c. is pleased to charge us with. Neither have we, as he says, made such *unnecessary alterations*, as may give too much cause to doubt what other steps may in time be thought necessary to be taken.\* Neither as the author of "No Sufficient Reason" suggests there has been, have any *such improvements* as he is pleased to style them, *been already made as may give occasion to suspect what may follow in time*; † or which may give any one reason to think these restorers will not stop where they always pretended they would, that is, with the Primitive Church of the first ages, those ages wherein the governors of the Church of England have declared **doctrine and religion to be most pure.** ‡ And if the learned author who has charged us with *such improvements* as are disagreeable to our

\* Preface.

† Page 86.

‡ Strype's Life of Archbishop Whitgift, p. 98.

first pretensions, will shew us any one alteration we have made which is not agreeable to the consentient doctrine or practice of the ancient Church, I will own this charge to be good ; otherwise it is no better than a calumny. For as to that *improvement* he mentions in the communion office, (and I am not here concerned to defend any thing more) where it is said, *that he may make this bread the body, &c.*, I have, I trust, sufficiently proved that to be as primitive and universal as any one point whatsoever : and he must find out some *other improvement*, before I can think he has made good his charge. It is true, the author of the Reasons pleaded for *the restoration of some prayers and directions, as they stand in the communion service of the first English reformed Liturgy, compiled by the bishops in the 2nd. and 3d. years of the reign of king Edward VI.* But he pleaded not for them merely because they were in that Liturgy, and not in the present Liturgy of the Church of England : he pleaded for *those prayers and directions* as they were more agreeable to the Scriptures, and to the consentient doctrine and practice of the pure Primitive and Catholic Church, than what was to be found in the Liturgy which was introduced instead of it. He did not insist upon the restoration of that communion service word for word, but upon a restoration of some prayers and directions which were agreeable in sense, though not in words, to the practice of the Universal Church in the best and purest times, which had been preserved in that communion service, but were omitted in that which had been authorized in its room. He pleaded that the wine in the eucharist might be always mixed with water ; that there might be a prayer for the faithful departed, and a prayer that the Holy Ghost might bless and sanctify the bread and the cup to make them the body and blood of Christ ; and that the bread and wine, after the words of institution had been pronounced, might be offered to God by prayer in remembrance of Christ's death. These were the prayers and directions in the first Liturgy of king Edward VI., he desired might be restored ; but plainly shewed it to be indifferent to him whether they were restored in the words of that Liturgy or of any other. So he had the things, he seemed not solicitous about the form or order. And the revival of that Liturgy was not the thing that was asked, but a restoration of Primitive practices which had been preserved there, and were abolished afterwards. These

things were desired not as agreeable to the doctrine of the English Church in the beginning of king Edward's reign, otherwise than as they were also agreeable to that of the Catholic Church in the best and purest times. And the Liturgy of Edward VI. was not made the standard of what we insisted might be restored, but the Primitive Church of the best and purest times, when the governors of the Church of England acknowledged *doctrine and religion were most pure*. Therefore if we can vindicate the office we now use, and which is here published, by the doctrine and practice of the Primitive Church, as it stood at or before the time of the Council of Nice, or even at or before the Council of Chalcedon, which was above an hundred years after, it could not be called an addition to or improvement of our first proposals. For though we insisted only upon the *mixture, prayer for the dead, the oblation and invocation*, as essential points, and therefore could not communicate where these were denied us, yet we always owned, that whatever else was found to have been universally practised in those first and purest ages, were desirable, and what we should also be glad to see restored. Therefore, though we would not have separated, if we could have obtained to have had these things restored, as conceiving the peace of the Church to be preferable to every thing that is not an essential part of our duty, and that it must not be broken for the sake of what is only expedient or desirable; yet being denied what we then believed, and still do believe to be absolutely necessary to the administration of the eucharist, and being thereby obliged to separate, the adding other things afterwards, when the separation was actually made, is no real addition to our first proposals. For as they were no cause of the making, so neither are they cause of the continuation of the breach betwixt us and our brethren. They set us at no farther distance from each other than we were before; for as we only restored them as matters desirable and expedient, because practised by the ancient Church, yet we have not insisted upon the *absolute necessity* of them, and are still ready to re-unite with our brethren upon our former proposals. We should be glad indeed to see these and other things restored, not only by all our brethren that are non-jurors, but also by our other brethren, the bishops and priests of the public communion of the Church of England, in their synods or convocations. Yet none of these things, provided we might have the *mixture, prayers for the*



*dead, the oblation and invocation restored, should make us continue our separation from them. But since, for the refusal of these, we are forced to separate, I see not why we may not, during our separation, use those other things also which we judge to be desirable. The author of "No Just Grounds," &c. is pleased to say, that we have no tolerable foundation for what we have hitherto done.\* But I trust those who have given themselves the trouble to read the foregoing discourse, will see that we have more than a tolerable foundation for what we have done, even as good a foundation as there is for the Canon of Scripture, for the observation of the Lord's day, and the baptism of infants; and the same arguments by which this gentleman pretends to prove the insufficiency of our evidence for the things we contend for, will equally prove the insufficiency of the evidence we have for the Canon of Scripture, &c., and indeed of all historical evidence whatsoever. If such evidence as we have produced, as the foundation of what we have hitherto done, is no tolerable foundation, I must say he has no tolerable foundation to believe the gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, were written by those evangelists, more than he has to believe Toland's gospel of St. Barnabas was written by that apostle. For he has neither more ancient nor more numerous evidence for it, than we have for every one of the points we contend for. He may, if he pleases, call this again *undervaluing our evidence for the Canon of Scripture*; but it is *he* (and not *we*) that undervalues the evidence; for we say it is *sufficient evidence*, and he says it is not so: *I wish he would well consider it with himself.**

§. 44. However, I desire the reader will not have any regard either to what this gentleman or I have barely asserted, but carefully examine the proofs we have brought to maintain our assertion; and I hope those that have learning and opportunity will search the Scripture, and the fathers of the first three or four centuries, to see which of us has most fairly represented their sentiments in these controverted points. For these things are matters of great moment, on which the very essence of the eucharist depends; and if we are in the right, and I think it more than probable that we are, it is plain that the eucharist is

\* Preface.

not rightly administered by the present form of the Church of England, which all that receive by that form ought to be well satisfied in. And therefore such as have abilities to do it, are obliged to examine the exceptions made to it, to see whether they be just and reasonable, or not; for howsoever God may be merciful to those who offend not but through invincible ignorance, or upon ignorance occasioned by a want of suspicion that they are in the wrong; yet when that ignorance may be removed, and occasion is given to suspect that they may be in the wrong, a wilful continuance in such ignorance is not so excusable. Therefore I hope those that can, especially the learned clergy of this realm, will examine the matter themselves, and see whether our evidence for the necessity of these things be sufficient. And for others, if they are not able to make a right judgment concerning what is said by us on the one side, or the author of "No Reason" and his friends on the other, I desire them not to believe what either of us have said of our own performances in this respect. For if they ask us, we shall say, that we have proved the *mixture, prayer for the dead, the invocation and the oblation*, to be essential duties *absolutely necessary* at the ministration of the eucharist; that we have demonstrated these things, if not from the plain express words of Scripture, yet from the Scripture as understood by the Universal Church in the best and purest times; nay in all ages after down to the Reformation: and that this is a very sufficient proof. If you ask them on the other side, they will tell you, that we have *no tolerable foundation for any thing we have done*; that the proof we have brought for these points is in every respect insufficient; that the Scripture alone is the rule of faith, and nothing but an express command of Scripture can make any thing a necessary duty; that the fathers are of use indeed to interpret some obscure places, but of no use at all where the Scriptures speak plain; that the testimony of the Universal Church for an apostolical doctrine or practice is of no obligation where the Scripture has not enjoined it, though it be testified by the fathers of the first three centuries to be so; and that if it was, we have not proved the points contended for to be so testified. Now what shall an honest well meaning Christian do in this case? Shall he say, I care not which is in the right, I will not trouble myself with the dispute? That is, to sit down and remain wilfully ignorant in a

matter that concerns his salvation, which I can by no means think excusable. Will he say, I am unable to examine the merits of the cause, whom then shall I advise with concerning these matters? If I go to any person concerned in the controversy, or to those who communicate with them, they will say those of their party are entirely right, and the others are entirely wrong. I answer, let him go to some unbiassed person, who speaks his real sentiments in this matter without any regard to the controversy. But then the question returns, How or where is such a person to be found? The answer is, go to some man of learning who is not engaged in communion with either of the contending parties. But the question returns again, Though I may easily find a man that knows nothing of this dispute, or at least if he has, yet has not given himself the trouble to examine it; yet where shall I find a man that I may be satisfied gives me his opinion without a bias one way or other? Where shall I find a man who will not determine the matter agreeable to his own practice? And where is there a priest or minister of any communion of Christians, but he either does or does not mix water with the eucharistic wine, prays or prays not for the dead, makes or makes not an oblation of the elements after he has pronounced the words of institution, and invokes the descent of the Holy Ghost to bless and sanctify the elements, or makes no such invocation? How then is it possible to know whether he speaks without bias or prejudice in this case? I answer, let him enquire what men of learning and probity have said on this occasion in their writings, without any manner of view to this controversy: men whose learning may satisfy us, that what they have said was upon good grounds, and well weighed and considered before they delivered it: men whose probity may convince us that they would not wilfully endeavour to deceive us: and men whose zeal for, and constant adherence to, the Church of England, would not permit them to say any thing that might in the least derogate from its honour, or in the least depreciate the respect due to its Liturgy, particularly the communion office, if the force of truth had not extorted it from them. And these I conceive are such authorities as an honest well meaning man, who has not skill or opportunity to search into the bottom of this controversy, or time to examine all that is or may be said for it *pro* and *con*, may probably safely depend upon. Now let us see



what such men as they have said, without any regard to or concern in this controversy. As to the first point, *That the Scripture alone is the rule of faith, and nothing but a positive command of Scripture can make any thing a necessary duty; that the fathers are of use indeed to interpret some obscure places, but of no use at all where the Scriptures speak plain; that the testimony of the Universal Church for an apostolical doctrine or practice is of no obligation where the Scripture has not enjoined it, though it be testified by the fathers of the first three centuries;* to this let Dr. Hammond speak and give an answer, a person whose learning, probity, and affection to the Church of England, cannot be questioned. Now he says in his discourse of Heresy, "*Although Scripture is the most certain and safe rule of belief,* yet there being no less *veracity* in the *tongues* than in the *hands*, in the *preachings* than the *writings* of the Apostles; nay, *prior sermo quam liber, prior Sensus quam stilus*, saith Tertullian, the Apostles *preached* before they *writ*, *planted Churches* before they addressed *epistles* to them. On these grounds I make no scruple to grant, that *apostolical traditions*, such as are *truly* so, as well as *apostolical writings*, are *equally the matter of that Christian's belief*, who is equally secured by the *fidelity* of the *conveyance*, that as one is *apostolical writing*, so the other is *apostolical tradition*. Next then, the enquiry must proceed by examining what is this equal way of conveyance, common to both these, upon the strength of which we become obliged to receive such or such a tradition for apostolical. And this again is acknowledged not to be any Divine testimony; for God hath no where affirmed in Divine Writ, that the epistle inscribed of Paul the Apostle to the Romans, consisting of so many periods as now it is in our bibles, was ever written by that Apostle, nor are there any inward characters or signatures, or beams of light in the writing itself, that can be admitted, or pretended as testimonies of this, any more than the like may exact to be admitted as witnesses, that the creed called the Apostles, was indeed in the full sense of it delivered to the Churches. It remains then, that herein on both sides we rest content with human testimonies of undoubted authority, or such as there is not any rational motive to distrust, and of which alone the matter is capable. For as in case of the question concerning the epistle to the Romans, whether this be it which was addressed

by St. Paul to that Church, the only regular way of satisfying that question, is, 1. by devolution, or appeal to the authority of those fathers and Councils, to whom it was *de facto* sufficiently testified and approved, (viz. by examination of the records of that Church to whom it was written, and by whom received, through the hands of some trusty messenger of that Apostle, such as Phœbe, who ministered to him, and by other credible ways of confirmation) and secondly, and by that consequence, to those very original records, and proofs of undoubted fidelity. So the way of trial of any tradition, pretended to be apostolical, whether it be such or no, is by devolving it to the same, or the like fathers and Councils, which having occasion and commodity to examine the truth of the matter by the records or testimonies of those Churches to which it was delivered, found it sufficiently testified by them, that it was in truth according as is pretended.—Now then comes the upshot of the enquiry, what qualifications there are of a testimony or testifier, without which it or he may not be thus deemed credible, worthy to be believed by a sober Christian: and where these qualifications are to be found, which when we have once resolved, it will also be possible for us to pass some judgment of traditions duly styled apostolical, which as such must be allowed to be the object of our faith. And herein I shall hope also that the resolution will be unquestionable, if it be bounded by those three terms to which Vincentius Lirinensis, in his defence of the Catholic faith against heresies and innovations, hath directed us, *universality, antiquity, consent*, viz. That the testimony we depend on be the result of all the ancients consenting, or without any considerable dissent, or in yet fewer words, *a Catholic testimony truly such, i. e. in all respects; 1. of place, 2. of time, 3. of persons.*”\*

Thus this learned Doctor, who lived and died in the communion of the Church of England above fifty years before the present controversy was started, though he allows *the Scripture to be the most certain and safe rule of belief*, yet maintains withal, that they are not the *only* rule, but that *traditions duly styled Apostolical, as such, must be allowed to be the object of our faith*. He may therefore be fairly depended on as an unprejudiced person; who, without any regard to this controversy,

\* Sect. 3, 4. 1st vol. of his Works, p. 545.

may, when he is opposing the Romanists where it might seem his interest to depreciate tradition, says the very same that we say, and what is directly contrary to the positions maintained by our adversaries. But it may be said by the Doctor's rule, there can be no such thing as *Apostolical traditions duly testified*; for he requires the *testimony of all the ancients*, and what one thing is there which *all the ancients testify*? Neither have *all* the works of the ancients been transmitted to us, that we should know what they all say. But let us hear him explain himself soon after:—"Whatsoever one *Church* professeth to have received from the *Apostle* that planted it, is of itself sufficient, without the *confirmation* of all others, to beget and *establish belief* in him, to whom it thus testifies: Whereupon Tertullian refers the enquirer to that *Apostolic Church* that is *next* him, be it *Corinth*, if he live in *Achaia*, *Philippi*, or *Thessalonica*; *Ephesus*, if in *Asia*; or if he be in *Italy*, *Rome*. But this is no farther to be extended, than while we *suppose* without *enquiry*, that other *Apostolical Churches* have *received*, and are ready to *testify* the same; which *presumption* or *supposal* must then cease, when upon *enquiry* we find the *contrary*." Therefore where the contrary does not appear, the testimony of one Church is plainly sufficient to prove the universality of a tradition, especially when all other Churches do give their testimony to it, as soon as we can find them speaking any thing about it: that is, that whatever we find to be a tradition of one Church in the first times succeeding the Apostles, and do not find it contradicted at that time or after by any other Apostolical Churches, but other Churches or fathers of those Churches do also testify it as soon as we can find them speaking of it, that we may safely conclude to be Apostolical and Universal, or delivered by the Apostles to all Churches where they preached. And this is plainly Dr. Hammond's rule, otherwise there could be no tradition for the Epistle to the Romans, or any other book of the New Testament, which we might depend upon. So as to *all times* he thus explains himself:—"As for the *universality* of *time*, that must be *cautiously* understood, not so as to signify it a prejudice to any *doctrine*, if in some one or more ages it have not been *universally* received, for then there could be no *heretics* at any time in the world; but so as to extend to the *first* and *purest*, and not only to the latter ages of the Church." And a little after he shews



those to be the *first* and *purest* times which were before the first four general Councils ; that is, before the middle of the fifth century. So that what we find to have been universally received before that time, which even our adversaries cannot deny all these points to be for which we contend, in this learned Doctor's opinion *we are obliged to receive as Apostolical tradition*. Then he says :—" For the *consent* of *testifiers*, that is also necessary to the rendering it a *Catholic* and *authentic testimony* ; any *considerable* number of *dissenters* being of *necessity* to weaken our *belief*. But their general *conform testimony*, without any *considerable dissenters* producible, is, I acknowledge, *authentic* or *worthy of belief*." Now I conceive the reader may depend upon this great man's judgment and opinion in this case, because he had no interest, no party-cause to serve in this case ; he was writing against the Church of Rome, who pretend a great zeal for traditions, against which it would have been an easier and a shorter answer to have said as our adversaries do, that the *Scriptures are the only rule of faith and practice, that tradition may help to explain some obscure texts, but we must by no means seek to introduce other duties by the help of tradition*. Yet he freely grants, *that Apostolical traditions, such as are truly so, as well as Apostolical writings, are equally the matter of the Christian's belief, who is equally secured of the fidelity of the conveyance*. And allows that to be an *equal security* of the fidelity of the conveyance, which is supported by equal testimony : that is, that we have as good testimony that one is an *Apostolical tradition*, as we have that the other is an *Apostolical writing*. And this is as much as we desire in this point. And upon this principle he maintains in his Practical Catechism, as I have before shewed, *that if the particular Church wherein I live is departed from the Catholic Apostolic Church of the first and purest times, meekness requires my obedience and submission to the Catholic Apostolic Church, and not the particular wherein I live*. Neither is what he says on this occasion a bare opinion, but opinion founded on solid reason, a reason which I think is unanswerable. Mr. Thorndike, another very learned divine of the Church of England, is another unbiased person as to the present controversy, living and dying but a little after Dr. Hammond, who having employed several pages in proving that *all things necessary to salvation are not clear in the Scriptures*, he

says, *It remains that we affirm, whatsoever the whole Church, from the beginning, have received and practised for the rule of faith and manners, all that to be evidently true, by the same reason for which we believe the very Scriptures.* And truly, (says he a little after) *if it were as easy to make evidence what those things are, which have been received, professed, and practised from the beginning by the whole Church, as it is necessary to admit all such for truth, I suppose there would remain no great difficulty in admitting this principle. But in regard it is so easy to shew what contradiction hath been made within the pale of the Church, so that which elsewhere, otherwhiles, hath been received, I cannot tell whether men despair to find any thing generally received from the beginning, and therefore lay aside this principle, not as false, but as useless, and not to be put in practice.\** Whether it be as easy to make evidence of what has been delivered by tradition, as it is proper to admit such for truth when evidenced, is another question; but it is plain Mr. Thorndike thinks it is necessary to believe it when evidenced, which is as much as he is now cited to prove. And he supposes those who deny this principle, do deny it only because they suppose such evidence is not to be had. But then he shews himself to be none of those who believe such evidence is not to be had, saying soon after:—"I do profess, that were not the Church, or had it not been one society, one visible body, communion or corporation of men from the beginning, the communion whereof always confined the profession and conversation of Christians to some certain visible rule; I should think it impossible to make evidence of any common truth received by all Christians. But if it can appear that the Church from the beginning was such a society, then may such rules as reasonably appear to be original and Catholic, as it can appear reasonable to any man that he ought to be a Christian." Bishop Taylor, a learned prelate of the Church of England, and contemporary to the other two forementioned authors, and therefore most certainly unbiassed as to the present controversy, in his *Ductor Dubitantium*, even when he seems desirous to speak against tradition, is yet forced by the power of truth to speak as directly for it as we can desire, saying:—*To enquire of what use traditions are, is to no purpose*

\* Epilogue, book 1. chap. 6. p. 35.

*for us ; for there is no tradition of any doctrine of faith or rule of life, but what is in Scripture :\** this one would think to be as plain and full in favour of our adversaries as can be desired. And yet it is certain from his very next words, that he thought *tradition* was to be equally regarded with Scripture, if it could be as well proved as the Scripture. For he immediately says, *But if there were*, (that is, if there were traditions of any doctrine of faith or rule of life, which is not in Scripture) *traditions would be of the same use as Scripture is, if the tradition were from Christ and his Apostles, and were as certain, as universal, as credible as that is*, (viz., as that tradition is) *by which we are told that Scripture is the Word of God. For the Word which is now written, was first delivered ; that which is now Scripture, was at first tradition.* Whatever therefore be the meaning of his other words, these last are as favourable to tradition as we can wish. But it may be said, that at the same time that he grants such authority to traditions so attested, he plainly denies there are any such. I answer, that is not to the purpose, for we are yet only enquiring whether *if there be a tradition as certain, as universal, as credible as the tradition is upon which we believe the Scriptures we now have to be the Word of God*, such a tradition is obligatory, and requires our obedience to it, and in this the learned bishop speaks directly to our purpose. Nay, though he so positively says, that *it is to no purpose for us to enquire of what use traditions are ;* yet he presently after shews them to be of great use, and observes how the *fathers* made use of them to confute the *heretics*. And then he farther says, “There is yet one use more of traditions, but it is in rituals, and in such instances concerning which St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians the words, *The rest will I set in order when I come.* Such are,—1. **The observation of the Lord’s day**, solemnly once a year, and less solemnly once a week, that is, the feast of Easter, and the weekly Sunday. 2. The government of the Church by bishops, which is consigned to us by **tradition greater than some books of Scripture**, and as great as that of the Lord’s day ; and that so notorious, that thunder is not more heard than this in all the monuments of antiquity. 3. Offices ecclesiastical, to be said and done **by ecclesiastical persons** : such are

\* Book II. chap. 3. § 15. p. 367.



the public prayers of the Church, and the consecration of the blessed eucharist, the blessing of the married pairs, and joining them in the holy mysterious right of marriage, the consecration of bishops by bishops only, and of priests by bishops and presbyters ; though for this last there is not so universal tradition, that every where requiring the imposition of the bishops' hands, and but in some places requiring the assistance of presbyters. These three are the most universal and apostolical traditions, which although they also have great grounds in Scripture, yet because the universal practice and doctrine of the Church of God in all ages, and in all Churches Primitive, **is infinitely evident and notorious, less liable to exception**, and an apt commentary upon the certain, but less evident places of Scripture ; therefore these may be placed under the **protection of universal tradition**, for they really have it beyond exception. And although in these the Scripture is sufficient to all wise and good men, to all that are willing to learn and obey, and not desirous to make sects and noises ; yet because all men are not wise, and good, and disinterested, tradition in these things is to Scriptures as a burning glass to the sun : it receives their rays in a point, and unites their strength, and makes them burn as well as shine ; that is, it makes them do what in their own nature they are apt to do, and from doing which they are only hindered accidentally."\* Then he adds :—"By these instances it is evident, we ought not to refuse tradition when it is universal, nor yet believe that in any thing of great concernment, though it be but matter of rite or government, the Scripture is defective ; for in these things we admit tradition to be the commentary, but Scripture to be the text : Πάντα σύμφωνα ταῖς γραφαῖς ; as Irenæus in Eusebius expresses it, *all must be agreeable to Scripture*. And although a tradition so absolutely universal as these were a warranty greater than any objection can be against them, and were to be admitted, though they had no express authority in Scripture, as all these have ; yet that all these things are in Scripture, is a very great argument of the perfection of it."† Now if we observe how this learned prelate has worded what he has here said, we shall find that he was heartily desirous, if he could, to depreciate tradition and make it useless : else why does he so expressly say, *To*

\* Book II. chap. 3. § 19. p. 369.

† Ibid. § 20.

*enquire of what use traditions are, is to no purpose for us, for there is no doctrine of faith or rule of life but what is in Scripture.* These words are as plain evidence as can be, that he would, if possible, have the Scriptures thought so plain and clear as to stand in no need of tradition for a commentary; for if they do, it is certainly to very great purpose to enquire of what use traditions are. Therefore when he afterwards owns the use of traditions, nay, grants that "if there were a tradition from Christ and his Apostles, and were as *certain*, as *universal*, as *credible* as that is by which we are told that Scripture is the Word of God," that is, by which we know the Canon of Scripture, or what books are the Word of God, and what are not, such *tradition would be of the same use that Scripture is*: nothing but the demonstrable evidence of this truth could have extorted such an acknowledgment from him. And then when he shews the use of tradition in some particular instances, though he asserts that *in these the Scripture is sufficient to all wise and good men*, yet he allows the Scripture proof to be less evident, and that the tradition is less liable to exception, which plainly grants that the Scripture evidence for these things is not convincing, and may without difficulty be evaded, and that without the commentary of tradition it could hardly be discovered to be in the Scripture: nor indeed do I see, how all wise, and good, and disinterested men, would find the things he mentions, if it was not by the help of tradition, which he says is *infinitely evident and notorious*. For though the Scriptures will satisfy a wise, good, and disinterested person, that "it is very lawful to observe the Lord's day, that the Church be governed by bishops, and that offices ecclesiastical be said and done by ecclesiastical persons," which are the points which the bishop instances in as proper to be *placed under the protection of universal tradition*, yet the Scriptures alone will not prove these to be necessary without the help of tradition. For the Scripture no where expressly commands these usages, nor does the bishop pretend it does, only these things are *agreeable to the Scripture*; there is enough in Scripture to satisfy us that they are lawful, but it is from tradition that we are convinced of their necessity. And the same we say of the points contended for, they are *agreeable to the Scripture*; that is, there is enough in Scripture to satisfy us, that they are lawful. This our adversaries themselves allow,

they acknowledge them to be *desideranda*, what *they desire to have restored in a regular way*,\* which is a clear evidence that there is no dispute betwixt us, whether they are *agreeable to Scripture or not*, but only whether they are necessary; for we cannot suppose our adversaries, who are so zealous for the sufficiency of Scripture, would desire to see any thing restored, though they confine that desire to a more *regular way* than they conceive we have taken, which is not agreeable to Scripture: but whether they are necessary or not, is the only question; and in order to prove this necessity, they are *placed*, as the learned bishop does the points he instances in, *under the protection of universal tradition, for they really have it beyond all exception*. And that they have so, is the next point I am to prove, from disinterested writers of the Church of England, that is, such eminent divines of the Church of England as have not been engaged in this controversy one way or other.

§. 45. I shall begin with bishop Hickes, who speaking of the *consentient doctrine and practice of the ancient Catholic Church* with regard to the eucharist, mentions three of the things we contend for as always used in the Primitive Church in the ministration. *The κρᾶμα or mixture of water with the sacramental wine, the prayer of oblation, and the prayer unto God the Father to send down his Holy Spirit upon the sacrifice, to make the bread the (mystical) body, and the cup the (mystical) blood of Christ.*† And in his “Second Collection of controversial Letters relating to the Church of England and the Church of Rome,”‡ he allows prayer for the dead to be also a Primitive and Catholic tradition. For the Romish priest having objected to him, that in the most early ages, *People in all nations adored Jesus Christ in the sacrament, anointed the sick, prayed for the Dead, &c.*§ Having answered the other points, he thus answers the *prayer for the dead*; “Yes, Sir, they prayed for the dead, but for what sort of dead, or how they prayed for them, your uncertain equivocal expression does not tell the Lady, and therefore I must. First then, they prayed only for such dead or departed souls as they believed were happy, and especially for such as they believed to be in the highest degree of happiness,

\* No Necessity, p. 1.

† Christian Priesthood, pp. 140, 141. 3d. edit.

‡ Pages 86, 87.

§ Ibid. p. 12



for their saints, martyrs, and confessors. And this they were wont to do annually on the days of their departure: and they did it to shew, that the faithful departed did not perish, but after their departure were still members of the Church, and worthy to be commemorated as faithful soldiers and servants of Christ, while they were of the militant Church. Secondly, therefore inasmuch as the life of a Christian is a life of labour, pains, and trouble, and trial; a spiritual warfare, in which we are constantly to fight against the world, the flesh, and the devil; they prayed God, when they were departed this world, to give them ease and refreshment in the other; to perfect and consummate their happiness; to give them a speedy resurrection, or part in the first resurrection of the just. This was the way of praying for the dead, which the ancient Church used. It is first mentioned by Tertullian, who flourished in the latter end of the second century, as a Christian custom or practice, which among others had been used in the Church before his time." Thus he plainly allows this tradition and practice as we desire to have it restored. He allows Tertullian's testimony, that it was a tradition of the Church, that is, of the Church Universal, consisting of *people in all nations*, as his adversary had expressed it. He confines it not to the Church of Africa, as the author of "No Reason" does;\* nor does he suspect with that author that it was no tradition of any part of the Catholic Church, but that Tertullian received this tradition together with his Montanism. And what bishop Hickes thus plainly allows to have been an ancient and universal practice in the purest ages of the Church in this place, he in another plainly shews that he believes to be a *most ancient and universal tradition*,† and what is *most ancient* must be *apostolical*. Indeed I cannot say he does it in his own words, but he does it in the words of a Scotch bishop, Dr. Forbes, bishop of Edinburgh,‡ whom he quotes in vindication of the prayer for the dead in the communion service of the first Liturgy of king Edward VI. so that I may call it the opinion of two eminently learned bishops, bishop Hickes and bishop Forbes; the Scotch bishop's originally, and the English bishop's as cited by him, where he chose to deliver his opinion in another's words rather than his own. Bishop Forbes then, as cited by bishop Hickes,

\* Pages 55, 56.

† Appendix to Christian Priesthood, p. 20.

‡ Considerat. Modest. part II. cap. 3. § 18, 19. p. 248.

recites the prayer for the dead as it stands in the communion service in the first Liturgy of king Edward VI. and then says, "The bishops of the Church of England afterwards, at the suggestion and with the counsel of Bucer and others, blotted out these *most ancient and pious prayers*, or changed them into another I know not what form, savouring of the novelty now in vogue.—But I wish the Church of England, which otherwise deserves singular praise for her great moderation in many other things, although perhaps not of equal weight, had rather in this matter, and some few others, conformed to the *custom of the most ancient Universal Church*, than for the sake of some errors and abuses, which afterwards crept in by little and little, altogether rejected and wholly taken it away, to the great scandal of almost all other Christians." In the same page bishop Hickea cites a passage from Mr. Thorndike, which is full of *prayers for the dead*. And that he agreed with bishop Forbes and Mr. Thorndike in this point, is plain from the very last tract of his, which was printed before his death. There bishop Hickea writes thus to his correspondent: "In answer to your last question I do assure you, that I am heartily of Mr. Thorndike's opinion, and as truly zealous as you may imagine he was, for praying for the dead who depart in the faith and fear of God, and in the peace of the Church."\* And how desirous he was of having primitive usages restored, appears from these words which immediately precede those above cited, and are in the same page. "As for the transient, ærial, and vanishing signs of the cross, which in the pure ancient times were used in religious worship; I very much approve of the use of them, as we do in baptism, and as I would have done in anointing the sick with oil, and persons confirmed with chrism, were we so happy as to have those primitive religious rites and usages restored." The next I shall produce to prove that the points in dispute betwixt us and our adversaries are apostolical and universal traditions, is Mr. Johnson, who with regard to the mixture says, "It is certain that the primitive Christians did offer water mingled with wine in the eucharistical cup: Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Cyprian, do expressly mention it. And though we know there were several heretics that used water only in the sacrament, yet we

\* Supplement of Additions to the third edition of Dr. Hickea's two Treatises, &c., p. 46.

cited them as asserting. There are others, who though they do not speak of all the four points, yet have occasionally mentioned some of them as primitive and universal traditions, of which I name one or two. The very reverend and learned Mr. Spinckes (whom no body that knows any thing of this controversy will judge to be biased on our side the question) plainly allows the testimony of Justin Martyr for the mixture, I mean, that Justin Martyr does speak of *bread and wine and water's* being offered in the eucharist in his time, which is a testimony our adversaries have endeavoured to wrest from us by a criticism upon the word *Κρᾶμα* or *mixture* used by that father, saying, *It is not easy to define what he meant by it* : \* for he says expressly that father *calls the consecrated elements, bread, wine, and water, over which thanks are given.* † So that the word *Κρᾶμα* in this learned gentleman's opinion does not make Justin's testimony obscure, as our adversaries have endeavoured to make it. From whence even the unlearned reader may be satisfied, that we have not misrepresented this true primitive testimony. Mr. Thorndike, a very learned divine before mentioned, proves two of the points we contend for to be agreeable to the Scriptures and the universal practice of the Christian Church. For thus he speaks of the consecration, which the Church of England ‡ and our adversaries § maintain is sufficiently performed by a recital of the words of institution. To this Mr. Thorndike says, "Coming now to consider wherein the consecration of the eucharist consists, I find no opinion on foot, but that which hath taken possession by the authority of the school doctors, that it is performed by the recital of these words, *This is my body, This is my blood.* But these words, as they are used in consecrating the eucharist, are part of the rehearsal of that which our Lord Christ did, when he consecrated that eucharist which he gave his disciples. And will any reason endure this, that the eucharist be thought to be consecrated, by reciting what Christ said, when he delivered that eucharist he had consecrated, and not by doing what Christ

\* No Reason, p. 4. No Sufficient Reason, Part I. pp. 44, 45. No Just Grounds, pp. 46, 47.

† Article of Rom. Transub. p. 71.

‡ Rubric concerning the Consecration of more bread or wine, *if the consecrated bread and wine be all spent.*

§ No Sufficient Reason, p. 102.



commanded to be done when he appointed it to be celebrated? Certainly, he that says, *Christ took bread, and blessed it*, and brake it, saying, *Take, eat, this my body*; says what Christ did and said, before he delivered it. He that says farther, that *he* said, *Do this in remembrance of me*; says that Christ instituted this sacrament. But to say that Christ instituted this sacrament, is not to consecrate that sacrament Christ instituted: that is not done, but by doing that which Christ is said to have done. And is not Christ said to have *blessed* the elements? Is it not said, that, having taken and blessed, and broken bread, delivering it to his disciples, he affirmed it to be his body at the present when he delivered it? Can the becoming his body be imputed to the taking, or breaking, or delivering it? Doth it not remain then, that it be imputed to the *blessing* of it? Here, finding it evident, by comparing the Evangelists one with another, and with St. Paul, that *blessing and giving of thanks* in this case are both one and the same thing signified by two words; I must needs infer, that blessing the elements, is nothing else but giving God thanks over them, (which at present our Lord had in hand) with intent to make them the sacrament of his body and blood. The people of God in our Lord's time were wont to take nothing for meat and drink, without giving God thanks solemnly for it, as they had it in hand.—Therefore St. Paul, withstanding those heretics that taught to *abstain from meats which God hath made to be participated with thanksgiving by the faithful, and such as have known the truth*, adds for his reason; *because every creature of God is good, and none to be rejected from being received with thanksgiving: for it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer*.\*—The creatures of God then are sanctified to the nourishment of our bodies by thanksgiving, with prayer for God's blessing; and shall we think, that *that thanksgiving wherewith they are sanctified to the nourishment of our souls, doth not include prayer to the effect intended, that they may become the body and blood of Christ*, which God by his sacrament pretends to feed our souls with? And does not the execution of our Saviour's institution, when he says, *Do this*, consist in giving God thanks for the redemption of mankind, with prayer, that we may be fed by the flesh and blood of Christ in the eucharist?—

\* 1 Tim. iv. 3—5.

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\* No Reason, p. 4. No Sufficient Reason, Part I. pp. 44, 45. No Just Grounds, pp. 46, 47.

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§ No Sufficient Reason, p. 102.

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\* 1 Tim. iv. 3—5.



For seeing that this sacrament, that is, the elements consecrated are called the *eucharist* all over the Church from this *thanksgiving*, the act thereof passing upon them, to give them by way of metonymy this name; what can be more reasonable than to grant, that it is this act (and not the rehearsal of the words of the gospel, which relate what our Lord did and said in instituting as well as celebrating it) by which the consecration is performed? Though on the other side, I insist, that these words have always been rehearsed by the Church in consecrating the eucharist, and ought still to be frequented.—St. Paul when he saith, *For, if thou bless by the Spirit, he that fills the place of an idiot, or private person, how shall he say the amen upon this thanksgiving? For he knoweth not what thou sayest. For thou indeed givest thanks well, but the other is not edified.\** By *blessing* and *giving thanks*, means the consecrating the eucharist; (which those that had the grace of languages among the Corinthians undertook then to do in unknown tongues, and are therefore reproved by the Apostle) because it may appear by the constant practice of the whole Church, that it ended with an *amen* of the people, which St. Paul therefore calls *the amen*, τὸ ἀμην, to wit, that was used in that case. And also that when he writeth to Timothy; *I exhort therefore, first of all, to make supplications, prayers, intercessions, thanksgivings for all men; for kings, and all that are in eminence, that we may lead a peaceable and quiet life, in all piety and gravity;* he intends to charge, that at the celebration of the eucharist, (which he here calls *thanksgivings*) prayers be made as for all estates of men, so especially for public powers and princes; because St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, and the author *De Vocatione Gentium*, do expressly testify to us, that the custom which the Church then, and always afore and since hath had to do this, came from this ordinance of St. Paul, and containeth the fulfilling of it; and because it is manifest in all the forms of Liturgy, in all Churches that are yet extant, and by the mention made of the manner of it upon occasion in the writings of the fathers, that the eucharist was never to be celebrated without prayer for all states of Christ's Church. And this indeed is a great part of the evidence I pretend.—In all these, you shall observe a prayer to begin,

\* 1 Cor. xiv. 16, 17.

where the deacon formerly saying, *Lift up your hearts*; the people answered, *We lift them up unto the Lord*. The subject of it is to praise God for creating the world, and maintaining mankind, through his providence, with the fruits of the earth: then (after acknowledgement of Adam's fall) for using first those means of reclaiming mankind unto God, which we find by the Scriptures that it pleased God to use; under the law of nature first by the patriarchs, then under the law of Moses by the prophets, then sending our Lord Christ to redeem the world. Upon which occasion, rehearsing how he instituted the eucharist at his last supper, prayer is made that the Holy Ghost, coming down upon the present elements, may sanctify them *to become the body and blood of Christ*; so that they who receive them, may be filled with his grace. This being so visible in so many of these Liturgies, shall we say, that all that follows after the deacon's warning, *Let us give thanks*, makes up that which the ancient Church, after St. Paul, by a peculiar term of art as it were, calls the eucharist or thanksgiving? Or that the sacrament, which taketh the name from it, is consecrated only by rehearsing those words which our Lord said when he delivered it, *This is my body, This is my blood*? Especially, all the reason in the world informing, that the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist (being that which God promiseth upon the observation and performance of his institution and appointment) cannot be ascribed to any thing else.\*

What he here says and proves from Scripture and tradition, is perfectly agreeable to the communion office lately compiled for our use, where "we praise God for creating mankind, &c.," and "pray for the descent of the Holy Ghost to bless and sanctify the elements," and "intercede for all estates and conditions of men," after the warning, *Let us give thanks*: but is by no means reconcileable to the communion office of the Church of England, which has no thanksgiving for the creation, &c., no prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost to sanctify the elements, no intercession after the warning *to give thanks*: so that though there be an intercession in what is called the communion office, there is none in the eucharistical part of it, which St. Paul expressly requires, and the Church always practised till the Reformation.

\* Epilogue, Book III. of the Laws of the Church, chap. iv. p. 23.

And as Mr. Thorndike plainly agrees with us as to the form of consecration, by thanksgiving, and invocation for the descent of the Holy Ghost to bless and sanctify the elements, so he does in the point of praying for the dead. He shews its agreeableness to the holy Scriptures, saying, "What have we in the New Testament for it or against it? St. Paul says, 'God grant mercy to the house of Onesiphorus; for he refreshed me many times, and was not ashamed of my chain: but being in Rome, carefully sought and found me. THE LORD GRANT HIM TO FIND MERCY OF THE LORD IN THAT DAY. For how many things he furnished me with at Ephesus, thou better knowest.'\* Shall I say that Onesiphorus was alive at Rome when St. Paul wrote this, and that therefore he prayeth for his household apart, and himself apart? Let impartial reason judge whether St. Paul would have prayed for him that was alive with him at Rome, as one, who coming to Rome, and not ashamed of his bonds, found him out and refreshed him? Or whether he prays for him being dead, 'that he may find mercy in THAT DAY;' for his family only, 'that they may find mercy?' But fall that how it may, he prays for that which could not befall him till the day of judgment; and therefore may be prayed for on behalf of those who are not come to the day of judgment, though dead. And therefore all those Scriptures which make the reward of the world to come to depend upon the trial of the day of judgment, do prove that we are to pray for the issue of it, in behalf of all, so long as it is coming. St. Paul says, 'Who shall also confirm you unto the end, that YOU MAY BE BLAMELESS IN THE DAY OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.'† 'Repent ye and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, WHEN THE TIME OF REFRESHING SHALL COME FROM THE PRESENCE OF THE LORD.'‡ 'That I may REJOICE IN THE DAY OF CHRIST, that I have not run in vain, nor laboured in vain.'§ 'For what is our hope, or joy, or crown of rejoicing? Are not even ye in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ AT HIS COMING.'|| 'Who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation, ready to be revealed AT THE LAST TIME.'¶ 'That the spirit may be SAVED IN THE DAY OF THE LORD JESUS.'\*\*\* 'Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall GIVE ME AT THAT DAY.'†† 'Thou shalt

\* 2 Tim. i. 16—18.

† 1 Cor. i. 8.

‡ Acts iii. 19.

§ Phil. ii. 16.

|| 1 Thess. ii. 19,

¶ 1 Pet. i. 5.

\*\* 1 Cor. v. 5.

†† 2 Tim. iv. 8.



be RECOMPENSED AT THE RESURRECTION OF THE JUST.\* For all which there were no reason to be given, but the mention of the day of judgment would be every where utterly impertinent, if the reward were declared at the hour of death, and that judgment which then passeth. For how can that be expected which is already enjoyed? Certain we are, that the estate of those that die in God's grace admits a solicitous expectation of the day of judgment, though assured of the issue of it. That is it which so many texts of Scripture alleged afore signify nothing, if they signify it not.† In another place he asserts the *antiquity and universality of praying for the dead*, saying, "It has been a custom so general in the Church to pray for the dead, THAT NO BEGINNING OF IT CAN BE ASSIGNED, NO TIME, NO PART OF THE CHURCH WHERE IT WAS NOT USED. But what is that I appeal to in the prayers of the Church for the dead? That they are made for the patriarchs and prophets, for the apostles and martyrs, even for the blessed Virgin, as well as for all the departed in the communion of the Church."‡ And a little after he shews how these prayers for the dead came to be laid aside, and declares his earnest desire to have them restored, saying, "It is manifest, that in the service appointed in the time of king Edward VI., prayer is made for the dead, both before the communion and at the burial, to the same purpose as I maintain. It is manifest also, that it was changed to content the puritans, who, now it appears, could not be content with less than breaking of the Church in pieces. And therefore since unity hath not been obtained BY PARTING WITH THE LAW OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, IN MINE OPINION, FOR THE LOVE OF IT, I CONTINUE MY RESOLUTION TO BOUND REFORMATION BY THE RULE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. Allowing, that it may be matter of reformation to restore the prayers which are made for the dead, to the original sense of the whole Church; but maintaining, that TO TAKE AWAY ALL PRAYER FOR THE DEAD, IS NOT PARING OFF ABUSES, BUT CUTTING TO THE QUICK."§ And that he continued of this opinion to his dying day, appears from the inscription he ordered to be put upon his tombstone in Westminster, which was this:—"Here lies the body of Herbert Thorndike, prebendary of this Church, who, whilst he lived, endeavoured to advance the state and condition

\* Luke xiv. 14.

† Epilogue, Book III. Chap. xxvii. p. 320.

‡ Epilogue, Book III. Chap. xxviii. p. 333.

§ Ibid. p. 337.

of the reformed Church by his prayers and by his studies. DO THOU, READER, PRAY THAT HE MAY ENJOY REST AND AN HAPPY RESURRECTION IN CHRIST.”\* I cannot say these words actually were put upon his tomb, that must be as others pleased; but that he ordered they should be so, was sufficient to shew what his own opinion was to the end of his life. The enemies of the Church of England publicly charged such an order upon him soon after his death, when the truth might easily be enquired into and known, and I do not find that it was denied either by his friends, or any friends of the Church. And Dr. Isaac Barrow, bishop of St. Asaph, who was buried in that Cathedral January 1680., actually had the following inscription put on his gravestone, according to his own direction, before his death:—“The reliques of Isaac, bishop of St. Asaph, deposited in the hand of the Lord, in hope of a joyful resurrection, through the alone merits of Christ. O YOU THAT GO INTO THE HOUSE OF THE LORD, THE HOUSE OF PRAYER, PRAY FOR YOUR FELLOW-SERVANT, THAT HE MAY FIND MERCY IN THE DAY OF THE LORD.”† I have before largely proved from Mr. Bingham’s own words, that he is of opinion that the Primitive Church did “universally mix water with the sacramental wine, that they invoked the descent of the Holy Ghost to consecrate the elements, and that they prayed for the faithful departed.”‡ I might produce many more eminent divines of the Church of England, who have testified concerning the practice of the Primitive Church in the points now controverted, some in behalf of one point, some of another, as they have fallen in their way. But I fear I have carried this discourse already to too great a length, very much longer than I at first intended, and therefore shall now hasten to a conclusion.

§ 46. Here are published a great number of ancient Liturgies, as far as concerns the proper communion office, that is, from the

\* Hic jacet corpus Herberti Thorndike, Prebendarii hujus Ecclesiæ, qui vivus veram Reformatæ Ecclesiæ rationem & modum preeibus studiisque prosequabatur. Tu Lector requiem ei & beatam in Christo resurrectionem precare. *Rehearsal Transposed*, p. 224.

† Exuvie Isaaci Episeopi Asaphensis in manum Domini depositæ, in spem lætæ Resurrectionis per sola Christi merita. O vos transeuntes in Domum Domini, Domum Orationis, orate pro conservo vestro ut inveniat requiem in Die Domini. *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 671.

‡ Supr. §. 26. 28, 29.

beginning of the *eucharistia*, or *solemn thanksgiving*, till the elements are distributed. The first of these is taken from a book called the "Apostolical Constitutions," pretended to be compiled or collected by St. Clement, by the command of the Apostles, and therefore we call this the Clementine Liturgy. The learned have indeed very justly rejected this book as not authentic, or answerable to what it pretends to be: all are agreed (excepting Mr. Whiston only) that it was neither dictated by the Apostles, nor written by their command, but that it was the work of some private unknown person, who collected such general customs and practices of the Church, as at the time he wrote were believed to be apostolical, and published them as written by their order and direction. It is also agreed by the learned who have examined the matter, and the testimonies produced for the antiquity of this collection, that it was made before the Council of Nice, that is, within 200 years of the death of St. John, the last survivor of the Apostles. And therefore what he has set down as constituted by the Apostles, was doubtless an immemorial custom in his days. For the author, whoever he was, would not be so weak as to put down any thing as a constitution of the Apostles, whose original might easily be traced and found to be of a later date. And at that time it was as easy to trace any custom or practice of the Church to its original, as it is now to trace any custom or practice of the Church of England up to the first Reformation. Therefore we might safely depend upon what he sets down as "Apostolical Constitutions, to have really been apostolical doctrines, customs, and practices, if we were but secure that the book had been transmitted to us as it came out of the first compiler's hand, without interpolations or after-additions. But as we are not secure of that, nay are very certain that there are several passages interpolated or added to it in later ages, therefore we cannot depend upon the testimony of this book, where we have not contemporary evidence, that is, evidence older than the Council of Nice, to assure that it is not an interpolation. But where we have but one such evidence, there the testimony of this book may be relied upon to satisfy us, that it was the general practice of the Church derived from the Apostles. Having therefore shewed, that we have such evidence for every part of the communion office which is here published under the name of the Clementine Liturgy, we may very safely conclude THAT part of this book has



not been interpolated, but has been transmitted to us, as it was first written, by the compiler of the Constitutions. Upon which account we may be satisfied, that the form of administering the communion is the same (in sense at least, if not in words) with that which was used by the Church before the time of the Council of Nice, and what had been used beyond all memory when this book was written : consequently was a practice derived from the Apostles. For which reason this communion office, thus attested by the concurrent evidence of the Ante-Nicene fathers, is here set in the first place as the test and standard by which all other Liturgies are to be tried, that we may discover what interpolations they have received. And upon examination we have found, that all the other Liturgies are agreeable to this : that is, that there is nothing in this communion office but what is also in all the others ; and therefore what we find in the others more than in this, (I mean in sense, not in words) that we justly conclude to be an addition or interpolation : and I have also shewn from other evidence as well as this that they are so. Now these Liturgies, as far as they are not interpolated ; and, I trust, I have proved that as far as they agree with the Clementine, (in sense, though not in words) they retain their primitive purity, and are agreeable to their first original, are an evidence of the practice of almost all the Churches of the known parts of Christendom, whilst those Churches also were in their purity. For the Liturgy under the name of St. James was the communion office used in the Churches of Jerusalem and Antioch, and all the provinces subject to them ; the Liturgy under the name of St. Mark was the ancient Liturgy of the Church of Alexandria, and the provinces subject to it ; that which bears the name of St. Chrysostom, the communion office of all the provinces subject to the patriarch of Constantinople, as considerable as any of the rest. So that had we no more Liturgies extant but these, they might be sufficient to satisfy an unprejudiced person what was, as well as what still is, the practice of the Greek and Eastern Churches in the administration of the eucharist ; which anciently made by much the largest part of the known Christian world, and where the most eminent Churches were of apostolical original. And though we find divers interpolations or additions in all of them, yet where they agree not only between themselves, but with the account given concerning the ministration of the eucharist by the most

ancient fathers, and with the Clementine Liturgy also, (which I have proved not to be interpolated) it is as good an evidence as a reasonable man would desire of the antiquity and universality of those things wherein these Liturgies agree, and that those things could be of no other than apostolical original ; having Antiquity, Universality, and Consent, to confirm them. However, more fully to shew this harmony betwixt all Churches, or pretended Churches that are of considerable antiquity, and of long continuance, there are added to these Liturgies not only that Liturgy which goes under the name of St. Basil, used at particular times in that which bears the name of the orthodox Greek Church, but likewise the Liturgy of St. Basil used by the Monophysites or Coptites in the patriarchates of Alexandria and Jerusalem ; the Liturgy of Nestorius, used by those of that sect in the Eastern parts of the world, where they are very numerous ; the Liturgy of Severus, used by the Monophysites, in the patriarchate of Antioch ; and the Ethiopic Liturgy, used by that large kingdom of Ethiopia, who received their metropolitan from the Coptite patriarch of Alexandria, which though all unorthodox, yet by their agreement with the Catholic Church in all those parts of the communion office wherein the Catholic Liturgies have been agreeable to each other, may be of great use farther to convince us of the universality of those practices, wherein those were so fully agreed, who yet would hold no communion the one with the other, but have continued for above a thousand years to treat each other as heretics. For if it be a more convincing argument (as I conceive it is) that the Canon of the New Testament consists of those books, and those only we receive as such, because Christians of different persuasions, and different communions, have received them, and them only as Canonical, than it would have been for one, though the most orthodox communion, alone to have received them as such ; so where we find the several Liturgies used by numerous Churches of different communions agreeable and harmonious to each other, it is a fuller argument that those points wherein they so agree are of apostolical tradition, than if they were to be found among one communion of Christians only, though the most orthodox, numerous, and diffusive. And for this reason it is that the Liturgy of Nestorius, and so many Liturgies of the Monophysites, are here published ; that it may be seen how the Christians of different communions have agreed in the now controverted points,

as well as they agree in the books which make up the Canon of the New Testament. Consequently that the tradition for these points is as universal as it is for the Canon of Scripture. But though the Greek Church be much the largest, and has produced a greater number of ancient writers and ancient Liturgies than the Western, yet the testimony of the Western Church adds a considerable weight to the former evidence. And though we have only some fragments left of the Liturgies used in these parts of the world, yet there is enough in those fragments, and so many of them are here published, as may convince us that the Western Church agreed with the Eastern and Greek Church in the points now disputed. And though I take the Roman Canon to be of the least authority of any communion service that pretends to antiquity, for reasons before given,\* yet as it was for many ages used in all, and still is in most Churches of the Western part of Christendom, I thought it by no means proper to omit it, when I was intending to give the English reader an account of the manner of celebrating the eucharist at all times, in all places, and by all persons, from the beginning of Christianity to the Reformation, as far as we have an account of the matter. Then I was willing to let him see what was done in England at the Reformation, in order to rectify the Roman Canon, which was used here till that time, and reduce it to the primitive standard, from which it had deviated by the addition of divers corrupt clauses which had crept into the Canon itself, and a multitude of superstitious, not to say idolatrous, Rubrics: for which reason the first Liturgy of king Edward VI. is here also published. By which the reader may see that our first Reformers, if they had been left to themselves, would have transmitted a Liturgy to us much nearer the primitive standard than the Roman Canon would have been, if only the corrupt clauses and superstitious rubrics had been omitted. However Calvin, and other foreign presbyterians his emissaries, such as Bucer, Martyr, and Fagius, prevailed with the court party, which seemed at that time to have the whole power of religion here in their hands, to alter the whole Common Prayer Book, and particularly the communion office, for one very near the same with that now used. And I desire the reader that he would impartially compare the present communion office of the Church

\* Supr. § 40.



of England with those here published, particularly with the Clementine, the most ancient of all, and the test and standard by which the rest may be tried, and then judge for himself, whether he find it harmonious with or agreeable to any of them. He will there find all of them mix water with the sacramental wine; that all, except the Roman, not only begin with an eucharistic or thanksgiving prayer, beginning, "It is meet, right, and our bounden duty," &c., and so going on to the seraphic hymn, "Holy, Holy, Holy," &c., but that it is likewise continued by another thanksgiving for the creation, preservation, and redemption of mankind, till the consecration is finished. But he will find no such thanksgiving in the communion office of his Common Prayer Book. He will find in all of them a prayer of oblation, with a thankful remembrance of Christ's death, which the Church of England teaches her communicants they ought to testify, but has made no provision for their doing it in her office: he will in all of them, except the Roman, (yet there the Greeks say is a prayer to the same effect) meet with a petition that God would cause the Holy Ghost to descend upon the bread and wine, to make them the body and blood of Christ, which he will not see in his Common Prayer Book. He will find in all of them a prayer or petition for those that sleep in peace, and are at rest from their labours; but in his Common Prayer Book he will see all the dead expressly excluded from the prayers of the Church, by words *militant here in earth*. He will likewise find the intercession for all states and conditions of men in his Common Prayer Book is wholly excluded from the eucharistic office, though it makes a part of it in all the other Liturgies.

Now as the ancient Liturgies all agree in all these points, and in no other so unanimously and harmoniously, can any one think that the present Church of England has not departed from the communion of the whole Catholic Church, in rejecting so many things, which were always practised by the Catholic Church? And if she has thus broke her communion with the Catholic Church, is it a question which we ought to communicate with, the Primitive and truly Catholic Church itself, or a particular Church, which has so plainly deviated from that communion? Let them then compare the communion office here compiled for the use of those who are fully sensible of the apparent defects in the communion office of the Church of England, and examine it

by the other Liturgies, and then judge if it be not perfectly agreeable and harmonious with them in all things but their plain corruptions, which I have taken notice of in the foregoing discourse. And if this new compiled communion office be agreeable to the doctrine and practice of the Catholic Church *at all times, and in all places*, and that in the Common Prayer Book be not so, sure there is a *tolerable foundation* for what we have done, notwithstanding our adversaries are pleased to say there is none. And to satisfy the English reader that it is not a principle newly started by us, *that apostolical and universal traditions of the Catholic Church do oblige us to an obedience, and that no particular Church has authority to cancel that obligation*; I have shewed that three most learned Divines of the Church of England taught the very same doctrine with regard to the authority of traditions about fifty years ago; neither have I read or heard, that their advancing such a doctrine was ever condemned as an error in them by any Divine of the Church of England since that time. - All then that we have done has been only to put in practice what Dr. Hammond, Mr. Thorndike, and bishop Taylor, (and I question not but I might find many others who have asserted the same, if I would search for them) declared to be a duty so many years ago. Then as to the points we contend for, I have shewed that we were not the first who discovered them to be primitive and universal traditions. Archbishop Wake taught us, that where we find all the ancient Liturgies to agree in sense at least, if not in words, as they certainly do in the now controverted points, we may conclude that the Church received those things from apostolical direction or tradition. And bishop Hickes and Mr. Johnson taught before us, that *the mixture, prayer for the dead, the oblation and invocation*, were Primitive and Catholic traditions: and long before Mr. Thorndike taught the *invocation* and *prayer for the dead* to be universal traditions and necessary duties, and calls *the taking away all prayer for the dead, not paring off abuses, but cutting to the quick*. And bishop Forbes before him spoke much in the same manner of *prayer for the dead*. And Dr. Isaac Barrow, bishop of St. Asaph, particularly desired those that came into the house of the Lord, would pray for him after his death. And since the controversy was started, Mr. Bingham has proved *the mixture, the invocation, and prayer for the*



*dead*, to be primitive and universal traditions. And Mr. Spinckes, whom no body, that knows any thing of our controversy, will judge to be partial to our side of the question, allows us the testimony of Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and St. Cyprian, for the *mixed cup*,\* which our adversaries have endeavoured to deprive us of by their criticisms upon the signification of plain words. Nay our adversaries themselves, even those that have most zealously opposed us, confess all these things to be *desideranda*, *what they are desirous to see restored in a regular way*. I hope therefore that the impartial reader, when he has duly considered what these unprejudiced persons have said in this case, will judge that *we had, at least, a tolerable foundation for what we have done*.

The Church of England herself has given us direction, in the most positive express terms that can be, to adhere to the practice of the Primitive Church in the celebration of the eucharist: saying, BEFORE ALL OTHER THINGS, THIS WE MUST BE SURE OF ESPECIALLY, *that this supper be in such wise done and ministered, as our Lord and Saviour did, and commanded to be done; as his holy Apostles used it, and THE GOOD FATHERS IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH FREQUENTED IT.*†

Now we are assured by the unanimous agreement betwixt the Liturgies here published, by the testimony of the good fathers of the Primitive Church before cited in this discourse, by the judgment of many eminent bishops and Divines of the Church of England, who had diligently searched the writings of the ancients, that the *good fathers of the Primitive Church* never frequented the holy eucharist, but *their cup was of wine mixed with water; they offered the elements to God in remembrance of Christ's death; they prayed for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon them, to make them the body and blood of Christ; and they also prayed for the faithful departed*. Therefore, *if we would do and minister this supper as the good fathers in the Primitive Church frequented it*, which the Church of England enjoins us BEFORE ALL THINGS TO BE SURE OF ESPECIALLY, we are obliged to do and minister it with *a mixed cup, an oblation of the elements, an inrocaion for the descent of the Holy Ghost, and prayer for the dead*. Consequently in doing these things, we

\* Article of the Romish Transubstantiation, &c., p. 71, 72. 74.

† First part of the Sermon concerning the Sacrament.



are obedient to the directions of the Church of England. And this I hope our adversaries will allow *to be a tolerable foundation for what we have done*. For though the Church of England has prescribed another form so disagreeable to that which was used by the good fathers of the Primitive Church, yet since she directs us that BEFORE ALL THINGS *we be sure ESPECIALLY to do and minister this supper* AS THE GOOD FATHERS IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH FREQUENTED IT, where there are two rules of the same Church so contrary to each other, we may presume that we cannot be said to be disobedient to her, when we follow that rule which she enjoins us to observe *especially and before all things*; consequently before any other rule, though prescribed by herself. It is therefore to be hoped that the governors of the Church of England (as soon as they have opportunity for it) will duly consider how she has prescribed us two contrary rules, which cannot both be obeyed: and so correct their communion office, *that the holy eucharist may be so done and ministered* AS THE GOOD FATHERS IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH FREQUENTED IT. That since (as archbishop Wake expresses it) "it can hardly be doubted but that the *holy Apostles and Evangelists* did give some directions for the administration of the blessed eucharist in the Churches which they founded; it may reasonably be presumed that some of those orders are still remaining in those Liturgies which have been brought down to us; and that those prayers wherein they *all* agree, (in sense at least, if not in words) were first prescribed in the same or like terms by the Apostles and Evangelists;"\* they would be pleased to restore those things to the communion office of the Church of England, wherein *all* these Liturgies agree. I dare say, that learned archbishop in particular can never be against restoring what he finds to have been prescribed by the holy Apostles and Evangelists. And if this be done, we shall very readily conform to such a communion office.

In a word, we think it absolutely necessary to hold close to the communion of the Primitive and Catholic Church, founded by our Saviour and his holy Apostles, and therefore are firmly persuaded, that as Dr. Hammond expresses it, "If the particular Church wherein we were baptized, shall by authority or law set

\* Preliminary Dissertation to Apostolical Fathers, p. 102.

up that, which, if not contrary to plain words of Scripture, is yet contrary to the doctrine and practice of the Universal Church in the first and purest times, meekness requires our obedience and submission to the Catholic Apostolic Church, and not to the particular wherein we live.”\* And forasmuch as we conceive, that “what is proposed is an essential part of religion, therefore in this case no fear of its consequences could dissuade from, nor justify our longer refusal of it, but we were obliged to make the alterations we have done, in order to discharge our duty faithfully; and we leave events to God’s all-wise providence, which overrules all things, and can easily cause them *to work together for good to them that love him.*” Which is what our first adversary says, ought to be done in such a case.† And I most humbly and heartily beseech God, that as he has been graciously pleased to discover to this generation a more general knowledge of the doctrines and practices of the Primitive Church, than our forefathers for some ages have had before us: (for though there were some as learned men in all times since the Reformation as any now living, yet I am persuaded, that as to the knowledge of the fathers, no modern age has had so many as the present) so he will be graciously pleased to infuse a primitive spirit into us, and make us not only *almost*, but *altogether such* as the Primitive Christians were, *except their bonds*. But especially that he would vouchsafe us the means and the will to use those means of making the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the Church of England, exactly agreeable to that of the truly Catholic and Apostolic Church. That neither Papists nor Presbyterians, nor any other adversaries, may justly reproach her any more with being unprimitive in any doctrine or practice: this is my earnest prayer and endeavour, and the good Lord grant it may have the desired effect, through the merits of Jesus Christ: to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be all honour and glory, now and for evermore. Amen.

\* Practical Catechism, lib. II. Sect. I. p. 31. 1st. vol. of his Works.

† No Reason, &c. p. 80, 81.

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