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“The oblation of the Church, which the Lord taught to be offered throughout the whole world, is accounted a pure sacrifice with God, and is acceptable to Him.”—IRENÆUS, *adversus Hæreses*, iv. xxxiv.

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BEING THE

ORDER FOR HOLY COMMUNION

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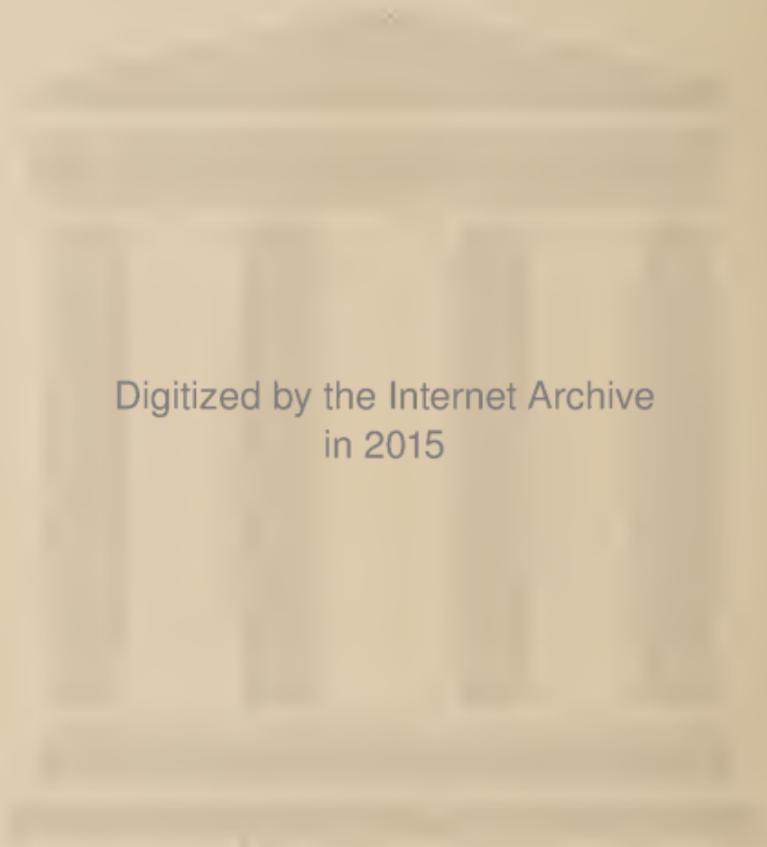
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S. T. P.

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SUMMA : REVERENTIA : DEDICAT

H. M. L.

Preface.

IT is now four years since, in obedience to the wish of my dear and revered Father in God, the late Bishop Woodford, I put forth an exposition of S. Mark's Gospel, so arranged that, while it served for private and devotional study, it might also be publicly read in the Services of the Church. It was commended by him to the Clergy of his Diocese, especially for this latter purpose. The numerous letters that I have received, not only from friends and neighbours, but also from strangers at a distance, seem to justify the principle which he thought fit to advocate; and the kind expressions of my correspondents on this subject have led me to think that another series of instructions of a similar kind may prove helpful.

It was the Bishop's desire that the experiment

of reading from a printed book in place of a written sermon should be tried in the first instance with Sacred History; but he looked forward to its being followed up by the publication of expositions of a distinctly doctrinal character. I have thought it well, however, to make the transition gradual by combining history and doctrine together in these pages; and I wait for some future time, when, *Deo volente*, I may put forth others which shall deal with dogmatic teaching alone.

The subject, which is here treated of, is one which, since the Catholic Revival of the last generation, has been attracting an ever-increasing attention, till it has now an absorbing interest in almost every part of the English Church. When we go back in thought to our childhood, and recall the quarterly or monthly recurrence of what was called "Sacrament Sunday," and then turn to read the List of Celebrations on any Church-door almost that we may chance to enter, we are filled with wonder at the rapid development of the Sacramental system; but we are

disposed to question whether the instruction of communicants in the principles of the Service has quite kept pace with the multiplication of their Communion. The laity are eager to be taught, but the Clergy are not always able to teach. During some thirteen or fourteen years, when it was my privilege to fill the office of Examining Chaplain to the late and present Bishops of Ely, I felt it my duty to press invariably upon the candidates for Ordination the necessity of establishing Communicants' Classes in their several parishes, for specific instruction in Sacramental doctrine. It will strike many as no over-exacting standard to expect that they should at least be prepared to teach their people the nature and obligations of the highest Service; but over and over again I was met by the difficulty, on the part of those who were to be admitted to the Diaconate, "I should tell them all I know about it in half-a-dozen times"; or from those who were already in Orders, I heard the confession, "I have tried a Communicants' Class; but I was soon obliged to change from the Prayer-book to

the Bible, for I found my knowledge of the former was quickly exhausted." For those whose experience is here described, I trust that this treatise will be found to supply at least a partial remedy. It is designed, as well as for public reading, to afford material for teaching in a weekly class for a year; and if it is so used, I can have little doubt that by the end of that time the thirst for further knowledge on such an absorbing subject, and the determination to satisfy it, will have grown so strong that there will be little danger of the instructions coming to a premature end.

When I was ordained a quarter of a century ago, so little did I know of the subject that, had any examining chaplain told me that it was an imperative part of my Parochial work to establish and constantly keep up a Class for instruction on the Holy Communion, I should have received the injunction with blank amazement. But circumstances compelled me to begin some instructions on the Office, and I may safely say that year by year, as I have gone on teaching the

same subject, information has been constantly accumulating, as well from the study of other men's works as from independent reflection, so that one real difficulty has been how to compress into a single volume what could more easily have been expanded into two or three. I speak thus of my own experience, even at the risk of being misunderstood, simply for the encouragement of others, because I know so well that this is sorely needed.

Of course the teaching of our Service-books will always be subordinated to the teaching of the Word of God; but the true ideal of instruction for Churchmen is the blending of the two, according to the proportion of the Faith; and the class that will often possess the greatest attraction for the young is one in which the Bible and the Prayer-book lie open together, and the teacher never wearies of explaining how Sacramental doctrine is Scriptural truth. Both alike are calculated to kindle the keenest interest, if intelligently set forth; for if the Bible carries us back to the far-off ages and the first

beginnings of the human race, the history of the Liturgy reaches at least to the incipient life of Christianity, and shows us how our forefathers in the Faith worshipped God, when as yet they were but a feeble folk, hiding from their persecutors in the dark places of the earth. We cannot rise from even the briefest comparison of our Communion Office with a Primitive Liturgy without being at once impressed with the historic continuity of Christian worship.

The compilers of our present Prayer-book expressed in their Preface much satisfaction that “the main body and essentials of it (as well in the chiefest materials as in the frame and order thereof) have continued the same,” through all those Revisions to which it was subjected in the reigns of the “several princes of blessed memory.” They might have gone further and asserted that every one of the great elemental features of the Eucharistic worship of the Early Church had survived throughout, even under the paralysing overgrowths of mediæval times. In form and feature—not perhaps in the same proportions

but at least in outline—the Liturgy of the nineteenth century is one with the Liturgies of the second and the third. And the knowledge of this will often be found helpful in removing the prejudices of men, who are apt to think that every revival is simply an innovation. Their attitude towards change is not infrequently altered directly they realise that the so-called “novel practices” are integral parts of an historic system. With some, of course, the antiquity of an usage or ceremony is no recommendation, and the study of Primitive Liturgies is regarded by them as nothing less than an unworthy waste of time; but a perfectly loyal adherence to the Catholic Church, especially at times when she is endeavouring to put forth her utmost strength, is quite inconsistent with indifference to any part of her life and worship.

It is now my pleasant duty to express my sincere gratitude to friends, who have in divers ways helped me in bringing out this book. It is due to two eminent Liturgical scholars, the Rev. Canon Wordsworth, one of the editors of the

Sarum Breviary and of other Offices, and the Rev. F. E. Brightman, one of the Pusey librarians, who have looked over in proof all that I have written; and I trust that after accepting (in most cases) their corrections and suggestions, I may not have gone seriously astray in the Liturgical parts. I owe it also to the Rev. Canon Evans, who, as on previous occasions, has revised the pages generally for the press; and to Dr. Schiller-Szinessy, the Reader in Talmudic and Rabbinical Literature at Cambridge, for advice and information on those points where Jewish and Christian practices became associated together. Lastly, my most grateful acknowledgments are due to one of the very foremost in the school of theology for criticisms on those chapters which deal with such grave and important subjects as the Sacrificial aspect of the Holy Eucharist, and the Reality of Christ's Presence under the forms of Bread and Wine. I have not asked him for the use of his name, simply because the responsibility of issuing a book which touches upon such profound verities

of Catholic worship ought to rest entirely upon him who sends it forth. No one will realise more clearly than I do myself how inadequate it is to the greatness of the subject; I can only pray that all its imperfections, and—if so be—its errors, may be corrected in the hearts of those who read it, by Him Who alone can guide us into all truth.

H. M. L.

COLLEGE, ELY,
The Feast of the Purification, 1889.

TABLE OF LITURGIES

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Roman (SARUM USE).

<p>I.</p> <p>LECTIONS—1. Old Testament. 2. New Testament.</p> <p>Sermon. Prayers for all orders of men.</p>	<p>I. Prep. of the ministers (including Collect for Purity and Lord's Prayer). { Introit. Kyrie. Gloria in excelsis. Collects.</p> <p>LECTIONS—1. Epistle (or O. T.). Gradual, etc. 2. Gospel.</p> <p>Sermon (position variable). Creed.</p>
<p>II. Kiss of Peace. OFFERTORY—(1) Lavabo. (2) Oblation. (3) Silent Prayer.</p>	<p>II. OFFERTORY—(1) Sentence. (2) Oblation. (3) Prayers. (4) Lavabo.</p>
<p>III. Grace. Sursum corda, Preface, Sanctus.</p> <p>{ Commem. of Redemption.</p> <p>{ Institution. Oblation and Invocation, and Prayer for the benefits of Communion. Commem. of (i) the Church, (ii) the Living and the Dead.</p>	<p>III. The Lord be, etc. Sursum corda, Preface, Sanctus.</p> <p>CANON—</p> <p>{ Commem. of (i) the Church, (ii) the Living, (iii) the Saints. Oblation in the name of all these (<i>cuncta familia tua</i>), and</p> <p>{ Prayer for Consecration with a view to Communion. Institution. Oblation.</p> <p>{ Commem. of (i) the Dead, (ii) the Communion of Saints. Lord's Prayer, with <i>proem</i> and embolism.</p>
<p>IV. "The Peace of God."</p> <p>Deacon's Bidding, and Prayer of Access. Sancta sanctis (= Invitation).</p> <p>COMMUNION.</p> <p>Deacon's Bidding, and Thanksgiving.</p> <p>Prayer of Blessing, and Dismissal.</p>	<p>IV. "The Peace of the Lord," with Fraction, Commixture, and Agnus Dei. Kiss of Peace.</p> <p>Prayers before Communion.</p> <p>COMMUNION.</p> <p>Thanksgiving. Ablutions. Post-communions.</p>

English, 1549.

English, 1662.

<p>I. L. P. and Collect for Purity.</p> <p>{ Introit. Kyrie. Gloria in excelsis. Collects.</p> <p>LECTIONS.—1. Epistle (or O. T.). 2. Gospel.</p> <p>Creed. Sermon and Exhortation.</p>	<p>I. L. P. and Collect for Purity.</p> <p>{ Kyrie with Decalogue. Collects.</p> <p>LECTIONS.—1. Epistle (or O. T.). 2. Gospel.</p> <p>Creed. Sermon and Exhortation.</p>
<p>II. OFFERTORY—(1) Sentences. (2) Oblation.</p>	<p>II. OFFERTORY—(1) Sentences. (2) Oblation. (3) Prayer—commem. of (i) the Church, (ii) the Living, (iii) the Dead. Preparation of Communicants. Exhortation and Invitation. Confession, Absolution, and Comfortable Words.</p>
<p>III. The Lord be, etc. Sursum corda, Preface, Sanctus.</p> <p>CANON—</p> <p>Commem. of (i) the Church, (ii) the Living, (iii) the Saints, (iv) the Dead.</p> <p>{ Commem. of Redemption. Invocation and Prayer for Consecration with a view to Communion. Institution. Oblation.</p> <p>Lord's Prayer with proëm.</p>	<p>III. Sursum corda, Preface, Sanctus. Prayer of Access.</p> <p>[CANON]—</p> <p>{ Commem. of Redemption. Prayer for the benefits of Com- munion. Institution.</p>
<p>IV. "The Peace of the Lord."</p> <p>Preparation of Communicants. Invitations. Confession, Absolution, and Comfortable Words.</p> <p>Prayer of Access.</p> <p>COMMUNION, with Agnus Dei.</p> <p>Post-communion (sentence). Thanksgiving.</p> <p>"The Peace of God," and Blessing.</p>	<p>IV.</p> <p>COMMUNION. Lord's Prayer. Oblation or Thanksgiving. Gloria in excelsis.</p> <p>"The Peace of God," and Blessing.</p>



GLOSSARY OF LITURGICAL TERMS.

- Alb.**—A white linen tunic reaching to the feet and fastened with a girdle.
- Ambon.**—A raised desk or platform with steps from which Lections were read and sometimes the Sermon was preached.
- Anaphora.**—The Offering—the more sacred part of the Eucharistic Service, extending from the *sursum corda* to the end.
- Antidoron.**—The unconsecrated remains of the Holy Loaves, distributed to the people after the Liturgy in the Greek Church.
- Bema.**—The Sanctuary or Altar-enclosure of an Eastern Church.
- Canon Missæ.**—In the Roman Liturgy the invariable portion of the Service, including Consecration, Intercession, Oblation, and the Lord's Prayer.
- Catechumen.**—A candidate for Baptism under instruction.
- Chasuble.**—The principal vestment worn by the Celebrant.
- Chrisom.**—A white robe put upon one newly-baptized.
- Cope.**—A hooded cloak clasped on the breast and reaching to the feet: formerly an outdoor vestment, and now chiefly used in processions.
- Corporal.**—A linen cloth on which the elements are placed for Consecration.
- Credence.**—A side-table on which are placed the elements prepared for oblation.
- Dalmatic.**—A sleeved tunic, worn over the Alb as the distinctive vestment of the Gospeller or Deacon.

Diptychs.—Tables on which are inscribed the names of persons, living and dead, to be commemorated at the Altar.

Embolismus.—An expansion of the two final clauses of the Lord's Prayer.

Entrance.—(1) Little, the bringing in of the book of the Gospels and placing it upon the Altar before the Gospel is read.

(2) Great, the procession with the elements from the Prothesis to the Altar at the Offertory.

Euchologion.—The Eastern Service-book corresponding to the Western Sacramentary and Book of Offices.

Fideles.—The faithful, *i.e.* the baptized.

Farsed.—Interpolated matter in different parts, as, *e.g.*, in the *Gloria in Excelsis*.

Gradual.—An anthem sung after the Epistle: so called because formerly it was sung on a step of the Ambon.

Intinction.—The steeping of the Consecrated Bread in the Wine, with a view to administering them both together to the people by means of a spoon; used now by the Eastern Churches.

Introit.—Called also "the Office," an anthem sung at the beginning of the Service.

Lecton.—A portion of Scripture read in the Service.

Missa Catechumenorum.—That part of the Service, consisting mainly of instruction, at which the unbaptized might be present.

Missa Fidelium.—The more sacred part, confined to the baptized.

Missa Sicca.—Dry Mass, the Communion Office without the Canon.

Oblation.—The offering or presentation to God. (i) The Lesser, of the elements before Consecration; (ii) the Greater, of Christ's Body and Blood under the forms of Bread and Wine after Consecration.

- Ordinary in the Mass.**—All the fixed part of the Service except the Canon.
- Pax-bred.**—A tablet kissed in common by the faithful as a substitute for the Kiss of Peace among themselves.
- Prokeimenon.**—The Anthem which in the Greek Rite corresponds in a measure to the Western Gradual, so called because it “precedes” instead of following the Epistle.
- Prothesis.**—The Table on which the offerings of bread and wine are prepared, and where they remain until the Great Entrance.
- Prose.**—A hymn following the Gradual, less metrical in structure than the Sequence.
- Sanctus, or Tersanctus.**—Holy, holy, holy, etc.
- Sacramentary.**—The Book for the use of the Celebrant containing the fixed framework, the Canon, and the variable prayers and prefaces of the Liturgy, together with other rites.
- Secret.**—(1) Formerly used sometimes of the Canon; (2) a variable collect after the offertory in the Roman Rite; (3) the “Institution” in the Gallican.
- Sequence.**—A metrical hymn occasionally sung after the Alleluia preceding the Gospel.
- Trisagion.**—The hymn, “Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy upon us.”
- Troparium.**—In the East a verse or anthem: in the West the book containing the Tropes, *i.e.* the verses “farsed” in the *Gloria in Excelsis*.
- Tunicle.**—A less ornate form of Dalmatic worn by the Epistoler or Sub-Deacon.
- Vell.**—A square of linen or silk used for covering the Chalice.

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I.

The Liturgy.

THE Office of the Blessed Sacrament has borne many names. One of the most widely used is "The Liturgy." It is a word of great historic interest, one which, for the most part, obtains a deeper meaning at each successive stage of its use. In Greece it was a civil or political "service" performed by the few for the good of the many. The Athenians, instead of imposing upon the citizens a direct property-tax, as is done in England and elsewhere, adopted the arbitrary method of calling upon wealthy individuals to provide at their own cost for special national emergencies and certain regularly-recurring burdens. The chief of these were the equipment of ships of war, theatrical exhibitions, tribal feasting, and public games. Not infrequently patriotic citizens offered to take the expense upon themselves; but all services of this kind, whether voluntary or imposed by the State, were designated "Liturgies."

The classical usage of the term.

The word was adopted into the terminology of the

that waiteth for Him." Now, it is true that in the Authorised Version, from which we have quoted, there is some similarity between the two, but neither with the Hebrew, nor with the Septuagint Version is the correspondence manifest. King James's translators were doubtless biassed by a desire to bring S. Paul into harmony with the prophet, but we look in vain for any trace of resemblance in the Revised Version.

If, however, we turn to one of the primitive Liturgies, we find the whole sentence word for word.¹ Furthermore, there is an expression slurred over in the Authorised Version as insignificant, which becomes intelligible at once when read from the Liturgy.² Indeed, the whole circumstances are such that it has been pronounced by an eminent Liturgiologist³ to be "certain beyond all assurance" that this is the passage which the Apostle was quoting.

The doctrine
of reserve in
the early
ages.

The expression, "as it is written," has been thought to create a difficulty by interfering with the common tradition of the existence of that *disciplina arcani*, that holy reverence which led the Church to hide her mysteries from open and avowed

¹ Liturgy of S. James.

² The quotation begins with a relative, ἡ ὀφθαλμοῦ οὐκ εἶδε κ.τ.λ. "which eye hath not," etc., referring to τὰ δωρήματα of the Liturgy. S. Paul gives the quotation exactly, though it makes the sentence appear so harsh, without what goes before.

³ J. M. Neale. It is right to add that his conclusions have been freely canvassed, and are not universally accepted.

enemies. She knew and acted upon her Lord's command, "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you"; but it is by no means certain that this "doctrine of reserve" was practised so early as the time of S. Paul. It was only when Christianity had made considerable progress, and was becoming formidable, that the Church encountered the full force of heathen opposition; and then, but not till then, would it become necessary to hide the mysteries of her worship, and withdraw from circulation the books which were in use. This was certainly 303 A. D. done before the persecution of Diocletian, for though the sacred Scriptures and vestments and other treasures of the Church were given up by those who apostatised, there is no trace of the surrender, under a most searching inquisition, of any books of Divine worship, which would naturally be the first objects of heathen curiosity.

We see no reason, therefore, on the grounds mentioned, for supposing that S. Paul did not quote The Apostolic Liturgy. from a written Liturgy. It does not follow, however, that this was a complete Form. It is safer to conclude that only portions of it were of Apostolic authority. Probably before the Apostles separated for their several spheres of missionary work, they met and agreed, under the guidance of the Holy

Ghost, upon the essentials of Eucharistic worship. These would be put together not so much for a type or model, as a framework or nucleus, upon which divers forms might be built up, with variations of detail characteristic of the tastes and wishes of individual Churches.¹ These would be handed down, for the most part, orally, till after the conversion of Constantine, when persecution ceased, and Christianity enjoyed imperial favour. Then the main reason for hiding the mysteries and their mode of celebration was withdrawn, and written Service-books made their appearance in abundance.

The families
of Liturgies.

A comparison of all the recognised Liturgies of the early Church has made manifest the phenomena which we have mentioned, of substantial uniformity with variety of detail; and a classification of the variable parts has resulted in the reduction of the whole number of Liturgies to four or five groups or families, known by the names of Apostles, or others, who laboured in the countries where they were severally used, viz., the Liturgies of S. James, S. Mark, S. John or S. Paul, S. Peter, and SS. Adæus and Maris.²

The source
of the British
Liturgy.

It would be a matter of the highest interest if we could state definitely which type the British and Celtic Churches used, but too little is known to offer materials for a positive judgment. Most probably

¹ Cf. Murat. *Diss.* ix. 119. Firmilian *Ep. ad Cyprian*, lxxv. § 6.

² For some further account, cf. Author's *After Death*, ch. ix.

at first it was that of S. John or S. Paul, called also the Ephesine Liturgy; for there was a close connexion between the Churches of Gaul and Ephesus,¹ and as far back as history enables us to penetrate, the Churches of Britain and Gaul were intimately associated. It was to Gaul that Britain appealed for help to oppose the inroads ^{429 A.D.} of Pelagian error, and it was from Gaul that missionaries were sent to establish our forefathers in ^{447 A.D.} the doctrine of the Catholic Faith.²

The preservation of the names of Gallican saints ^{Traces of Gallican influence.} in our Calendar, SS. Hilary, Enurchus, Britius, Remigius, and Martin, the last with even a double commemoration, and the dedication of endless Churches, amongst them the oldest in England,³ to the honour of the same Gallican Bishop, furnish corroborative evidence; so that there can hardly be a doubt that when S. Augustine landed in England he found the Gallican Liturgy in use. What modification it underwent at his hands is uncertain; but in the beginning of the eighth century the Council of ^{747 A.D.} Cloveshoo superseded it by the Roman. Gallican

¹ Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* v. 1.

² Germanus of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes were sent over by a Gallican Synod, and, after meeting the heretics and refuting them, returned home, but only to revisit the Britons at a later period for the further confirmation of the faith. Cf. Bright's *Early Eng. Ch. Hist.* ch. i. Warren's *Lit. of Celtic Ch.* pp. 61, 62.

³ S. Martin's, at Canterbury.

influence, however, did not then cease, for it left a new impress on our Service-books when, after the Norman Conquest, they were revised by a Norman Count,¹ and what is known as the Sarum Use was established by them. This has been found to be almost identical with the Rouen Use of the eleventh century.² But, as we have said, the main principles of Liturgical worship were the same in all the primitive Forms, and it will be our endeavour in the following pages to show that the Anglican Office, which we use to-day, is a direct lineal descendant of the Liturgies of the fourth century.

1087 A.D.

The antiquity of the English Liturgy.

If our readers have any reverence for antiquity their interest will be quickened as we trace out and exhibit the many features of correspondence. Looked at, as our Liturgy is looked at by thousands of our fellow-Churchmen, with no knowledge of its long and honoured existence, it fills them with admiration; friend and foe unite in praising the English Office for its singular beauty;³ but let them learn its chequered history, follow it through sixteen centuries of usage, developed and curtailed, overlaid

¹ Osmund, a statesman of much distinction, was consecrated to the see of Salisbury on the death of Herman.

² Cf. De Moleon's *Voyages Liturgiques*, 283-292. This identity, however, has lately been disputed.

³ Its inferiority, however, to the Office in the first Prayer-Book of Edward VI. has often been noticed, and will be frequently referred to in the following pages.

with superstition and purged from accretions, assailed with the fiercest bigotry, and defended through good report and evil report by some of the greatest liturgical scholars—and admiration is turned into awe. It is, if we may use the comparison, as when we enter some modern church, and see everything designed and arranged to offer unto God the beauty of worship, but all is new; and then we pass into one of our oldest cathedrals, and as we walk about we see everywhere traces of a lengthened history, of centuries of change and vicissitude, of vigour and decay, of enthusiastic devotion and iconoclastic fury, and a sense of awe steals into the mind, and we ask ourselves what it is that has given permanence to the fabric, that has repaired the breaches and effaced the disfigurements; what it is that has preserved our Church amongst the dissolution of well nigh everything around us, and we go away with the conviction with which the patriarch awakened out of his dream: “Surely the Lord is in this place . . . this is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven.”

II.

The Lord's Supper.

FROM the Reformation to the Catholic Revival the Lord's Supper was a familiar title for the Divine Mysteries. In the present generation it has happily been almost entirely superseded by others, which are at the same time more ancient, and less liable to be misunderstood. Of course if it could be proved that S. Paul applied it to the Holy Eucharist pure and simple, none could be more ancient; but when he writes to the Corinthians touching certain abuses which had gathered round the celebration of this, it was not by itself, but in combination with the Agapè or Love-Feast. In his eyes, of necessity, the former was the all-important part, but still the fact of the joint-celebration remains, and forbids the appropriation of the term which he uses to anything but the whole feast. Probably at first either designation, Agapè or the Lord's Supper, was used indifferently to embrace both.

The origin of the connexion is obvious. Our Blessed Lord had instituted the Holy Eucharist at

1549—
1833 A.D.

The Scrip-
tural usage
of the term.

the Paschal Supper. It naturally suggested to the first Christians the propriety of preserving a similar association in subsequent Celebrations. Social gatherings, in which different classes united in partaking of a common meal, had long been known among the Greeks. The brotherhood of Christians prompted the adoption of a like practice, that rich and poor, master and slave, might have a common meeting-ground. In the beginning, at Jerusalem at least, the cost would be defrayed out of the common fund, but subsequently, when they ceased to have "all things in common," contributions in kind were made for the feast by the richer members of the community. At Corinth the sacred character imparted to the meal by the conjunction with it of the Blessed Sacrament was forgotten, the bounds of temperance were overstepped, and the Apostle was called upon to interfere. He found that the whole principle had been violated; the rich would not wait for the poor, but partook of the feast before their arrival, and "one is hungry and another is drunken."¹

The Christian Love-Feast.

The first result of the Apostle's interference was to place the Holy Eucharist before instead of after the Love-Feast. We have an intimation of this in what took place shortly after² in the upper chamber

The connexion of the Holy Eucharist with this Feast changed.

¹ 1 Cor. xi. 21.

² The First Epistle to the Corinthians was probably written in the spring of 57 A.D. S. Paul's visit to Troas was shortly after Pentecost in the same year.

at Troas upon the restoration to life of Eutychus. In the Authorised Version of the Acts we read, "When he therefore was come up again, and had broken bread and eaten";¹ but it would be more fitly translated "had broken the bread," that is, of the Eucharist, "and had made a meal," that is, the subsequent Agapè.

This next step in the history was the entire separation of the two feasts, after which the Agapè gradually fell into disrepute.² It would seem that as soon as the connexion had been severed, the Holy Eucharist began to be celebrated early in the day, as far at least as we are able to gather from the few scattered notices that are made of it; and when once this change had become established we should have expected that the title of the "Lord's Supper" would have fallen into disuse, but such was not altogether the case. The Council of Trent³ expresses the truth in saying that "some of the ancient fathers sometimes called the Sacred Eucharist also by the title of Supper"; but it is clear that it could hardly have been regarded as a recognised title, for it was applied without any explanatory comment to an annual commemorative feast of Maundy Thursday, which was kept in the

*Cena
Domini.*

The Maunday
Supper.

¹ Acts of the App. xx. 11.

² The word survived in Latin for a dole of food to the poor, as in Egbert's Pontifical, *oratio ad agapem pauperum*, Surtees Soc. xxvii. 124.

³ *De Euchar.* v.

evening. We read in the Acts of the Council of Carthage¹ of "that one day of the year on which the Lord's Supper is celebrated"; and S. Augustine, in speaking of a custom of bathing at the end of Lent, writes, "that day was chosen on which the Lord's Supper is annually celebrated."²

At the Reformation, however, it found its way as the designation of the Holy Eucharist proper into the great Protestant Confession of Augsburg,³ and became a favourite with Calvin. Subsequently it was introduced, though by what influence it is not easy to discover, into the first Prayer-book of Edward VI.: "The Supper of the Lord and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass."

The legitimacy of "Evening Communion" arises almost of necessity out of a consideration of this title. The advocates of the change of the time of celebration from that in universal use for at least eighteen centuries, base their right to make it upon the account of the original institution; but they have hardly given sufficient weight to the following considerations. An evening Celebration was tried at Corinth, and became the cause of such terrible evils, that they drew down upon the Church Divine displeasure in the infliction of divers diseases and death; the subject was referred to S. Paul, and

¹ iii. Conc. Carth. Can. xxix.

² S. Aug. *Ep.* 54, vii. § 10.

³ Part i. Art. x.

his decision, given under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, must have been adverse to the practice, for it was never heard of any more in the Church down to the present generation.¹ These combined facts afford conclusive proof that it was not intended by our Lord that later ages should follow the example of the original institution in all its particulars.

Had He given the slightest intimation that, apart from that first celebration, the evening time would be in accordance with His wish, the universal Church could not possibly have gone against it, as it did almost from the very beginning. In speaking of "the things pertaining to the kingdom of God," He must have explained what He left to be settled by the Apostles; and we have the authority of S. Augustine² for saying that the time to be observed not only at Corinth but by the Church generally was prescribed by an Apostle. If, therefore, S. Paul was guided into all truth in fulfilment of the Divine promise, his direction on this point claims the adherence of the Church every bit as justly as upon any other matter, and to fly in the face of this, is to reverse an Apostolic precept.

¹ There were occasional celebrations at the ninth hour, *i. e.* to 3 P.M., on fast-days, to avoid anything so festal till the day was far advanced; but this obviously affords no sanction to evening Communion as at present administered. Cf. Martene *de Rit. Antiq.* i. p. 108.

² *Ep. ad Januar.* vi. § 8.

Now there is a remarkable consensus of testimony touching the time of celebration during the first centuries. Wherever it is spoken of, it is early, always in the morning, sometimes even before the break of day.

Celebrations always early in the day in primitive times.

The Governor of Bithynia wrote to the Roman Emperor about the habits of the Christians in his province, and testified to their "meeting together on a certain day before it was light, binding themselves by a sacrament."¹

104 A.D.

Tertullian says that they celebrated the Sacrament "in the assemblies which were held before daybreak."²

C. 200 A.D.

S. Cyprian not only witnesses to the early hour of the Celebration, but justifies the departure from that of the original institution; "it was necessary for Christ to offer on the evening of the day that the very hour of sacrifice might signify the sunset and evening of the world, . . . but we celebrate the resurrection of the Lord in the morning."³

253 A.D.

Moreover, in addition to this, there is a large body of indirect evidence in the writings of Fathers and in the decrees of Councils and Synods touching the propriety of receiving the Holy Eucharist before taking food, which all points in the direction of the early hours. Confining ourselves to the first four centuries, we find the mind of the primitive Church very clearly expressed in favour of fasting

Fasting Communion.

¹ *Ep.* xcvi. ² *De Cor. Mil.* iii. ³ *Ep. ad Cœcil.* lxiii. § 13.

Communion. In the East, Pliny assumes that it was received fasting, for he says that at the conclusion of the Celebration they separated, and after an interval met together again to partake of a meal.

370 A. D.

S. Basil twice testifies to the custom, first when he says, "It is impossible to venture on the priest's office without fasting, not only in the present mystical and true service, but also in that typical service which was offered under the Law";¹ and secondly, in reference to the Easter Communion, he says, "The Lord receives the faster within the holy chancel."²

381 A. D.

S. Chrysostom held very strongly the value of fasting to prepare the soul for the reception of grace, and when accused of "having communicated some after they had eaten," he repudiated the charge in the most vehement manner: "If I did this may my name be wiped out of the roll of Bishops, and not be written in the book of the orthodox Faith; for if I did this, Christ shall cast me out of His kingdom."³ It is generally assumed that the vehemence of his language was called forth by an instinctive horror at the bare thought of such a thing, but a careful examination of the context rather suggests that it was prompted by a determination to satisfy his readers of the utter baselessness

¹ *Hom. de jejun.* i. § 6.² *Ibid.* ii. § 4.³ *Ep.* 125. Cf. also *Hom. in Vidi Dominum* vi. § 3.

of this and other charges that had been raised against him. But the fact remains; he was charged with doing something which was accounted wrong, and he repudiates the charge.

So far for the testimony of the Eastern Church: in the Western it is equally strong.

Tertullian, writing about dangers incurred by C. 200 A. D. a wife even with a tolerant husband, asks her, "Will not your husband know what it is that you taste secretly before all food? and if he have known it to be bread, will he not believe it to be that (bread) which it is said to be?"¹

S. Ambrose, arguing about the advantage the 374 A. D. tempter has over us when the body is languid from the food that is being digested, and the mind oppressed, says, "Do you prevent the snares of the tempter; lay up beforehand the heavenly banquet. The fast has been proclaimed; take heed you do not neglect it."²

But no one speaks with the same force and distinctness as S. Augustine. Januarius wrote to the 400 A. D. Bishop for a solution of certain difficulties that troubled him in connexion with the celebration on Maundy Thursday. In his answer he asserted that because the Apostles had eaten before they received the Lord's Body at the Last Supper, it was not to be regarded as culpable that men always received it

¹ *Ad uxorem*, ii. 5.

² *In Psalm. cxviii. viii. § 48.*

fasting throughout the whole Church; "For for this reason it seemed good to the Holy Ghost that for the honour of so great a Sacrament the Lord's Body should enter the mouth of a Christian before any other food, because for this purpose this custom is kept up throughout the world."¹

393 A.D. Two Councils in Africa passed formal canons to enforce fasting. The Council of Hippo,² which was "plenary" for Africa, enacted that "the Sacraments of the Altar be not celebrated save by men who are fasting, with the exception of that one day in the year when the Lord's Supper is celebrated."

397 A.D. The (so-called) Third Council of Carthage re-enacted it in the same words. Now it is quite true that, as these were only provincial synods, and not General Councils, their canons cannot be appealed to as necessarily binding upon the Church universal; at the same time, it is worthy of notice that they both were gatherings of more than ordinary influence and importance. At the first the restoration of discipline was so effectually brought about that the subsequent African Councils followed this as their archetype; and such was the authority of

¹ *Ut supra.*

² This Council, at which S. Augustine was present, must have been held to be very important, for its canon was re-enacted at two later African Councils, and also at Macon in France. Cf. Baronius, under 393 A.D. § xxxiii.

the second that the Church finally accepted from it the standard of the Canonical Scriptures.

If any, assenting to the testimony of the early and middle ages, should nevertheless plead that the restriction was withdrawn for the Anglican Church at the Reformation by the exercise of that authority which belongs to each National Church to alter rites and ceremonies, we should answer that evidence is altogether wanting. The practice of non-fasting Communion grew up during the laxity of the eighteenth century, when so many time-honoured customs were broken. We have the testimony of men of varied views for the continuance of this primitive practice—of Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr after the issue of the first reformed Prayer-book, and of Sparrow and Jeremy Taylor after that of the last.¹ The Canons² also of James I. indirectly infer the same, by limiting the celebration of Holy Matrimony, at which the Holy Communion was compulsory, to the forenoon; and it is not without significance that, when the ancient custom of communicating at this rite had fallen into abeyance, no objection should have been raised to the withdrawal of the limitation.

The habit not relaxed at the Reformation.

1604 A.D.

Now in dealing practically with this question, we observe that two separate reasons have been alleged

The two chief motives alleged for fasting reception.

¹ For the quotations, cf. *Fasting Reception*, by F. Hall, M.A.

² Can. cii.

by the Fathers as the object of the fast. That which appears to claim priority in time, as far as the direct evidence goes, was the obligation of coming to the Holy Table with the body subdued to the spirit by mortification and abstinence, that the recipient might be in the fullest state of preparation ; it was, in short, for the special profit of the communicant ; but that which laid firmest hold upon the Church is said to have originated with S. Augustine, and taught that it was for the greater honour of the Sacrament.¹

Those who accept the latter view rigorously refuse any concession to human infirmity, and insist that to partake of food before reception is, *ipso facto*, to treat the Lord's Body with irreverence. The Roman Church, for instance, holds that the single admissible relaxation is in administering the Viaticum to a dying man. Those, on the other hand, who accept the good of the recipient as the object to be attained,² feel less difficulty in providing for cases of sickness, age, or infirmity, when the insis-

¹ He alleges this as the reason why the practice had been generally adopted ; he must, therefore, have had grounds for his assertion, though the evidence is not preserved.

² SS. Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, and Chrysostom. On the Continent the Council of Constance, 1415, recognised the principle of exceptions, both by dispensation and custom : " in casu infirmitatis aut alterius necessitatis, a jure vel ecclesia concesso vel admissio " (Sess. xiii.), and in this spirit some leading Anglican divines, *e.g.* Bishop King, Drs. Pusey and Liddon, and Mr. Keble, have counselled that in such cases a little food of the simplest kind may be taken.

tence on a literal exaction of the rule would defeat its intention. As it is a positive and not a moral precept, exceptions must be admissible.

One lesson, however, which we may all draw from ancient practice, is that in this Service all thought of self-indulgence must be laid aside ; and, in an age of growing luxury and temptation to idleness, the Church should strive to revive and foster the spirit of our forefathers, and rise early for the reception of the Blessed Sacrament.¹

There is nothing contrary to the English habit in services at the earliest hours. The statutes of our cathedrals and old foundations bear abundant testimony to them. What has been, still may be. If the blessing to be received bears any proportion to the estimate in which the saints have held it, surely no self-denial can possibly be too great. The Psalmist said that he would awake the dawn that he might meet his God in the sanctuary ; and we must remember that if it be at the sacrifice of ease and comfort that we approach these Holy Mysteries, sacrifice is an essential principle of the Service, and the more closely we assimilate ourselves to its true spirit, the greater the good to be gained therefrom. "What shall I render unto the Lord for all His benefits toward me?" At least it shall not be that "which doth cost me nothing."

Self-denial of
the essence
of the
service.

¹ The case of domestic servants, which is so strongly pressed, may always be met by a celebration at 5 or 6 A.M.

engraved with a crucifix, was substituted, and passed round for all the communicants to kiss—priest and people, men and women. The original idea was preserved by all saluting the same object.

When we consider all this, we feel no surprise that the compilers of the first Prayer-book should have placed this title of "The Holy Communion" at the head of the Office. They added to it, "commonly called the Mass." This latter title had been for many centuries most widely used in the Western Church. Its origin is wrapt in obscurity, and many suggestions as to its derivation have been offered. Taking these in what we account the inverse order of merit, we find it derived from the Hebrew "Missah," an oblation, the tribute of a "free-will offering," as we have it spoken of in Deuteronomy.¹ But there is a fatal objection to this theory; if it had been of Hebrew origin, it would have found favour in the East, and the Greeks would have retained it, as they do other Hebrew words Hosannah, Alleluia, Sabaoth, and the like, but its use has been confined wholly to the Western Churches. In a kindred sense, but as a Latin word, the Schoolmen said that it implied that the oblation was "sent" (*missa*) to God by the ministrations of angels.

A third interpretation refers it to the Anglo-Saxon "maesse," or feast, and traces its existence

The Western title of the Mass, and its origin.

¹ xvi. 10.

in the final syllable of Christmas, Michaelmas, and Martinmas, in which case a purely secular word is elevated and appropriated for a distinctly sacred use. The best authorities, however, have derived it from a Latin substantive, *missa*, a dismissal.¹ The dismissal of the catechumens became first the signal for the commencement of the more sacred part of the Office, and then the name by which this part was designated. Subsequently it was used alike without distinction for the service which preceded the departure and for that which followed after, "the Mass of the Catechumens" becoming as familiar a title as "the Mass of the Faithful." We first read of it when Ambrose describes to his sister Marcellina, how, when he had dismissed the catechumens, he heard the soldiers coming to set up the Imperial banners, but notwithstanding he remained at his post, and "began to celebrate Mass."² From this time forward Western Fathers became enamoured of the title, and, though it is wholly destitute of doctrinal significance, it laid complete hold of the Western division of the Church. For many centuries it has been used to the exclusion of all other titles, no matter how ancient or significant, by the whole

¹ *Missa* is a noun like *collecta*, not the participle. *Ite, missa est*, not (the assembly is) "dismissed," but, "it is the dismissal."

² *Ep. xx. ad Sororem*, c. 4. In the sixth and seventh centuries Mass was more widely used, in France for the Lessons, and in Spain for the appointed Psalms, of the Choir Services. Cf. Smith, *Dict. Antiq.*, s. v. *MISSA*.

Erroneous
conceptions
of the title.

community acknowledging the Papal supremacy. There can hardly be a doubt that it is bound up in the popular mind with error and superstition, and, though the abuse of a term can of itself be no valid reason for its disuse, the wisdom of resuscitating it in Anglican phraseology may well be questioned, when there are others ready to hand pregnant with meaning and with higher claims to antiquity.

The Break-
ing of Bread
the earliest
designation.

We notice one more title, "The Breaking of Bread," before we come to that which in our judgment may take perhaps the foremost place. It was probably the earliest designation of all. When S. Luke writes an account of the life and habits of the first Christians at Jerusalem, he states that they "continued stedfastly in the breaking of bread," and again, "day by day with one accord in the temple and breaking bread at home"¹ (R.V.) In both cases the reference is unquestionably to the Holy Eucharist. The passage reveals to us the deeply interesting fact that there was no such broad line of demarcation, as is popularly supposed, between Judaism and Christianity, but that for a time at least the dispensations overlapped. The Apostles and earliest converts did not abandon their attendance at the morning and evening sacrifice in the Temple, but they superadded to this that which was

¹ Acts ii. 42, 46.

distinctly Christian, "breaking the bread" at home in the upper room. Tradition says that when Queen Helena visited Jerusalem to trace out the places which had been hallowed by the presence of our Lord,¹ she found that the upper room had been set apart from its consecration at the Last Supper, and used by devout Christians as an oratory for the celebration of the Mysteries there instituted; and she raised upon the site a church of beauty and magnificence more proportionate to its wonderful associations, as the birthplace and "home" of Christian worship. The oldest extant interpretation of the passage in the Acts leaves no room for doubt by rendering it in both places "breaking the Eucharist."²

The Consecration of the upper room.

We pass now to a consideration of the claims of "The Eucharist" for more general adoption. Whether it is directly used as a title in the New Testament is doubtful. S. Paul, writing to the Corinthians, speaks of certain persons celebrating in a language not understood by the people, and asks "How shall he that is unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks?"³ It has been argued, and not without a show of reason, that it would be more fitly rendered, "how shall he who fills the place of a

The Eucharist favourite designation at first.

¹ Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iii. 42.

² This is the rendering of the Peshito Syriac Version, believed to have been made in the second century.

³ 1 Cor. xiv. 16.

private person (or layman¹) say the Amen at thy Eucharist?"

Again the same Apostle sends his directions to Timothy, that "supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men; for kings, and for all that are in authority."² On some grounds it would seem safer to substitute "Eucharists" for "giving of thanks," especially when it is remembered that the king at this time, whom S. Paul must have had mainly in his mind, was the cruel Nero, one of the worst men that ever sat upon a throne—one moreover who subjected the Christians to the direst persecutions, clothing them in shirts of pitch and setting them on fire to illumine the night. It is very difficult to think that the Apostle could have ordered thanks to be given for such a man, but it is easy enough to understand that he should desire "Eucharists" to be offered for him; Services, that is, in which, though thanksgiving formed an important element, yet a still more prominent part was the intercession for foes as well as friends. But whether it was used as a title of the Sacrament here or not, we have the evidence of the lately discovered document called "The Teaching of

The Didache
of the Twelve
Apostles.

¹ *ιδιώτης* is strictly one who has no professional knowledge, and is opposed here to those with ministerial functions. Justin Martyr, in describing the celebration, calls attention to the Amen of the people at the close of the thanksgiving. — *Apol.* i. 67.

² 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

the Twelve Apostles,"¹ which carries it back to the last quarter of the first century.

It contains an account of the Eucharist under this very designation, and it is worthy of note that the element of thanksgiving occupies by far the larger portion of the Service. Moreover the title of Eucharist became so common and attractive, that it was adopted into other languages, both Latins and Syrians² using it in an untranslated form.

The Evangelists and S. Paul unite in recording that our Lord gave thanks when He brake the bread, and from the stress thus laid upon the fact, Eucharist became a common title, both for the elements over which thanks had been given³ and also for the whole Service, in which gratitude for creation and redemption became the dominant idea. Indeed the act of thanksgiving was deemed so important that in the language of the Fathers it was synonymous with consecration. In this respect it ran parallel, at least for a time, with "blessing." "Jesus took bread and blessed it." "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the Blood of

The blessing of the bread.

¹ It is the oldest Church Manual extant. It was discovered by Bryennios, Metropolitan of Serræ in Bithynia, in 1873. It is written in Greek, and the ms. was first published in 1883, at Constantinople. The work is divided into sixteen chapters, viii.-x. and xiv. being the Liturgical part and giving directions for church worship. The date assigned to it is 70 to 100 A.D.

² *E.g.* Tertullian, Cyprian, and the Syriac Version.

³ Ignat. *ad Smyrn.* vii. Just. Mart. *Apol.* i. 66. Iren. *adv. hæc.* vii. 2, 3.

Christ?" "The Blessing" came to be used as another term for the Consecrated Food;¹ but, unlike Eucharist, it lost this significance, and was appropriated to the unconsecrated loaves, which had been offered by the people, but not used in the celebration. These were "blessed" at the end of the Service, and divided among the clergy. In process of time, when non-communicating attendance became common, the *pain bénit*, regularly blessed before the service, was distributed as an inferior blessing, an *antidoron*, or substituted gift, in place of the Eucharist. This holy loaf was at times regarded with superstitious reverence, and was treasured up as a remedy against sickness and disease. It was this mistaken use that led the revisers of Edward Sixth's first Prayer-book to withdraw the directions for the blessing, but the withdrawal kindled the flames of discontent among the rebels who rose up in Devonshire and Cornwall. It has been thought that the custom of distributing bread at the conclusion of the Service, which has lingered on in some of our churches down to the present time, had its origin in "a provision by will for the supply of the holy loaf."²

But, returning to the title of "the Eucharist," we value it mainly because it awakens at once feelings of gratitude for the deliverance from sin; it reminds

Eulogia.

Forbidden
by the
Reformers.

The appropriateness of
the title of
the Eucharist.

¹ By Cyril of Alex. *crebro*.

² Qu. by Scudamore, *Notit. Euchar.* 892.

us that, since Christ our Passover has been sacrificed, it remains for us, in the spirit of the devout Israelite, to keep the Feast, only with a deeper thankfulness proportioned to the greater redemption which we enjoy. And though we thank God for what He has done for us, and praise Him for what He is, yet all experience proves that true Christian gratitude merges into love, and love never rests till it finds its outward expression in praise ; and so we feel justified in praying God that He will accept our Service as a "sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving."

IV.

The Opening Rubrics.

'So many as intend to be partakers of the Holy Communion shall signify their names,' etc. advertise him that in any wise he presume not to come to the Lord's Table,' etc.

'And if any of those be an open and notorious evil liver or have done any wrong to his neighbours . . . the Curate . . . shall call him and 'The same order shall the Curate use with those betwixt whom he perceiveth malice and hatred to reign,' etc.

The power of discipline inherent in the Church.

THESE rubrics point to the power of the Church to exclude unworthy members from Communion. It is a recognised principle, based upon natural law, that every society has an inherent authority to suspend from the enjoyment of its privileges such members as contravene its laws. The power was solemnly committed to the Church by her Head, when He gave to the Apostles the keys of the kingdom, and made them stewards to open or close the doors as they should think fit; and such discipline was exercised as a distinct part of Church organisation for many centuries.

Its object will best be understood by a reference to the first-recorded instance. S. Paul, on hearing that a member of the Corinthian Church had been

guilty of the sin of incest, pronounced judgment upon him; and the form of the sentence well illustrates the twofold object of this penitential discipline; it was both punitive and remedial: firstly, "to deliver such an one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh," secondly, "that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus."¹

It was freely accepted in the Church, and exercised the greatest influence because of the reality of the belief in the Divine commission, which promised that the sentences which the officers of the Church pronounced on earth should be ratified in heaven. To incur the censures of the Church was nothing less than to imperil the salvation of one's soul.

The wide recognition of it in primitive times.

The greatness of its influence may be read in the famous historic episode, when a Bishop had the moral courage to close the doors of his cathedral in the face of an Emperor, who had been guilty of wanton bloodshed, and the said Emperor, though himself the most powerful man in Europe, acquiesced in the justice of the sentence, and submitted to penitential discipline for restoration.²

If the primary objects of the authority could have been always observed, it might have been in full exercise at the present day. At first its administration was safeguarded, and admonition

¹ 1 Cor. v. 5.

² Theod. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. v.

The abuse of
it in the
middle ages.

was used and again and again repeated, before severity was applied to the offender; but in the middle ages, as the Church degenerated, a vindictive spirit was infused into the system, and it proved its downfall. It makes us almost shudder to read of the process by which the Greater Excommunication was inflicted in the twelfth century. During the celebration of the highest Service of love, after the reading of the Gospel, the Bishop and twelve assisting priests gathered in the chancel, holding lighted torches in their hands, and after uttering anathemas upon the offender amidst the tolling of bells, they dashed their torches upon the ground, and trampled out the flames, with the awful prayer that in like manner the soul of the excommunicated might be extinguished in hell.¹

It can hardly be wondered at that such language inspired terror and kindled a strong reaction against ecclesiastical discipline altogether, till even the godly form of it, which had always been exercised with so much advantage, was gradually laid aside.

The Church at the Reformation, in the full

¹ The technical term for this excommunication was "by bell, book, and candle." A full description may be found in Forbes on the Articles, xxxiii. For the Sarum Form cf. Maskell's *Mon. Rit.* iii. 309-330. It began to disappear from the Manuals about 1520.

consciousness of past abuse, looked forward to its restoration. She acknowledged its value in the 39th Article of Religion, and expressed her wish in the Ash-Wednesday Communion for the time when it should be brought back again.¹ Every thoughtful ecclesiastical ruler recognises the absence of a sound and wholesome system of discipline as a real hindrance to the well-being of the Church; and it cannot be denied that without it the rubrics which form the prelude to her highest Service are little more than a dead letter. The Church and the State, though allied in theory, are antagonistic in practice, and the civil power is found to cripple the ecclesiastical in every attempt to revive her discipline. It may well be felt that to gain discipline at the price of disestablishment might form a disastrous bargain; but there is no denying the fact that the retention of the disciplinary rubrics in this Office is a bitter revelation of the pitiable degree of impotence to which the clergy are reduced through the action of the State.

The desire
for its re-
storage.

Three classes of persons lay themselves open to exclusion from Communion: (1) those who neglect to advertise the curate of their intention to com-

Impediments
to Com-
munion.

¹ Cf. also Can. xxvi. and the *Homily for Whitsuntide*, where "the right use of ecclesiastical discipline" is one of the notes of the Church.

municate ;¹ (2) men of evil and notorious lives ; (3) such as are at enmity with their neighbours.

Two causes led to a suspension of the order in the first case : the indifference of the clergy to exact it when more frequent communions came in, and the love of independence and impatience of authority, which satisfied men that they were themselves the best judges of their fitness to receive. This latter temper was largely developed by the Erastianism of the seventeenth century subordinating the Church to the State, and leaving the exercise of religion to the choice of the individual. Some degree of reality has been infused into the rubric in later times by an attempt to enforce it once a year before the Easter Communion. Practically it is a great convenience to know beforehand on such an occasion the number of those intending to communicate, and the enforcement acts as a safeguard at least against legal disqualifications, which there is a tendency to ignore on the part of those who lie under them, when the numbers are so great.² There is still a

Names to be given in beforehand.

¹ In 1 P. B. Edw. vi., names were to be given in "over night or else in the morning afore the beginning of Matins or immediately after." At this time the canonical hour for the Celebration was 9 a.m., matins having preceded at 6 or 7 a.m. It was changed in 1662 to "at least some time the day before." This was necessitated by the habit that had become general since the order of Archbp. Grindal (1571) to combine the different services without an interval.

² This has often happened with unconfirmed persons of mature age.

“sturdy individualism” dominant in many congregations, but it will yield in time to the reasonableness of obeying a direction which is so patent and practical.

There is less prospect of being able to carry out either of the rubrics that follow; indeed, in the present abeyance of discipline, it is well-nigh hopeless. The discretionary power here apparently placed in the hands of the priest is so fettered by statute-law that it can rarely be exercised. For instance, a man may be “an open and notorious” evil liver and yet demand admission to Holy Communion, provided only that he has never publicly acknowledged his sin before legal witnesses, or been convicted by a judge in a Court of justice. All evidence short of this is in the eye of the law “presumption” merely, and this is abhorrent from the legal instinct. A priest may have circumstantial evidence of the most conclusive nature that a man is living in “adultery, whoredom, incest, or drunkenness,” so that his fellow-parishioners are scandalised; but unless the law has interposed and fixed the brand of guilt upon the offender, his expulsion from the Sacrament of the Altar renders the curate who repels him liable to an action and a mandamus from the Queen’s Bench.¹ The Church

Difficulties
created by
Statute-Law.

What is
understood
by a notori-
ous evil liver.

¹ Bishop Andrewes expressed this very strongly. Cf. Nicholls on the *Com. Pr. Add. Notes*, 36. Arch. Stephens on *The Com. Pr. with notes legal and historical*, pp. 1064-1080.

is not absolutely powerless in such a case, because it is competent for "the churchwardens or questmen or sidesmen, in their next presentment to their ordinaries, faithfully to present every such offender,"¹ that he may be punished by the severity of the laws; but such a provision is far from meeting the requirements, mainly owing to the tedious course of litigation.

What degree of malice excludes from Communion.

Again experience shows the extreme difficulty under present circumstances of enforcing the third rubric. Nothing is harder than to measure the degree of malice and hatred which constitutes an offence in the eye of the law. The Priest is ordered to lay his evidence before the Bishop, and, unless it be upheld in the Ecclesiastical Courts, he is liable to an action for damages in a Civil Court, inasmuch as by repelling the complainant from Holy Communion he has affixed a stigma upon his character, which may be pecuniarily assessed by a jury.²

The conclusion, then, to which we are most reluctantly driven in regard to the Church's enforcement of the aforesaid rubrics is simply this: "None are to be suspended from the Sacrament but notorious delinquents, and none are notorious but they whom the sentence of the law, or their own confession, have stated so to be." It is far from satisfactory, but

¹ This is provided for by Canons cix., ex.

² Cf. Arch. Steph. 1083, for actual cases where it has been done.

it will be easier to accept the inevitable for the time, and turn it to the best account, than to go on perpetually chafing under the restrictions.

It is quite possible that Providence, which ordereth the march of events and the changing conditions of society, may be putting before the Church a higher office than that of guiding her children by rigid rules and penal censures, and that her special function in these later times is to bend herself to the raising of the national conscience, and, while presenting to the world the loftiest standard of faith and morality, to be content to help obedience without attempting to force it.¹

Few cases will occur, now that public opinion concurs so largely in fencing the Sacrament from profane use, when a priest will not be able to secure all that he seeks, if he honestly set himself to employ the admonitory powers which the Church gives him, and the world acquiesces in. The abolition of religious disabilities, and the withdrawal of all temptation to qualify for civil offices by participation of the Sacrament, have removed one of the greatest dangers of irreverence. The strongest safeguard is really the exaltation of the ordinance. Teach clearly and boldly the Catholic doctrine of

Public opinion a safeguard against irreverent Communion.

¹ This will not, it is hoped, be interpreted as indicative of any desire to yield ought of the true discipline of the Church. It is a suggestion which may bring some consolation, and help to tide us over "the present distress."

the Real Presence of Christ's Body and Blood under the elements of bread and wine; remind men constantly how the intemperate Corinthians drew down upon themselves the divine chastisement from "not discerning the Lord's Body;" they will then be deterred from drawing nigh to the Divine Mysteries, if only from the fear, lest that which was intended to be a blessing may become a source of the direst evil, though the anger of God is no longer manifested by the visible infliction of disease and death.

V.

The Christian Priesthood.

“The Priest . . . shall say the Lord’s Prayer,” etc.

THE Christian ideal has been said to be “a priesthood co-extensive with humanity.” Every conquest that the Church gains over the world hastens the consummation, for every convert won to Christianity is a fresh-added priest. It was to all believers that S. Peter said: “Ye are a royal priesthood,” “ye are built up a spiritual house, a holy priesthood,” and S. John: He “hath made us a kingdom, priests unto God.”¹ This priesthood of the laity belongs to every one who by Baptism has been made a member of Christ’s Mystical Body, and it restores to him, through this union with Christ, the forfeited privilege of appearing before God, and offering up “spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God by Jesus Christ.”

The priest-
hood of the
laity.

It was typified in the Old Testament, when God set apart one people, and said: “Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests and an holy nation.”²

Fore-
shadowed
under the
Law.

¹ 1 S. Pet. ii. 5, 9; Rev. i. 6.

² Ex. xix. 6.

Indeed, the Apostles were only applying to the Catholic Church the language which God had used of the House of Israel. If, however, we stopped here, we should but express one-half of the truth as touching the nature of the priestly office. Within the common priesthood of the Jewish nation there was an inner circle of priests, confined to a single family by natural descent, with special functions and privileges, so fenced and guarded from invasion by the rest, that to intrude into it was punishable by death. Korah¹ and his company claimed, by virtue of the national priesthood, "seeing," as they said, "all the congregation was holy," to exercise the functions of the ministerial priesthood; and God, to mark His extreme displeasure, made a new thing, and the earth opened her mouth and swallowed them up.

The correspondence between the two Dispensations.

When the Apostles applied to the Christian community language which had been used of the Jewish, they were conscious of what the application involved; they were drawing no partial analogy, but one that was complete. The great Catholic community of Christian priests must have within it, even as the Jewish had, an order of ministering priests; it differed of necessity in its functions, and in its mode of inheriting them, but they were at least as high as the Aaronic, and no less restricted. One passage

¹ Num. xvi.

from sacred history will suffice to prove this. S. Jude¹ denounced certain Christians for exercising an office to which they had not been called, and he has recorded for our admonition that they paid the same penalty as their Jewish predecessors. If there had been no special priesthood in the Church with inalienable prerogatives, distinct from those of the mass of the baptized, none could have shared the sin or "perished in the gainsaying of Korah." So we see that it is not true, as is so often asserted, that, when Christ entered upon His Priestly Office, the earthly priesthood was abolished; no more true than that the sacrificial system closed, when He exclaimed on the Cross, "It is finished." The prophets had foretold that both the one and the other should be perpetuated in the New Dispensation. It was of this that Jeremiah² wrote: "Neither shall the Priests, the Levites, want a man before Me to offer burnt-offerings, and to kindle meat-offerings, and to do sacrifice continually"; and again the Lord promised by the mouth of Malachi:³ "My Name shall be great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered unto My Name, and a pure offering." Now it is the principle of prophecy that the seer should draw his imagery from surrounding objects, but it does not follow that these should be exactly reproduced in the fulfilment; we do not

Predictions
of a Christian
priest-
hood.

¹ Ver. 11. ² xxxiii. 18. ³ i. 11; cf. also Isa. lxvi. 21.

Wherein it
differs from
the Jewish.

expect, therefore, that either Christian priests or offerings will be accurate reflections of the Jewish, but the essence of the office and the oblation will be strictly preserved. Looked at broadly the functions of the two priesthoods differ thus:¹ the Jewish priest was appointed to offer typical sacrifices—sacrifices that looked forward to the Atoning Sacrifice of the Cross; it was his province to sprinkle the blood of the victim upon the altar, and to plead before God by that which made atonement for the soul;² it was his also to give the body of the victim to be consumed by the worshipper, in token that it had been accepted, and that he was reconciled.

The Christian priest is ordained to offer a commemorative sacrifice—a sacrifice or oblation that shall be “a memorial before God” of the all-sufficient Sacrifice of the Cross; he sheds no blood, because that has been once for all shed in Christ’s Death; and it is his office to distribute to the worshipper the spiritual food of Christ’s Body and Blood, which under the veils of bread and wine have been presented before the Father, and are given back from “God’s Board” to be the source of eternal life to the recipient.

¹ The Law has the shadow: the Gospel the true image. There is between them some close relation, because they both belong to the same real thing; but their mutual relation may be simply a likeness in outline only.

² Lev. xvii. 11.

But there were other special priestly functions under the Law, of which the most marked was the cleansing of the leper. It devolved upon the priest to inspect the diseased; to perform for him when healed the ritual of purification, and to pronounce him clean. There is an office strictly analogous to it in the Christian priesthood, in the discernment of that of which leprosy was the type, and in the cleansing of absolution.

Now both the priestly functions, of offering the Eucharistic Sacrifice and of absolving the penitent, were delegated and vicarious, not independent or absolute. The one was received in the commission to "do this in remembrance of Me"; the other, when He, Who hath power on earth to forgive sins because He is the Son of Man, said unto the Apostles, "Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained."¹ Christ is Himself the Priest in every Eucharist. Christ is the Absolver in every ministry of reconciliation. The Eucharist is the counterpart in earthly form, the representation under a veil of Christ's sacrificial pleading in heaven; in the one case He acts by Himself, in the other through human instruments; but whatever the earthly delegate says, whatever he does, the words and the acts are Christ's: he takes His very

The priestly
commission
to the
Apostles.

Christ's

¹ S. John xx. 23.

authority
delegated to
human
agents.

utterance on his lips, "This is My Body," and repeats His action, breaking the bread and blessing the cup.

So, again, in Absolution; "All power," Christ says,¹ "is given unto Me . . ."; "Go ye therefore . . ." It was His power, not theirs, that they would wield; they were the visible *media* through which it would be exercised after His departure.

This is the safeguard against priestly assumption, this the answer to those who, in a holy jealousy for their Master's honour, fear lest the recognition of an earthly priesthood should derogate from His Sovereign Mediatorship.

The change
of the name.

But a difficulty has been felt in maintaining that the priestly functions of the Jewish system were intended to be continued, because the title of the minister has been changed; before, he was *hiereus*, *sacerdos*, now he is *presbyter*,—for what is "priest but presbyter writ short"? It has been well said that names "are not fossils, which, transplanted from one bed to another, preserve their primeval forms from age to age; but rather, like fluid atoms, they are ever running into fresh shapes and combinations." If *presbyter* is stereotyped with its ancient significance, then the ministers of the Christian Church must be qualified for their office not through any aptitude for pastoral care, but simply,

¹ S. Matt. xxviii. 18, 19.

like the senators at Rome or the elders of Israel, by age and seniority. But in reality it is not a question of names so much as of things; not what the Ministry is called, but what it does. To maintain the opposite is to accept the advice which the dramatist puts into the mouth of the impersonation of the Tempter: "In dealing with matters of theology, lay great stress upon names, and take no notice of facts." Theological names often deceptive.

Two reasons may readily be found for not perpetuating the Jewish title; it would have appeared to the Jew to be erecting a rival institution, and to place the Gospel in antagonism to the Law, whereas we know that it only superseded it by degrees; not till the Temple was destroyed was Christ's Kingdom really established as the Catholic Church. Again, a priest was so closely associated in the popular mind with animal sacrifice, that it was far easier to adopt a new title, than to be for ever explaining wherein his functions were changed. Reasons for the change.

But the whole history of the Church, Primitive, Mediæval, and Reformed, bears testimony to the reality of the Christian priesthood. "No priest, no Church," was the judgment of the Reformers, every bit as much as of S. Jerome.¹ The existence of a priesthood was the question at issue between the Church and the Presbyterians at the Savoy Confer- The vital consequence of recognising the Christian priesthood. 1661 A.D.

¹ *Adv. Lucif.* 8.

ence ; the representatives of the former realised the crisis, and erased from the Prayer-book the titles, which the latter advocated, in two crucial positions, substituting "priest" for "minister" before the Absolution, and for "pastor," in the suffrage of the Litany, "Bishops, pastors, and ministers"; and the representatives of the latter proved how they interpreted the decision, by refusing to conform. There is no little cause for thankfulness that the spirit of compromise was rejected, and the Catholic doctrine of the priesthood preserved to the Church of England. To have sacrificed it, would have severed her historic continuity, and would at the same time have robbed her children of an abiding source of help and strength. When we think of the unapproachable majesty of God, that "He is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity," the sin-laden worshipper trembles to draw near ; but we are encouraged by the thought that, in His condescension to human weakness, God has not kept the ministry of reconciliation in His own hands, has not intrusted it even to Angels, but has committed it to mortal men like ourselves.

VI.

The Altar.

“The Priest standing humbly afore the midst of the Altar.”

SUCH was the wording of the rubric in the first Prayer-book of Edward VI. It was changed in the second to “the Priest standing at the north side of the Table,” and it is often alleged that the abolition of the term “Altar” and the general adoption of “the Table,” or “the Lord’s Table,” alike in the Prayer-book and in the Statute-law of the land,¹ affords convincing evidence that the Reformed Church rejected the sacrificial doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. It may be shown that it is an unfair inference to draw, on several grounds.² The Jews, in whose system altar and sacrifice were inseparably associated, did not hesitate to call their altar also the Lord’s table. Ezekiel³ writes of the altar which

The Jewish usage of the terms Altar and Table.

¹ Cf. Stephen’s *Com. Pr.* 1087. “Altar” is left in the Coronation Service. It occurs also in such an authoritative document as the Church Building Acts.

² Andrewes, *Ans. to Card. Perron.* ch. xviii. Thom. Aquinas himself used the expression *in hac mensa novi Regis* in a hymn for Corpus Christi Day.

³ xli. 22, xliv. 16.

he describes, "This is the table that is before the Lord"; and again, "They shall enter into My sanctuary, and they shall come near to My table, to minister unto Me"; and Malachi¹ expresses the complaint of Israel's ingratitude in these terms: "Ye offer polluted bread upon Mine altar, and ye say, Wherein have we polluted Thee? In that ye say, The table of the Lord is contemptible." Thus we see that the terms were capable of being interchanged without any loss of sacrificial significance.

The doctrine implied by Altar not changed at the Reformation.

Again it can be proved that the revisers of the Prayer-book, on their own showing, did not intend to cut the Church adrift from its ancient teaching. They modified the language of the Service-books to meet the exigencies of the time, but carefully guarded themselves against the charge of abandoning the doctrines which the older terms more clearly expressed. In the Preface to the last revised Prayer-book, it is asserted, not as the opinion of private individuals merely, but with all the weight and circumstance of a formal decree, by the authoritative representatives of the Church, which received and sealed the result of their labours, that "in the reigns of several princes since the Reformation, the Church, upon just and weighty considerations her thereunto moving, hath yielded to make such alterations in some particulars as in their respective

¹ i. 7, 12.

times were thought convenient; yet so as that the main body and essentials of it . . . have still continued the same unto this day." Further, it was stated in the Act of Uniformity, which gave 1552 A.D legal force to the second revision, that the doctrine contained in the book that was superseded was "agreeable to the Word of God and the primitive Church," and that the alterations had been called for "rather by the curiosity of the minister and mistakers than of any worthy cause." If, therefore, it can be proved that sacrifice was an essential feature of Eucharistic worship in primitive and pre-Reformation times, it remains so still.

Now there are few points more incontestable than that, in the ancient Church, the structure upon which the elements for the Holy Eucharist were placed, was designated an Altar, and in the generally accepted and proper sense of the word. That the proof may not suffer from the use of a passage which admits of the slightest doubt, we lay no stress here upon the language of the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, "we have an altar,"¹ though it must be confessed that it is very difficult to explain it away. We turn therefore to the Apo-Patristic usage.stolic Fathers of the next generation.

Ignatius,² a pupil of S. John, recognises no other

¹ xiii. 10.

² *Ep. ad Philad.* iv. *ad Ephes.* v. *Trall.* vii.

167 A.D.

92 A.D.

248 A.D.

designation: "one Eucharist . . . one altar"; "he who is not within the altar lacks the bread of God"; "he is clean who is within the altar." Half a century later Irenæus¹ writes of the Apostles that they were "all priests who serve God and the altar continually." Tertullian² appeals to men not to go up to "the altar of God" before they have composed their strife or quarrels with their brethren. S. Cyprian³ speaks of Novatian striving to "set up an altar and offer sacrifices unlawfully"; and again, no one "deserves to have his name mentioned in the priests' prayer at the altar, who wished to call away the priests and ministers from the altar." When we pass into the fourth century, after heathen persecutions ceased, and there was no longer any fear of divulging the mysteries of Christian worship, the Blessed Sacrament is frequently treated of by SS. Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom, and others, and all repeat the language of their predecessors. Indeed, so general was the usage of the term "altar," that none of the primitive writers, save on one single occasion,⁴ ever thought of employing any other.

Certain early testimonies misunderstood.

It is quite true that evidence is forthcoming to suggest that the use of the word was only figurative, not involving in the minds of those who used it sacri-

¹ *Adv. Hær.* iv. viii. § 3.

³ *Epp.* lxxiii. and lxvi.

² *De Orat.* xiv.

⁴ Cf. *infra*, p. 58.

ficial doctrine; but it breaks down when properly sifted. Minucius Felix, the Apologist, gives this description of the Christians: "They have no altars nor temples, nor images of note";¹ but so far is it from expressing his own opinion, that the words are put into the mouth of the heathen Cæcilius, who can hardly be accepted as a trustworthy exponent of the Faith of Christ. If other passages may be found, which appear to deny to Christians the possession of an altar, they admit of easy explanation, when it is realised that they were addressed to heathens only, who were unable to conceive of an altar without animal sacrifice and actual mactation. The invariable use, then, of the term in primitive times, and the impossibility of supposing that it could have been so widely used in a mere metaphorical sense, leave us no alternative but to accept it as proof of the belief in the sacrificial doctrine of the Blessed Sacrament.

It may be said that the fact of the material of the structure being wood² is more suggestive of a table than an altar; but the varied character of the Eucharist points not only to the Altar on which the

The material and shape of the Altar.

¹ Octavius x. It is to be noted that it is *ara*, which in the Vulgate is the equivalent of the idolatrous altar, not *altare*, which was used to designate the Jewish altar. *Ara* is rarely used by Latin writers for the Christian altar without a qualifying attribute.

² Optat. Milev. *de Schism. Donat.* vi. 1. August. *contra Cresc.* iii. 43. Athanas. *ad Monach.* l.c.

victims were slain in the Old Dispensation, but to the Altar of Incense and to the Mercy Seat, which were no less associated with sacrificial worship.¹ Both were of wood. The shape that the Christian altar took appears sometimes to have been that of an oblong chest. Such is the oldest altar in existence, that of S. John Lateran, on which tradition says that S. Peter celebrated. This, therefore, points to the altar of Incense, or the ark of the Covenant; but, judging from the portable Altar of S. Cuthbert, the most ancient in England, still preserved in the library of Durham Cathedral, and from numerous illustrations in the Utrecht Psalter, and in the Ravenna mosaics,² we conclude that it was sometimes square, like the Altar of Burnt-offering.³ At all events, there is no trace anywhere to be found that the table-form of the feast of the Last Supper was reproduced. This must have been the *tricladium*.⁴

It was not long, however, before stone became the common material. The custom of celebrating over the relics of martyrs in the Catacombs,⁵ combined with the mystic language of the Apocalypse, of "the saints under the altar," led to the change,

¹ Exod. xxx. 10; Lev. xvi. 14.

² Cf. Chambers' *Worship*, p. 14.

³ Exod. xxvii. 1.

⁴ The Roman customs of dining had been adopted in Palestine.

⁵ The tombs were built into the sides and arched over. The technical term is *arcosolia*.

and in the Western Church stone Altars were enforced by order of a Council.¹

517 A. D.

Now there can be no question that erroneous views had grown up before the Reformation, and that an Altar had become associated in the popular mind with a belief that Christ was actually immolated afresh in the Sacrifice of the Mass. It created a prejudice against the continuance of the term, and though it was sparingly used in the first revision of the Communion Office, it was wholly withdrawn in the second. Bishop Hooper had inveighed against the prevailing misconceptions when preaching before the King, and advised that the magistrates should be empowered to "turn the altars into tables to take away the false persuasions of the people." It was, then, simply as a concession in consequence of a "mistaken use," and not at all in contravention of the Catholic doctrine in its primitive purity, that the revisers were led to the change.² Their writings³ offer abundant evidence that they continued to hold that a commemorative sacrifice was made in the Eucharist.

Erroneous views of the Sacrifice of the Altar.

In the present generation there is a strong reac-

Reaction in favour of Altar.

¹ Epaone, c. 26.

² The Advertisements, the Canons, and numerous decisions in law courts have combined to ensure the Church from a relapse into the error of the middle ages. The structure is to be of wood, not stone; moveable, not fixed.

³ This may undoubtedly be said of Cranmer, Ridley, Overall, and Cosin, besides some others.

tion in favour of the use of "Altar" almost to the entire supersession of "the Holy Table" or "the Lord's Table." Such a course may well be deprecated, because, where both terms seem to express true doctrines, the exclusive employment of one may weaken our belief in that which is popularly associated with the other. With the most laudable desire, then, to vindicate the legitimacy of the designation of "Altar," when we view the Service on its sacrificial side, we must not forget that "the Holy Table" best bespeaks the Bread of Life which Christ has promised to the worthy partaker, and therefore rightly demands recognition in the Eucharistic vocabulary. In the freshness of the early piety and devotion of the Church, during those first centuries, when the assurance of our blessed Lord, "Whoso eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood hath eternal life," rose up superior to every other consideration; when every Celebration was attended by worshippers eager for actual participation of the Sacred Food, there was no danger of that aspect, which "the Lord's Table" naturally suggests, being lost sight of, even though the title were unused. But now that a new order of things has supervened, and non-communicating attendance at the Rite is becoming much in vogue, the idea that the Altar is also "God's Board,"¹ from which He dispenses gifts

¹ It was so called in the rubric before the Prayer of Humble

to men, must not, through the suppression of the title which best expresses it, be suffered to fall into the background, as it did fall in the mediæval ages. Both conceptions of the Sacrament are true and Catholic; there is an oblation and there is a participation; it is a sacrifice and it is a means of spiritual refreshment: they are mutually complementary, and the whole Ordinance inevitably suffers if one of its appropriate terms, Altar or Holy Table, be used to the exclusion of the other.

Access in 1 P.B. Edw. VI. Simmons has shown in *Lay Folk's Mass-book*, pp. 358-9, that "Goddesborde" had been used for many centuries in England.

VII.

The Holy Table.

'The Table at the Communion-time having a fair white linen cloth upon it, shall stand in the Body of the Church or Chancel . . . And the Priest standing at the North-side," etc.

THERE is some Scriptural authority for calling the Christian Altar a Table, for S. Paul says, "Ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's Table, and of the table of devils";¹ but it is clear that he means by it not so much the structure from which the Food is received as the Food itself. Had he used it simply to designate the former, it is not easy to explain why the title should have found no place in the Patristic literature of the earliest ages. For three centuries or more it is only once found in either a Greek or a Latin Father. The exceptional instance is where Dionysius of Alexandria, in a letter to a Roman Bishop, describes the perplexity of a priest on discovering that his Baptism was invalid, though he had been in the habit of "standing at the Table, and stretching forth his hands to receive the Holy

The rare use
of Table in
primitive
times.

250 A.D.

¹ 1 Cor. x. 21.

Food.”¹ When it came into use it was almost entirely appropriated to the East, and was generally distinguished by a characteristic epithet, such as, “the holy,” “the dread,” “the mystic” Table. It retains its position as the favourite designation in the nomenclature of the Oriental Churches at the present day.

Having already shown² that its adoption in no way contravenes the sacrificial doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, we pass to the examination of the rubric touching the proper place for the Holy Table in the Church, and the Priest’s position in relation to it, when celebrating the Divine Mysteries.

It has been often said that after the conversion of ^{312 A.D.} the Empire, at the beginning of the fourth century, Basilicas, or Law-courts, at Rome and elsewhere, ^{Why the Basilicas were given to the Church.} were handed over to the Christians to be converted into churches.³ It is supposed that these were selected in preference to heathen temples, in order that converts to the Faith might be haunted by no memory of forsaken Rites; but the more probable reason is that they lent themselves with the least modifica-

¹ In the fifth Ep. to Xystus, quoted by Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* vi. vii.

² *Supra*, ch. vi.

³ Trench’s *Synon. N. T. λειτουργία*. Milman, *Hist. of Christ.* ii. 342-3; iii. 374. Stanley, *Christ. Instit.* 179. It has been disputed, it is true, whether any such transfer was really made; especially by G. Scott (junior), *Ch. Archit. in England*, and G. Baldwin Brown in *From Schola to Cathedral*. But there seems to be no doubt that the Basilican Form was adopted for the Churches of this period. Smith, *Dict. Chr. Antiq.*, 368.

tion to the exigencies of public worship. Indeed, the symbolic description of Eucharistic worship, seen in vision by S. John,¹ almost exactly coincides with that which the Basilican form at once suggested. It is possible, however, that the imagery was drawn rather from an Eastern than a Western building, in which case the Temple² must have been in the prophet's eye, but there can be no doubt that the language is fully satisfied by a reference to the form and arrangements of the Basilica. The East end terminated in a semi-circular apse, in the centre of which the judges' tribunal was set. It was the place of greatest dignity, and was naturally selected as the site of the altar. In lapse of time, as the Basilican plan of churches came to be modified, the Altar was placed immediately against the East wall,

The plan of
a Basilica.

¹ Cf. Rev. iv. 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, and v. 6. The Roman Basilica was in four parts, which corresponded to the four parts of the Christian church, viz. the vestibule, the nave, the choir, and the sanctuary. The last, usually semi-circular, was cut off by a door or curtain from the choir. The Altar, on the site of the Judges' "throne," is disclosed by the opening of "the door" (v. 1); "one sat upon the throne" (v. 2) points to the Divine Presence in the Mysteries; and "round about the throne were twenty-four seats" for the Bishops and priests, corresponding to the seats of the Assessors round the tribunal; "in the midst of the throne . . . were four living creatures" (v. 6) indicates the Evangelistic Emblems, the Four Gospels being set upon the Altar with much ceremony, while in the statement that "in the midst of the throne . . . stood a Lamb as it had been slain," we have the sacrificial teaching of the Eucharist set forth.

² This view is taken by Blunt in *The Annotated Prayer-book*, but it requires much forcing to harmonise the parts; cf. *Introduct.* xlix.

as the altar-tombs were for the most part found in the Catacombs. Such was the widely-prevalent custom in England during the middle ages, and down to the Reformation, though occasionally it remained detached, as at first, and as it is frequently in our cathedrals at the present day.

When a reaction against altars set in, not only was it removed from its place of dignity, but its altar-wise position was changed also. The Puritan revisionists of 1552 ordered that, "at Communion-time, it should be brought down from the East wall and set table-wise," or lengthways, either at the lower end of the chancel,¹ or more frequently in the nave "before the chancel-door." It was argued that the people would thus hear the Service better, and that they might gather with greater ease and in larger numbers round the Holy Table. When once the change had been made, the Puritanical feeling of the time was so strong that the restriction for the altered position to the time of celebration was ignored, and it remained permanently divorced from the East end. Such an arrangement could only be made at the expense of reverence, and Elizabeth found it necessary to protect it by issuing an in-

The Altar-wise position of the Holy Table changed.

1559 A. D.

¹ Called from the *cancelli*, the railings which separated the bema from the nave, like *κγκλίδες* which separated the *δικαστά* from the space "below the bar."—Aristoph. *Eg.* 675, *Vesp.* 552.

In practice, however, it is clearly shown by the history of the times that the removal or non-removal was regulated entirely at the will of the ordinary. Several instances occurred where Bishops¹ claimed a distinct right to determine what was to be done in this matter, and it is on this admitted prerogative of decision that in modern times they base their authority to override the rubric which at Communion-time gives to "the Body of the Church" the first place.

The first active opposition to the un-Catholic custom of displacing the Altar came from Charles I.; and in the Scotch Liturgy, at the instigation of

1637 A.D. Laud, the rubric was altered so as to order that it "shall stand at the uppermost part of the Chancel or Church." At the final revision of the Anglican

1662 A.D. Office the Bishops were anxious to apply to this the same rule, but yielded their judgment, as in many other matters besides, out of consideration to the temper of the times, and allowed the rubric to remain as before. Moreover, they recognised the probability that the Puritan practice would still continue, and left untouched that part also of the rubric which directed that the Celebrant should stand "at the North side." When the Altar was

The ambiguity of the rubrics touching the celebrant's position.

¹ Cf. Laud's *Works*, vi. 61 (Ed. 1857). A comparison of the first clause of the Ornaments Rubric with the fourth rubric before the Com. Off. shows practically that it rests with the ordinary.

set lengthways, either in the lower end of the Chancel, or in the Body of the Church, the Priest stood on the North or broad side of it, probably, as being most convenient, in the centre; and when it was removed back again to the East wall, and placed lengthways there also, as it doubtless was in many churches, he could still stand at the North-side. But when it was set altar-wise, as we see it always at the present day, the rubric could no longer be followed. Henceforward, the Priest might continue the same position relatively to the Church, and remain at the North-end, facing South, or relatively to the Altar, and change to the West-side, facing East. It is no quibble, invented to extricate us from an unwilling obedience to an objectionable rubric; for the controversies of the day prove very clearly that a distinction was drawn between *side* and *end*, as representing respectively the broad and narrow parts. As a practical illustration of the difference, we read that when the Bishop of Bath and Wells,¹ in the exercise of his discretionary authority, ordered the Churchwardens to place the Holy Table altar-wise, they, in the full conviction that it would entail upon the Priest the "Eastward position," had a square table made, so that it would

Disputes
about side
or end.

¹ This and the following cases are quoted by Scudamore, *Notit. Euch.* 190-2. Further traces of the distinction are found in Cosin's Notes, which indicate many attempts on the part of the revisers to overcome the difficulty.

no longer be competent to plead that the only *side* left available for him was the West, with his back to the congregation. The construction of an equilateral table, in which there were four sides, in place of an oblong one with two sides and two ends, removed the plea that the North position involved his standing at the *end* of it.

1627 A.D.

Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, wrote to the Vicar of Grantham, in favour of placing the Altar lengthways, East and West, and based his argument on this very distinction between side and end. "The Minister . . . is directed to read the Commandments, not at the *end*, but at the North *side* of the Table, which implies the end to be placed towards the East great window."

To the un-Liturgical mind all these and such like discussions appear trivial, and quite unworthy of the attention of sensible men; but experience has proved that a careless sacrifice of details may sometimes be fraught with dangerous consequences.

The judgment of the Bishops on the significance of the Eastward position.

In 1875, when the Privy Council¹ decided against the legality of "the Eastward position," the Bishops, for the quieting of men's consciences, issued an Allocution, stating that it was an undoubted fact that the position taken by the Celebrant had varied in different ages and countries, and that, in the absence of any formal decree or pronouncement of

¹ In *Hebbert v. Purchas*.

the Church, there was no authority for attaching a doctrinal significance to one position or the other. It failed to bring the necessary relief. The history of the seventeenth century is far too well known to allow much weight to such a statement. The Puritans contended for that position which seemed to represent best the idea of the president of a feast distributing food to his guests, just as they would, if they had been able, have permitted the communicants to sit for reception; it was in their eyes "a Supper," albeit of a sacred character, because it had been instituted by Christ; but the elements of mystery, and the awe which any conception of its mystical character creates, were wholly wanting. Had their view, and the practices they introduced to express it, been allowed to pass unchallenged, the Church would have been in danger of losing that heritage of Catholic truth which had come down from primitive times. The spirit of the seventeenth century Puritanism still survives; and it has been again and again asserted that in the popular mind the Eastward position, and the Sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist are so connected that they must stand or fall together—to disprove the legitimacy of the one overthrows the legality of the other. It was the very ground upon which proceedings were instituted. It is impossible therefore for those who adhere to the Catholic doctrine, to treat the position of the

The difficulty of accepting it.

celebrant as a matter of indifference. The Priest during the Celebration is in their eyes engaged in a Sacrificial act in behalf of the laity ; he is combining the priestly intercession of an earthly ministry with the pleading of the Great High Priest in heaven, and, as the mouthpiece and representative of the congregation, reason demands, and the usage of the Church in the best times of her history endorses the claim, that he should stand at their head.¹

¹ This was again and again insisted upon by the Bishops at the Savoy Conference, in reply to the request that the minister should at all times face the people. Cf. *Cardw. Confer.* 353.

VIII.

The Office of Preparation.

'The Priest . . . shall say the Lord's Prayer, with the Collect following.

THE care that the Celebrant should approach the Holy Mysteries with clean hands and a pure heart was a marked feature in the worship of the early Church. It was inherited from the Old Dispensation, under which, with its highly symbolical ritual, the priests were directed to wash their hands and feet before they offered sacrifice. In the Eastern Churches a laver is placed in the Prothesis, and at the opening of the Preparatory Service the priest dips his hands therein, saying, "I will wash my hands in innocency, and so will I go to Thine altar";¹ and S. Cyril describes the significance of the act. When asked, "Is it that the filth of the body may be purged away?" he answers, "I trow not, but that cleansing of the hands is a symbol, that we must be made clean from all our sins and iniquities."²

Provision
for the
preparation
of the
Celebrant

The Sarum Office of Preparation consisted of the

The Sarum
Office for the
purpose.

¹ Cf. Neale, *The Office of the Prothesis*, p. 179.

² *Catech. Myst.* 5.

following parts: the Hymn, "Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire," the Collect for purity,¹ Psalm xliii. "Give sentence," etc., the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria,² the Introit, ending with a Confession, to which the assistant-ministers responded with an Absolution; after which they said the Confession, and the Priest responded with an Absolution.³

In the first revised Liturgy this was curtailed, and so altered as to make it in a measure applicable to all the worshippers as well as the Celebrant. The Lord's Prayer and the Collect for purity were retained in a different order, and to be said by the Priest at the Altar.⁴ The forms of Confession and Absolution were re-written, the one so as to be made general, the other more authoritative.⁵

The present position of the Lord's Prayer unliturgical.

The first change violated two liturgical principles of importance. From the beginning the Lord's Prayer had been held so sacred that it was always preceded by a preface. Like some consecrated building, it needed to be entered through a porch. Usually the soul of the worshipper was

¹ The York Use had a different Collect.

² This is mentioned in the Sarum Missal only, not in the Sarum Breviary.

³ The Priest's Absolution was an expanded form of that of the minister's. The latter was a prayer for mercy and pardon, the former for these and "remission of sins" as well.

⁴ When, however, Mass was sung the Celebrant said these during the Introit, so that they would be inaudible to the people.

⁵ It is precatory in its language, but it is said by the Priest alone.

solemnised by the repetition of the Lesser Litany, or the Invocation,¹ or some "monitory precepts."² This feeling of reverent awe was ignored by the revisers, and the Lord's Prayer placed without preamble as the commencement of the Office.³

Again, this Prayer was one of the mysteries which "the doctrine of reserve" led the early Church to conceal from the uninitiated, lest the command should be transgressed, "Give not that which is holy unto dogs." It was designated "The Prayer of the faithful," that is, the baptized; and it might be used only by those who had been made God's children by adoption and grace. It was not taught to the catechumen till the last week of his preparation, and its significance was preserved by his reciting it as he came out of the baptismal laver,⁴ being then, as it was held, entitled for the first time to address God as his Father.⁵

Now all through the history of the Church the unbaptized had been permitted to be present or take part only in the preliminary portion of the Eucharistic Office, from which everything of the nature of

¹ Cf. *The Hours*.

² Sacram. Gelas. Lit. Gall. and Milan.

³ The same was done also in Matins and Evensong, the Invocation being removed.

⁴ *Apost. Constit.* vii. 44.

⁵ S. Aug. *Hom.* lix. 1. *Freem.* ii. 389, argues, though inconclusively, that the Lord's Prayer had this initial position in the earliest Liturgy, and that it was altered only after the *Disciplina Arcani* came in.

a mystery was carefully excluded. To thrust, therefore, the Lord's Prayer into the forefront of the Service was to ignore all that reverential feeling which had fenced and guarded it through all the centuries. It is a silent witness to the liturgical instinct that the Prayer, in its present initial position, ought to belong only to the Priest,¹ that the congregation never joins with him in the recitation, nor repeats the *Amen* at the close.²

The Collect
for purity.

Leaving its Eucharistic teaching for consideration when it comes before us in its more central position, we pass to the Collect for purity. It has a very special interest, as being entirely Anglican. Though unknown to the primitive Church, it is still venerable with eight centuries of usage in this country,³ as an appropriate introduction to the celebration of the Mysteries.

It opens with an address to God, "unto Whom all hearts are open," which reminds us of the language of the Epistle to the Hebrews, where we read that "all things are naked and opened unto the eyes of Him with Whom we have to do." The figure is a sacrificial one, and suggests that our

¹ In the Scotch office of 1637 it is said by the presbyter "for due preparation," but this probably means "of the congregation."

² It was, however, customary for the Lord's Prayer to be said *privately* as an introduction to an office.

³ Perhaps it is even older, as it is traced in the *Sacr. of Alcuin*, in the eighth century. Cf. *Scud. Not. Euch.* iv. 2.

sacrifice, like the ancient victim, is as it were thrown upon its back,¹ and exposed to the inquisition of the Priest, and that no flaw or blemish can escape the scrutinising gaze of the great *Momoscopus*.² Hence we pray for the inspiration of the blessed purifying Agent, which alone can cleanse the unclean, that with a pure heart and conscience undefiled we may magnify God in the highest service of Christian worship.

The Office is emphatically an act of praise, and its whole structure is framed with this conception. It is not, however, so clearly expressed as it was in the early Liturgies, or in the first revised Prayer-book. Almost as far back as we can trace, the entrance of the Priest, after his penitential preparation was over, was accompanied by an outburst of song; it bore a variety of names, as "the Office," "the Ingress," "the Introit." In its origin it was an "invitatory" song, like the Psalm of Invitation at Matins and Evensong, while the people were assembling for worship. In its oldest forms, it has come down to us in two grand invariable hymns for the East and West, embodying one and the same idea of the Incarnation and Passion, to be placed in the

The Introit.

Its original forms in the East and West.

¹ τετραχλισμένα. Cf. Suicer, s.v. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 18. So S. Chrysost., Thdrt., Hammond, Wordsw. The priest was said δοκιμάζειν, μωμοσκοπεῖν. Cf. S. Chrys. *Hom.* xx. *Ep. ad Rom.*

² The designation of the one who looked for blemishes in the victim.

forefront of the Eucharist, the true *rationale* of which is, that the fruits of these two great mysteries of our Redemption are thereby appropriated to individual souls. The Eastern Church opened with the hymn, "Only begotten Son and Word of God, Who being immortal didst deign for us to be incarnate of the Holy Virgin Mary, and being made man wast crucified, God,¹ by death having trodden down death, glorified with the Father and the Holy Ghost, save us." In the West it took the form of the *Gloria in excelsis*, which we still retain, though unfortunately divorced from its rightful position.

This hymn, however, did not stand alone as the Introit; it was accompanied by an antiphon, a portion of a psalm, and *Gloria Patri*. The first varied, giving the keynote to the season. This idea was seized by the compilers of the first Prayer-book, who appointed a special psalm to be sung, containing "something prophetic of the Evangelical history for each Sunday and holy day." It was a noble feature in the Service, and its destruction by the revisers of 1552 is without excuse. It involved no questionable doctrine, and had never been associated with superstitious symbolism; but they were bent upon reducing to a minimum the element of

Our present
loss through
the omission.

¹ Freem. ii. 316, sees in this a trace of "the hymn to Christ as God," which Pliny says the Christians sang. Swainson's *Gk. Litt.*, 12 n., 113 n., 220-1. It is found in an earlier form in the Arm. Lit.

praise, and investing the Service, as they believed, with the spirit of more sober gravity, and to this end it was not conducive to strike the note of music at the outset. The voice of prayer was the only fitting prelude to solemnise their worship.

The natural instinct has, however, asserted itself, and the Church has met it by the unauthoritative introduction of a hymn, which at the best is but a most imperfect substitute. The restitution of the Introits will probably be one of the first steps taken in any future revision, at least if it be made on Catholic lines. We must learn to draw near to the Mysteries with reverential awe and penitence, lest we be found unworthy partakers, but we may never forget that it is the highest act of worship, that it is a Eucharist, a "Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving," and our hearts are best attuned to the whole spirit of such service, if we follow up our Office of Preparation with "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody" in our hearts to the Lord.

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IX.

The Decalogue.

' Then shall the Priest, turning to the people, rehearse distinctly the Ten Commandments,' etc.

The significance of the Priest's position.

THE recitation of the Decalogue is made by the Priest "turning to the people." The direction was founded upon a liturgical principle strongly contested for at the last revision, when the Presbyterians desired that the minister should maintain one and the same position throughout the Service, facing the congregation. The Bishops contended for a certain amount of change as symbolically necessary. Whenever he was acting as a delegate of God to deliver His message, either in the reading of the Holy Scriptures, or in pronouncing Absolution, or in giving a Blessing, it was fit that the Priest should turn towards those to whom he was speaking; but when he represented the people before God, as in prayer or intercession, reason suggested "that they should all turn another way, as the ancient Church ever did."¹

1552 A. D.

Now the introduction of the Decalogue as an

¹ Cf. Cardwell's *Conferences*, ch. viii. 320, 353.

integral part of the Eucharistic Service was a novelty. Exception has been taken to it not only on this account, but as well from its alleged incongruity with the spirit of the Ordinance. The stern, unbending code of Judaism, it is said, strikes a note of discord in the highest Office of Christian love. While we admit the lack of authority founded on ancient usage, it is not difficult to vindicate the innovation, at least in a measure. For a long time the second Table had been read once a year in the Mass as the Epistle for the Wednesday before Mid-Lent Sunday. Why the whole Decalogue was not embraced in the "lection," it is by no means easy to conjecture; possibly the fact that all the quotations from the Commandments, introduced into the New Testament, are made from the second, none from the first Table, influenced the selection. Furthermore, it had been customary for at least three hundred years to recite the Decalogue publicly in the English Church, and to explain it once every quarter;¹ though no provision was made for the time or Service at which this was to be done.

The Decalogue a new element in the Liturgy.

It is, however, a matter of certainty that the revisers of 1552 did not consider themselves in any way bound by liturgical precedent; and, if it had commended itself to their judgment, they would have

¹ Archbishop Peckham's Order, 1281 A.D., Can. ix. Johnson's *Eng. Canons*, ii. 283, 520. Maskell says once a year.

A standard of self-examination thought necessary.

had no hesitation in making an altogether new thing. Their one aim was to fence and guard the Sacrament from a careless participation; and, if carried out in a proper spirit, nothing could have been more laudable. Remembering how S. Paul had said, "Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread and drink of that cup,"¹ they determined to introduce in the forefront of the Office a standard of self-examination, and to make it as strict and severe as they could. It is highly probable that they were influenced by the example of some Continental Reformers, for the Decalogue had been used for this purpose at Strasburg, and the Liturgy, of which it formed the introduction, had been published in Latin the year before, and adopted for the use of German refugees at Glastonbury.²

1551 A.D.

The inappropriateness of the Jewish Code for the purpose.

To men of other minds it would have occurred as more in harmony with the Gospel Dispensation, to appropriate to the purpose a portion of the Sermon on the Mount, such as the Beatitudes, or our Lord's Own summary of the Decalogue: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

¹ 1 Cor. xi. 28.

² Pollanus had published it in Latin in 1551. In this the Commandments were sung in rhyme.

On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.”¹ It was so when the Nonjurors compiled their Liturgy. They adopted the Gospel form of the Commandments as a substitute for the Judaic, and it found its way from the Scotch into the American Communion Office. The difficulty of applying the Jewish Code as a literal test for self-examination was first felt by the Scotch Bishops² in the Liturgy which they drew up under the guidance of Laud and Wren, the introduction of which³ was a signal for the outbreak against the Royal authority. After the reading of each of the Commandments the people are directed in this Liturgy to ask God’s mercy “for their transgression of every duty therein, either according to the letter, or to the mystical importance of the said Commandments.” It would have been an undoubted gain, if a similar rubric had been introduced into the Anglican Office.

The action of the revisers of the second Prayer-book of Edward VI. admits of further justification on the ground, that by introducing the Decalogue here, they brought back the long-forgotten practice of reading “a Lesson” from the Law at the opening of the Eucharistic Service. It is testified to in the earliest historical records, in Justin Martyr’s⁴

A Lesson
from the Old
Testament
primitive.

¹ S. Matt. xxii. 37-40.

² Maxwell of Ross, and Wedderburne of Dunblane.

³ In S. Giles’, Edinburgh, on July 23d. ⁴ *Apol.* i. 67.

description of the Celebration in his day, and again in Tertullian's¹ account of the African Church, as well as in the Liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions.²

That it is an invariable Lection is no bar to its liturgical claims, for ancient usage supplies sufficient precedent. In the old Irish Church Liturgy one and the same Gospel and Epistle were always read,³ and the same practice prevailed in the Churches of the Malabar Christians of India.⁴ In the former, it is true, they were selected with special reference to the institution of the Sacrament,⁵ but in the latter without any such propriety. Furthermore, in the Anglican Office for the Communion of the Sick, the Lections are constant.

Again, no liturgical objection may be raised on the ground that it is intercalated by the responses of the people, for the habit of breaking the Lessons, by "planting in a multitude of responds"⁶ and anthems, had long been recognised. It is easy to see that such a practice might be abused so as to interfere unduly with the continuity of the reading, but in the case of the Decalogue each "word" is so pregnant with

¹ *De Præscrip.* 36. ² viii. 5. Cf. S. Aug. *Serm.* 45, 48, 82.

³ Cf. Palmer's *Orig. Lit.* ii. 30. Warren's *Celt. Lit.* 228, 231, 251.

⁴ *Ibid.* 231.

⁵ From S. John vi. and 1 Cor. xi.

⁶ Cf. Preface to 1 P.B. Edw. VI. "Concerning the Service of the Church."

meaning and so complete in itself, that there is no interruption.

It had been the regular custom to prepare for the Celebration by a Litany, which for the most part was that designated the Lesser Litany, consisting of the three clauses—

Lord have mercy upon us.

Christ have mercy upon us.

Lord have mercy upon us.

From the ninth century each of these clauses was repeated three times.¹ On Sundays and Festivals, from the Anglo-Saxon times, it was customary to enlarge or “farse” these with varying expressions of praise or deprecation, according to the character of the season. It was a clever adaptation of this element to utilise “the vain repetition,” as it was accounted, and to employ the clauses to impart a Christian tone to the Jewish Code, making each one instinct with significance by its application for a specific purpose. Nine of the responses were thus supplied: the tenth was suggested by the Strasburg Liturgy, in which the rehearsal of the Commandments drew forth the petition, “O Lord God, merciful Father . . . Who hast taught us the justice of Thy Law, deign to write it on our hearts by Thy

¹ They occur thus in 1 P.B. immediately after the Collect for purity.

Spirit.”¹ It was a prayer for the fulfilment of the prophet’s prediction, “I will put my laws into their hearts, and in their minds will I write them.”²

Varied divisions of the Commandments.

One more particular calls for notice. The Greek and English Churches print as the first and second Commandments what the Roman Church unites in one, and in like manner the former unite in one what the latter recites separately as the ninth and tenth. The mode of division, with which we are familiar, is supported by Philo, Josephus, and Origen, also by the Talmud and modern Jews. The Romans rest for their authority upon the Masoretic text of Exodus and Deuteronomy, which gives the traditional belief in the tenth century after Christ.

The best use to be made of this element in the Service.

Now taking the Decalogue, as we find it in the Eucharistic Office, how may we turn it to the best account? The Church Catechism answers the question for us. When it is asked, “What is required of them who come to the Lord’s Supper?” the reply is given, “to examine themselves”; and the Exhortation, in appealing to men to come “holy and clean to such a heavenly Feast,” adds that “the way and means thereto is: first to examine your

¹ The melody of one of these farsed kyries (Kyrie, Rex splendens) among the twenty-eight formerly in use in England was suggested to Dunstan in a dream (Polychron. f. 242). If it is ever authoritatively permitted to omit the Decalogue, as *e.g.* when there are several Celebrations, it is to be hoped that the Lesser Litany will be substituted.

² Jer. xxxi. 33. Heb. x. 16.

lives and conversations by the rule of God's Commandments." In both places the imperative duty of self-examination is pressed upon us. It is the echo of the old maxim of heathen philosophy, "Know thyself," which was seized by Christianity, and sealed for use in all time: "Examine yourselves," "Prove your own selves."¹ Hold up the Decalogue side by side with its spiritual interpretation, and no more complete standard can be found. So many "Helps to self-examination" have been provided in this generation, that, where so much is done for us, the thoroughness of the exercise is often endangered. We have need to be reminded of the warning of the Exhortation, "not lightly," and "after the manner of dissemblers with God." "Not lightly," because nothing is more easily missed than the reality of self-examination, but breaking up with our own hands the fallow ground of a deceitful heart; not "after the manner of dissemblers," because, however much man may wrap himself round with conventionalities and false excuses, all will hereafter be stripped off in the all-searching Presence of Him with Whom we have to do.

¹ 2 Cor. xiii. 5.

X.

“The Collects.”

Numerous theories on the origin of the term Collect.

THERE is hardly any question in Liturgiology more vexed than the true origin of the word “Collect.”

It may have been a prayer in which the spirit of the Eucharistic Lections, the Epistle and Gospel, was “collected” or concentrated.¹ In many cases it is undoubtedly “the quintessence of the practical lessons” deducible from these; but there are many exceptions; there are, moreover, numerous cases where “Collects” were used in ordinary Services.² So that we are compelled to look elsewhere for the true explanation.

According to the most ancient usage of which we have any record, the Collect was a prayer for “an assembly collected together” for public worship.³

¹ Bona, Wheatly, Freeman, etc.

² In the Rule of Cæsarius they were said between the Lessons and at the end of the Psalms. Cassian. *Instit.* ii. 7.

³ A populi collectione collectæ appellari cœperunt. Alcuin, quoted by Wheatly.

Collecta in the Vulgate translation of the Old Testament is employed as the equivalent for a "solemn assembly."¹ In the Sacramentary of S. Gregory there is a Collect or prayer to be used on the Feast of Purification "for a congregation (*collecta*) at S. Adrian's Church in Rome, to go in procession to S. Mary Major," where Mass was appointed to be celebrated on that day. "Ere long," we are told,² "the custom of saying a prayer 'at the collecta,' before proceeding to the Station Church, appears to have died out, and it became usual to transfer the name *collecta* to the first prayer of the Mass itself."

Another etymology of the word has been found in the idea that in this form of prayer the Priest collected in his own voice, and gathered into a small compass, the petitions of the people.³ On this theory it is to be contrasted with the Versicle and Response or with the Litany, in which the congregation and the priest take their respective parts. It has further been suggested that it is a recapitulation, or gathering up by the reader, of certain prayers of the congregation which had gone before, such as we find so well illustrated in the daily Services, where the Collects, For Peace, For Aid against all

¹ Lev. xxiii. 36. Deut. xvi. 8.

² Dr. Bright, *S.P.C.K. Prayer-book*, p. 84.

³ Quod omnium petitiones colligit et concludit. Micrologus.

Perils, and For Grace, are the echo in one voice of the preceding combined suffrages, viz., "Give peace in our time, O Lord—Because there is none other that fighteth for us." "O God, make clean our hearts within us.—And take not Thy Holy Spirit from us." No one derivation, however, seems to be suited to the diverse characteristics of the phenomena to be dealt with; but this last, at least in its simple form, presents perhaps on the whole the fewest difficulties.

The sources from which the Collects were derived.

It lends a special interest to the investigation of the sources from which the Collects were drawn, to find that they are distinctly Western. They have a place in all the old Sacramentaries, which were the Service-books containing, besides other Offices, the fixed parts, together with the variable Collects, for the Mass. The three Sacramentaries that have come down to us, as best known, bear the names respectively of Popes Leo, Gelasius, and Gregory. The earliest in date is now considered to have been only in part the composition of S. Leo; but there is no reason to question the tradition that he was in those early days "the main constructor of the Collect-type of prayers," and that at least some of the Collects still in use proceeded originally from his pen. We would not lightly abandon the belief that the Collect for the fifth Sunday after Trinity was the expression of his reliance upon Divine Providence

d. 461 A.D.

after he had saved his country from "the scourge of God."¹

To this Sacramentary, as it was developed under the Pontificate of Felix III.,² seven collects are to be assigned—five³ in their integrity, two⁴ in substance.

From the Gelasian Sacramentary we have received fifteen or eighteen, besides three of the invariable Collects for Matins and Evensong, together with "The prayer for the clergy and people," and the Collect at the end of the Communion Office, "Assist us mercifully," etc. This last and the others in daily use bear on their face the impress of the times.⁵ They were penned in the midst of that great unrest, which was created in Italy by the invasions of the northern barbarians during the fifth century. The Prayer for the Clergy was ambiguous in its earliest phraseology, "the healthful spirit" of God's grace being sought for His "servants" merely; in the Sarum Litany it was made more definite, His "servants the bishops"; "curates" was added in 1544. The opening address, "Who alone workest great marvels," has given rise to frequent discus-

Sacramen-
taries. The
Leonine.

c. 483 A.D.

The Gel-
asian.
492 A.D.

¹ Gibbon, *Decl. and Fall*, xxxv.

² Cf. Appendix in Bright's *Anc. Collects*.

³ 3d after Easter; 5, 9, 13, 14 after Trin.

⁴ 10 and 12 after Trin.

⁵ Bright assigns to this also the Collects for Innocents' Day, 4th S. after East., and 2d S. after Trin., as well as the present forms of 10th and 12th after Trin.

sion,¹ the reference to the miraculous gift to the first ministers of the Church at Pentecost, which lends so much significance to the phrase in this connexion, being entirely missed.

The Gre-
gorian.
590 A.D.

The third Sacramentary, in which the existing Services were much condensed and abbreviated, was compiled by Gregory the Great, when he succeeded to the Papal Chair. It contained all the remaining Collects now in the Anglican Office, except those which were composed at the Reformation. Of these latter, six for Sundays² were drawn up for the first Prayer-book, four were compiled from old materials,³ thirteen for Saints' days (though two of these were altered at the last Revision) were entirely re-written, as also were those for Christmas-Day and Ash-Wednesday. The third for Good-Friday incorporated the substance of three ancient forms, for heretics, treacherous Jews, and Pagans. In addition to these the two Communion Collects for the King,⁴ and three of the final Collects bear the date of 1549. The main cause for re-writing the

Reformation
Collects at
the first
Revision.

¹ Cardw. *Conf.* 275, 431. In the American P.B. it is "from whom cometh every good and perfect gift."

² 1, 2 Adv., Quinquag., 1 Lent, 1 and 2 after East.

³ Sexag., 2d S. after Asc., Conv. of S. Paul, and S. Barth.

⁴ It is not known why alternative Collects were composed. Petitions for the king obtained this prominent place, in addition to that in the Prayer for the Church, that he might not be forgotten, on those occasions where the latter was omitted, *i.e.* when in 1st P.B. the Service might close with the Offertory.

Collects for the Commemoration-days of Saints was the necessity of erasing all traces of that habit of invoking the Saints to intercede for men, which had entered so largely into public worship since the beginning of the fourteenth century.

1335 A.D.

History has preserved no record of the names of those who composed the Collects for the first Prayer-book, but tradition has assigned the majority of them to the authorship of Cranmer; and there are certainly some remarkable points in his life and teaching which find an exact reflection in the language of the compositions of this date.¹

The second revision left this element of worship almost untouched. The allusion in S. Andrew's Collect "to the sharp and painful death of the Cross," resting as it did only on uncertain tradition,² was deemed by the revisers unworthy of mention in such a place, and a fresh form was composed to commemorate the Apostle's ready obedience to the calling of Christ. It is not unlikely also that they believed that the habit of adoring the Cross was largely fostered by the recollection of the salutation with which the Apostle was supposed to have greeted the instrument of his death.

The second
revision.
15 A.D.

¹ Goulb. *The Coll.* 60, 61.

² Cf. Lepsius, *de Cruce* 1, 7. *Sagittarius de cruce. Martyr*, viii. 12.

The final
revision,
1661 A. D.

At the final revision four new Collects were introduced into the Office. When, however, Cosin composed that for S. Stephen's Day, he embodied in it two expressions from the pre-Reformation form, "to learn to love our enemies," and "who prayed for his persecutors." One very important change he made, when he addressed it to the Second instead of the First Person of the Blessed Trinity. In sentiment, no doubt, it admits of ample justification, but on liturgical grounds to be considered hereafter, it is much to be deprecated.

Proposed
revision
under
William III.,
1689 A. D.

No new Collects have been admitted to the Liturgy since 1662, but the Church narrowly escaped most extensive innovations at the hands of the commissioners appointed to revise the Prayer-book in the reign of William III. Scarcely a Collect was left untouched; all of them were enlarged "by the introduction of phrases from the Epistles and Gospels, such as abound in the devotional writings of the Nonconformists"; the whole beauty and the nervous simplicity which have called forth the admiration of all who are most capable of appreciating the purity of the English language, were sacrificed to a miserable attempt to make them more Scriptural.¹ The comparison of the most familiar Collect with its proposed enlargement will suffice to awaken our

¹ Goulburn has shown fully the Scriptural character of the Collects, 1, 5, 13, 17, 18 after Trinity.

gratitude that the revision was abandoned. The terse and simple petition of the Evening Prayer, "Lighten our darkness," etc., was spun out into treble its length, "Almighty God, Who hast hitherto preserved us safely this day, by Thy great mercy defend us from all perils and dangers of this night. Pardon whatsoever we have done amiss, and settle our holy purposes to do better for the time to come: that laying ourselves down to sleep with these godly resolutions in our hearts, they may awaken with us in the morning, and we may daily grow more watchful in all our ways, for the love of Thy Only Son our Saviour Jesus Christ."¹

In regulating the use of the Collects in the Eucharistic Office the Sarum Missal enjoined that "an uneven number should always be preserved," provision being made for the introduction of the Collect for All Saints' Day, if those duly appointed in the ordinary Service were either two or four. This unevenness was regarded as symbolical of unity, and expressed the desire for the unity of the Church.

In most of the English Uses the number was restricted to seven after the eighth century.²

¹ For an account of the revision, cf. the author's *The Bishops in the Tower*, pp. 206-211.

² Martene, *de Ant. Ecc. Rit.* i. 4. Durand. *Rat.* v. 14. *Gemma Animæ*, c. 116. Alcuin, *de Div. Off.* 40. Maskell's *Anc. Lit.* 30. But there was no servile adherence to this rule, for there were recognised exceptions.

When three were said, it was mystically interpreted as in honour of the Blessed Trinity; five pointed to the five-fold Passion, and seven to the seven-fold gifts of the Holy Spirit.¹

One more subject in connexion with the usage of the Collect remains to be noticed—that is, the way in which this, which has become a strictly Eucharistic element, is made to pervade the ordinary daily worship. The first Collect for the day in Matins and Evensong, being in itself variable, and often epitomising the Liturgical Lectures, keeps before the mind of the worshipper the appropriate teaching of each Celebration.² It has been said that there is “no part of the ritual mechanism of the West that is more worthy of admiration.” It is impossible to over-estimate the spiritual help which may thus be gained, by letting the Eucharist pervade with its hallowing influence our daily life, whilst we bear ever about us the memory of the high

The value
of the daily
recitation of
the Collect.

¹ Chambers' *Worship*, i. p. 323. To carry out the old custom it is usual to read one or more of the additional Collects provided at the end of the Office.

² It is because they are connected with the Collects, which are a part of the Eucharistic Office, that the priest is directed to stand at the Suffrages. In the Evening Service it is implied that he stands for the Collects: in Matins “all kneeling” has led men to suppose that the omission in Evensong is accidental; but it is doubtful if the “all” uniformly embraces the priest. Cf. Rubric before the administration of the Elements. It has been said that directions were given to the Printers to repeat the rubrics from Matins in the order of Evensong, but that they were neglected.

and holy privilege to which we have been admitted, in receiving into our very being the Body and Blood of Christ, so that we are able to say with S. Paul, that our "life is hid with Christ in God." "Through the Collect, in a word, we lay continually upon the altar our present sacrifice and service, and receive, in a manner, from the altar a continuation of the heavenly gift."¹

¹ This subject is fully worked out in Freeman's *Div. Serv.* i. iv. § 5.

XI.

The Construction of the Collect.

The structure of a model Collect.

The invocation.

Liturgical prayers to be addressed to the Father.

THE Collect, in its typical form, is made up of five component parts: an invocation or address; the statement of some fact, doctrinal or otherwise, as the basis of a petition; the petition itself; the looked-for result of its fulfilment; and the recognition of Christ's Mediation. The invocation is, with the rarest exceptions, an appeal to the First Person in the Blessed Trinity; and this peculiarity stamps "the Collect" as an element of sacrificial worship. The essential idea of the Eucharistic Sacrifice is the presentation to the Father of the memorial of His Son's death, the pleading before Him the efficacy of His One perfect and sufficient Sacrifice once offered. In this act Christ is both Priest and Victim; but in either capacity He comes before the Father, and we, in Him and through Him, join in this sacrificial pleading. It introduces an incongruity, while so engaged, to appeal to Him in prayer. It was on this ground that the Council of Hippo passed a canon directing that "no one should address the

Father instead of the Son, or the Son instead of the Father; and when we are officiating at the altar, prayer should always be addressed to the Father." 393 A.D. The same was indorsed by a still more important Council convened at Carthage¹ a few years later, 397 A.D. which decided some questions of weightiest moment.

There were, however, occasional departures from the rule. In the old English Use there were three exceptions, the Collect for the 1st, 2d, and 4th Sundays in Advent being addressed to our Blessed Lord. The limitation of the exceptions to this particular season suggests that the Church was so carried away by the one predominant thought of Christ's second Coming, that for the moment He seemed to claim all her devotion. Exceptions to the rule.

At the beginning of the Reformation the first two 1549 A.D. Collects for this season were re-written; but while the address to the Son was altered in the former, it was allowed to remain in the latter. At the final revision the last two Collects for the same season 1661 A.D. were also re-written, but with singular caprice the address of the third was changed to the Son, that of the fourth to the Father. In two other Collects which date from this period, viz., for S. Stephen's Day and the 1st Sunday in Lent, the Second Person was invoked instead of, as heretofore, the First. The Collect for S. Stephen is somewhat ambiguous;

¹ Can. 25.

for it may fairly be supposed that the opening clause refers to the Father, and only the conclusion to the Son.

Motives for
addressing
the Second
Person.

No doubt the principle of addressing the Son in the highest act of worship could be defended, and its value shown as a protest against Arianism, and a strong argument for the co-equal Deity of Jesus Christ. In view of this we are content to acquiesce in the occasional deviation from primitive practice; but, recognising the tendency that has existed since the Reformation to ignore the sacrificial character of Christian worship, and thus break the continuity of Catholic doctrine, we should deem it wiser to allow nothing to traverse this, but to admit appeals to our Blessed Lord much more largely into our non-Eucharistic prayers. There can be little question that liturgical usage has coloured to some extent the other Offices, but more especially our private practice, though far less in regard to the Second than to the Third Person in the Trinity. Addresses to Jesus Christ are by no means uncommon in some of the Offices. In the Litany there is a succession of them—in the Invocation, the Deprecations, the Obsecrations, the Petitions, “O God the Son”; “Spare us, good Lord”; “Son of God, we beseech Thee”; “O Lamb of God”; “O Christ, hear us”; “Christ, have mercy upon us.” In the Visitation of the Sick: “Remember not, Lord, our iniquities”;

“Christ, have mercy upon us”; “O Saviour of the world, Who, by Thy Cross and precious Blood, hast redeemed us, save us”; and the same is repeated more or less in some of the other Offices.¹

But we may search our Prayer-book through for a prayer addressed to the Third Person, save in the Invocation of the Litany and the Ordination Hymn, “Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire”; and there are but few who can witness to the habit, in their private devotions, of offering up a prayer with this invocation, “O God, the Holy Ghost.” And yet we are unquestionably losers thereby, for such appeals would tend to foster a more vivid realisation of His Personality, and a firmer reliance upon His quickening influence.

The second constituent part of the Collect is the basis of the petition. It is frequently the statement of some historical fact that is naturally suggestive of the supply of the particular need. This feature is most marked in the Collects for Saints’ days. The call of S. Andrew, for instance, affords obvious grounds for a petition that we may be won from the world to a like self-surrender and devotion to God’s will; or the summons of S. Matthew from a lucrative occupation is an inspiration to us to win an abiding fellowship with Christ by “forsaking all covetous desires, and inordinate love of riches.”

¹ Liddon, *Bamp. Lect.* vii. Note D, has drawn up a long list.

Sometimes the petition is made to rest upon the enunciation of a doctrine. For example, in the Collect for Easter-Even: the statement that "we are baptized into the Death of Thy Blessed Son," reminds us at once of S. Paul's dogmatic exposition of the character of Holy Baptism,¹ and carries our thoughts on in prayer, that we may so die to sin in this life that "we may pass to our joyful resurrection." Most frequently, however, the groundwork is simply the attribute of God's love or mercy, or power, or knowledge: "Almighty and everlasting God, Who hatest nothing that Thou hast made, and dost forgive the sins of all them that are penitent"; "Who of Thy tender love towards mankind hast sent Thy Son"; "From Whom all good things do come"; "The strength of all them that put their trust in Thee"; "Who declarest Thy almighty power most chiefly in showing mercy and pity"; "Who knowest our necessities before we ask, and our ignorance in asking."

The petition. The third part is the petition for some definite gift, generally spiritual; but, as though to keep us ever in mind that we may ask also for material blessings, not a few of the Collects contain supplications for deliverance "from all perils and dangers"; for defence against "all adversities which may happen to the body;" and for pre-

¹ Rom. vi. 3, 4.

ervation "from all things that may hurt us," that we may be enabled cheerfully to accomplish the will of God.

The fourth part is the expected consequence, if God shall see fit to grant the petition. It is necessarily conditioned by the character of the petition itself, and grows out of it in natural order. Its usefulness lies in the earnestness which it seems to impart to the supplication. How much force and energy does it add to our prayer,¹ "that, having this hope, we may purify ourselves even as He is pure," to realise that the result of such purification will be an entire conformity to His likeness, not only here, but throughout the ages "in His eternal and glorious kingdom !"

The fifth and last element in the Collect is the recognition of the might of the all-prevailing Name: "No man cometh unto the Father but by Me." We have a High Priest Who can "be touched with the feeling of our infirmities," and when we ask Him, He will bear our needs, our anxieties, our sorrows on His breast before the Father; and that "which for our unworthiness we dare not, and for our blindness we cannot ask, He will give us" for the all-sufficient Sacrifice which Jesus Christ is for ever pleading before the throne of God.

¹ 6 S. aft. Epiph.

XII.

The Epistle.

"The Priest shall read the Epistle, saying, The Epistle, or the portion of Scripture appointed for the Epistle, is written in the chapter of , beginning at the verse."

Holy
Scripture
always read
in the
Liturgy.

THE reading of Holy Scripture has been an essential feature of Eucharistic worship in every country and at all times; at least there is no Liturgy extant without it. In the nucleus of the Service formed by the Apostles, the "Lection" must have been drawn from the Old Testament,¹ though provision would be made for the recitation of the words of institution, and permission given for the introduction of portions from the oral Gospel. The most ancient Liturgy of S. James contains a rubric, which seems to have been framed in the interval before the Gospels were written: "Then the sacred oracles of the Old Covenant and of the prophets are read consecutively,² and the Incarnation of the Son of God . . . is set forth." Nothing is more natural

¹ Cf. supra, p. 77, 8.

² διεξοδικώτατα, perhaps, "in detail." Cf. *ιστορία διεξοδικός*, Plut. *Fab.* 16.

than that the Apostles should desire to embody in the Service of their Lord's appointing something of that life and teaching which they were commissioned to record. By the middle of the second century all the Books of the New Testament were written and circulated in the Churches, and their paramount claims were so fully recognised that in time they superseded altogether the writings of the elder Covenant.

The first of the Liturgical Lections is commonly called "the Epistle," but its earliest designation was "the Apostle,"¹ pointing to the fact that it was usually taken from one of the letters of S. Paul, to whom so many of the Churches owed their foundation. The name is still retained by the Greek Church at Constantinople.²

The Epistle
generally
taken from
S. Paul.

In the early Western Church forty-six "Epistles" were from the writings of S. Paul, only twelve from those of the other Apostles; and it is an important link with the past, and evidence of the historic continuity of our Eucharistic worship, that the present selection of Epistles and Gospels is almost identical with that which was in use at the close of the fourth century. There is extant a Table of Liturgical Lessons, entitled *Comes Hieronymi*, i.e. "The Companion

¹ August. *Serm. de Verbis Apos.* 176. Lit. Chrysos. Sac. Gregor.

² Lit. Chrysos. Goar. 68. Palm. *Orig. Lit.* ii. 42.

The Comes
of S. Jerome.

of S. Jerome," purporting to have been compiled by him. The Anglican Church adheres closely to it. Some doubt has been thrown upon the authenticity of the document, and it has been assigned to a date several centuries later. It is, however, somewhat significant that it contains no mention of saints canonised after S. Jerome's time, and that its designation of the Feast of the Epiphany is "The Theophany," which is known to have dropped out of common use in the fifth century. Yet further, in confirmation of the alleged authorship and the use of the above title in the *Comes*, it is to be noted that, while other Fathers associate different manifestations with this festival, S. Jerome alludes only to that of Christ's Godhead, the true Theophany, in the declaration at His baptism, "This is My beloved Son."¹

The place
from which
the Epistle
was read.

In the earliest times the Reader of the Epistle stood on the steps of the *ambon*,² a stage or pulpit placed sometimes at the western end of the chancel, sometimes in the nave. If there was only one, the Epistle was read from the second step, the Gospel from the third; but generally there were two, one on either side, for Epistle and Gospel respectively. Early examples are preserved in the ancient Churches of SS. Clement, Laurence, and Pancras, at

¹ In Ezek. i. Cf. Ussher, *de Ann. Solar.*, *Works*, v. 7, p. 392.

² Suicer, *Thes. Eccl.*, quicquid eminent ac protuberat forma rotunda; from ἀναβαλναι, to ascend.

Rome. In later times these stages were united by a beam or gallery, with a representation of the Crucifixion in the centre, thus originating the Rood-loft, which was largely introduced into the French churches in the thirteenth century. Its connexion with the reading of "the Lections" is perpetuated in its modern French name *Jubé*, the echo of the Reader's request for the Priest's blessing, *Jube Domne benedicere*.¹

In the Eastern Church the Reader stands at the door of the Sanctuary. The modern custom of reading from the altar-steps at the *cornu Epistolæ* probably grew out of the popularity of the Low Mass, when, having no epistoler, the Celebrant himself read without leaving the Altar. It has the advantage of marking off the Eucharist more completely from the daily Offices; but it runs the risk of violating a principle which should be jealously guarded, viz., that the Word of God—His message to the people—should be delivered in such a manner that it may be best heard.² In some churches

Incon-
venience of
reading from
the Altar-
steps.

¹ *Domne* is a contraction for *Domine*, which latter, however, was appropriated to God. Ducange s. DOM. *Jube* was used as a mark of respect, "bid yourself bless."—Le Brun. Chambers' *Worship*, p. 7. In the Sarum Missal the form of the blessing before the Gospel was "The Lord be in thy heart and mouth, that thou mayest preach the Holy Gospel of God. In the Name," etc.

² The Decalogue is so familiar that there is not the same necessity to observe the rule in this particular instance.

where the chancels are deep, and in cathedrals where the congregation usually worships in the nave, this object can rarely be obtained when the Reader stands on the altar-steps. It would seem, however, that in preaching, the Bishops of the early Church did not observe the principle, but delivered their sermons from the Altar; for the historians¹ of the time call attention to S. Chrysostom's preaching from the *ambon* as a departure from custom; but one of them adds that he did it "that he might be the better heard by the people." It may have been that the Altar at Constantinople was further removed than usual from the congregation.

The posture of the people during the reading.

Some diversity of practice has arisen from the absence of any rubrical direction for the posture of the people during the reading of the Epistle. The order to stand for the Gospel implies that they were before either sitting or kneeling. The *rationale* of the rubrics implies kneeling, for a rubric is only inserted when a change of posture is enjoined, the worshipper remaining as he is, till a fresh direction is given. He was left on his knees at the conclusion of the Collect. But, on the other hand, primitive custom points to the posture of sitting for the Epistle.²

¹ Socrates, vi. 5. Sozomen, viii. 5.

² Amalarius says that it was the custom of the ancients. *De Eccles. Off.* iii. 11, 18. Alcuin, 40. Microlog. 6. The custom for the laity to kneel was prevalent in England before 1375. Cf. *Lay Folk's Mass-book*: ed. Simmons, 16.

Anciently there was no further provision for notifying to the congregation the passage to be read than the bare announcement, "the beginning of the Epistle." There were no authorised divisions of the several Books of Scripture, save in cases where sections were marked off by descriptive "titles," such as "on agriculture,"¹ "on the Magi," "on the slaughtered infants," and the like. This inconvenience was partly removed when Cardinal Hugo divided the Scriptures into chapters in the thirteenth century, and entirely so, on the subdivision into verses by Mordecai Nathan, a Jewish Rabbi, two centuries later.

The mode of
announcing
the Epistle.

1240 A.D.

1445 A.D.

"The Epistle" has long been a recognised Liturgical term for a portion of Scripture selected for the Eucharistic Office, though it was taken from the Acts, the Apocalypse, or even from the prophecies of the Old Testament. The alternative heading in the rubric, "or the portion of Scripture appointed," was therefore unnecessary; but it is interesting as an illustration of the conciliatory spirit of the Bishops towards the objections of the Presbyterians when no doctrine was involved,² for they dis-

1661 A.D.

¹ Genesis iii. Cf. Steph. *Book of C. P.* ii. 1135.

² The change was introduced after the Savoy Conference in 1661. This technical use of the term "Epistle," as also of "the Gospel," forbids the too-familiar mode of giving it out, *e.g.* the Epistle is written in *that* of S. Paul, etc. The title cannot be used thus in two senses.

approved of applying the term "Epistle" to whatever was read here.

At the conclusion of the Epistle a Psalm was sung. S. Augustine¹ says, "We have heard the Apostle—we have heard the Psalm." As time advanced it varied in its character, and was represented by the Gradual, the Sequence or Prose, and the Tract.

The Gradual. The Gradual was a responsory hymn, so called from being sung on the step (*gradus*) of the ambon.

The Tract
and
Sequence.

On special Festivals such as Easter or Whitsunday, it was followed or superseded by "Alleluia," the most jubilant of the old Jewish songs of praise. In times of humiliation and abasement its place was taken by the "Tract,"² which was so called from its being "drawn out" in a sad and mournful strain, perhaps "continuously" by the Reader without assistance from the choir. After this followed "the Sequence," a lengthy hymn not unlike the choral odes of the Greeks in its construction, called a "Prose," because unrestricted by the common rules of metre. It grew to be a most popular element in the Service,³ and in some churches every day had its proper sequence. Notker, S. Bernard, Peter Abelard, and Adam Victor were the chief composers. From the first-named, who was an Abbot

¹ *Serm.* xxxii., clxv., clxxvi.

² Duran. iv. 21. *Mask. Anc. Lit.* 46, n.

³ Some of the best known are the *Lauda Zion*, *Stabat Mater*, *Veni Sancte Spiritus*. Chambers, 329.

of S. Gall in Switzerland, we have the famous *Dies Iræ*, "Day of wrath, O day of mourning," which was originally intended as a Sequence in the Mass for the Dead. The solemn and sublime anthem in our present Burial Office, "In the midst of life we are in death," is a prose translation of another Sequence by the same author, *Media vita in morte sumus*.

All these musical portions were removed from the Service-book at the first revision, and a simple direction was given to the clerks and people to answer the Priest, when he announced the Gospel, with the words, "Glory be to Thee, O God." The musical portions removed.

Had these omissions been made by the compilers of the second Prayer-book, we should have found the motive in their general desire to reduce as largely as possible the element of praise, with which music is so naturally associated; but it was the work of the first revision. Possibly we should look for the cause in the degradation of church-music, which reached its lowest point at this period. A Papal Bull in the preceding century had condemned the use of harmony in the services of the Church, except on the great festivals, and insisted on a rigid restriction to plain song. When a reaction against it took place, the Church, having herself banned the higher forms of music, had no means of supplying the popular demands for harmonised song, and was The probable motive for this.

driven to the adoption of secular tunes, and not a few were adopted from rude and profane ballads for her Eucharistic anthems.¹ It would have been well had the revisers been content to wait, for two great musicians were already at work in raising church-music to a position worthy of the use for which it was designed. Merbecke in England, succeeded in adapting the old plain song to the translated Offices, and Palestrina, in Italy, completely revised it for the Roman Church.

1550 A. D.

1582 A. D.

It is happily no longer held that the promotion of "godly worship is in inverse proportion to the cultivation of sacred music." There is often in the soul of man an heaven-born instinct for this. It has proved auxiliary to the truest devotion, and it can only be banished with harm and loss from the great act of Christian worship.

¹ A very interesting account of the church-music of the time may be found in Dr. Dykes' Lecture at the Church Congress at Norwich in 1835.

XIII.

The Gospel.

“ Then shall he read the Gospel, the people all standing up.”

ALL the Books of the Bible, as written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, demand the reverent estimation of men; but not all in an equal degree. Histories, books of wars, genealogical records, sapiential manuals, prophecies, apostolical letters, all have their appointed place, one higher and another lower, but all are of necessity subordinate to those Books which contain the story of the earthly life of Him to Whom all the prophets bear witness, and in Whom all Scripture centres. It was on this principle that the early Christians came to look upon the Gospels as the very Holy of Holies of Inspiration. This feeling of profound reverence manifested itself especially towards the Gospel “Lecture” in the Eucharistic Office, and it has been handed down as a precious heirloom through all the generations of the Christian Church.

In the East the Book of the Gospels has been adorned with every embellishment of art that pious

Reverence
for the Gos-
pel Lectures
universal.

devotion could lavish upon it, and enclosed in a casket of the utmost magnificence. When about to be used in the Celebration, it is always borne into the church from the sacristy in procession, and laid upon the Altar with considerable ceremony.

Whereas, during the reading of the other Liturgical Lessons the congregation was sometimes permitted to sit, "the Gospel" was always to be heard standing; and to mark the significance of what was about to be read, directions were given to "stand up in great silence,"¹ and "with soul and ear erect." During a long period, from the eighth to the twelfth century, when no seats or benches were provided in the churches, the people were bidden to lay aside the staves on which they ordinarily leaned,² and as a sign that such respect was due, as well from the highest as the lowest in earthly rank, the Emperor put off his crown. Once only in the history of the Church has the Epistle shared the same honour as the Gospel; it was when soldiers, who adopted S. Paul as their patron saint, from a mistaken belief that the emblem of the sword was indicative of a warlike spirit rather than of death by martyrdom, when the Epistle was given out from his letters, rose from their seats and stood while it was read.

¹ *Apost. Constit.* ii. 57.

² *Amalar.* iii. 18; *Gem. Anim.* i. 24. *Ord. Rom.* ii. 8.

³ *Stephen's C. P.* ii. 1138; *Duran. de Off. Div.* iv. 16.

The place of reading, again, has been chosen to do honour to the Gospel, the Reader whether at the ambon or the Altar standing always on a higher step than for the Epistle. Yet further, during the reading of it, it has been customary for candles to be lit, even though, as S. Jerome¹ testifies, "the sun be already shining," in token that He, Whose voice it is, had Himself declared "I am the light of the world." The announcement, too, that "the Gospel" was about to be read, has been received with an outburst of praise, the familiar "Glory be to Thee, O God," having been sung as far back as the fourth century; and in some countries its conclusion has been followed by the grateful acknowledgment, "Thanks be to Thee, O Lord." It is interesting to notice Marks of the same in England. that while the former has held its place in the Service, notwithstanding the omission at the Reformation of the rubric which enjoined it, the latter is far more rarely repeated, probably because it was wholly unknown in the ancient Anglican Ritual.²

How far this habit of exalting "the Gospel" had developed in England at the time of the Reformation, may be gathered from a book written in Henry the Eighth's reign, in which the rites and ceremonies of the Mass are freely canvassed by one who longed for greater simplicity of worship. "What," he

¹ *Contra Vigil.* 7.

² In the Mozar. Lit. it ends with "Amen."

writes, "shall I say of the Gospel when it is sung? Oh, how goodly ceremonies are then done! There is borne a banner of silk and garnished with a goodly cross, in token of the victorious and blessed triumph which Jesus Christ made of subduing the world unto Himself by the doctrine of the Gospel. Then afterwards a priest beareth a censer of silver, making a fumigation and savour of incense, as long as the Gospel is in reading, to signify our inward affection for Christ. There is also borne about the Gospel-book richly covered with gold and silver garnished with precious stones. Afterward there thundereth a great bell, by which we do signify our Christian priestly and apostolical office: last of all the Gospel is borne about to every person in the Quire, and offered forth to be kissed."¹

The Reader
of the Gospel.

The function of reading "the Gospel" devolved in ancient times upon the Deacon. This is worthy of notice because reading Scripture in the church ordinarily was the province of one of the minor orders; to except therefore the Liturgical Gospel from the "Reader's" office and appropriate it to a Deacon, as was done throughout the West, was a mark of honour. In the first Prayer-book there are two rubrics bearing upon this point, one "the Priest or one appointed to read the Gospel," the

1549 A.D.

¹ "The Old God and the New," etc., qu. by Mask. *Ancl. Lit.* 43 n. We have altered the spelling from the ancient method.

other, "the Priest or Deacon then shall read"; the second evidently showing that none below the diaconate might be so appointed. At the last revision the Priest alone is mentioned, but there is a striking witness borne by "the Ordering of Deacons" to the time-honoured custom, where, immediately after the Imposition of hands, the Bishop delivers to the Deacon not the whole Bible, but the New Testament, together with "authority to read the Gospel in the Church of God"; and, as a practical illustration, one of the newly ordained deacons proceeds to execute that office. 1662 A.D.

One more ceremony in connexion with this part of the Order calls for notice, if only to exemplify the intense love of symbolism which prevailed in the middle ages. As far back as the eighth century it was customary to divide the sexes in public worship, the men occupying the south side, the women the north.¹ The reader of the Gospel was directed to turn to the south in obedience to a fancied belief, that it is the duty of the Church to minister first to the men, from whom, as S. Paul implies, the women may learn at home.² Symbolism of the mode of reading the Gospel.

In lapse of time a yet stranger symbolism grew up, and the Gospel was read towards the north, for the mystical reason that Lucifer has his abode in the north, as is gathered from his boast which Isaiah

¹ Amal. *de Div. Off.* iii. 2.

² 1 Cor. xiv. 35.

has preserved, "I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the sides of the north";¹ yet further, the Gentiles and all who were cold in the faith were denoted by the north, and to them the Gospel was preached, that they might turn to Christ.²

1661 A. D. One important change was made after the Savoy Conference. Since the previous revision of the Prayer-book a new translation of the Bible had been made and officially authorised. It was decided by

1611 A. D. the Commissioners at their sittings in Ely House that,

The Version
adopted in
the Gospels.

while the Great Bible Version might be retained for the Decalogue, and, with slight variations, in the Offertory Sentences, both of which, from being read at every Celebration, had become familiar to the popular ear, the labours of King James' translators should be made available for the Epistles and Gospels; and these were ordered to be printed *in extenso* from the latest Version in the Sealed Books.³ It is a matter of uncertainty whether full liberty may not be exercised by the Minister, in reading the Lessons from any translation he pleases in Matins and Evensong, because no more than the headings is inserted in the authoritative standard,

¹ Isai. xiv. 13.

² *Gem. Anim.* xvi. ; Chambers' *Worship*, 335.

³ Copies, attested by the Great Seal, were deposited with the Cathedral Chapters, in the Tower, and the several Courts of Westminster. Cf. *Hist. of P. B.* by the author, 197-8.

but all such arbitrary choice has been precluded for the Liturgical Lections.¹

The selections have been made most largely from S. Matthew's narrative, most sparingly from S. Mark's ; the extracts from S. John and S. Luke being about equal. Dean Goulburn finds a reason for the preference given to S. Matthew in the essentially Jewish character of his Gospel, which fitted it pre-eminently for a system that grew out of Judaism. "It is in every sense," he says, "the original Gospel, and from it accordingly the largest number of extracts are drawn for use in the Liturgy."² We can readily understand why S. Jerome, if he was the real compiler of the Table, in providing for a highly doctrinal Service, should almost pass by S. Mark's narrative, which is chiefly taken up with personal memoirs. There are marked characteristics in the writings of the other two Evangelists, which must have made him eager to incorporate them in the Eucharistic Office. S. Luke, as exhibiting the Atonement, is in fullest accord with the Memorial of that Death, in which the blessings of the great propitiatory Sacrifice are appropriated to individual souls ; while S. John is pervaded through and through with a sacramental spirit, and contains

The selections, how made.

¹ Lord Selborne gave it as his opinion that the Revised Version might not be publicly used in Church. Cf. *The Guardian*, June 8, 1881, p. 808.

The Liturgical Gospels, i. v. 51.

the deepest teaching in perfect harmony with the Mysteries to be celebrated. It is not a little significant that no less than nine of the Liturgical Gospels have been selected from our Lord's Intercessory Prayer, in which He shadowed forth the Office which He was about to fulfil in heaven, whereof His delegated Priests perform the earthly counterpart at the Christian Altar.¹

S. Chrysostom² exhorted his hearers to be careful to read the section of the Gospel for the Sunday some time in the preceding week. One of the most devotional of spiritual guides in these later days³ has taught us how to meditate thereon during the week that follows after. They have had one common aim, viz., to extend and widen the influence of the Blessed Eucharist, so that it may leaven the whole religious life. It is thus, in prospect preparing for it, in retrospect giving thanks, that we shall best realise the sense of our Lord's abiding Presence, "Lo, I am with you all the days (*Marg.*) even unto the end of the world."

¹ S. Cypr. *Ep.* 63.

² *Hom.* xi. *in S. John*, § 1.

³ Goulburn's *Liturgical Gospels*.

XIV.

The Nicene Creed.

No sooner was the Church founded, than the necessity arose for a test of qualification for those who sought admission to her privileges. At first it would naturally be of the simplest kind; probably it embraced nothing more than a belief in the Three Persons of the Blessed Trinity, as suggested by the formula of Holy Baptism. It has even been maintained that an acceptance of the Divinity of the Second Person sufficed, but this is hardly likely.¹ The phrase which is met with in the early Church, to be "baptized in the Name of Jesus Christ" was only another way of expressing "Christian Baptism."

There are but few traces of any recognised Confession of faith in Holy Scripture.² S. Paul speaks of a "form of doctrine," which had been delivered to the Roman Christians; of "the deposit committed"

The first traces of a Creed in Scripture.

¹ Stanley, *Christ. Instit.* 268 n. Acts ii. 38; viii. 12, 16; x. 48; xix. 5; Smith, *Dict. Christ. Antiq.* i. 162; Bingham, xi. iii. 3.

² Rom. v. 17. 1 Tim. vi. 12-20. S. Jude 3.

The titles of the Confession of faith in the primitive Church.

to Timothy's trust, and of the "good profession" that he had made "before many witnesses." S. Jude reminds the converts whom he was addressing, how he had encouraged them to "contend for the Faith which was once delivered unto the saints." In the centuries that followed, the test assumed larger proportions, and is constantly referred to under a variety of designations: "the rule of faith," "the rule of truth," "the doctrine," "the confession," "the symbol," "the tradition," "the Apostolic Faith," and not infrequently, "the Faith." That, however, which took strongest hold of the early Christians was "the symbol." Tradition refers it primarily to the Apostles' Creed, and looks for its origin in the belief that this was a compilation¹ of the Twelve Apostles, each one of whom contributed a separate article. The idea has been long exploded by the discovery that the Creed was gradually developed,² and did not receive its full complement till several centuries had passed over the Church. It may have been designated a symbol from containing a "compendium" of Scripture doctrine, or it may have been "a watchword" by which the soldiers of

¹ Symbolum, a Latinized form of *σύμβολον*, is from *συνβάλλειν*, to throw together, or place side by side. Hence used of "tallies" or tokens—two corresponding pieces to be kept, one by one and another by another, and to be produced as evidence of a compact as occasion required.

² The later clauses were, the Descent into Hell, the Communion of Saints, and the Life Everlasting.

the Cross recognised each other, when persecution was rife and secrecy indispensable; or, again, it may have been a military contract, made before enlisting, "the oath or bond" of our spiritual warfare.¹ Ancient authority may be found for all such uses of the term "symbol"; all therefore are possible, no one of them is certain.

In the first instance Creeds were associated only with the Rite of Baptism. Many of the Fathers testify to this. In the Apostolic Constitutions² the ceremonies of Baptism are fully described, and the confession of the catechumen is given; it corresponds more nearly with the Nicene than with any other known Creed. Baptismal professions of faith.

In consequence of "the doctrine of reserve" the catechumen was only initiated into the mysteries of the Faith at the close of his preparation, on the day, as it was significantly called, "of the opening of his ears." The Creed was then committed to memory, and repeated in the presence of the Bishop and the faithful shortly before the administration of Baptism.

In the fourth and fifth centuries Creeds were used as safeguards against error, being recited and subscribed by Bishops and Priests assembled in Council for the maintenance of the Faith; thus, at the Council of Chalcedon, Aetius the Deacon Creeds as a protection against heresy. 451 A.D.

¹ Bingham, x. iii. 1.

² vii. 41.

read out the Creed of Nicæa and the Creed of Constantinople, and they were received with the expressions of assent: "This is the faith of the Catholics, this is the faith of all; we all believe like this;" and, before the Council finally broke up, all the orthodox Bishops cried out, "This is our faith . . . by this we all walk; we all thus think."

The recitation of Creeds in Public Worship.
469 A.D.

510 A.D.

589 A.D.

The first notice of the recitation of a Creed in a Service of the Church, apart from Baptism, is when Peter, the Fuller, ordered that of Nicæa to be incorporated into the Liturgy of Antioch, as a public protest against the heresy of Arius. His example was followed by Timothy, Bishop of Constantinople, who enjoined its use at every congregation. After it had thus become an integral part of the Liturgy in the East, it spread to the West, the third Council of Toledo directing that, "before the Lord's Prayer in the Liturgy, the Creed of the 150 should be repeated by the people throughout the Churches of Spain and Gallicia, according to the form of the Oriental Churches." The necessity arose out of the invasion of those countries by the Goths and the diffusion of Arian principles. Isidore¹ distinctly testifies that it was so recited, "because it tramples on all impious errors and blasphemies of perverted faith." Rome was the last of the Churches to

¹ *De Eccl. Offic.* i. 16.

recite this Creed, probably because, being the last to be infected with Arianism, she was satisfied with the simpler form.

Two ceremonies have come down to us in the recitation of the Creed which call for special notice, viz., turning to the East, and bowing at the Name of Jesus. At first it was the general practice to look Eastwards in every act of worship. The Orientation of Churches was for the most part obligatory, and as the Altar was invariably placed towards the East, the faces of the people were naturally turned in that direction.¹ Indeed, it was so marked that Christians were even charged with being worshippers of the Sun in consequence.² A variety of reasons for the custom have been suggested by the Fathers: that they might have their faces towards Paradise; that they turned to the East in addressing Christ, because He is the Sun of Righteousness, the Day Spring from on high; that, as He came in the East, they expect that He will return in the East at the end of the world, which has been so beautifully expressed by the poet,³ where he describes the traditional custom of waiting for the sunrise on the Feast of the Patron Saint, and

The custom
of turning to
the East.

¹ Basil, *de Spirit. Sanct.* 27. *Apost. Constit.* ii. 57. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. vii. 43.

² Tert. *Apol.* xvi.

³ William Wordsworth, *Miscellaneous Poems*, No. x.

turning the Chancel to the point where the sun rose on that day :

“ He rose and straight—as by Divine command,
They, who had waited for that sign to trace
Their work’s foundation, gave with careful hand
To the high Altar its determined place ;

Mindful of Him Who in the Orient born,
There lived, and on the Cross His Life resigned,
And Who, from out the regions of the morn
Issuing in pomp, shall come to judge mankind.”

Its connexion with the Rite of Baptism.

Now, though all Christian worship was so offered, special symbolism was attached to the habit of turning to the East at the Creed in connexion with the Rite of Baptism. S. Cyril¹ gives a graphic description of the ceremony which explains its significance. Speaking to the newly baptized he says, “ You entered first into the outer chamber of the Baptistery, and, standing with your faces to the West, . . . you renounced Satan, as though he were there before you, saying, ‘ I renounce thee, Satan ’ . . . then, turning from the West towards the sunrise, the place of light, you were told to say, ‘ I believe in the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost.’ ” S. Jerome² calls this “ a covenant made with the Sun of righteousness ; ” and S. Ambrose³ says, “ Thou art turned to the East, for he that renounces the devil turns to Christ.”

¹ *Cat. Myst.* i. n. 2.

² *In Amos* vi. 14.

³ *De Mysteriis*, c. 2.

The other ceremony is that of bowing at the Name of Jesus. Originally this was not confined to the Creed alone, and even so late as the seventeenth century in England it was directed, "when in Divine worship the Lord Jesus shall be mentioned, due and lowly reverence shall be done by all persons present, as hath been accustomed."¹ It has been erroneously supposed to rest on Apostolic authority: "At the Name of Jesus every knee should bow."² S. Paul was thinking not of the external homage which He should receive in all after-ages, but of the recognition of the might of His Intercession, which alone should lend an all-prevailing efficacy to the prayers to be offered "*in His Name.*"³ Exception has been taken to rendering especial reverence to one Divine Name above another, to Jesus and not to Christ or to the Incommunicable Name, Jehovah. The motive is explained by referring to the origin of the custom. During the persecutions of the early Ages the Personal Name of our Blessed Lord was made an object of scorn by the heathen and the Jews: the former called upon Christians to recant by the formula, "Jesus is anathema;" and the latter reviled the Founder as "Jesus, the Magician," "Jesus, the Impostor," "Jesus, the Galilean Impostor," and the

Bowing at
the Name
of Jesus.

1604 A. D.

The origin
of the prac-
tice.

¹ Can. xviii. 1604 A. D.

² Phil. ii. 10.

³ It is not ἐπι but ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι.

like. It was as an act of reparation then for this dishonour that the Christians paid unwonted reverence to the despised Name. It was on just the same principle as that which led them to honour the sign of the Cross. The symbol of shame was made an emblem of glory, and the more it was contemned, the more highly it was exalted.

There is yet another ceremony employed at the Nicene Creed of a kindred nature, not, however, like the other two derived from antiquity, but dating back only to the thirteenth century, viz., bowing the head at the recitation of the three clauses, which speak of Christ's humiliation: "and was incarnate . . . and was made man . . . and was crucified." ¹

The value
of such cere-
monies.

It is very difficult to lay down rules for the observance of such acts of reverence as these. Because of the great variety of temperament in different persons it is almost impossible to make definite regulations. One man keeps his reverence locked up in his own breast, another cannot rest till it is made manifest by some outward expression. They may be equally reverential at heart, and it is at the heart that God looks. We cannot, however, doubt the wisdom of the Church in encouraging such ceremonial worship, but it is well for us to be

¹ In the Sarum Use there were three inclinations; in the Hereford, one genuflexion.

reminded in what spirit it must be offered. There was an order of an old Council, which directed that every one should "bow the knees of his heart, and testify that he does so by at least bowing the head."¹ If we can carry this out, such external marks of reverence will be found helpful, and we shall not only have the sense of our own unworthiness quickened, but we shall, by our example, be the means of raising the devotion of others who join with us in worship, and this in proportion as we are, not as we seem to be, devout.

¹ I have lost the reference, but feel sure of the fact.

XV.

The Substance of the Nicene Creed.

325 A.D. THE Creed which was drawn up by the 318 Bishops, who sat in council under the presidency of Constantine at Nicæa on the shores of the Bithynian Lake, ended with the clause, "We believe in the Holy Ghost." The remaining articles, with the exception of a single phrase, though found in the writings of Epiphanius¹ seven years before, were first recited at the Council of Constantinople. 381 A.D. We have become familiar with the form "I believe," as it was introduced into the Roman Missal from the Latin translation, but originally it was recited in the plural number, "We believe," as became the confession of a Council.

The unity
of the God-
head.

Several clauses of the Creed call for special consideration. "I believe in *one* God";—it is the first noticeable enlargement of the Apostles' Creed. The addition was designed to meet the dualistic heresy which sprang up in the East out of an apparent contrariety between the attributes of God and the

¹ *Ancoratus*, sub fin.

phenomena of Nature. It found its way into the West under the form of Manichæism. It taught that there were two original Powers: two eternal Principles more or less personified—the good God and “the more cruel God.”¹ The former was the author of light and order, and all that is akin to these; the latter was the creator of matter, ruling over “the deadly earth” with its storms and tempests, its chaos and darkness, its corruption and decay, its poisonous plants and animals and all destructive agencies. It was to protest against this belief that the Nicene Bishops declared that there was but “One God, the Maker of heaven and earth, visible and invisible,” *i.e.* material as well as spiritual.

The Dual-
istic theory.

“Light of Light”;—In the mystery of the Godhead there is much that necessarily transcends the capacities of a finite mind. Perhaps in the relationship of the several Persons of the Blessed Trinity there is nothing which at first sight so completely baffles human comprehension as the combination of the two truths, that God the Father is the one primal source of Deity, and yet that the Son and the Holy Ghost are co-eternal with Him. While it is our duty to bow the head in awe and humility, and to be content to wait for the final Revelation, when

The co-
eternity of
the Son
with the
Father.

¹ It was a fusion of Zoroastrianism and Gnosticism with Christianity. The matter which composed the world was the creation of an evil spirit or Deus sævior.

we "shall see no longer through a glass darkly," we may nevertheless be thankful, if from time to time God in His condescension partially lifts the veil, and vouchsafes a glimpse of the possibility of what otherwise would seem wholly inconsistent. Such a partial unveiling the Holy Spirit inspired the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews¹ to give to man, when he wrote that the Son is "the brightness of His (the Father's) glory," from which the Nicene Fathers drew the figure "Light of Light," or, more correctly rendered, Light proceeding from Light. It is, we know, an inherent property of any body of light that it cannot exist without throwing off rays. As an illustration, if we accept the popular conception of the sun,² it must have shed abroad rays of light the very moment it was created. The sun is the source of those rays, but the rays are coetaneous with it. Even so when it is said that the Second Person of the Trinity is "a ray-image of the Divine glory"³ (for that is a more exact translation), it enables us to reconcile the apparent contradiction of the two statements, that the First Person is the fountain of Deity, and yet that the Second is coeternal with Him.

¹ *i. e.* ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης, i. 3; cf. Wisd. vii. 26.

² It is now proved that the sun derives its light-giving power from the atmosphere surrounding it—but for purposes of illustration it may be regarded as itself a luminous body.

³ ἀπαύγασμα is what the Germans call a Strahlbild, and ἡ δόξη is the Shekinah, *i. e.* the Divine Glory.

“Of one substance with the Father”;—as applied to the Godhead, substance carries with it no idea of matter, for “God is Spirit,” but it is used as synonymous with essence. It is intended to express the collective attributes or properties which belong to God and God alone; such are eternity, uncreatedness, omnipotence, and omniscience. The Arians, against whom the clause was directed, allowed to Jesus Christ that He was in a sense God, but by maintaining that “there was [a time] when He was not,”¹ they denied to Him the Divine attribute of eternity, and destroyed the perfection of His Godhead. The Arian heresy.

This unequivocal expression of the doctrine of Christ’s perfect equality in being and essence with the Father, became a stumbling-block to the less orthodox party in the Church, to whom it appeared to want definite sanction from Holy Scripture; and they attempted to modify it by the addition of a single letter, which enabled them to hold that He was of “like” substance, Homoiousios instead of Homöousios. The Semi-Arians. This change, apparently so small, was in reality so great and vital that it was very forcibly said in reference to it, that “a diphthong had divided the world.”

The Catholic Church has clung through good report and evil report to the original definition as

¹ ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν.

359 A.D.

the perfect criterion of the true belief in the God-head of our Lord. Once only has she wavered; it was at the Council of Rimini, when the Emperor Constantine, having been over-persuaded in favour of the Semi-Arians, by intimidation and threats induced the Western Bishops, who alone adhered to the Nicene Symbol in its integrity, to renounce the expression.¹ What the consequences of such a concession were, may be estimated by the famous dictum of S. Jerome, uttered upon hearing of this fatal result, "The whole world groaned and wondered to find itself Arian." If in His Essence Jesus was only *like* the Father, He was a distinct Being from God, and therefore either created or another God.²

"One (holy) Catholick and Apostolick Church"; —the Church is defined elsewhere as "a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached and the Sacraments be duly administered."³ "The faithful" are the baptized, as in the familiar phrases, "the prayer of the faithful," "the Mass of the faithful," that is, of those who by baptism were admitted to the Mysteries, and allowed to use the great Christian Prayer of the Church.

"The notes of the Church" are Unity, Holiness, Catholicity, and Apostolic Origin and Doctrine.

The notes
of the
Church.

¹ Socrat. *Eccles. Hist.* ii. 37.

² Liddon, *Bamp. Lect.* vii. iii. (β).

³ Art. xix.

The Church is one as being united in all its Its unity. branches, with One Head and teaching the same truths—holding “One Lord, one Faith.” Its oneness with its Founder is illustrated by a remarkable passage in S. Chrysostom:¹ “Christ is the Head, we are the body: He the Foundation, we the building: He the Vine, we the branches: He the Bridegroom, we the bride: He the Shepherd, we the sheep.” . . . “All these things express unity, and they allow no void interval, not even the smallest.”

The Church is holy² through its vital connexion Its holiness with Christ her Head, through the indwelling of the Holy Ghost, and the holiness of her members. This last is of a twofold nature, conditional and positive. “The faithful” are holy, in that they have been set apart, dedicated, consecrated to God by the rite of Baptism: “a congregation of saints,” like the “holy people” which was God’s heritage in the Old Dispensation. They are holy, again, in so far as they fulfil their destiny, and live up to their high calling in Christ Jesus.

The Church is Catholic both as designed by her Its Catho-
licity. Founder to be co-extensive with humanity, not

¹ *Hom. viii. in 1 Ep. ad Cor.*

² This attribute is omitted in the English Version, but it is generally said to have been in the original Greek, and it is in the Latin Liturgies. Its omission has generally been regarded as a clerical error: but it is argued in the *Church Quarterly Review*, July 1879, that it was “the result of an inquiry into ancient sources.”

limited like the Jewish Church to any portion of it; as holding Catholic doctrine, which was defined in the fifth century as "that which has been believed always everywhere and by all men";¹ and as teaching "universally and with no omissions, the whole body of truths which men ought to know"—"the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." The Greek Church, the Roman, and the Anglican are all parts of the One Catholic Church, but none of them can claim to be entitled "*the Catholic Church*," any more than a branch may be called a tree, or a hand or foot the whole body.

Its Apo-
stolicity.

Lastly, the Apostolicity of the Church rests upon the facts that her foundation was laid in Apostolic doctrine and that her Ministry has been continued in unbroken succession from the Apostles for the transmission of the Faith. Hence in early times heretical bodies were thus² challenged to establish their claim to be considered Apostolical: "let them produce the original records of their churches, let them unfold the roll of their bishops, so running down in due succession from the beginning, that their first bishop shall be able to show for his ordainer and predecessor some one of the Apostles or of Apostolic men—a man moreover who continued steadfast with the Apostles;" and again, in

¹ Vincentius, *Commonit.* ii. *ad fin.*

² Tert. *de Præsc. hæret.* xxxii.

cases of Churches of late foundation, "they are accounted as not less Apostolic provided they are akin in Apostolic doctrine."

If all these "notes" are yet weak, it is because the Church is passing through a state of probation; and the knowledge of this calls for the utmost forbearance, if they seem to be weaker in other branches than in our own; and it should quicken our innate craving for more of that unity which is strength. If we are dismayed by the sins and shortcomings of any Church, whether our own or another, while we find comfort in the realisation that there must be tares among the wheat, we must be careful, alike in our corporate and individual life, never deliberately to acquiesce in what is sinful.

Further, it is every one's duty, in the recollection of the Divine command, to quench all self-interest and to help on, as we may find opportunity, that happy consummation, when the Gospel shall be preached to every creature. And lastly, in the legitimate pride of a noble lineage and all its inspiring hopes, let us live worthily of our descent, and hand on the deposit of the Faith unimpaired and undefiled to those that shall come after us.

XVI.

The Person of the Holy Ghost.

“The Lord, and Giver of life, Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son.”

THE latter part of the Creed is wholly taken up with the Person and Office of the Holy Ghost. Originally it was comprehended in the single Article, “We believe in the Holy Ghost;” but the rise and development of heresy respecting the Third Person of the Trinity called for more express and definite teaching.¹ This was first authoritatively put forth at the second General Council,² when most of the concluding clauses in the present form were accepted.

381 A.D.

Refutation
of the
Macedonian
heresy.

The enlargement began with the pregnant declaration that He is “the Lord, and Giver of Life.” There is a double doctrine involved herein, which is more unequivocally expressed in the original Greek and in the Latin translation than in the English.³ In the popular conception He is here only regarded as the Lord of life and the Giver of life, as One

¹ The Macedonian heresy, maintaining Him to be a creature, arose after 343 A.D.

² Constantinople.

³ τὸ Κύριον, τὸ ζωοποιόν—Dominum et vivificantem.

in Whom alone "we live, and move, and have our being"; but in reality two distinct qualities are thus assigned to Him, even a Divine Nature and a quickening power. First, He is the Lord;—the title expresses that supremacy of dominion which "Jehovah" in the Old Testament carries with it, that Lordship which, by virtue of "their mutual indwelling,"¹ may be claimed as an attribute by each of the Three Persons.

Secondly, He is the Giver of life;—according to the counsel of His will, it has pleased God that, while there is perfect co-operation in all things, yet each Person should have His appointed function. God the Father, at the beginning of creation, called matter into being, but God the Holy Ghost brought light out of darkness, order out of chaos, life out of death. "The earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." So at the beginning of the re-creation it was, by the life-giving property of the Holy Ghost, that the Virgin's womb received power to conceive the human nature of the Great Restorer of the race; and it is by the operation of the same Blessed Agent that the regenerating Life of Christ is imparted to each individual in Holy Baptism; "except a man

The
quicken-
ing
power of the
Holy Spirit.

¹ περιχώρησις, circumincesso, "coinherence." It is sometimes written circumincesso.

be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God."

"Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son";—three words have been used by theologians to express severally the essential relationship of the Three Persons to each other in eternity: The Father is unbegotten, the Son is begotten, the Holy Ghost is proceeding; but a controversy arose between the Eastern and Western Fathers as to the legitimacy of applying the last term "proceeding" to set forth the derivation of the Holy Ghost from the Son, as well as from the Father.

The Creed
the General
Councils.

451 A. D.

In the Creed, as it was accepted by the Council of Chalcedon, there was no notice of a "double procession"; it was simply "from the Father"; and they indorsed a Canon which had been passed at Ephesus, "that no person should be allowed to bring forward, or to write, or to compose any other Creed besides that which was settled by the Holy Fathers, who were assembled in the city of Nicæa, with the Holy Spirit."¹ They meant that no lesser authority than a General Council might add to the recognised Articles of Faith.

431 A. D.

589 A. D.

Towards the close of the sixth century a Council was held at Toledo, in Spain, at which the Visi-

¹ It is often assumed that this Canon was passed with the special object of preventing any addition to this particular clause, whereas it was only the Nicene Creed—not the Constantinopolitan—that was recited at Ephesus.

goths, with King Recared at their head, abjured Arianism in a body, and were re-admitted into the Catholic Church. The Nicene Creed was recited with an addition to the clause, "Who proceedeth from the Father *and the Son*"; and all were anathematised who denied the double procession. The addition is believed to have crept in unconsciously before this, for there was no discussion about it at the Synod, as there must have been had they known that they were introducing an innovation. They treated it as an integral part of the Creed, and it was chanted at Mass in the Churches of Spain without calling forth any adverse criticism for at least two centuries. From Spain it found its way, though the date is unknown, into Gaul. At the beginning of the ninth century a monkish fray at Jerusalem started a controversy, which has broken out again and again, and is not yet laid. A body of monks, under the patronage of the Gallican Court, established themselves on the Mount of Olives, and used to recite the Creed as it was recited in the mother country. This offended the Greeks, who endeavoured to eject them. Thereupon they appealed to the Pope, who opened communications with Charlemagne, who was then on the throne. A Synod was assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle to discuss the question, and it was referred to the Pope for decision. The Pope was in a dilemma, for he fully

The first introduction of *Filioque* into the Creed.

The beginning of the dispute between the East and West.

809 A.D.

believed the doctrine taught by the insertion, but disapproved of the breach of the Ephesine Canon, which had safeguarded the Creed from unauthorised additions. Further, it was pressed upon him that the common people had gained their knowledge of the truth from hearing it so expressed in the Creed, and that the excision would seriously shake their belief. In this perplexity he advised that they should discontinue the chanting of the Creed in Mass for a time, in view of re-introducing it in its original form, when the old associations had been forgotten, and the omission would be unobserved. He seems to have had misgivings as to the likelihood of his counsel being accepted, as indeed it was not; and, to guard the Roman Church from the interpolation, he ordered two silver shields to be engraved in Greek and Latin with the original Creed, and affixed to the doors of St. Peter's. Much uncertainty hangs round the introduction of the interpolated clause into the Creed at Rome, but none about the acceptance of the doctrine which it implied. Within fifty years of Leo the Third's death, in the quarrel that arose between Photius and Ignatius for the Patriarchate of Constantinople, Nicholas I., who sided with the latter, was accused of sanctioning the double procession. Yet once more, in the middle of the eleventh century, when Rome and Constantinople had carried their rivalry,

Jealousy of
Rome and
Constanti-
nople.

not only for imperial but for spiritual pre-eminence, to the furthest point, fresh disputes broke out: the much-vexed question was again brought on, and the discord became so bitter that the two Churches excommunicated each other.

The schism has never since been healed. Two attempts have been made to close the wound, at Florence in 1439, and at Bonn¹ in 1875, but no definite result has been obtained.

So far for the history of the interpolation "and the Son." Doctrinally there was no wide difference originally between East and West. The Eastern Fathers have been very jealous for the principle that God the Father is the sole source and fountain of Deity, and in their eyes the double procession involves "a double principiation," or two sources.

The doctrinal views of the East and West.

The Western Fathers, laying stress on the fact that the Second Person, by reason of the consubstantiality, is perfectly one with the First, maintain that it follows of necessity that the Spirit Which proceeds from the one must proceed from the other, though not in the same way; and they guarded the distinction by such figures as the following:—"The

The first and third Resolutions passed at the Conference were the important ones—(1) The Holy Ghost issues out of the Father as the Beginning, ἀρχή, the cause, αἰτία, the source, πηγή, of the Godhead. (3) The Holy Ghost issues out of the Father through the Son. It is necessary to add to the latter "eternally," to prevent its limitation to the temporal mission.

Spirit is the third from God, as the fruit which comes from the shrub is the third from the root ; and the river which issues from the stream is the third from the fountain” ; in other words, they hold that the Holy Ghost proceeds *from* the Father *through* the Son.¹ If in the light of past misunderstandings the Churches were free to define the doctrine afresh, such a definition would probably obtain universal assent. It is not unreasonable to hope that, since they already have been drawn closer together by the Conference at Bonn, the time is not far distant when complete concord may be established. But however much we may attempt to define the doctrine, we must recognise it as one of the mysteries which baffle the comprehension of a finite mind. They were wise words which Gregory Nazianzen wrote, and they deserve to be remembered in all controversies about the nature of the Godhead : “ Do you tell me how the Father is unbegotten, and I will then try to tell you how the Son is begotten, and the Spirit proceeds.”

Hopes of agreement.

The claim of the Holy Spirit to Divine honour.

“ Who with the Father and the Son is worshipped and glorified ” ;—the principle finds but a scant recognition in our public services. We glorify Him in the doxologies with which we close our Psalms and hymns ; and we supplicate His mercy in the Litany, “ O God, the Holy Ghost, proceeding from

¹ *i.e.* to avoid making the Son a second source of Deity.

the Father and the Son, have mercy upon us"; but what is this compared with the homage we pay to Those with Whom He is coequal God? It is in proportion as we recognise His claim to be addressed in prayer that we shall realise His Divinity. Though we can hardly expect to remedy the defect in public, we may compensate in a measure for the omission by making Him a distinct object of our supplications and homage in private devotion.

It is not always realised that the concluding His manifold operations. Articles of the Creed are not independent, but are for the most part bound up with the operations of the Holy Ghost. The Church, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection, and life everlasting, each and all are consequent upon the informing and quickening Spirit. It was He Who united the first converts in one organic whole "fitly framed together"; it was only when they had received the Holy Ghost by that mysterious inbreathing, that the Ministry of the Church obtained power to remit or retain the sins of men; it is the same Spirit which raised up Jesus from the dead, Which shall revivify our mortal bodies and deliver them from the grave; and lastly, if our Blessed Lord said, "Whosoever eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood hath eternal life," it is the office of the Divine Spirit to take of the things of Christ and to show them unto us.

XVII.

The Publication of Notices.

“Then the Curate shall declare unto the people what Holy-days or Fasting-days are in the week following to be observed.”

THE Curate is the Priest in charge, one who, by the ceremony of institution, has received from the Bishop “the cure and government of the souls of the parishioners.” This cannot be given to a Deacon; hence the modern usage of the term “Curate” is quite inappropriate.

Holy-days
and Fasts to
be duly
notified.

The Holy-days, or Fasts, of which alone notice may be legitimately given in Church, are set down in the Tables in the beginning of the Prayer-book. Before the Reformation, the vast multiplication of Feasts had acted “to the great prejudice of labouring and trading men.” They were much curtailed in the time of Henry VIII.; and at the final revision the principle was stereotyped of commemorating none, save those whose history is written in the Holy Scriptures.

The Table of Fasts to be observed includes the

Forty Days of Lent, the Vigils of certain Feasts, the Ember and Rogation Days, and all Fridays in the year except Christmas Day. All of these the Curate is bound by the sixty-fifth Canon of the Church to declare to the people, or to "be censured according to law" for omitting the duty. The obligation needs to be emphasised, for though the Catholic Revival has led to a more careful observance of the Feasts, much way has still to be made up before the Fasts shall be kept as strictly as the Church requires.

The notice of Holy Communion is less needful, at least in the numerous Churches where it has regained its rightful position in the worship of each Sunday.

After that part of the rubric referring to this, there is written in the Sealed Books, "and the Banns of Matrimony published." In the reign of George II. an Act¹ was passed to provide for the due publication in Churches, where no Morning Service was held, and the existing direction therefore could not be carried out. It ordered that they should be published "during the time of Morning Service, or of Evening Service, if there be no Morning Service in such Church, immediately after the Second Lesson." This statute in no way repealed the existing rubric; indeed it contained a

Banns of Marriage to be published in this Service.

¹ Marriage Act, 26 Geo. II. c. 33.

Misconstruc-
tion of the
Statute.

provision that this and all other rubrical directions should be "duly observed"; but it legalised the publication in the afternoon or evening, in another place than after the Nicene Creed, which was not then read, viz., after the Second Lesson.

The King's printers and the Universities took the unwarrantable liberty of presuming to interpret the Act for themselves, and, making "after the Second Lesson" apply equally to the morning publication, they omitted from the present rubric, without any right whatever, the old direction. To publish the Banns at any other time, when the Communion Office is said on the day, than after the Nicene Creed, has been declared on high legal authority¹ to be "a flagrant breach of the law."

Briefs, Cita-
tions, etc.

"Briefs, Citations, and Excommunications are read";—all of these are practically obsolete. Before the Reformation a "Brief" was a Papal Letter issued with less formality than a "Bull," though equally binding. It was sealed with "the fisherman's ring," which differed from the Imperial seal, or *bullæ*, very much as in England the Privy Seal is distinguished from the Great Seal. After the Reformation, the term continued in use for Letters from the Sovereign to be read in church; the last of these were the Queen's Letters directing collections to be made for Church Building, Foreign Mis-

¹ Archibald Stephens, *Com. Pr.* ii. 1153.

sions, and Education. They ceased to be issued about a quarter of a century ago.

“Citations” were in the form of a summons from an Ecclesiastical judge, to any one against whom a complaint had been lodged, to appear to answer the charge, or to any person who might have cause to allege against the compurgation of a party accused.

“Excommunications”;—it is provided by Canon 1604 A. D. 65 that the Ordinary should direct that certain persons, who have been guilty of stated offences, “every six months, as well in the Parish Church as in the Cathedral Church of the Diocese by the Minister openly in the time of Divine Service upon some Sunday, be denounced and declared excommunicate”; but in the present abeyance of discipline the practice has been suffered to fall into disuse.¹

“And nothing shall be proclaimed . . . but what is prescribed”;—from the time of Queen Elizabeth it was customary to make proclamations of outlawry, to give notices relative to the payment of rates and taxes, and the holding of courts, during Divine Service; and in the last century vestry meetings² were advertised in the same way; but about fifty years ago all these directions were repealed,³ and

Illegal notices in Church.

¹ It has been enacted that no citation or proceeding whatsoever in any Ecclesiastical Court should be read or published in any Church. Stephens on Laws relating to the Clergy, 1101.

² 58 Geo. III. c. 69.

³ Stat. 7 William IV., and 1 Vict. c. 45.

nothing is any longer lawfully proclaimed save what is provided for in the Prayer-book, or especially enjoined by the King or Bishop.

The only part of this rubric which seems to call for notice in relation to the practical life is that which is called the "bidding of the Fasting-days."

The need of
publishing
Fast-days.

The way in which the order of the Church touching the principle of fasting is ignored ought to fill the mind of thoughtful men with sadness. Often, in a time of reaction from abuses, things which in themselves are good and salutary are suffered to be set aside at least for a season; but nothing that the Church in her best estate has practised beneficially can be permanently neglected without harm and loss. So long as the Table of Fasts has its appointed place in the Prayer-book, and the Clergy give their "assent and consent" to all that is written therein, the position of those who systematically disregard the injunction to remind the people of their duty in regard to them is wholly anomalous. If the Fasts and Vigils are, as is too often the case, made days of feasting and social enjoyment, the Church must blame, as the primary cause of the disobedience to her laws, not so much the people as the Priests, whose carelessness has left them in ignorance of what is required of them.

If our Blessed Lord Himself fasted, though He had no sinful nature to keep in subjection; if the

Apostles enjoined the principle upon their converts ; if the early Church largely practised it, it does seem the very height of presumption for men, who are living in an age of almost unequalled luxury and self-indulgence, to pretend that they can do without it.

XVIII.

The Sermon.

"Then shall follow the Sermon, or one of the Homilies," etc.

The ordinance of preaching in the early Church.

SOME estimate of the value attached to the ordinance of preaching by the early Church may be formed from the restriction of its exercise to the highest order of the Ministry. The limitation after being universally imposed was withdrawn in the East apparently at the close of the fourth century,¹ and a little later in the African Church of the West. The Bishop's throne was the recognised chair of instruction; and so great was the responsibility of occupying it, held to be, that a Priest, even of S. Ambrose's power and ability, is known to have shrunk from the Episcopate, because it entailed the office of preaching.² It may have been exercised before in a subordinate degree and on unimportant occasions, but it is distinctly stated that S. August-

¹ Some of S. Chrysostom's Sermons, *e.g. de Statuis*, were delivered before he was a Bishop.

² *De offic. Minis.* i. 1.

tine was the first in the Western Church to win for the priesthood the privilege of preaching publicly in the presence of a Bishop.¹ This signal departure from the universal custom inaugurated a general change; and though for a time the priest was considered to preach vicariously, and only by a special authority delegated to him by the Bishop, it eventually came to be regarded as an integral part of the Priest's office, and a sermon or exposition formed an essential feature in the Celebration at least on Sundays or Holy Days.

One great and notable exception, however, must be made. Rome alone of the Churches for many centuries set little store by preaching. It has been expressly stated by the historian Sozomen,² and the statement has never been seriously challenged,³ that preaching at Rome, either by Bishop or Priest, was altogether unheard of till the middle of the fifth century. Leo the Great is the first Roman preacher known to history; and it is very remarkable, that after he had broken the silence, and proved, as he must have done (if we may judge by his sermons that have come down to posterity), how much loss his Church had suffered by its lack of preachers, it

Preaching
at Rome
very rare.

440 A.D.

¹ Possidius, *Vita Aug.* 5.

² *Eccles. Hist.* vii. 19.

³ Bingham, xiv. 14. § 3, has raised the objection that the reference in Just. Mart. to the sermon of the *προεστῶς* in the Christian Assembly refutes this, but there is no proof that he was speaking of the Roman Church.

could possibly have been allowed to relapse into its former apathy. Leo had not only no worthy successor, but absolutely no one at all to carry on the work which he had begun, for four centuries. The Eastern Church had Chrysostom and Athanase, and Ephraem Syrus, and its two Gregories, and a host of others; the Western Church had an Augustine in Africa, and an Ambrose and a Peter Chrysologus in Italy, but the Roman annals have preserved no name in the least remarkable for pulpit eloquence save that of Leo; and we are told that from the tenth century scarcely a single Pope preached, till Pius the Fifth "struck Rome dumb with amazement by the novelty" of preaching in the sixteenth century.¹

The attitude of the preacher, and place of preaching.

At first when the Sermon was preached by a Bishop, it was delivered *ex cathedra*, from his throne behind the Altar. The posture of the preacher was "sitting," as indicative of authority. It was adopted into the Church from the Jewish Synagogue; for the Scribes and Doctors, though they habitually stood to read the Law, yet sat to expound it. It was a mark of our Blessed Lord's claim to be a teacher of the people, that after He had "stood up for to read" in the Synagogue at Nazareth, He "sat down" and began to explain in the ears of the

¹ Contionatus Pius v. obstupescentem miraculi novitate Romam perculit. Qu. by Bingh. from Surius, *ibid.* n.

congregation the fulfilment of the prophecy which they had just heard. So it was that "He sat down and taught the people in the Temple."¹

It was only when the function of preaching was delegated to an officer of lower rank in the Church that this authoritative attitude was abandoned. The Priest preached from the ambon, originally a stage or platform near the Chancel-gates, but by the ninth century altered in shape to something like the modern pulpit.²

In primitive times the Sermon was introduced by the mutual salutation, the preacher saying, "Peace be with you," and the people answering, "And with thy spirit."³ There are, it is true, traces both of a prayer, and of the Invocation, being used, but there can be no doubt that this was the general rule. When Macarius, a Roman officer,^{348 A.D.} was sent by the Emperor Constans to relieve the distressed Christians in Africa, he was accused by the Donatists of having usurped the office of a Bishop and preached to the people in Church. It was considered a conclusive refutation of the charge when it was shown that his address was not preceded by this "salutation."⁴

¹ S. Luke iv. 20, v. 3; S. John viii. 2; S. Matt. xxvi. 55.

² Its name was changed to "pyrgus," a tower.

³ It is frequently noticed by S. Chrysos. *Hom. 3 in Col.*, 36 in 1 *Cor.*

⁴ Optatus, *contra Donat.* vii. 6.

In the English Church prayer became the favourite introduction to the sermons of the Puritans. Being confined at other times to pre-composed forms, they seized this opportunity for long *extempore* effusions, which became so burdensome, and so much "to the dishonour of God and scorn of religion," that at the Hampton Court Conference, a form was drawn up "to be used by all preachers before their sermons," and it was inserted in the Canons that were issued at the time.¹ It is doubtful, however, whether it is competent for a preacher to use this in Parish Churches, for it is provided by the Act of Uniformity, that no form be openly used for which there is no rubrical direction, except in the case of an University Sermon.

1604 A. D.

1662 A. D.

Authorised
expositions.

Liturgically the Sermon is intended to be an exposition of the Eucharistic Lections, and as such its utility and harmonious agreement with the Service must be recognised at once. There were many collections of such expositions in the middle ages, and the favourite title for them was Postils. A series was published by Taverner in the reign of Henry VIII., and receiving a quasi-authority was read in the churches, very much as the homilies of S. Chrysostom and Ephraem were read in early

1540 A. D.

¹ Can. lv. The Bishops appealed to the Council of Milevi, 416 A. D., which forbade the use of any but authorised prayers in Church.

times. The principle of using the compositions of other writers has been adopted from the beginning. S. Augustine went so far as to advise incompetent preachers to commit borrowed sermons to memory for delivery in Church. He believed that such a course might be vindicated from any charge of dishonesty, provided only that the preacher was careful to practise what he preached, and that it expressed his own convictions, albeit in better language than he could himself command.

In the sixteenth century the ignorance of the Anglican Clergy was such, that it became imperatively necessary, unless the people were to be left wholly untaught, to provide greater facilities for duly authorised instruction. Two Books of Homilies, composed mainly by Cranmer, Latimer, Bonner, and Jewell were issued within fifteen years, and appointed by royal injunction to be read every Sunday, "except there be a Sermon." They bear a title which, in its etymology, is suggestive of popular "conferences" and homely instructions; and those which have come down from antiquity are for the most part couched in colloquial language; but those to which the rubric refers are grave and hortatory, and answer more nearly to the description which the modern acceptance of the term would imply.

There is a tendency in the present age to depre-

The Homilies.

1547-1562 A.D.

The value of the Sermon

ciate the Sermon as an unnecessary interference with the spirit of Eucharistic worship. It is, in a measure, a reaction against that undue exaltation of the ordinance of preaching, which threw everything else into the background. In restoring the Blessed Sacrament to its rightful position as the paramount object for which Christians are "to assemble themselves together," it behoves us to keep always in mind that in the purest ages of Christianity, the Sermon was held to be an essential part of it. The large provision for the reading of Holy Scripture in this Office, and the care that was taken to provide for its being rightly understood, is an abiding witness to the Church's acknowledgment of the Supremacy of God's Word. We need it not only in our daily walk, as "a lamp unto our feet and a light unto our path," amidst the perplexities and entanglements of worldly business, but as well when we join in the worship of the Sanctuary, that we may have confidence to enter into the Presence of God. And if the Word comes to us, as it has come from the beginning, not in all its unexplained difficulty, but unfolded and applied by the preacher's voice, we may recognise herein yet another proof of the Divine condescension in employing earthly means and human agencies in His highest dealings with mankind. We all know how often the simple message falls unheeded on the ear,

Testimony
to the
Supremacy
of God's
Word.

till, when the Word is taken up and illustrated by a living experience, it becomes at once instinct with reality, and its application to the individual heart is apprehended.

It is an age of criticism; but criticism when applied, as it is too often, to the pulpit, is fatal to every good influence; whether learned or ignorant, interesting or dull, he who speaks to us in the Church is equally an ambassador of Christ. If only we can "receive with meekness the engrafted Word," God will give to it that which the preacher lacks, and, through the vivifying power of the life-giving Spirit, will quicken his most lifeless words and bring strength out of weakness. "Take heed, then, how ye hear."

XIX.

The Offertory.

“Then shall the Priest . . . begin the Offertory,” etc.

The song of
the offerers.

“OFFERTORY” is here a synonym for the “song of the offerers.” It was an anthem, in the earliest known form drawn from the Psalter, and sung while the oblations of the people were being presented. In the old English Office it varied with the season, but in the first Prayer-book a number of texts from different parts of Scripture were thrown together, and a discretionary power was given to the Priest to make whatever selection he thought fit. This has remained unchanged through all the successive revisions of the English Liturgy; but in the Office which was drawn up for Scotland in 1637 A.D. six fresh passages were introduced.¹ At 1661 A.D. the final revision Cosin endeavoured to incorporate these with the existing “Offertory,” but without success. It is not easy to understand on what

1549 A.D.

1661 A.D.

¹ Gen. iv. 3-5; Exod. xxv. 2; Deut. xvi. 16; 1 Chron. xxix. 10-17; Ps. xcvi. 8; S. Mark xii. 41-44. These were not additional, but substituted for others.

grounds he was thwarted ; for, provided no obligation was imposed of reciting more than was convenient, the proposed multiplication would have been found most advantageous. To mention but a single example: the Davidic ascription of praise and thanksgiving to God at the Dedication of the Temple,¹ which was among the rejected sentences, would have filled a gap which is sorely felt at every Consecration of an English Church.

Again, the arrangement of the sentences might have been improved, so as to bring together such as were general or special in their application. The revisers were conscious of the want of order, but failed to remedy it.

While "the Offertory" is in reading, it is directed The Alms to be collected. that "the alms for the poor and other devotions" shall be received "in a decent bason," and then be reverently brought to the Priest, presented and placed upon the Holy Table. Leaving for the moment the other "devotions," we dwell upon "the alms for the poor," and other charitable purposes. Almsgiving was recognised from the first as a primary law and special characteristic of Christianity ; and from the time when S. Paul directed that every one should "lay by him in store upon the first day of the week,"² it came to be associated with the Eucharistic Service.

¹ 1 Chron. xxix. 10-17.

² 1 Cor. xvi. 2.

The institution of the Seven Deacons to "serve tables" "in the daily ministration" led to the constitution of this Order to be the Bishop's almoners,¹ and to the passage through their hands of all offerings, tithes, and voluntary gifts. It is in continuance of this ancient usage that the Deacon holds the first place in the rubric concerning the reception and presentation of the alms, viz. "the Deacons, Churchwardens, or others, shall receive the alms for the poor." The "decent bason," in which they are received, is a reminiscence of the "offertory dish" often mentioned in the charters of ancient English Monasteries.² The offerings, however, were sometimes personally presented at the Altar, according to the scriptural inference, "If thou bring thy gift to the Altar"; sometimes they were placed by the communicants in "the poor man's box," which stood in the Chancel. Hence in the first Prayer-book it was ordered that, after this had been done, "so many as shall be partakers of the Holy Communion shall tarry still in the Quire, or in some convenient place nigh the Quire."³

¹ *Apost. Constit.* ii. 26, 28, 31; iii. 19.

² A very interesting account is given by Canon Venables in Smith's *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.*

³ This implies that he was already in the Quire. The only object that could have taken him there was to make his offering. After 1604, however, it was decided to put the box "in the most convenient place," and this no doubt was generally the nave. Can. lxxxvi.

When the alms are received from the Church-wardens and Sidesmen at the Chancel-gates, it is in accordance with various Synodical Canons, passed in different countries to exclude the laity from the precincts of the Altar.¹ The Council of Laodicea 365 A.D. ordered that "those only who were ordained to the priesthood might enter the Altar-place for communion"; and the same was indorsed at the Council of Trullo, with an exception, said to have been 692 A.D. founded upon what was already considered a very old tradition, in favour of the Emperor, "when he desired to offer gifts to the Creator."²

The other "devotions," named in the rubric, were of many kinds. It is most likely that money for pious, not necessarily charitable, purposes, is here chiefly indicated, but by no means exclusively, for it was customary, when houses or lands or ornaments, such as stained-glass windows, were offered for the use of the Church, to present a writing or chart descriptive thereof; and it is not improbable that a trace of this ancient Ecclesiastical usage is still preserved in "the instrument of conveyance, donation, or endowment," which the Bishop places upon the Altar at the Consecration of a Church.

But there were also "lay-oblations" wholly distinct from any of these. It was a primary and essential

¹ Laod. Can. xix.

² Can. lxix.

The Elements for the Celebration contributed by the People.

idea of sacrifice that it should cost the offerer something. When the Jew brought his victim to the door of the Tabernacle, he surrendered it absolutely, and it cost him what the value of the victim was. For the maintenance of this imperative principle the early Church laid down the rule that the elements for the Eucharistic sacrifice should be contributed by the people. Every person intending to communicate brought to the Church an offering of bread and wine. As the amount thus contributed was of necessity far in excess of what was required, the gifts were taken to the Prothesis¹ or Sacristy, and placed upon a quasi-altar, sometimes separated off from the Chancel, sometimes actually within it, but always, for some unknown reason, on the north side.² This is now represented by the Credence-table,³ though in most churches placed on the south.⁴ Now the obligation for this personal contribution was so stringent that Cæsarius, the famous Gallican Bishop of the sixth century, said that any right-minded man ought to blush, if, having made no

542 A. D.

¹ In the West, *paratorium*.

² So Leo Allatius, Goar, Bingham, but Chambers (*Worship of the Fourteenth Century*) defends the South, but maintains that in England there were two, as, *e.g.* in Kirkstall Abbey.

³ Generally derived from *credenza*, the Italian for a buffet or sideboard, but more probably from the Anglo-Saxon *gereden*, "to make ready." Hence the noun *geredens*, by contraction "creden-*ce*." Cf. Hickes, *Two Treatises*, Pref. Disc. lxvi., ed. 1711.

⁴ Perhaps for the convenience of the Server.

offering himself, he should presume to communicate from another's oblation.¹ The only place, as far as we know, where the primitive custom is still observed, is in the Cathedral of Milan, where some men and women are chosen from among the pensioners in the school of S. Ambrose to present the bread and wine to the Priest for consecration at a solemn Mass.² The custom still observed at Milan.

The feeling that the materials for the sacrifice should be a strictly personal offering took such hold upon the early Christians, that the worshipper not only presented the bread, but actually made and baked it himself. It was even done by persons of the most exalted rank, for it is recorded of the Emperor Valens³ that his own hands had prepared his oblations, and of S. Rhadegunda, the Queen of the Franks, that she made the oblation from flour which she herself had ground.⁴

In lapse of time the Church, through exceeding reverence, began to restrict the office of preparing the elements to her own Ministers; and in some parts of the East *Bethlehems*, houses of bread, where it was actually baked by the Deacons, were Bethlehems built on to Churches for making the Bread.

¹ *Serm.* 265, in *App. ad Opp. S. Aug.*

² Bona, *Rer. Lit.* i. 10.

³ Greg. Naz. *Orat. Funeb.* in laud. Basilii, c. 52: τὰ δῶρα ὧν αὐτοῦργός ἦν.

⁴ Acta S. Bened. i. 320.

attached to the Sanctuary.¹ Long, however, after this change had been made, the traditional conception of this personal offering was preserved in the presentation of the meal by each house or family.² It was doubtless intended as a link with the past that the compilers of the First Prayer-book ordered that "the parishioners of every parish shall offer every Sunday, at the time of the Offertory, the just valour and price of the holy loaf,"³ and for the same object that it was directed at the final revision that the bread and wine "shall be provided at the charges of the parish."

The Offering
ought not to
be omitted.

As a practical issue of all this consideration, the principle should be forcibly inculcated that we must not "come empty" to this Holy Feast. There is a growing disposition, as Communion multiply, to omit the Offertory and collection of alms. It is to lose an essential feature of Sacrificial worship. The maintenance of it may call for more self-denial, and a further curtailment of luxuries, but the primitive conception is well worth preserving. For the sake of the poor, moreover, we need to be reminded that a true Christian Communion requires as an indis-

¹ Cf. Neale, *East Ch.*, Introd. 190.

² *Gem. Anim.* i. 66.

³ Cf. Seventh rubric at close of first Prayer-book, Communion Office (ed. Parker), and Rubric in same place in the present Office.

pensable condition Christian charity, and there is no better touchstone of charity than to have pity upon the poor. "To do good, and to distribute, forget not; for with such sacrifices God is well pleased."

XX.

The Mixed Chalice.

“When there is a Communion, the Priest shall then place upon the Table so much Bread and Wine as he shall think fit.”

THE rubric mentions only bread and wine, but all through the history of the Catholic Church, and for the first fifteen centuries in the Anglican branch of it, water has been added to the wine. A practice so large and uniform could only have arisen out of a settled conviction that such mixture was in accordance with the original institution by our Blessed Lord. Now we often read in the Old Testament of “mixing” or “mingling” wine; this was done as well to strengthen as to modify its potency, in the one case by the ingredient of spices, in the other by water. It was the former mixture that was usually prepared for high festivals, as we find in the Supper to which Wisdom invited her guests: “She hath killed her beasts; she hath mingled her wine; she crieth upon the highest places of the city, Come eat of my bread and drink of the wine which I have

Water added to the wine.

The Jewish custom of mixing wine.

mingled”¹; but at the Passover there is nothing to suggest the use of this “strong drink.” There is no notice of wine at all in connexion with it in the Pentateuch, but the Mishnah enjoins that there should be four cups of it even for the poorest Israelite.² It is authoritatively³ stated that the third, “the Cup of Blessing,” or that over which “Grace” was said, was habitually mingled with water; and it was this which our Lord selected for consecration. There is no trace in Jewish writings of any symbolic significance of a religious kind attaching to the practice. In Palestine the wine was so strong, that it was not thought proper to pronounce over it the benediction of “the fruit of the tree,” that is, of the vine, until its strength had been somewhat reduced by water. It does not, however, positively prove the dilution, as is so often asserted; at the most it cannot afford more than a most reasonable presumption that diluted wine was used at this particular Passover, for it was specially provided that the duties of the Feast

¹ Prov. ix. 2, 5. This passage is often quoted as typifying the Holy Eucharist, and the mixture is erroneously supposed to be by dilution with water, as *e. g.* Scudamore, *Not. Euch.* xii. x. sec. 2.

² *Pesach.* x. 1.

³ Talm. Bab. *Berakhoth*, 50 b. *in medio*; also Rashi *in loco*. Mishnah, *Berak.* vii. 5. Lightf. *Exercit. S. Matt.* xxvi. 27. “The wise agree, say the Gemarists, with Rab. Eliezer, that one ought not to bless over the Cup of Blessing till water be mingled with it.” This Rabbi lived in the time of our Blessed Lord, but was somewhat younger.

should be held to have been legitimately fulfilled if a man drank of *unmingled* wine.¹

The evidence
of the early
Church.

In a matter of so much uncertainty the only safe guide is the practice of the early Church, which would be careful to ascertain all the details of the first institution for future guidance. Now the first recorded history of the Ritual of the Holy Eucharist testifies to the introduction of water: "The deacons distribute . . . that Bread and Wine and Water which has been blessed";² and there is a *catena*³ of evidence from the Fathers and the primitive Liturgies, direct and indirect, which leaves us no alternative but to accept the Mixed Chalice, not only as consonant with the general practice of the Jews, but in accordance with what was done at that particular Passover.

The Rule of
the Anglo-
Saxon
Church.
750 A.D.

The Anglican Church adopted the Catholic rule, and enjoined it by a succession of canons; in Egbert's time "that the priests shall diligently provide that the bread and wine and water, in which the Mass is celebrated, should be pure and clean";

¹ Lightf. *ibid.* Buxtorf, *de Primæ Cænæ Rit.* 20.

² Just. Mart. *Apol.* i. 65.

³ Iren. *adv. Hæer.* v. ii. 3, and v. xxxvi. 3. Cypr. *Ep. ad Caecil.* lxii. (or lxiii.) 2 and 13. *Apost. Constit.* viii. xii. The mixture is said to be mentioned in some 70 different Rituals of earlier or later date. According to some of them the water was warm. This has no basis in Jewish custom, but was purely Christian, originating in a symbolical reference to the water and blood which flowed from the wounded side of our Lord.

and under Edgar she forbade any priest "to celebrate unless he have all things fitting for the Housel, that is a pure oblation, and pure wine and water"; but for some unexplained reason the revisers of the second Prayer-Book omitted the rubric contained in the first, which directed the minister to add to the wine "a little pure and clean water."

960 A.D.

1552 A.D.

A great variety of symbolical interpretation gathered round the act both in early and mediæval times, but there is no trace of anything which could possibly have associated it in men's minds with perverted doctrine or superstitious ceremony.

Now if the judgment be accepted, that to understand aright the principles of rubrical revision, "omission is of equal force with prohibition,"¹ it is idle to maintain the legality of "the mixture" at the present day; but it is at least interesting to find that such was not the interpretation that commended itself to the leading divines who were engaged in the liturgical controversies of the seventeenth century.

It was the practice of Bishop Andrewes² in the King's Chapel all the time that he was Dean of it, and he ordered it to be adopted in his Form of Consecrating a Church.

The seven-
teenth cen-
tury Divines.

¹ This theory is supported by Stephens, B.C.P., p. 1237, who maintains that it is a legal principle, *expressio unius est exclusio alterius*. Palmer, *Orig. Lit.*, assumes the opposite.

² *Minor Works*, p. 157.

Cosin,¹ who was chaplain to Bishop Overall, the author of the Sacramental part of the Church Catechism, in his notes on the Catechism, wrote, "Our Church forbids it not, for aught I know, and they that think fit may use it, as some most eminent among us do at this day"; but he implies that it was not the common practice, and vindicates the omission from the charge that it invalidated the Sacrament.

In testimony of its continuance even in the Georgian era, when Liturgical Ritual descended to the lowest ebb, Bishop Wilson, in the manuscript of his *Sacra Privata*, which was so largely used, wrote directions "upon placing bread and wine and water upon the Altar."²

The Non-
jurors'
Liturgy.
1718 A.D.

The Nonjurors, when they determined to compile a Liturgy as far as possibly conformable to the ancient standard, refused to be satisfied with any tacit sanction, and deciding that the evidence preponderated in favour of the Mixed Chalice at the original institution, secured its continuance by reinserting the omitted rubric, "putting thereto a little pure and clean water." On the whole, then, though, as even the Roman Church confesses,³ the absence of the

¹ *Works*, v. 154.

² This was suppressed in the publication, but it is found in an edition of 1854, p. 105, published by Mr. Denton direct from the author's MS.

³ *Conc. Trid. de Euch. Sacr. c. xvii. seq.*

rite in no way invalidates the Sacrament, it is clear that its observance brings us into closer harmony with other Churches, and removes the reproach of having departed from Catholic antiquity.

There is a marked coincidence between the direction to the Priest, after the alms have been presented, "to place upon the table bread and wine," and the rubrical side-note in the Prayer that follows "to accept our alms and oblations." The natural explanation under the circumstances would be to confine the latter term to the elements alone; but though undoubtedly these were primarily in the thoughts of the revisers, no such limitation can be maintained. There is abundance of contemporary evidence to show that "Oblations" was a wider term, embracing all offerings and "devotions" which were not alms, such, for instance, as "the lay-oblations" and offerings for the clergy, of which we have already spoken. Passing over, however, the wider use, we find in the primitive Liturgies that there was always a double oblation of the elements, one before, the other following immediately after, the Act of Consecration; they are designated in the East the Lesser and the Greater Oblations. A consideration of the object of the respective acts justifies the distinction. That of the former is twofold; first, as a thankful dedication to the Creator of a kind of first-fruits of His creatures, often expressed by the

The twofold Oblation.

sentence, "of Thine own, O Lord, we give Thee"; secondly, to ask God so to accept it that it may be an "offering of a sweet-smelling savour." The object of the latter is to present to the Father Christ's Body and Blood under the veils of bread and wine.

The first Oblation of the elements has always been regarded as an important act demanding due and proper reverence, and in the Eastern Church it has been surrounded with unusual pomp and magnificence. Cosin and Sancroft were anxious to emphasise the Sacrificial character of the Priest's act by substituting, "then shall he *offer up* and place," for the simple "place upon the Table,"¹ but liturgically it can be shown to be a matter of little moment, because according to Jewish practice the mere act of laying the gifts upon the Altar by the hands of a priest makes them *ipso facto* "oblations."² So Bishop Patrick wrote, "When you see bread and wine set upon God's Table by him that ministers in the Divine Service, then it is offered to God; for whatsoever is solemnly placed there becomes by that means a thing dedicated and appropriated to Him."³ It is necessary to bear this in mind, for it is the justification of the compilers of our Communion

¹ It was so altered in the Scottish Office of 1639 A.D.

² Exod. xxv. 30. S. Matt. xxiii. 19.

³ *Christ. Sacrifice*, Pt. ii. sec. viii.

Office in not providing that the verbal petition for God's acceptance of them should be repeated, when fresh elements are presented for consecration in one and the same Celebration.¹ "Oblation is an act, not a prayer."

We have observed before that the term "Oblations" has been used to signify offerings for the clergy. Oblations or Offerings for the Clergy.

Its special application to these grew out of an early practice of no little interest. In ancient times it was customary for the communicants to offer in kind for the Sacred Feast, and necessarily far more was contributed than was actually required. What remained, after the Priest had selected what would suffice, became the perquisite of himself and his assistants; indeed it was the chief provision for their maintenance. In later times, it is true, they distributed a portion to the poor, but the oldest records establish the undivided claims of the clergy. Many time-honoured customs, both in the Church and the world, have fallen into disuse, but in many cases they have left traces behind them. The Easter Offerings are a Easter Offerings. surviving relic of this prerogative of the priesthood. When the ministers of the Church took into their own hands the furnishing of the elements for the Sacrament, an equivalent in money was contributed by the people. The objects on which it was to be

¹ Cf. Rubr. following the Form of Administering of the Cup, "If the consecrated Bread and Wine be all spent, etc."

spent were largely multiplied, but four days in the year were set apart when all offerings should be appropriated to the clergy. They were first fixed for the Feasts of Christmas, Easter, S. John Baptist, and S. Michael ; but as the laity formed the habit of communicating only on Easter Day, it was provided that, in default of payment on the other three days, a cumulative contribution might be made at Easter.

The claims
of the Minis-
try for
support.

S. Paul reminded the Corinthians that God had laid down an eternal principle for the maintenance of the priesthood. As the Jewish priests and Levites were fed and lived plenteously on their share of the sacrifices, "*even so* hath the Lord also ordained, that they who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel." It is true that in times of poverty and persecution he determined himself to forego his rights and to preach without reward rather than be burdensome to his flock ; but it was a voluntary departure for a pressing necessity, and may never be drawn into a precedent, in face of his appeal to God's unchanging law that "they who wait at the Altar are partakers with the Altar."¹ Through the piety of benefactors and the ample provision of former generations, the burden of maintaining the clergy falls lightly upon the laity of the present age, but it may not always be so. We may, however, believe it to be no unfounded hope that, if in the future they

¹ 1 Cor. ix. 13, 14.

realise their duties, the people will recognise their claims, and will be careful to provide, as they have done in the past, that they who give them that which is spiritual, shall never be lacking in that which is material.

XXI.

The Prayer for the Church.

Intercessions
not common
in the Hours.

ONE great change in the later worship of the Anglican Church is the transfer of the intercessory element from the Eucharistic to the Ordinary Services. It was introduced most sparingly into "the Hours"; but it entered very largely into the Liturgy. At first it is found in the East in a form closely resembling our Litany, as may be seen in the Apostolic Constitutions,¹ where literally "all conditions" of men are remembered in the prayers at the Altar. Western Litanies in the early times were for the most part Processional,² apart from the Liturgy, but before long they were grafted into it, and their connexion is fixed by the familiar title of "Missal Litanies." The oldest forms³ that have come down to us are most comprehensive, embracing petitions for the Catholic Church throughout the

¹ viii. 9.

² Such were the Rogations. S. Basil, *Ep. ad Nicæas* 207. Sozom. *Eccl. Hist.* viii. 8. Amalar. *de Eccl. Off.* iv. 25.

³ Clement Liturgy. For some ancient forms, cf. Smith's *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* p. 1001.

world, and the manifold estates of men and women contained therein.

It is an unfortunate departure from primitive usage that the Litany should have become in these later days almost wholly dissociated from the Eucharist. Its penitential character makes it especially appropriate in preparation for the Divine Mysteries, and its petitions harmonise most completely with the great Office of Intercession. It was on these grounds that it found a fitting place before the Sunday Eucharist,¹ but to relegate it to the afternoon or evening is to destroy the *rationale* of its use on the most festal of days. It is very helpful to bow the heart of the worshipper before entering into the Presence of his Lord; it has an obvious incongruity when praise and thanksgiving have wholly taken possession of his soul.

Now, in addition to the more general intercessions of the Eucharistic Office, the prayers of the congregation were asked by name for individuals. In every Church there were Ecclesiastical Registers, called Diptychs, because they were usually two-leaved, on which were written the names both of living and dead. Among the former it was customary to give prominence to those who brought

The separation of the Litany from the Eucharist un-liturgical.

The Diptych of the living and dead.

¹ In first Prayer-book, Edw. VI., it was ordered to be said only on Wednesday and Friday. In the second Prayer-book Sunday was added—probably to detract, as it was thought, from the festal character of Sunday, not to renew an ancient usage.

oblations; their names were recited, that they might have the prayers of the people, and that it might be known that they were in full communion, for none but communicants were allowed to offer. To refuse a place on the Diptychs was a common method of condemnation for heresy or laxity in life and discipline. Besides these, officers of the Church and civil rulers were included, especially Bishops and Priests, and any benefactors, and laity of undisputed orthodoxy. In the Diptychs of the dead the Saints and Martyrs held the chief place, together with the founder of the church, the Bishops of the diocese, and eminent laics who had died in the Faith. It was chiefly from the belief "that the greatest benefit would accrue to their souls for whom the supplication was offered, while the holy and most awful Sacrifice was being set forth."¹ But it was also regarded among the highest earthly distinctions the Church had to bestow; indeed it was included in the seven honours of canonisation. "It is a great honour," says S. Chrysostom,² "to be named in the Presence of the Lord, when that Memorial is being celebrated, the dread Sacrifice, the unspeakable Mysteries." It was fitting that the faithful dead should be included as part of the Mystical Body of Christ, which was being presented to the Father; and such commemoration exhibited

¹ Cyril, *Cat. Myst.* v.

² *In Acta Apost. Hom.* xxi. § iv.

a public testimony to the reality of the bond of union between the Church militant and the Church expectant in Paradise.

The time of recitation has varied ; sometimes Recited at different times. the names of the living were read out before, the names of the departed after, the act of Consecration.¹ The method also has varied. At one time they were read aloud by the Deacon at the Altar ; at another they were repeated in a whisper to the Priest who celebrated ; but in nearly all cases,² the idea was preserved of interceding for them at the central part of the Service. In the first Reformed Prayer-book of the Anglican Church the custom was dropped of interceding or commemorating by name, but the laudable practice of knitting up the Act of Intercession with that of Consecration was retained. The Prayer of the Church was comprehended in the same Form with the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, the Consecration, and Oblation. In the second Prayer-book the Dislocation of the Intercessory element. revisers, carried away by the reaction that was taking place against the abuses of Masses for the dead, curtailed the intercessory element of the Office, and separated what was left from its time-honoured position. It is interesting, however, to

¹ In Orient Litt., except that of S. Mark and the Coptic of S. Cyril, these prayers all follow the Consecration.

² The Gallican, Mozar. and Nest. Litt.

find that though such a consideration would have had little weight with them, had it entered into their consultations, yet they did unwittingly bring the revised Office in this particular into agreement with the Gallican use, and so, indirectly, with that also of the British Church, which was derived from it. The Gallican was almost alone among the ancient Liturgies in placing the prayers for the Church before the *Sursum Corda* ("Lift up your hearts"), which commenced the more sacred part, the Anaphora in the East, the Canon in the West.

While we regret the dislocation that has taken place in the Anglican Office, it is some consolation to remember that the Lord's Prayer still remains in some proximity to the central Act; and this is emphatically a prayer for all the children of our common Father. All its petitions, too, are framed in the plural number, so that the ancient and Catholic idea is not wholly lost to us.

The Prayer, as we now have it, contains petitions for the universal Church, for kings, for the clergy, for the people, for the sick and distressed; and in addition to these a thankful commemoration for the faithful departed. There is abundant precedent in ancient usage for all these petitions, but there is one marked difference between the prayers for the king in the early ages and our own—one in which modern practice shows at a disadvantage. We have

made no provision for kings and princes without the pale of Christendom ; but S. Paul¹ called upon Timothy to teach his people to intercede for a Pagan emperor as wicked as Nero ; and Tertullian² testifies that the Christians of his day, when as yet the Empire was unconverted, prayed even from the heart for all kings, "that they might have a long life, secure dominion, a safe home, valiant armies, a faithful senate, an upright people, a world at peace, and whatever be the desire both of the man and the king." Intercession for those who are "in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity," seems to be the natural outcome of a Christian instinct, and yet it found no place in the Liturgies of Rome and Milan. It tells us unmistakeably how vividly the early Christians realised its value, that deliverance from the most pressing calamities and adversities, incidental to an age of persecution, was always sought through the Service of the Altar ; as, *e.g.* for the "holy fathers and brothers who carry on their struggle in the caves and dens and holes of the earth," "for those in bonds and in prisons, in captivities and exile, in mines, and tortures, and bitter slavery."³

Divers persons prayed for in the Liturgy.

Especially those in trouble.

In these days when the Church is reinstating the Holy Eucharist in its rightful position as the centre

Desirable to revive the practice of

¹ 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

² *Apol.* xxx. and xxxix

³ Litt. *S. James* and *S. Mark*.

praying
for persons
by name.

of our religious life, we shall do well, as far as we can, to revive the ancient practice. It does seem anomalous that the prayers of the congregation should only be asked for individuals at Matins or Evensong. If, however, by tacit consent other notices than such as are recognised by the rubric, are generally allowed after the Nicene Creed, it is difficult to see where such a concession could be more reasonably made, in favour of those who wish their needs to be remembered in the pleadings of the Altar Service. It is in this that we expect in its fullest realisation the close co-operation of Him "Who ever liveth to make intercession for us." It is in the offering of this that we are more emboldened to ask, conscious that our intercessory acts, with all their weaknesses and shortcomings, are united with the all-sufficient Mediation of the great High Priest, and that they must gain strength and efficacy from the union.

XXII.

Prayers for the faithful dead.

“Militant here in earth.”

WHEN the compilers of the second Prayer-book of Edward VI. removed the Prayer for the Church to its present position, they also greatly curtailed it by obliterating a form of commemoration of saints departed, as well as a petition for those who rest in the sleep of peace. The former ascribed “most high praise and hearty thanks, for the wonderful grace and virtue, declared in all” God’s “saints from the beginning of the world”; the latter commended unto the mercy of the Lord, all other His servants “which are departed hence with the sign of faith.” In the strong reaction that was setting in against the Catholic practice of praying for the dead, by reason of the abuses connecting it with the perverted doctrine of Purgatory, they forgot the wholesome maxim that the abuse of a thing, which is in itself good, is no sufficient cause for its disuse;¹ and they stopped short in the Prayer for the Church for “all

Reaction
against
prayers for
the dead in
1552 A. D.

¹ Canon xxx., 1604 A. D.

them who in this transitory life are in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity." Yet further to fence and guard it from all possibility of its being ever interpreted as including that part of the Church which is in Paradise, they prefixed the restrictive title, "militant here in earth."

Commemoration of the dead introduced in 1661 A.D.

The next hundred years passed away leaving the Prayer untouched;¹ but at the final revision, when the Church was recovering from the panic, which had well-nigh made shipwreck of Catholic doctrine under the alien guidance of Bucer and Martyr,² a portion at least of the ancient heritage was reclaimed. The beautiful Commemoration which closes the Prayer in its present form was introduced, and though the direct supplication in behalf of the dead was not restored, yet there can be little doubt that the revisers no longer wished to restrict the intercessions of the worshipper to the living alone, for in the MS., where it is referred to in the Post-Communion rubrics, as they laid it before Parliament,³ it is designated the "General Prayer for the good estate of the Catholic Church of Christ." Furthermore, Cosin, the leading spirit in the

¹ An alteration had been made in the Scotch Lit. of 1637, and both commemoration of and prayer for the dead were re-admitted.

² Cf. the author's *Studies in the Hist. of the Prayer-book*, sub "Puritan Innovations"; also *After Death*, p. 240.

³ It is said that Parliament objected; that the matter was referred back to Convocation, and the change accepted.

revision, has left it on record that expressions were used in the Communion Office on the distinct understanding that they embraced the dead as well as the living. In commenting on the expression "we and all Thy whole Church" in the Prayer of Oblation, he says that it is to be understood "as well of those that have been here before, and those that shall be hereafter, as of those that are now members of it."¹ It would have been impossible for men so imbued with the Catholic spirit, and so conversant with historic usage, to sanction the narrowing policy of their predecessors. The foreign Reformers, who removed the prayer for the dead, never ventured to deny that it was lawful or primitive; their arguments and action were founded on expediency alone, and, as so often happens, it betrayed them into extreme measures, where modification and correction would have sufficed. The final revisers were satisfied that the Church could only be permanently deprived of her Catholic privilege with grave harm and loss; and they resolved to bring back all that was practicable, carefully guarding her faith and worship from late and unauthorised perversions.

The principle of praying for the faithful dead has so much to commend it, and is so full of comfort, as well as so strictly Scriptural and Catholic, that it almost demands a full and unqualified recognition

¹ *Works*, vol. v. 351, 352, Anglo-Cath. Lib.

Varied evidence in favour of Prayer for the Dead.

From Holy Scripture.

in Public worship. There is an unbroken chain of evidence in favour of it¹ all through the earliest ages: it runs through Fathers, monumental inscriptions, primitive Liturgies, and other sources of information, and rests for its ultimate authority on the teaching of Holy Scripture. S. Paul in his Second Epistle to Timothy² prays for Onesiphorus: "The Lord grant unto him that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day." It is only by doing violence to the whole drift of the passage that we can evade the conclusion that he was no longer alive. This prayer was written, like the rest of Scripture, under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Men may say that it is nothing more than a pious apostrophe; at least it is couched in almost exactly similar language with the petitions which the Church has always offered up, and with which she is satisfied. Men may retort again that it is but a solitary instance, and that it is found nowhere else in the pages of Holy Writ. While we are far from accepting the assertion that it is wholly wanting in other parts, we have the distinct assurance that the Apostles were guided into all truth in what they wrote. Whatever, therefore, S. Paul states is equally true, whether it be found in one or in twenty places—not perhaps equally important or necessary

¹ All this is set forth in detail in *After Death*.

² 2 Tim. i. 16, 18 and iv. 19.

to salvation, but equally according to the Mind of the Spirit, and as such the Church has no hesitation in receiving it.

To pray for the dead, then, is Scriptural; and because it is Scriptural, it was universally practised in the early Church, by those who lived most nearly to the time of our Blessed Lord, and must have known His Mind and Will more accurately than later generations. Now one convincing proof that it was so practised is the undoubted fact that there is no primitive Liturgy extant in which it was not provided for. The Liturgies, it is well known, have not come down to us in their original and authentic forms, but they abound in interpolations of later date. Any Liturgical scholar, however, can furnish ample proof, that the petitions for the dead may not be placed in the category of such unauthorised additions.¹ It is certain that no practice could have been adopted or suffered to continue for any length of time in the public Services, which had not received the full and unwavering assent of the Church at large.

From the
primitive
Liturgies.

In the full belief then that the practice is perfectly legitimate, we would gladly see a more frank and open recognition of it on historic grounds. While

¹ The late Dr. Swainson did much to distinguish the earlier text of the Liturgies from later accretions. Cf. *Gk. Litt.*, pp. 40, 83, 92, 131. etc.

Objects to
be gained by
fuller adop-
tion of the
practice.

sects are starting into existence and multiplying with an amazing rapidity, and adopting any innovation in modes of worship that fancy prompts, it is no light claim to the respect of men that the Church of the nineteenth century should be able to exhibit the self-same features that were familiar to the Christians of the second and the third. Again it would strengthen our position in the Roman controversy, and remove one of the main charges against the Church of the Reformation—viz., that she had cut herself adrift from the Church of the first age by abandoning a usage that entered so largely into primitive worship. But far above either of these objects, or any others of a kindred nature, there is the paramount aim of practical utility and spiritual help. We have been told, that in one particular country the Missions of the Anglican Church have failed to lay hold of the natives because the messengers we had sent out had taught them that it was unlawful to pray for the departed. The natural instincts of a nation, whose system of religious worship was bound up with the commemoration of the dead, rebelled against such teaching. But while they closed their ears to the ministry, which offered them nothing but the cold and chilling comfort of Protestant reserve, they were attracted by the Roman Priests, who, to meet the natural craving of the people for closer union with the

dead, pressed to the utmost their peculiar doctrine of Purgatory.

The Church of England has long since paid the penalty for the admission of false doctrine. She has not indeed been deprived of all exercise of her rightful prerogative, for "the main body and essentials" of Divine worship have never been sacrificed,¹ and enough was left at the Reformation just to witness to her retention of the principle. But for three centuries she has lost much of that free and open action which alone can make her prayers a real motive power in her life. It must be our anxious care, in all efforts to recover her lost position, to adhere strictly to the ancient lines, and to use no petitions but such as echo the language of the Liturgies of the early Church, and pray, not for deliverance from Purgatorial pains, but for the light or rest or refreshment of the faithful departed: for the effacement of their sinful stains and defilement: and for the fuller sanctification of those who are now in peace with Christ.

¹ Cf. Preface to P.B. 1662 A.D.

XXIII.

The First Exhortation.

Primitive
reverence for
the Mysteries
a sufficient
safeguard.

“HOLY things for holy persons”¹ was the pregnant cry of warning, by which in almost all the ancient Liturgies, the Celebrant endeavoured to shield the Mysteries from profane recipients.

During the middle ages the people rarely communicated; they were satisfied to “attend Mass;” and as it was celebrated in a dead language, they were in most cases unable to take an intelligent part in the Service. At the Reformation, when this evil was corrected, and frequent communion revived, it became necessary to emphasise the old admonition; hence it was that the existing Exhortations were introduced. There was one instance in which a somewhat similar form had been used in earlier times; in the revised Gallican Liturgy, as adopted in Spain under the name of the Mozarabic, there was an address of admonition to the people, begin-

¹ *Sancta Sanctis*, was proclaimed by the priest before the Fraction, in the Litt. of S. James and S. Mark, and in others at a different time. S. Chrysostom and S. Cyril comment upon it.

ning "Dearly beloved brethren,"¹ to arouse them to pray earnestly to God. It is interesting to find that it occupies a place nearly corresponding to that of the Exhortation in our present Office; for it shows at least that in position as well as in principle this element is not, as is too often supposed, without the sanction of antiquity. It seems, however, to have a more peculiar fitness in the place assigned to it in the first Prayer-book after the Consecration, when the Holy Sacrament, to which it refers, is actually present.

The First Exhortation was drawn in a large measure from *The Consultation of Hermann*,² which had been compiled by Melancthon and Bucer, and published in England shortly before the revision. It opens up some very important subjects, three of which deserve special consideration:—(1) the terrible consequences of partaking unworthily; (2) the question whether Judas received or not; (3) the principle of private or auricular confession.

(1) Unless we may suppose that the framers of the Exhortation were guilty of culpable carelessness, they used language which implied that the wicked

¹ This was revised by Isidore, as Gregory revised the Roman, and about the same time. This Address, *Fratres Charissimi*, is the first of the Seven Prayers into which he divides the Office.

² This work was a "simple and pious consideration," and was intended as a preliminary to a complete Reformation of the Services and ceremonies in the Churches in his Electorate. It was published in German in 1543, and in Latin 1545.

The source from which the Exhortation was drawn. 1547 A.D.

as well as the godly eat the Body of Jesus Christ. The "Holy Sacrament," which they say "is so dangerous to them that will presume to receive it unworthily," cannot be lawfully interpreted according to the exact language of the Prayer-book to be only the bread and wine. The Sacrament has two parts, the outward and the inward, and all who receive it receive both. It cannot be a Sacrament to one and only half of a Sacrament to another. All partake of the *res Sacramenti*, that is, the thing signified, but not all of the *virtus*, that is, the beneficial effect of the Sacrament.¹

Article xxix.
often misin-
terpreted.

The 29th Article seems at first sight to be repugnant to this doctrine, but not when carefully and theologically interpreted. The title runs thus:—"Of the wicked which eat not the Body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper"; but the expression is not reproduced in the substance of the Article. It is there stated that "although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, yet in no wise are they *partakers of Christ*." Either, then, the heading says something which is not supported by the substance of the Article, and therefore not binding,² or else in the mind of the compiler "to

¹ Cf. S. Aug. in *Joan. Tract.* xxvi. 11.

² It is an accepted principle that no conclusion may be drawn from the heading of a legal document unless it be borne out by what is contained in the body of the document itself.

eat the Body of Christ” and “to be partakers of Christ” are synonymous terms. Now, to be a “partaker of Christ” is a phrase for which we have an authoritative interpretation in Holy Scripture:¹ it is to be brought into spiritual union with Him. Such union through the Sacrament, the Article denies to the ungodly; and only if we understand the “eating” spoken of in the heading as eating spiritually or beneficially,² is there no discrepancy.

The final sentence, “but rather to their condemnation, do eat and drink the Sign or Sacrament³ of so great a thing” is most ambiguous, because sign and sacrament have both in the Church Catechism an authorised definition, according to which it is impossible to regard them as synonymous terms. The one has one part only, the other two. According to the popular view, the wicked eat the sign, that is, the outward part, or bread and wine; according to the interpretation here set forth they eat the Sacrament, that is, both the outward and the inward parts, or the bread and wine and the

¹ Heb. iii. 14, vi. 4.

² “Eating” is so understood in St. John vi. 54, 56, 58, though the manner is unexpressed. It is followed by union with Christ. So it is in Art. xxviii. The “Body” is given to all, but it is “received and eaten,” *i.e.* beneficially, only through faith.

³ Note that in the Latin Version the order is changed, *sacramentum seu symbolum*, and symbol appears to be introduced as another term for Sacrament, which “sign” can hardly be. For further teaching on this Article read below, Chap. xxxix.

Body and Blood of Christ; but, as will be shown more fully hereafter, through lack of faith they cannot do it beneficially, but rather, like the profane Corinthians, they eat to their condemnation.

St. Augustine's teaching on the Real Presence.

The general teaching of S. Augustine,¹ who is appealed to in the Article, is in accordance with this latter interpretation. For instance, writing against the Donatists, he says of one, who takes the Sacrament unworthily, it does not follow, "because he does not receive to his salvation, that he has received nothing; for it was none the less the Body of the Lord to those to whom the Apostle said: "He that eateth unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself."

The doubt whether Judas received or not.

(2) On the second question the Exhortation speaks definitely, "Lest, after the taking of that Holy Sacrament, the devil enter into you, as he entered into Judas"; and it is supported by some of the leading Fathers. S. Ambrose² wrote in the belief that Judas the traitor partook of the Sacrament: "he perished at the feast in which others were made whole"; S. Augustine:³ "The Lord Himself tolerates Judas, the devil, the thief who sold Him; He suffers him to partake with the innocent disciples of that which the faithful know to be

¹ Cf. *Tract.* 62 in *S. Joann.*, *Serm.* lxxi.; *Ep.* 43; alias 162, sect. 23; *de Bapt. contr. Donat.* v. 9.

² In Ps. xxxix; *Enar.* and *de Tobia*, xiv.

³ *Ep.* 43, sect. 23.

their Ransom"; but S. Hilary¹ was very decidedly against it, asserting that he was not present because he was unworthy of the Eternal Sacrament. At the Reformation opinions were again divided, and at the final revision of the Prayer-book the majority opposed Bishop Wren, who wished to add "after the sop," to indicate that the entrance of Satan was not consequent on the reception of the Sacrament.

There is unquestionably some ambiguity in the Gospel narrative. SS. Matthew and Mark and John clearly imply that Judas had left the Upper Room before the Institution: while S. Luke's account suggests at least that his departure did not take place till after it. If in this uncertainty we are free to exercise our own judgment, it must be pronounced adverse to the statement in this Exhortation. The very instinct of reverence forbids us to think that Christ could tolerate the traitor's presence in that Feast of love and union; and besides this, it would seem to be morally impossible that Judas could himself remain after his terrible guilt had been discovered.

(3) On the third question the Exhortation gives a key to the true position of Private Confession in the Anglican Church: "because it is requisite that no man should come to the Holy Communion but with a full trust in God's mercy, and with a quiet

Ambiguity arising from the doubtful sequence of events in the Gospels.

Private Confession since the Reformation

¹ *Comm. in Matth. c. xxx.*

conscience; therefore if there be any of you who by this means cannot quiet his conscience . . . let him come to me . . . and open his grief; that . . . he may receive the benefit of Absolution." It shows that it is no longer, as before the Reformation, compulsory, but left entirely to the will and discretion of the penitent. It was made even clearer in the first Prayer-book, when the above clause was followed by a warning unhappily removed in the second: "requiring such as shall be satisfied with a General Confession, not to be offended with them that do use, to their further satisfying, the Auricular and secret Confession to the Priest; nor those also which think needful or convenient, for the quietness of their own consciences, particularly to open their sins to the Priest, to be offended with them that are satisfied with their humble confession to God . . . but in all things to follow and to keep the rule of charity," etc.

The principle of private Confession has undoubtedly been preserved to us; but it has been maintained that no sanction is extended to anything like frequent or habitual Confession. The Reformers actually hoped that the introduction of forms of Confession and Absolution into the public Offices would render it unnecessary, but their directions were not framed to exclude it. All they did was to provide that private Confession should in no case be

Withdrawal
of compul-
sion in the
matter.

enforced; it was left to a man's own conscience whether he would use it or not; and this surely gives us as wide a latitude as can possibly be needed. Cases occur where, in the awful dread of sin and its consequences, men shrink from denying themselves any help within their reach, and if they have found it greater in private than in public Confession, it may easily be perceived that their conscience would give them no rest, if they did not seek again and again that which they had found by a happy experience to be most helpful.

Let it be our earnest endeavour in preparing for Holy Communion, to make our Confession, whether private or public, intensely real, keeping nothing back, and urging nothing in extenuation, because God, Who is the Judge of our penitence, is merciful, and will make allowance for everything that can be interpreted in our favour without our telling Him. Then, having confessed our sins, let us rise satisfied that the word of forgiveness will be ratified in Heaven, and let us receive the Bread of Life, and the Cup of Immortality, in the strength and power of which Christ has assured us we shall survive the dissolution of our mortal nature, and rise from the grave for an unending eternity.

XXIV.

The Second Exhortation.

THIS Exhortation was composed by Peter Martyr for the second Prayer-book. A rubric ordered it to be used "when the Curate shall see the people negligent to come to the Holy Communion"; and another rubric, appended to the Office at the same revision, enjoined that "every parishioner shall communicate at the least three times in the year." These two rubrics when read together point to the fact, which may be proved also on other grounds, that the language was directed not against those who only communicated rarely (for the Church held that this limited number of Communion fulfilled the Christian obligation) but against those who neglected to communicate altogether. In the original form of the Exhortation they were denounced as sorely offending God in refusing this Holy Banquet, and as adding to that unkindness, if they stood by "as gazers and lookers on them that do communicate"; and yet further, they were entreated, rather than despise and mock the testimony of Christ, to "depart and give

No reference to godly men who were present without partaking.

place to them that be godly disposed." The custom of "all sorts of persons" remaining to assist at the Celebration, which had prevailed through the middle ages, still lingered on, and this was an attempt to fence the Mysteries from the irreverent intrusion of ungodly men. It did not touch in any way the presence of pious and devout people.

At the last revision, it is true, the above passages were withdrawn; and it stands now as an invitation "to all that be present" to communicate. The Church is right to encourage all her members to avail themselves of the highest privilege, which is unquestionably actual participation; but she nowhere even hints that, if they fall short of this, there is nothing to be gained. It is her duty, as well as her wisdom and love, to try to rouse the people to the primitive conception of the Ordinance. In the zeal and fervour of the earliest generations, before the infusion of lukewarm converts after persecutions ceased had cooled the first enthusiasm, Christians never dreamt of being satisfied with any lower standard. The Food of Immortality was provided for them, and as often as it was placed within their reach, they stretched forth their hands to receive it.

The Sacrificial aspect, again, under which it was chiefly regarded, was the Paschal. Now it was incumbent upon all, who took part in the Passover

Participation
the object to
set before all.

The Passover
always par-
taken of by
the Jews.

to partake of the Lamb ; and so we find a frequent reference to eating in connexion with this Ordinance : "Take, eat, This is My Body ;" "as often as ye eat ;" "Christ, our Passover, is sacrificed for us, therefore let us keep the feast"—that is, let us eat of the Body of the Victim. With this in view the early Fathers dwelt invariably upon the reception of the Sacrament. S. Athanasius¹ implied that it was only those who were actually fed by the Body and Blood of Christ that could be said to keep the Passover properly. From some incidental allusions to persons who were allowed to be present but not receive, as being "without oblation," or "not partaking of the oblation,"² it has been inferred that "unless we partake we do not offer,"³ and therefore have no part in the Commemorative Sacrifice. But "oblation" liturgically refers to several acts ; and it is probable that the specific act here referred to was the offering of the elements for the Celebration, made by the communicants. If they were prohibited from reception they had no part in the presentation of the bread and wine. It is quite impossible to believe that they were excluded from all share in the Commemorative Oblation of Christ's Body and Blood. The

¹ *Fest. Epp.* iv.

² Co. of Ancyra, *Cann.* iv. v. vi. viii. ; Co. of Nicaea, *Can.* xi. ; S. Bas. *Ep. ad Amphil.* lvi.

³ Cf. Scud. *Not. Fuch.* 443.

Holy Eucharist in its sacrificial character is many-sided. Just as Christ's Sacrifice was the gathering-up and consummation of all the different typical sacrifices of the Old Dispensation, so that which represents it in the New is equally varied and manifold. It looks broadly to three classes of sacrifice, of which the leading examples were the Burnt-offering, the Sin-offering, and the Peace-offering, denoting severally self-dedication, expiation of sin, and thanksgiving. Now, inasmuch as the Jews of old took part in the two former without partaking of the victim, so the Christian may join in the Commemorative Oblation of these without communicating. We must remember that the burnt-offering was to the Jew emphatically the offering of worship, the symbol of that abject adoration which is due from the creature to the Creator, not for anything that He gives us, but for Himself alone; and the Church reminds us of the continuance of this conception most forcibly in the Prayer of Oblation: "Here we offer and present ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice to Thee." To deny to the Christian, therefore, any share in the benefits of the Sacrifice without actually communicating, is to ignore the manifoldness of the Holy Eucharist, and to allow one aspect of it completely to overshadow the rest.

The Eucharist typified by a variety of sacrifices.

The earliest notice of non-communicating attendance.

Historically the first departure from primitive

practice, of which we have any certain information, was the permission to a certain class of Penitents to be present without receiving. It has been hastily assumed that, as they were undergoing penance, this was not ordained by way of privilege but of deprivation. A careful consideration, however, of the whole course of Penitential Discipline, points to an opposite conclusion. After the third century there were certain well-defined "stations" through which Penitents passed progressively to the full restitution of their forfeited rights. (1.) As "mourners" they were forbidden to cross the threshold of a Church, but placed themselves at the approaches to it, and besought the intercessions of those who entered. (2.) As "hearers" they were admitted to the narthex or porch, and permitted to hear the Scriptures read and expounded. (3.) As "prostrates" they mingled with the catechumens and enjoyed their privilege of joining in that part which was called "the Catechumen's Mass." (4.) As "by-standers" they were granted the further privilege of sitting with "the faithful," and remaining throughout the whole Office, but making no offering in money or kind, and not communicating. If the early Church held that there was no advantage to be gained from being present without receiving, her conduct, in conceding this permission to Penitents, is wholly unintelligible. It must have been

A privilege granted in last stage of Penance.

from a belief that there was a subordinate benefit, some blessing inferior to that derived from actual participation, that she consented to grant such a privilege to those who were on the verge of restitution to full Communion.

Cæsarius, the author of the well-known Rule, felt so strongly the propriety of remaining till after the Consecration, that he impressed it upon his congregations by ordering the doors of the Church to be locked to prevent their departure. Two Gallican Councils at the beginning of the sixth century indorsed the principle. That of Agde, in the Narbonne, enjoined that the laity should not attempt to leave before the Bishop's Blessing,¹ which followed the Lord's Prayer after the Act of Consecration, at all Sunday Celebrations; and the Council of Orleans provided that, if there were no Bishop present, they might depart without it at the same point of the Service.

The custom
in Gaul.

506 A.D.

511 and 538
A.D.

At the Reformation "hearing" Mass had so generally superseded participation, that the revisers set themselves to correct the practice and restore the primary object of the Ordinance; but even in the violent reaction that took place, we fail to discover any trace of the prohibition of non-communicating attendance. It had usurped the foremost place, and it was necessary to dislodge it from this;

¹ Can. xlvi.

Nowhere
prohibited in
the Reformed
Offices.

but it had claims to a subordinate office, and these were not interfered with. The first Prayer-book bade all who were not intending to communicate to "depart out of the Quire."¹ It implied the presence in other parts of the Church of non-communicants, and only provided that the chief place should be left free for the undisturbed Communion of those who wished to receive. The second Prayer-book, in which there was a strong denunciation of the presence of the ungodly,² directed that the communicants should make their "humble confession to Almighty God before this congregation here gathered together," that is, possibly before others than themselves.

But the general bar to withdrawal is the entire absence of any order for it in all the Reformed Services. There is absolutely no law, canon, or rubric, either in the Ecclesiastical Code or the Prayer-book, which lends to it the least sanction.

¹ The congregation went into the Quire to place their alms in the poor man's box near the altar.

² It is often assumed that it was intended to exclude all who did not communicate; but that this was not so is clear from a recommendation of the Lower House of Convocation ten years after: "That no person abide within the church during the time of Communion unless he do communicate," which was not accepted by the Upper House. *Strype Ann.*, vol. i. p. i. 508. In a Synod at Ipswich in 1639 A.D., the Bishop arranged for the celebration, and ordered that no non-communicant should go into the church. Such an order would have been unnecessary on the common supposition. *Prynne's Trial of Laud*, p. 100; *Stephen's Com. Pr.* ii. 1173.

In the primitive and mediæval Church, where it was enjoined upon certain classes, due provision was made. A definite time was fixed, and the Deacon proclaimed it in the congregation: "Catechumens, depart in peace;" "Penitents, stand in your places for dismissal." It is a mere arbitrary practice, arising out of individual caprice, and wholly unauthorised, that people should depart out of the Church at any given point—*e.g.* after the Sermon or the Prayer for the Church Militant. It violates the principle of obedience to rubrical order, which is the only safeguard for the maintenance of an authorised worship.

No rubrical direction or Church law ordering withdrawal.

If it be argued that it is incumbent upon us to revert to primitive practice, and that the history of the first few centuries lends no countenance to the practice we are considering, our answer is that we would gladly revive the primitive rule whole and entire. The early Church would accept nothing short of the highest standard. She had the advantage of a strict system of discipline, and could bend the people to her will. The Church of to-day has lost that discipline; and it would be idle to attempt to enforce where she is powerless to punish. Her Ministers hold it to be a paramount duty to put before her children the incomparable blessings of regular participation; but in the consciousness that it is only the few who are capable of rising to this

Impossible to revive primitive practice.

high ideal, they bid the rest accept the lesser obligation, and invite to inferior blessings those who are equally the Church's charge with the most saintly and devout.

Objects to be
gained.

Here are some of the praiseworthy objects which may be kept in view by the faithful at those Celebrations when they do not communicate :—

Worship.

(1.) Worship : If Christ be really present, whatever the nature of His Eucharistic Presence may be —“ If,” as Jeremy Taylor said, “ He be present to us not in mystery only, but in blessing also—why do we not worship ? ” It must surely be easier, if we can divest ourselves of prejudice, to pay to Him the honour that is due unto His Name, when we see before our eyes the appointed emblems of His Body and Blood.

Intercession.

(2.) Intercession : If the Eucharist be the counterpart on earth of Christ's pleading in heaven—if, as the same writer has said, it be “ the most powerful impetration in the world ”—then our own imperfect prayers must gather force from their union with the all-prevailing Intercession of the great High Priest, by which His Sacrifice is made “ salutary and effectual to all the needs of the Church, both for things temporal and eternal.”

Preparation.

(3.) Greater preparedness for participation : If the service be made in idea and intention both retrospective and prospective ; if, *e.g.*, the thanks-

giving be used for our previous Communion, the Confession, Exhortation, and other parts for the next, the effect of the Blessed Sacrament will be made more lasting, and our life be more fully pervaded by its sanctifying influence.

XXV.

The Exhortation at the Celebration.

THE teaching of this Exhortation is in the main a repetition of that of the first—viz., the great need of preparation, and the mystery of the Divine Presence.

Variation
from the
first Prayer-
book.

In the first Prayer-book it contained the warning, “If any here be a blasphemmer, adulterer, or be in malice or envy, or in any other grievous crime . . . let him bewail his sins, and not come to that Holy Table.” It was found to be practically useless, as no one would be likely to publish his guilt by rising and leaving the Church in answer to the appeal. At the last revision therefore it was transferred to the Exhortation which is directed to be read on the Sunday or Holy-day preceding the Celebration, when it might be acted upon without the certainty of detection.

The duty of
self-examin-
ation.

Now there are three subjects in this Exhortation which claim our special attention. Firstly, there is the value of self-examination. “S. Paul exhorteth all persons diligently to try and examine themselves.” Since the withdrawal of compulsory Confession before

Holy Communion, we have need to be reminded of its necessity; and forms of self-examination are introduced into all manuals for the use of communicants. There is a natural tendency in the exercise of this to dwell with satisfaction upon the commandments which we have kept, and to pass with too little care over those that we have broken, so that we must keep constantly before us the prophet's declaration that "the heart is deceitful above all things." It will help to secure the true object of self-examination to write down results, and to reconsider them from time to time, for often closer inspection alters the whole complexion of our actions. Further, it must be carried out fearlessly. A great spiritual writer has said that "the first requisite for a soul striving after holiness is courage, and the second is courage, and the third is courage"; and we may add to this that a man never needs courage more than when he is confronted by his own sinful self.

The second subject is the manner of Christ's Presence in the Sacrament: "Then we spiritually eat the Flesh of Christ and drink His Blood." Now it is very necessary to vindicate the interpretation of this term "spiritual" from the grievous perversions associated with it. According to the Catholic usage of the term it is consistent with the highest teaching on the Real Presence, but as misconstrued by men who

The meaning
of spiritually
eating.

depreciate Sacramental Grace, it takes this wholly away, or else depresses it to the lowest degree. With them a Spiritual Presence is something so vague and shadowy that it does not exist in fact but in fancy, not in reality but in effect, not at all in the Elements, but only in those who receive them in faith. The bread and wine are but means to quicken our apprehension, and so to open the door of the heart that Christ may enter in and take possession of it. The high authority of Hooker has been most unfairly claimed for this uncatholic view.¹ He says, it is true, "The Real Presence of Christ's Most Blessed Body and Blood is not to be sought for in the Sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the Sacrament"; but he said it when he was weary of "the fierce contentions, whether by Consubstantiation or else by Transubstantiation, the Sacrament itself be first possessed with Christ or no." He bade the people not to be seeking for the Presence, not to trouble themselves about the antecedent steps, but to be satisfied that they did receive it. If he held what is regarded as the subjective view, he was most inconsistent when he wrote: "This Bread hath in it more than the substance which our eyes behold."

Hooker's
teaching
misunder-
stood.

But what is the teaching of the Formularies of the Church? In the first issue of the Articles of

¹ *Eccles. Pol.* v. lxvii. § 6. Read especially § 12.

Religion, in 1553, when Protestant opinion was at its height, the article on the Lord's Supper was couched in language which directly traversed all belief in a Real Presence of Christ's Body. After rejecting Transubstantiation it went on, "Forasmuch as the truth of man's nature requireth that the body of one and the selfsame man cannot be at one time in diverse places, but must needs be in some one certain place: therefore the Body of Christ cannot be present at one time in many and diverse places." This was interpreted as rejecting the Catholic view, for when it was altered to the present form, ten years later, the Swiss party¹ expressed the strongest dissatisfaction at the change; "The Article," they said, "composed in the time of Edward VI., respecting the spiritual eating, *which expressly oppugned and took away the Real Presence* in the Eucharist, and contained a most clear explanation of the truth, is now set forth among us mutilated and imperfect." Thus it is clear that in their eyes "spiritual" eating was independent of any Real Presence of Christ's Body.

In 1563 the whole clause was struck out by Bishop Guest, who substituted for it the present paragraph: "The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an heavenly and spiritual manner," etc. The change was conceived

Article
xxviii.

The author's
own interpretation
of its
meaning.

¹ Cf. Lett. from Humphrey and Sampson to Bullinger, July 1566. *Zurich Lett.* i. 165.

in a Catholic spirit, but the insertion of the word "only" was thought by Bishop Cheney and others to disparage the doctrine of the Real Presence, and he asked the reviser of the Article for an explanation. His answer has fortunately been preserved.¹ In justification of the expression, he assures him that it "does not exclude the Presence of Christ's Body from the Sacrament, but only the grossness and sensibleness in the receiving thereof"; and again he writes:² "When Christ's Body is taken and eaten, It is neither seen, felt, nor tasted to be His Body: It is taken after a heavenly and spiritual, and no sensible manner." We have, then, the highest authority for asserting that the Presence of Christ's Body in the Sacrament is not one whit less Real because it is spoken of as Spiritual. All that is denied by the term is that it is gross, carnal, or material. It is as really and truly His Body, as that which His disciples saw and handled in His earthly Life; the only difference is that It is present, whether on the Altar or in the hands and mouth of the recipient, under the laws which govern spiritual existence, of which, so long as we are in the flesh, we cannot be cognisant. It is on these

¹ This Letter to Cecil, dated Dec. 22, 1566, has been found among the State Papers.

² Also to Cecil in May 1571, *i.e.* after the last issue of the Articles. Hardw. *Hist.*, pp. 130, 138, 312. Perry's *Decl. of Kneeling*, 193.

grounds that the Anglican Church has ever been content to assert the fact without attempting to define the mode of the Presence in the Sacrament.

S. Paul said "there is a natural body and there is a spiritual body." That which we now have is the natural, that which we shall have after the Resurrection is the spiritual; but the latter is not, any more than the former, unreal or figurative. Our Blessed Lord, in speaking of the Eucharistic Food, said to His disciples, "it is the Spirit that quickeneth"; He meant that the source of the life, which He offered them, was His Spiritual Body, to be present in the Sacrament He purposed to ordain, by the power of the Eternal Spirit, which should receive of Him and show it unto them.

The third subject is the goodness of Christ in giving us "pledges" of this spiritual gift: "He hath instituted and ordained holy Mysteries as pledges of His love." Because His Presence is invisible, we find it hard to realise. We crave for something tangible, something for the eye to see, something to help us to grasp the possibility. Without these or similar pledges we should have been casting about, now in one direction, now in another, hoping all the time to find Him, but not knowing for certain where. Our Lord, in His condescension to human infirmity, has removed all such doubtfulness; "as often," He seems to say, "as ye do this—as

Helps to
realise the
Spiritual
Gift.

often, that is, as ye celebrate these Mysteries, consecrate, and receive this bread and wine—ye do then and there receive simultaneously the Spiritual Food by which your souls shall live.”

They are “pledges of His love,” and “for a continual remembrance of His Death”; as guilty and dying creatures, therefore, realising herein that it was through the one that He gave Himself as a propitiation for our sins, and through the other that we obtain the gift of eternal life, “let us give (as we are most bounden) continual thanks, submitting ourselves wholly to His holy will and pleasure, and studying to serve Him in true holiness and righteousness” all our days.

XXVI.

The Invitation.

“Ye that do truly and earnestly repent . . . draw near with faith,” etc.

IN the early ages, when religious feeling was deeper, and communicants lived, or tried to live, in a spirit of more real devotion to their Master, less stress was laid upon the need of preparation for admission to the Divine Mysteries. Even then, however, the Church was careful to fence the Sacrament from an irreverent approach, and at the last moment, when all things were ready, the Deacon stood forth and reminded the worshippers that none should draw near without having on the wedding garment: “Draw near with godly fear, with faith and charity.”¹ In these later days, when the love of many has grown cold, and the awe that filled the first generations has diminished, the Church has taken care to provide that every encouragement should be given to men to realise that the benefits of reception depend very largely upon themselves. The pre-requisites for full participation thereof are

Primitive
reverence for
the Holy
Mysteries.

¹ Prim. Litt.

repentance, love, and faith, and no strand in this threefold cord may be broken.

The reality
of the act of
Preparation.

In this Preparation reality is the first note that is struck, and it is struck with decision: "Ye that do truly and earnestly repent." All our spiritual acts are beset with temptations to insincerity and vagueness; self-examination is hurried over superficially; sins are confessed with the lips, acknowledged before God with none of that shame and deep distress that we should feel if we had but to whisper them into the ears of a man; and the Confession of sins is followed by too little of that resolve to put them entirely away from us. This is not "true" repentance. When the Jew had sinned, and looked for propitiation in the sin-offering of the Law, he not only confessed¹ his sins, but by a symbolical act of the utmost significance got rid of them for ever.² The transgressor was bidden to transfer his sins to the head of the victim, which was to be sacrificed as his substitute; and in the ceremony of laying on of his hands, it was enjoined that he should do it "with all his might and force," lest he should unwittingly leave any behind.

How provided for in the typical sacrifice.

What he did is just that to which this Exhortation invites the Communicant, if he would appropriate to himself that remission of sins and the other benefits

¹ Lev. v. 5. Num. v. 6, 7. Cf. Maimonides in *Maas. Korb.* c. 3.

² Lev. iv. 4, 15, 24, 29.

of the Passion of Him Who died as the antitype of all those offerings, for the very purpose of bearing our iniquities, and so bearing as to take them away. The qualification for the one and the other is the same, only the sincerity of the Christian must be truer and deeper, inasmuch as he belongs to a more spiritual dispensation.

The second requisite is Love. In a feast of union, where all assemble in the bond of Christian brotherhood as "partakers of that one Bread," there is no place for hatred or discord. It was provided against, all through the earlier ages, by "the Kiss of Peace," which was an essential feature of every primitive Liturgy. In not a few of the Liturgies it occupied a place analogous to that of this Invitation, following the dismissal of the non-communicants, and before the commencement of the more sacred portion of the Office.¹ S. Cyril,² in his exposition of the Mysteries, describes it as "the sign that our souls are mingled together, and have banished all remembrance of revenge"; and it was frequently preceded by a special prayer that God would cleanse our hearts from all hatred and deceit, and all mortal recollection of injuries. The Kiss was a mark of the fulfilment of our Lord's command, "If thou bring

The Kiss of
Peace :
Its Symbol-
ism.

¹ In the West it follows the Consecration. Cf. Renaudot, ii. p. 30, 76, 134.

² *Myst.* v. 3.

thy gift to 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 Pax-bred substituted.

When, through the change of habits and the decline of Christian simplicity, the ceremony was abused, the idea was preserved by a modified use of the symbolical act. A tablet, called the Pax-bred,¹ after being kissed by the Celebrant, was passed round for the communicants to kiss. It was thought that the fact of all uniting to kiss one and the same object would serve to express the existence of a mutual love. It is no slight satire on the Church that what was intended to be a sign of Christian love was made an occasion of envy and discord, through contentions for precedence, and was in consequence discontinued.²

The symbol has been taken away, but that which it symbolised remains among the most stringent obligations; and all who shall ever claim to take part in this Sacrament of God's great love, must purify their hearts from every disqualification of malice or hatred, envy or discord.

The necessity for Faith,

The third requisite is Faith, for the intention of leading a new life, spoken of in the Invitation, is

¹ The first mention of its use in England is at a Council at York, 1250 A. D.

² Le Brun, i. 292.

only a part of the first qualification, seeing that there can be no true repentance without a resolution of amendment. It is provided that no one shall be admitted to the great Mysteries of Christian worship without accepting the doctrines of Christianity, by the recitation of the Creed in the Introductory Office. In the primitive Church, where discipline was strictly exercised, the necessity of such a public profession was not felt, and the introduction of a Formula of Belief into the Liturgy was unknown till the close of the fifth century.¹ The Nicene Creed has, however, long held its position in the Service, and it demands of all a clear belief in God the Father, Who created us, in God the Son, Who became incarnate, and in God the Holy Ghost, Who quickens the lives of men, mainly through the ordinances of the Church.² The communicant is more especially required to have faith in the Second Person, because the Service is "the Memorial" of His Passion, and the means by which its benefits are extended to and appropriated by each individual. He needs faith in the Incarnation, because the union of the Divine and human natures in the one Person of Jesus Christ is a mystery which surpasses finite comprehension; it admits of no explanation, but in so far as it is the key to the efficacy of the Atonement, which is here commemorated, it demands his

especially in
the Incarna-
tion and
Passion,

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 118.

² P. 139.

to realise
the Divine
Presence
under the
Elements.

acceptance on the ground of Revelation. He needs faith again, because, though he is told that he receives nothing less than the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, the Divine Presence is hidden, and inscrutably shrouded from every bodily sense. All is incomprehensible to him, above man's reason to grasp. His eyes behold common bread, his hands handle nothing extraordinary; and yet, beneath the veil of these material things, unless the Apostles were deceived and sixty generations of saints and holy men have believed what is false, he does verily and indeed receive into his being Christ Himself.

The Church, then, does well to bid us, as her last word of Exhortation, to "draw near with faith"; and at her bidding we will take the very shoes from off our feet in awe of the Mystery, praying ever "Lord, I believe, help Thou mine unbelief"; and then, in answer to our prayer, He will enable us to realise the truth of His declaration, "All things are possible to him that believeth."

XXVII.

The General Confession.

' Then shall this general Confession be made, in the name of all those that are minded to receive the Holy Communion by one of the ministers, both he and all the people kneeling," etc.

THOUGH a Christian instinct seems to prompt the desire to confess our sins, that we may be cleansed from an evil conscience before we presume to go into the Presence of God, yet, in the early Liturgies, perhaps with a single exception, no form of public Confession was ever introduced. It seems to have been provided for at Matins in the East, for S. Basil records that the people of Neo-Cæsarea were wont "to seek the house of prayer at early dawn and, after confessing with sighs and tears to God, to rise and pass on to Psalmody";¹ and he states that the practice was general in other Churches. This only enhances our wonder that it should have been wanting in the highest Service of all. It is true that Confession was sometimes made in the Celebration by the priest, but it was private, and at

The absence of Confessions in the early Liturgies.

¹ *Ep.* 63, *ad Neo-Cæsar.*

first said secretly ; it was in no sense representative in the name of the people. "The Confession of the Priest" became in the middle ages an integral portion of the Service, said either in the Sacristy, or at the Altar. In the Sarum Missal, as soon as the Preparatory Office was ended, the Celebrant with his ministers was directed to approach the Altar-step and say the Confession as follows: "I confess to God, Blessed Mary,"¹ all Saints, and to you, that I have sinned exceedingly in thought word, and deed, of my fault: I pray, Holy Mary, all Saints of God, and you to pray for me." To this the ministers replied: "God Almighty have mercy upon you and forgive you all your sins; deliver you from evil; confirm and strengthen you in goodness; and bring you to everlasting life." Then the Confession and Prayer were repeated, the first by the ministers, the second by the Priest, the whole concluding by the Priest's Absolution: "The Almighty and Merciful Lord grant you pardon and forgiveness of all your sins, space for true repentance, amendment of life, and the grace and consolation of the Holy Ghost."

No satisfactory suggestion has been made to ac-

¹ Originally, Confession was made only to God. The practice of confessing to the Saints was introduced about the end of the eleventh century, cf. Martene, lib. i. c. iv. art. xii. ord. 4, 5, 13, 16. The Roman form was authorised by the third Council of Ravenna, 1314 A. D.

count for the absence of any confession by the people in primitive times,¹ but it is easy to explain its non-introduction in mediæval Liturgies, at least in the West. When Latin became a dead unspoken language, but continued to be employed for Public Worship, a Form of Confession, which few could understand, would henceforward be of little practical use. It was no longer possible for the laity to take an intelligent part in the Service, though their presence was encouraged as before. This was one reason why there was no public Confession.

Reasons for
the absence
of Confession
from mediæ-
val Liturgies.

Again, when once the people had ceased to understand the Service, actual participation of the Blessed Sacrament became rare, and the rare occasions on which the laity communicated were preceded by private Confession, which was rigorously enjoined.² Obviously under these circumstances a public Form would have but little force.

By the Reformation both these rules were changed; the laity demanded opportunities for the exercise of their priesthood, which required that the Mysteries should be celebrated in a language that they could understand; and the Church with-

¹ The fact of Confession before the Eucharist is nevertheless spoken of in the *Didache* c. xiv., but it is unnoticed in *Apost. Constit.* vii. 30.

² Though practically enforced, the neglect of it was not attended with pains and penalties till Pope Innocent III. promulgated his famous bull *Omnis utriusque sexus* in 1215.

drew compulsory Confession to a Priest before communicating.

The aim of the revisers in introducing a Form.

The revisers of the Prayer-book did not intend to stop private Confession, for they provided for its exercise under certain circumstances, but, establishing the principle that it should be forced upon no one, they were obliged to furnish the means of unburdening the conscience in the Public Services.

1547 A. D.

“The Consultation” of Hermann, published in English the year before the first revision was carried out, furnished the basis of a Form. It is much more diffuse than that which was put forth for the revised Office; but the following extracts will serve to show how far the revisers drew upon this foreign source: “Almighty everlasting God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Maker of all things, the Judge of all men, we acknowledge and we lament . . . that we have transgressed Thy holy Commandments. . . . We are sorry for it with all our hearts, and we desire pardon of Thee for all the things that we have committed against Thee. . . . Have mercy upon us, most Gentle Father, through Thy Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, . . . that dying to sins daily, more and more, we may serve and please Thee in a new life, to the glory of Thy Name.”

The source from which they drew it.

The false teaching of the Lutheran Confession.

One sentence placed in the forefront of the Lutheran Confession was discarded as doctrinally uncatholic, and practically injurious; it was this:

“we acknowledge and we lament that we were conceived and born in sins, and that therefore we be prone to all evils, and abhor from all good things.” What “the faithful” are called to grieve over is not original but actual sin. The guilt of that nature which we received from Adam has been wiped out in Baptism, and in preparation for the reception of one Sacrament we must be very careful not to ignore or depreciate the blessings of another, lest we mar the proportions of Catholic doctrine.

Again, such a confession must prove harmful in practice, for to bring into prominence the depravity of our fallen nature, is to plead some justification or extenuation of our sins, which robs the confession at once of its true value. The language of the really contrite penitent is altogether different: “we have done amiss and are without excuse.”

Now, the introduction of the Confession into the Eucharistic Office, apart from other considerations, has its advantages in drawing more closely together the Christian and Jewish Sacrifice. We have already noticed¹ how the three ideas represented respectively by the burnt-offering, the sin-offering, and the peace-offering are embodied in the Holy Eucharist. In the Jewish sin-offering a verbal confession of sins was absolutely necessary—“It shall be, when he shall be guilty in one of these

Confession in connexion with the old sin-offering.

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 197.

things, that he shall confess that he hath sinned in that thing";¹ and this was the method according to Jewish tradition: The living victim was placed so that the offerer, with his face towards the west, might place his two hands between his horns and confess his sins over it; and his confession was on this wise: "I have sinned, I have done perversely, I have rebelled, and done thus and thus; but I return by repentance before Thee, and let this be my expiation."²

It was enjoined that the transgressor, while confessing his sins, should "lay on both his hands with all his might and force."³ This was a symbolical provision for the genuineness of the Confession and the determination to put away the sin for which an offering was made.

When the Eucharist is viewed as commemorating the one great propitiatory Sacrifice for the sins of the world the value of the Confession before the oblation of the Victim becomes apparent at once. The appropriation to the individual of the fruits of the Propitiation, through the ordained means by which its efficacy is pleaded before God, must depend in a great degree upon the genuineness and the earnestness of his preparation. Let us try

¹ Lev. v. 5; Num. v. 6, 7.

² Lightfoot's *Temp. Serv.* chap. viii.

³ Cf. Targ. Jonathan, Lightf. *ibid.*; Outram's *Sacrif. Diss.* i. xv. § 6; Willis' *Worsh. of the O. Cov.* ii. § 3.

then to catch something of the intensity of desire with which the penitent Israelite strove to put away his sins, and make our confession as real as we can, urging nothing in extenuation and concealing nothing, because on the one hand we have to do with a Judge Who will make every allowance that mercy can suggest, and because on the other hand, "all things are naked and open unto the eyes of Him with Whom we have to do."

XXVIII.

The Absolution.

“Then shall the Priest (or the Bishop, being present) stand up, and turning himself to the people, pronounce this Absolution.”

God the only
source of
pardon.

THE prerogative of pardon belongs of right to the Sovereign. In the spiritual kingdom it resides in God and God alone, but He has chosen to dispense it both directly and mediately; either by His Own Hands or through a delegated Ministry. In the Incarnation it was exercised by Jesus Christ, not by virtue of the power that was inherent in Him through His Godhead, but by delegation from the Father to be made available for men through His Humanity. It is His own assertion: “The Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins.” And again, “All power is *given* unto Me.” While Christ was upon earth He alone executed the ministry of reconciliation, but before the Ascension He committed it to others, to be continued to the end in the Church, which is His Body, by His authority and in His Name. This commission is a profound mystery, and one which deepens the more closely

The mystery
of the dele-
gation of the
power.

we consider the time and circumstances under which it was given. It strikes upon the ear like a voice speaking to us out of the Eternity. It is the Voice of the Risen Lord on the very day of the Resurrection, and it tells us how, in the kingdom which He is setting up, the two worlds will be joined together, so that the act of man shall concur with the act of God, the absolution spoken over the penitent here below be sealed and ratified in the courts of Heaven.

Our Lord knew how difficult it would be for those who heard Him to realise what He was about to do, and in His great condescension made it easier to grasp by surrounding the commission with circumstances of unparalleled solemnity. "Then said Jesus unto them again, Peace be unto you: as My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you. And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them: and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained."¹ Why that act of breathing on them? There is nothing like it in anything that He had done before. He had given them power to preach, to heal the sick, to cast out evil spirits from those whom they possessed;² but no "inbreathing" accompanied the gift. The reason was because they

The unique symbolical act which accompanied the gift.

¹ S. John xx. 21-23.

² S. Luke x. 9, 17, 19.

The meaning
of God's
breathing
into Adam.

had no difficulty about receiving any of these commissions. Every one of them had been exercised by men, and why not by themselves? But the forgiveness of sins—that was something altogether different. The startled inquiry, “Who can forgive sins but God only?”¹ expressed the inborn conviction of every Jew. No, that is impossible—we cannot ever do that. Then came that marvellous action which must have taken the Apostles back in thought to the Creation in Paradise, when “God formed man of the dust of the ground and *breathed into* his nostrils the breath of life”;² for in that symbolical act, as the Jews believed, God had given to Adam a portion of the Divine Nature, nothing less than the gift of the Holy Spirit.³ Even so, by a similar action, never repeated since that first Creation, Christ gave to them as it were a part of Himself, enabling them to do as He had done, when amidst the astonished Jews He said to the sick of the palsy, “Thy sins be forgiven thee.”

“Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them.” We see then how God has not reserved in His Own Hands, has not intrusted even to Angels, but has committed to mortal men the ministry of reconciliation. There is no explaining it away;

¹ S. Mark ii. 7.

² Gen. ii. 7. The same Greek word, *ἐνεφύσησεν*, is used in the LXX.

³ Bull, *State of Man before the Fall*, ii. 90.

twist and distort the words as cleverly as human ingenuity can devise, we cannot escape the fact; Christ did give to the Apostles power to grant pardon in His Name; Christ did make them, and those who should bear the commission after them, channels and media for the conveyance of forgiveness; and so, through eighteen centuries of chequered history, the Church has never doubted that the power was to be passed on—as long as man should need the pardon. Even after the shock of the Puritan assaults of the seventeenth century, and with the full knowledge of the notorious abuses of the absolving power in the middle ages fresh in her memory, the Church of England deliberately retained the ancient form, and with no stammering lips has said to every Priest as he knelt for Ordination the self-same words: “Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained.”

The Church has held firmly to her belief in the Commission.

This absolving power has been exercised by the Church in a variety of ways. They have been summarised by the masterly mind of Barrow as follows:—Priests remit sins (i.) *dispositivè*, by working in persons fit dispositions, upon which remission of sins, by God's promise, is consequent; (ii.) *declarativè*, as the ambassadors of God, in His Name pronouncing the word of reconciliation to the penitent; (iii.) *impetrativè*, obtaining pardon for sins

Bishop Barrow on the power of the keys.

by their prayers . . . ; (iv.) *dispensativè*, by consigning pardon in administration of the Sacraments . . . and in the absolving of penitents. . . .¹

Exercised
in a variety
of ways.

Under the first head we should place the ordinance of preaching² as the chief means for the attainment of the end ; under the second, such forms of absolution as are pronounced by the Priest in the English Matins and Evensong. They are obviously intended to convey pardon, for the Priest assumes a posture of authority, rising from his knees and standing as the representative of God, and he prefaces the declaration of forgiveness with a statement that he has received from God the power to do that which he forthwith proceeds to do. It was clearly moreover the intention of the revisers of the Prayer-book that the Absolution should be so interpreted ; otherwise the people would have had nothing to compensate them, when habitual private Confession, with its authoritative Form of Absolution, was discouraged. The fact, however, that it was to be uttered in the hearing of a general

¹ *Expos. of the Creed*, vol. vii. p. 365. Cf. also *de potestate Clavium*, ix. 292-9, 304-8. He illustrates the 1st by S. Peter's preaching, Acts ii. 37, 38 ; the 2nd by referring to 2 Cor. v. 19, 20 ; the 3rd by S. James, v. 15 ; the 4th by the case of the incestuous Corinthian, 1 Cor. v. 5, and other instances.

² The Protestant Reformers limited the commission to this. Calvin, *Instit.* iv. xi. 1, Zwingle, *Hist. Dom. Resur.* Cf. Elwin, *Confes. and Absol.*, p. 266-7.

and mixed congregation, of whose qualifications for pardon the Priest had no certain knowledge, compelled them to modify the personal directness of the language. The Absolution is sown broadcast before all to become "an individualised pardon" wherever the soil is fitted to receive it. The third method of exercising "the power of the keys" mentioned was by the prayer of the Priest.¹ It has been asserted that all the Forms of the early Church were precatory.² Undoubtedly those used in Public Service were so expressed, as we see in the familiar Form taken from the Sarum Use: "The Almighty and Merciful Lord grant you pardon and forgiveness of all your sins, space for true repentance, amendment of life, and the grace and consolation of the Holy Spirit." Such too is the Liturgical Absolution introduced into the first Prayer-book, and still used in our present Office. Not only is the tone of it that of supplication, but the final clause, "and bring you to everlasting life," fixes its supplicatory character.

There is no doubt that the revisers intended,

¹ S. Jerome in *Psalm*. xxviii. calls the absolution "the prayer of a priest." The absolving priest is called by S. Leo a suppliant with God, "precatore." *Epist.* 168.

² Morinus *de pœnit.* viii. 2, xiii. 8, maintains that there was no other form till the 13th century; but S. Thom. Aquin. *Opusc.* xxii. speaks of the indicative form as though it had been in common use. Probably Morinus spoke only of the forms used in Public Service.

Changes in
the Form of
Absolution
in this
Office.
1548 A.D.

though retaining the spirit of the old Form, to impress upon the congregation that it was after all something more than a prayer. In the Order of Communion they placed the authority of the Priest to remit sins in the forefront: "Our Blessed Lord, Who hath left power to His Church to absolve penitent sinners from their sins, and to restore to the grace of the Heavenly Father such as truly believe in Christ, have mercy," etc. This was changed in the first Prayer-book into the more general declaration of our present Form. At the final revision a move was made to recover its more authoritative character by substituting in the rubric for "then shall the Priest . . . say thus," "then shall the Priest . . . pronounce this Absolution."

But even admitting to the full its precatory nature, its essential efficacy is in no way diminished, for the history of the doctrine tends to show that the Church regards an absolution as equally valid, whether it be given in the form of a petition or a declaration, whether in the optative or in the indicative mood. The use of the former by no means warrants an inference that the Priest is devoid of the Divinely appointed authority to absolve, any more than the use of the latter "implies anything else but the exercise of an authority which God has given, to such an extent and under such limitations, as Divine Revelation has declared."

The fourth method is, for the most part, this latter form, where the language is personal and direct, "I absolve thee," to be used only after strict examination of the penitent, and in the full conviction that as far as human judgment can decide, he is qualified to receive the proffered pardon.

Although the Church for fourteen centuries spoke with no faltering voice in the full conviction that the power which Christ gave to the Apostles was intended to remain and to be handed on through the Apostolic Succession unto the end, difficulties were started at the time of the Reformation which are still felt, though they are in distinct contradiction to our authorised Formularies of Faith. It is granted that the power to forgive sins was delegated to the Apostles, but (so those who would limit it to them assert) merely as one of the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost, to be exercised by men who were enabled by God "to discern spirits," and to form an unerring judgment of the qualification of the penitent for the reception of pardon. But such a view of the commission to absolve manifests an entire misconception of the object for which miraculous powers were conferred on the first generation of the Ministry. They were to be the credentials of the Apostles' Divine mission before an unbelieving world; they were to serve as visible means to convince men that God was with them;

Objection
that the
power was
limited to
the early
Church.

they could be appealed to in evidence, as giving ocular demonstration of the existence of the powers which were claimed. All this was possible in healing the sick, raising the dead to life, and casting out evil spirits from those who were possessed by them; but it was quite impossible in the absolution of the penitent. No one could verify the Apostles' claims in this matter; there was no visible proof, no evidence of any kind to be appealed to. It is clear, therefore, that this cannot possibly be placed in the same category with what are called the miraculous powers of the early Church. Yet further, we are quite at a loss to find out any object which could have been answered by confining the gift to the Apostolic age;¹ no temporary purpose to be served has ever been conjectured. The conclusion, therefore, is forced upon us that it was intended to be continued, even as long as sin should last among men, and that it underlay the promise, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."

No temporary purpose to be answered.

Then there is a popular objection which calls for notice. It is this. If the sinner be really penitent, no Ministerial absolution is needed, because his own contrition will call forth the Divine pardon without the intervention of any human agency. The prin-

¹ Jer. Taylor, *Off. Minist.* ii. 3, 4. Andrewes. *Serm. on Absol.*; *Works*, v. 91.

ciple may be extended to all the Ordinances of the Church. To give a single illustration, it might be said that if a man longs for communion with Christ, and realises vividly the Incarnation and the Death upon the Cross, by which it was made possible, there is no necessity for him to partake of the Blessed Sacrament, because he already has communion and feels that he has it. No doubt God will accept and bless the earnest longings of such an one ; and He Who "is not bound by Sacraments" may give him in a measure what his soul desires ; but to say that feelings and desires are in themselves sufficient, is to accuse our Lord of ordaining means and Sacraments which are practically useless. It is to set human opinion against the judgment of Him Who "doeth all things according to the counsel of His Will."

An objection which strikes at the root of all Sacramental means.

XXIX.

The Thanksgiving.

“After which the Priest shall proceed saying, Lift up your hearts.

FOUR sentences from Holy Scripture follow up the Absolution, containing assurances of God’s readiness to forgive all who feel the need of Divine mercy. They are designated “comfortable” words, as having for their object the encouragement of those who may be tempted to despair, and desire to have the seal of God’s Word affixed to the Church’s Absolution.

The Com-
fortable
Words.

Their introduction into the Liturgy was suggested by the Lutheran “Consultation.”¹ Apart from their immediate use, they have a distinct value as helping to give “a tone of Scriptural calmness and earnestness to our English Service.” They complete the preparation of the worshipper. Acts of faith, self-examination, penitence—all are ended, and he stands on the threshold of the Mysteries. The more

¹ The first, “Come unto me,” etc., was not in this, but there were two others not adopted by the revisers, viz. Acts x. 43; S. John iii. 35.

solemn part, the Anaphora, begins with the action of thanksgiving, and to this the Priest with a herald's voice bids the people rise in the consciousness of forgiven sin, and give utterance to their gratitude. The trumpet-call, *sursum corda*, with its response, has echoed on down all the Christian centuries, perhaps even from Apostolic times,¹ for its existence in every primitive Liturgy, Oriental and Western, can best be explained by assigning it a place in the primal nucleus of the Eucharistic Service. It is a deeper echo of the *Venite*, the Invitatory alike to Jewish and Christian Worship: "O come, let us sing unto the Lord: Let us come before His presence with thanksgiving."

The commencement of the Anaphora.

In some of the early Liturgies it was preceded by the mutual salutation of Priest and people: "The Lord be with you," "And with thy spirit," the former clause being in several expanded into the Apostolic form: "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the Communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all."² It has been suggested as possible that this benediction was intended to close the less sacred part, rather than to serve as a prelude to the Canon. In the most ancient Services thanksgiving filled a much larger place

The mutual salutation of priest and people.

¹ *Mask. Anc. Litt.* 73 n. ; S. Cypr. *de Orat. Domin.* ; S. Aug. *de dono perseverant.* xiii. ; S. Cyril, *Cat. Mys.* v. 3.

² *E.g.* S. James's Lit., though slightly altered. The Syrian Litt. : Clementine and Mozarabic.

The importance of the element of thanksgiving.

than it does in our own.¹ In the lately discovered document entitled "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," the Eucharist, for thus the Service is designated, is mainly composed of thanksgivings. Indeed, so generally is this principle recognised that one of the commonest tests applied by scholars for the antiquity of a Liturgy is the length of its Form of thanksgiving.

The Jewish Grace at meals.

Now, when we compare the four records which have come down to us of the Institution of the Blessed Sacrament, we find it stated that our Lord "gave thanks" when He took the Bread or the Cup into His Hands. Primarily this thanksgiving corresponded to "the Grace" which the Jews were careful to say before and after meals.² What form our Lord used is not recorded; it may have been one much in vogue, "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof." It was a recognition that all that we receive comes from God, and was intended to teach His followers in all time to come that they should eat their meat with thankfulness.³ It is interesting to trace the development of the idea through the Eucharistic Service. Beginning with thanksgiving for the bread and wine, the fruits of

¹ Just. Mart. *Apolog.* i. 67. εὐχαριστίαν ἐπὶ πολὺ, κ.τ.λ.

² Mishn. *Berak.* vii. ; Lightf. *Exercit. in Matt.* xv. 36. The Grace which modern Jews chiefly use is, "Blessed be Thou, Lord God, King of the Universe, who hast brought forth bread from the ground."

³ S. Chrysos. *Hom. in Matt.* xlix. and lxxxii.

the earth, the thoughts of the worshipper were led on to the fact that all material gifts were created by the same Hand; and then, because by consecration the Elements became the broken Body and out-poured Blood of the Saviour, thanks were claimed for His Sacrifice on the Cross; and so in all the primitive Liturgies thanksgiving was divided into two distinct parts, first for Creation, then for Redemption. It is this element of thanksgiving which establishes such a close connexion between the Christian Eucharist and the Jewish peace-offering. The latter, in its highest form of the Passover, was an individual and national act of thanksgiving for redemption from captivity in Egypt, and reappears in the Eucharist as a thankful remembrance of the Redemption from the captivity of sin, purchased by that Death of which it is intended to be the perpetual memorial before God.

Liturgical
thanksgiving
always
twofold.

The part that follows the versicle and response, "Let us give thanks unto our Lord God"; "It is meet and right so to do"; bears liturgically a variety of names, of which "the Preface" is perhaps the commonest, though "the Contestation" is much more ancient. It was so called in the Gallican Liturgies,¹ as testifying to the Priest's acquiescence in the acknowledgment of the duty of thanksgiving;

The Preface.

¹ Also *immolatio*, indicating that this begins the "offering" of the Sacrifice. It was called *illatio* in the Mozarabic Liturgy, probably from "the bringing in" of the Sacrifice.

“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.” The title of “Preface” was given to it as the prelude to the most sacred portion of the Office, the introduction to the great Eucharistic action of Christ and of His Church. In the Eastern Churches the Form never varies with the season, and is much longer than that which is regularly used in the West; it has the advantage of giving prominence to the thankfulness of the worshipper at all times. The Western Offices, though formerly as rich in Prefaces as they still are in Collects, curtail this element on ordinary occasions, but introduce supplementary Forms for certain important Festivals. The abridgment of such an essential feature as thanksgiving seems under any circumstances to be matter for regret; but less so when, as in primitive times, the special forms were sufficiently numerous to supply the wants which the important Festivals and Commemorations manifestly create. This principle, as we shall see hereafter, was recklessly ignored at the Reformation.

Now if we would make our Eucharists in deed and in truth what they are in name, it will be just in proportion as we cultivate a spirit of thankfulness for the lesser blessings of life, for food and raiment, for health and strength, for friendships and affec-

tions. By way of illustration we would dwell upon an act of thanksgiving which should be daily repeated, but which is in danger of being altogether forgotten. There was a time when to sit down to meat, at least for the chief meal of the day, without asking God's blessing, or to rise without giving thanks for His bounty, would have been regarded as culpable neglect, even at the table of worldly-minded men. It was often the one only recognition of God throughout the day. In an age of unparalleled wickedness in high places, at the board of Charles the Second, in the presence of his licentious courtiers and those who ministered most to his sinful life, it is said that the chaplain's function was rarely intermitted; though the historian of the period tells us, with no little satire, that the chaplain was often summoned to the tables of the rich to return thanks for a repast, from the greater part of which he had himself been excluded.

The value
of grace
at meals.

From how many tables at the present day is this acknowledgment to the Giver of all good gifts wholly banished! The danger of formality is very great, and the consequent argument for discontinuance is too readily yielded to. If we have determined that the spirit of the Eucharist shall leaven our lives, or rather that our daily habits shall attune our hearts for ever-grateful Eucharists, this time-honoured practice will never be abandoned. It is

enough for us to recall the image of our Lord in the Upper Chamber at Jerusalem giving thanks at that first Eucharist for the bread that He broke, and to remember that it is a very law of His kingdom, that the servant should be as his Master.

XXX.

Proper Prefaces.

“Upon Christmas Day and seven days afterwards.”

THERE is no “proper” Preface in the East, but each Liturgy contains one unvarying form for use on all occasions. In the West the idea that special seasons and festivals called for appropriate memorials of the mercies associated with them seems to have prevailed largely in the early centuries, and it led to the introduction of a great variety of forms of thanksgiving. In the oldest Sacramentaries, and in the Gallican and Mozarabic Liturgies, these proper Prefaces were so numerous that there was one for at least every Sunday and Festival. In the Ambrosian they are provided even for week-days. Gregory the Great reduced them to eight in the Roman Church. When the Sarum Missal was drawn up by Osmund, nine were admitted. These were for Christmas, for the Epiphany, for week-days in Lent,¹ except Maundy Thursday, for

The difference between the East and West touching the Preface.

¹ The absence of a special Preface for Good-Friday is very significant. It affords evidence for a belief that there was no celebration on that day: the commemoration of the Sacrifice being suspended on the anniversary of the Sacrifice. Cf. Warren, S.P.C.K. P.B. p. 107.

Easter, for the Ascension, for Whitsuntide, for the Feast of the Blessed Trinity and Sundays following till Advent, for Apostles and Evangelists, for the Feasts of the Holy Cross ; and about a century later there was one added to these for Feasts of the Blessed Virgin.¹ It had been introduced at Rome by Pope Urban, but was not formally sanctioned in England till the Council of Westminster, 1175.

Five 'proper'
Prefaces re-
moved by the
first revisers.

The compilers of the first Prayer-book removed five of these. We can hardly be surprised at their decision in regard to the Festivals of the Holy Cross, and of the Blessed Virgin, for they had become associated in the popular mind with erroneous doctrine ; but to erase the proper Prefaces for the Epiphany, Lent, and Feasts of Apostles, was to rob the Church of most appropriate commemorations, which could only be taken away with harm and loss.

The ancient form of the Christmas-day Preface ran thus : " Because by the mystery of the Incarnate Word, the new light of Thy brightness hath shone upon the eyes of our mind, that, while we know God by what we see, we may through Him be caught up unto the love of things invisible." It

¹ The Festivals were the Conception, Annunciation, Nativity, Visitation and Assumption. The Purification was excepted, the preface proper to Christmas being appointed for that Feast. The former preface was used also for the weekly (Saturday) commemoration of the B. Virgin mentioned in the Sar. Consuetudinarium, cc. 19. 65, 104.

appeared to create confusion between the Nativity and the Epiphany, and was in consequence rewritten by the first revisers.

In its present form there are two subjects which call for consideration, one historical, the other doctrinal; the first, the time of the Birth of Our Lord, the second, the sinlessness of His human Nature.

"To be born as at this time." There is no very early evidence of a direct character that can be appealed to as fixing the exact date of the Nativity.

The Feast of the Nativity kept at different times.

The first of the Fathers¹ who speaks of it implies that nothing definite was known in his time. In the Eastern Church for several centuries the Festival was kept in conjunction with that of the Epiphany, upon January 6th, in consequence of a tradition² that our Lord's Baptism took place on the anniversary of His Birth. The two commemorations, however, were separated before the Council of Ephesus in deference to the practice of the Western Church, for which, as S. Chrysostom³ asserted, there was very ancient authority. In this the Nativity had been kept on December 25th.

Attempts have been made to fix the Christmas

¹ Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. c. 21.

² In consequence of this, Epiphany "in the East was one of the chief days for administering Holy Baptism."—*Apost. Constit.* viii. 33.

³ *Acta Conc. Eph.* iii. 31. *Hom. de Nativitate.* The genuineness of this Homily has been doubted. Cf. Smith, *Dict.* i. 359.

Suggested motives for fixing Christmas-day in December.

Festival at this season upon other than historic grounds. Some have thought that the commemoration was regulated simply by a desire to supersede the heathen Saturnalia with all its licentious revelry by the harmless festivities of the most joyful of Christian Feasts. Others have attributed it to the blending of Christianity with the heathen worship of the Sun, whose chief festival was held at the winter solstice ; but, though these coincidences are not a little remarkable, we would not lightly surrender the conviction of the ancient Church that our Blessed Lord was really born on the day on which they had deliberately¹ commemorated His Nativity. The arguments which S. Chrysostom adduced were such that all mere questions of expediency must be set aside in favour of the simple testimony of fact.

The sinlessness of Christ.

“Without spot of sin” : such is the testimony of the Preface to the cardinal doctrine of the sinlessness of Christ. It has often been disputed whether this was the consequence of a successful resistance of all temptation to sin, or whether He was simply impeccable, the two phrases, “the possibility of not sinning” *posse non peccare*—or, “the impossibility of sinning” *non posse peccare*, gathering up into brief

¹ There was a tradition that Pope Julian I. had investigated the Jewish archives which had been carried by Titus to Rome, and had arrived at this conclusion. Tert. *adv. Marc.* iv. 7, speaks of “the census of Augustus, that most faithful witness of the Lord’s Birth, kept in the archives at Rome.”

propositions the question at issue.¹ He undoubtedly was free from actual sin. He challenged His enemies, "which of you convinceth Me of sin?" The Apostles testified to it by the Holy Spirit: He "knew no sin"; He "did no sin, neither was guile found in His mouth"; "in Him is no sin." In the Epistle to the Hebrews it is said that He was "holy, harmless, undefiled" and "separate from sinners."

The testimony of Scripture to the absence of sin actual or original.

Again it is clear that He had no taint of a fallen human nature, no tendency to sin through inherent corruption.² The supernatural conception by the Holy Ghost necessitated the holiness of that which should be born of the Blessed Virgin.³ Had "original sin" belonged in any sense to that humanity which He took, He could not have said, "The prince of this world cometh and hath nothing in Me."⁴ As the Perfect Victim He must be without spot or flaw, with no defect by nature, with no injury or maiming contracted in life; like the typical animal of which it was said, "it shall be perfect to be accepted; there shall be no blemish therein."⁵

¹ Cf. Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.* v. 52, § 3. Liddon, *Bamp. Lect.* i. 23; iv. 165 n. (ed. 1869).

² S. John viii. 46; 2 Cor. v. 21; 1 S. Pet. ii. 22; 1 S. John iii. 5; Heb. vii. 26.

³ Ἰδὲ καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ἅγιον, κ.τ.λ. S. Luke i. 35.

⁴ S. John xiv. 30.

⁵ Lev. xxii. 21.

His human nature peccable.

But as the Second Adam, Who came into the world to yield a perfect obedience, He received a peccable Nature—a Nature such as the first Adam had before he fell—sinless, but liable to sin;—that is, through the absence of corruption capable of not sinning; but through the existence of a free will not incapable of sinning. We must be careful, however, to distinguish between saying that Christ had a human nature liable to sin, and saying that Christ Himself was liable to sin. Sin was possible to His humanity, but impossible to His Divinity; and through the inseparable union of the two in the One Person we are enabled to affirm that though possessed of a peccable nature, He was in His Personality impeccable.

In His Personality impeccable.

If such a conclusion seems in any way to take away the reality of the Temptation,¹ we can only fall back upon the teaching of Scripture, which tells us, as it were in the same breath, that He “in all points was tempted like as we are,” and at the same time that He was “without sin”²—“the notion of sin therefore has to be wholly excluded from our thoughts of Christ’s temptation.” Again, if it be said that there is some contradiction in what is elsewhere³ written: “wherefore, *in all things*, it behaved

¹ For the reality of this in connexion with Christ’s impossibility of sinning, cf. Hutchings, *The Mystery of the Temptation*; Edersheim’s *Life and Times of the Messiah*, Bk. iii. c. i.

² Heb. iv. 15.

³ Heb. ii. 17.

Him to be made like unto His brethren," the completeness of the resemblance must necessarily be modified by the purpose in view, viz., "to make reconciliation for the sins of the people." Had there been a correspondence of any kind in the matter of sin, either original or actual, inborn or contracted, His oblation would have been imperfect and could have made no atonement.

XXXI.

Proper Prefaces for Easter and Ascension-day.

THE Preface for Easter was used as early as the close of the fifth century. It was preserved by Gregory when he revised the so-called Gelasian Sacramentary. The day was held in high honour from the beginning, as the feast of feasts, and marked by special liturgical distinctions. Vivid pictures have been drawn by early writers of the solemnities of the Easter celebration, in which everything was done to harmonise the services with the jubilant character of the day of the Resurrection. Gregory of Nyssa¹ tells how the prison doors were thrown open and pardons granted; how crowds were wont to throng the churches; how every vestige of sorrow was laid aside, so that none, however overwhelmed with grief, might fail to find relief in the joy and splendour of the festival.

The great honour assigned to Easter from the first.

¹ *Orat. iii. in Christi Resur.*

Originally it was known as the Paschal Feast,¹ extending over fifteen days, the week before the Sunday being designated "the Pascha of the crucifixion," the week after, "the Pascha of the resurrection," and there is a manifest allusion to this ancient name preserved in this Preface, where Our Lord Jesus Christ is spoken of as "the very Paschal Lamb, which was offered for us"; but in the Church of this country it was superseded at an early date by a title of heathen origin. The festival coincided with a highly popular celebration in honour of Eástre, the Anglo-Saxon goddess of spring; and the Venerable Bede² tells us that under the influence of Christianity "the old festival was observed with the gladness of a new solemnity."

The change from a Jewish to a Pagan title.

The exact date for celebrating Easter was not authoritatively fixed for three centuries after Christ; and a diversity of practice was the necessary consequence in the early Churches. Without entering into the complicated dispute, with its wide ramifications,³ it may be well to notice briefly the ruling principles which created the divergence. The Jewish Christians, adhering to ancient traditional associations of the Passover, kept the Festival

Diversity of practice in the time of observing Easter.

¹ Orig. *c. Cels.* vii. 362. S. Chrys. *Hom. on Pascha.* The title is perpetuated in France as Pâques; in Italy, Pasqua; in Spain, Pascua.

² *De Temp. Rat.* c. xv.

³ Epiph. *adv. Hæres.* lxx.

at the close of the 14th of Nisan, on whatever day of the week it happened to fall.¹ The Gentile Churches, unfettered by Jewish tradition, identified the first day of the week with the day of the Resurrection, and the previous Friday as that of the Crucifixion, without any regard to the day of the month. Such diversity was an obvious evil, and the remedying of it was one of the objects for which the Council of Nicaea was summoned. It was 325 A.D. unanimously agreed by the Bishops assembled that Easter should be celebrated on one and the same day throughout the world, and that none should follow the blindness of the Jews;² but they left the door open for new differences by only fixing the day of the week, and not determining which was to be regarded as the proper Paschal moon. It was directed that this should be decided from time to time by the astronomers of Alexandria and notified to the Churches; but as the directions were only imperfectly carried out, it not infrequently happened that Easter was celebrated in some parts in March, in others in April.

After many attempts to establish uniformity, it was attained in the Western Churches when Archbishop Theodore recognised the Roman rule;³ and 669 A.D.

¹ These were called Quartodecimans. At first the Asiatics stood alone. It became later a distinctive mark of Judaizing.

² Socr. *Ecc. Hist.* i. 9.

³ King Oswy's decision at the Synod of Whitby in 664 is well

it lasted for nearly eleven centuries. When however Pope Gregory reformed the Calendar in 1582, the English Church, in its hatred of Rome, refused to accept the revision, and continued to observe Easter according to the old Calendar, till the "New Style" was adopted in 1752. This adoption however did not effect an universal concurrence, for the East, still adhering to the "Old Style," keeps Easter nearly a fortnight later than the rest of Christendom.¹

The proper Preface for Ascension-day was composed by Gregory for his reformed Sacramentary. It is a matter of no little surprise that there should have been any doubts as to the recognition of the Feast of the Ascension by the earliest Christians. There is no direct mention of it before the fourth century;² but after the middle of this it springs into notice, and receives abundant honour as equal with the other great Feasts of the Incarnation. It is true that S. Augustine³ speaks of it as being "observed throughout the world," which certainly

Uncertainty about the early observance of Ascension-day.

known. Theodore proposed this at the Council of Hertford, 673. Cf. Bright, *Early Eng. Ch. Hist.*, 200-243.

¹ The difference of the two styles, amounting to eleven days, was removed by ordering September 3rd, 1752, to be counted as September 14th. The popular prejudice against the change was very strong, the poor and ignorant believing that they had been robbed of the days.

² *Apost. Constit.* v. 19, 20; viii. 33.

³ *Ep. ad Januar.* i. 1.

points to no late introduction, and he rests the celebration upon Apostolic authority; but it is unfortunate that there is no corroborative evidence in such writers as Tertullian, Cyprian, and Ambrose. If however there was any neglect in the early Churches, there has certainly been none since the date above named.

The Reformed Anglican Church has placed it on an exact level in every respect, as far as liturgical honour is concerned, with the greatest of our Festivals.

The bearing of Easter and Ascension-tide on Eucharistic doctrine.

The historic facts associated with both Easter and the Ascension deserve before everything to be commemorated in the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist. The one is the pledge of eternal life which is hereby put within the reach of every individual communicant; the other is the entrance upon that High-priestly intercession, which gives efficacy to all our imperfect pleadings at Christian Altars.

Life through the Sacrament.

The gift of life stands out clear and distinct in almost every sentence of that speech which our Blessed Lord spoke in the Synagogue of Capernaum, in anticipation of the Sacrament¹ that He was intending to institute. He began with the declara-

¹ S. John vi. 48-59. For considerations which may have led our Lord to speak beforehand of the doctrine of the Eucharist. cf. The Author's *Footprints*, etc. i. 40-1.

tion: "I am the bread of life." "I am the living bread." "The bread that I will give is My Flesh, which I will give for the life of the world." And when the Jews were bewildered and strove among themselves to find an explanation, He only repeated it with a double asseveration, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man and drink His Blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood, hath eternal life: and I will raise him up at the last day." "As the living Father hath sent Me, and I live by the Father; so he that eateth Me, even he shall live by Me." It is ours to accept His repeated testimony, and to strive to appropriate to ourselves this gift of the Divine life, as Christ has promised to communicate it, through His Flesh and Blood. God, we know, is not fettered in His operations of grace, but we have no right to suppose that we shall receive it otherwise than as the authority of the Church has taught us, when she says to each communicant as he kneels to receive the Eucharistic Food, "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ. . . . The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life."

And just as Easter is a pledge of our resurrection, to be assured to us through the Blessed Sacrament, so is the Ascension a similar guarantee that by the same means, whatsoever we shall ask the Father

Efficacy of
Eucharistic
intercession

He will give it us “in Christ’s Name”—that is, through His Mediation, of which the Holy Eucharist is the most vivid earthly representation.¹ It is because of this that it has ever been regarded as the chief intercessory service of the Church. It is here that all her members, not only the priests who celebrate, but men and women, by virtue of that priesthood which is bestowed upon them in Baptism, unite their acts of intercession, in all its weakness and imperfection, with the perfect Mediation of Him, Who from the Ascension onwards has been perpetually presenting to the Father the one sufficient Sacrifice “which taketh away”—which continuously, now as when it was first offered, “taketh away the sins of the world.”

¹ Cf. *infra*, ch. xxxvi., xlv.

XXXII.

Proper Prefaces for Whitsun-day and
Trinity.

THE birthday of the Church was celebrated from the beginning under the title of Pentecost,¹ and it corresponded to the Jewish Festival of that name: the one being fifty days from Easter, the other from Passover. From the fact that the Apostles received on this day the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, it became one of the chief times for the administration of the Sacrament of Baptism, dividing the honour with Easter in the West, with Epiphany and Easter in the East. From this circumstance it was for a long time supposed that the English name of Whitsun-day was derived from the custom of the candidates for Baptism wearing white chrisoms,² and in all probability this is correct. But from the fact that another Sunday, the octave of Easter, has

Whitsuntide
a special
time for
Baptisms.

¹ This however often included the whole season of fifty days. Apost. Constit. v. 20. Tert. *de Bapt.* 19. The Jewish festival was counted "from the morrow after the Sabbath," cf. Lev. xxiii. 15.

² "White Sunday, from the A.-S. name *hwita sunnan-dæg*, Icel. *hvitásunnudagr*, Norwegian *Kvittsundag*."—Skeat, *Etymol. Dict.* 1882; so also Ogilvie-Annandale, *Imperial Dict.* 1883. In northern

The etymology of the word.

been long known as "the Sunday in white,"¹ some etymologists have sought for another derivation, and suggested that Whitsun is only a corruption, through various forms, of the German *Pfingsten*, i.e. the fiftieth or Pentecost.² The proper Preface for this Festival was composed for the first Prayer-book. It is much longer than that which had been used for some centuries in the Sarum Missal; and it introduces in a most definite manner a subject almost unnoticed in the earlier Service-books.³ It speaks of the "fiery tongues, lighting upon the Apostles, to teach them, and to lead them into all truth; giving them both the gift of divers languages, and also boldness with fervent zeal constantly to preach the Gospel unto all nations." The compilers thereby indorsed the popular tradition that "the gift of tongues," supernaturally bestowed upon the Apostles at Pentecost, was nothing less than new linguistic powers, enabling them in the spread of the Gospel to understand and be understood by foreigners in different countries.

The compilers definite in their idea of the gift of tongues.

climates Pentecost would be more suitable for baptism than Easter was. In illustration of the peculiar termination in its adjectival use 'Palson evin' (Scotch) and 'Lowson even' (Hearne's *Glossary*), the eyes of Palmsunday and Lowsunday, may be cited.

¹ They were worn for eight days; hence Low Sunday was called *Dom. in albis depositis*.

² Neale's *Essays on Liturg.*, p. 524. Other derivations are—*wit*, from the gift of tongues: *white*, from the custom of distributing "whites of kine," i.e. milk, to the poor: and *huit*, the eighth Sunday after Easter.

³ It is mentioned, as far as we know, in the Gall. Lit. only, and there with much less definiteness.

It is most unfortunate that anything like historical evidence touching the nature of the gift is almost wholly wanting, till quite the end of the fourth century. Under certain circumstances, however, this might satisfy us; as in a case, for instance, where in testifying to a particular practice, the writer at the same time asserts that it has come down from the beginning. Such is the evidence for Eucharistic worship in S. Ambrose and S. Augustine.¹ But the Fathers of the same age, who interpret "the gift of tongues," do not rest their interpretation in any way upon the authority of their predecessors; it therefore only expresses the belief of their time. S. Chrysostom² asks for what purpose the Apostles received the gift of tongues, and answers himself, "because they were intended to go everywhere through the world." S. Jerome³ says that they received "a diversity of tongues that they might not want an interpreter, when going forth to preach Christ." There is, it is true, some earlier notice of the gift in Irenaeus;⁴ but the fact that it has been claimed by those who are opposed to the traditional belief, as well as by its advocates, shows that it offers no certain testimony.

Want of historical evidence of its nature.

To men who realised vividly the supernatural gifts,

¹ *Infra*, ch. 1.

² *Hom.* xxv. in 1 *Cor.* xiv.

³ *Ad Hedebian.*

⁴ *Adv. Haer.* v. 6. Euseb. v. 7.

The natural tendency of the early Christians to exaggerate the miraculous.

God's economy of miracles.

which had been exercised for the furtherance of the Faith, casting out evil spirits, healing the sick, raising the dead, and discerning spirits, it would appear quite natural to place a miraculous knowledge of languages in the same category.¹ The tendency of the early Church was not unnaturally to multiply miracles; the tendency of these later times is to minimise them. It is, we imagine, the safer course to conclude that God carries on the government of the world in all cases by natural agencies, unless we are expressly told the contrary. The late Dr. Mozley used to say that God had always exercised "an economy of miracles." We see it most markedly in the Divine Revelation: nothing is imparted to man supernaturally, which he can learn for himself. It was on this principle, doubtless, that God did not make known the mysteries of Physical Science to the patriarchs, but left them to be disclosed gradually through the labours of future generations. Now had it been indispensable to the first preaching of the Gospel, that the Apostles should understand foreign languages, they might have learnt them, as modern Missionaries do, only far more easily, because, though originally "ignorant and unlearned"

¹ It is very significant that there should be abundance of testimony in support of these, but none, of this last, which must have been far more common, if so used. Cf. S. Cypr. *de Idol. Van.* 7; *ad Demetrium*, 15; Iren. *adv. Hær.* ii. 32, § 4; Euseb. *H. E.* v. 7. and iii. 39.

men, they had, on the evidence of Christ's promise,¹ the quickening influence of the Holy Spirit to "guide them into all truth." Furthermore, the widespread use of the Greek tongue, since the conquests of Alexander, would greatly facilitate their labours; and it is not a little significant that the very first missionary sermon that was preached, probably in this language,² was understood by the representatives of fifteen nationalities.

It is sometimes urged that Our Lord's promise contained in the closing verses of S. Mark's Gospel leads us to expect that the Apostles would have with other credentials a supernatural knowledge of languages; but in addition to the uncertainty caused by difficulties of textual criticism,³ the gift of "speaking with new tongues" is not here appropriated to the first Missionaries but to their converts. It was intended to be one of the signs that should "follow them that believe."⁴ This consideration suggests a parallelism with that strange pheno-

¹ S. John xiv. 16, xvi. 13.

² Acts ii. 14-40. Note the surprise of the people at Jerusalem, when S. Paul did not speak Greek, but Hebrew or Aramaic. Acts xxi. 40, xxii. 2.

³ Besides some doubtfulness touching the whole passage, *και-
ναῖς*, "new," is wanting in several MSS.

⁴ There is no contradiction with 1 Cor. xiv. 22. Here it means that converts should use the gift as a sign, *i.e.* with the unconverted; and S. Paul says that they would not edify persons who already believed, for they were satisfied, but would be a sign to others who did not believe.

“Speaking
with
tongues”
in the
Corinthian
Church.

menon of “speaking with tongues” which appeared shortly after in the Church of Corinth. There is no trace in the elaborate account left by S. Paul,¹ of this ever having been used for disseminating the Gospel; indeed it is contrasted with “prophesying” or inspired preaching. There is much in the description to disprove the popular conception; the utterance was not intelligible without an interpreter; it was expressed not in the ordinary voice, but probably with some musical intonation, for it is likened to sounding brass, the blare of a trumpet, or a clanging cymbal: it was a means of communicating with God not man, for the benefit of the speaker’s own soul, rather than for the good of his fellows: it was, in short, “the result of a sudden influx of supernatural inspiration,” the sign of a quickened spiritual power, which found its exercise in a kind of ecstatic devotion and in outbursts of praise; and in S. Paul’s view “five clear words, spoken from the mind of one man to the mind of another, were better than ten thousand of these more startling and wonderful phenomena.” There is, however, one difference between the manifestation of the gift at Jerusalem and at Corinth. On the day of Pentecost the language was intelligible, for the people asked in wonder and amazement, “How hear we every man in our own tongue,

¹ 1 Cor. xii.-xiv.; note especially xiii. 2, xiv. 2, 4, 16, 19.

wherein we were born?" But there is also one marked correspondence, for in both alike the end and object of this spiritual utterance was praise : The object of the gift was praise.
"we do hear them speak in our tongues the wonderful works of God."

We shrink instinctively from writing aught that seems in any way calculated to diminish the deep-seated reverence for the marvellous character of the first beginnings of Christianity, and we trust that nothing which has been set forth upon this subject may have such a result. Those who cling to the ancient belief have the unbroken tradition of fifteen centuries to support them—a weight of authority not lightly to be put aside. But the conviction in our own minds, that the *data* of Scripture and the earliest history do not bear it out, has long been felt, and we are constrained to state, though we do not press, the arguments, which, it must be allowed, place difficulties in the way of an unreserved acceptance of the common interpretation.

The Preface for Trinity Sunday in a somewhat enlarged form is as old as the time of Gelasius; but it was appointed for the octave of Pentecost. The Day was not marked in the Calendar as a Feast of the Trinity, till some centuries had elapsed. It was so designated in the Sarum Use, and it has been generally supposed that Osmund adopted it from Trinity Sunday not observed as a distinct Festival.

previous English Offices. It was held as a special Feast of the Trinity in England only¹ and in some Churches of Germany, which were founded by the English missionary, S. Wilfred or Boniface; and in the Ancient Offices of these Churches alone are the Sundays that follow designated "Sundays after Trinity"; in the Roman they were styled "after Pentecost"; as they now are throughout the East, where our "Trinity Sunday" is kept as the "Feast of all Holy Mar'yrs." It has, however, been universally observed in honour of the Trinity throughout the whole Western Church since 1334 A.D., when it was so ordered by Pope John XXII. If any surprise be felt that this cardinal doctrine of the Faith should have been ever suffered to pass uncommemorated in the Ecclesiastical Festivals, it should be noticed that the reason was, because it was thought that it already received more abundant honour and recognition through the frequent use of the Doxologies, "Glory be to the Father," etc., in the Daily Offices.

The Preface sets forth in the briefest terms the doctrine of a Trinity of Persons in the Godhead with an unity of substance. Neither of the terms, Person or substance, expresses at all adequately the ideas which it is intended to convey; but it is only to be expected that human language will fail in the

The meaning
of Person-
ality and
substance.

¹ This divergence from Roman practice is said to mark the independent origin of the English Church.

presence of Divine mysteries. By substance is meant what we more commonly understand by the word "essence"; and as referred to the Godhead, it signifies the combined attributes which belong to Deity and Deity alone, such as eternity, uncreatedness, omnipotence, and the like.¹ Personality is thus described by Hooker²:—"The substance of God with this property *to be of none* doth make the Person of the Father; the very self-same substance in number with this property *to be of the Father* maketh the Person of the Son; the same substance having added unto it the property of *proceeding from the other two* maketh the Person of the Holy Ghost." Each has His own subsistence, peculiar to Himself, together with a substance common to all Three.

But there is no true analogy between three human persons with one nature and the Trinity of Persons in the Deity with an unity of substance, because the former have their being in independence of each other, whereas in the Persons of the Godhead there is a mutual "coinherence"³ or indwelling, which makes them One, as no human persons can possibly be. The Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost mutually depend upon and complete each other; they are indivisible; they cannot exist apart from

No real analogy between the personality of men and of God.

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 127.

² *Ecc. Pol.* v. li. § 1.

³ The Theological term is *περιχώρησις* or *circuminessio*, also written *circuminsessio*.

one another. No human similitude can be devised to illustrate it; all we know for certain is that the fact of their Personality and their union is revealed to us: God is "above and we are upon earth," therefore, as Hooker said, "it behoveth that our words be wary and few." "Our soundest knowledge is to know that we know Him not as indeed He is, neither can know Him: His glory is inexplicable: His greatness above our capacity and reach."¹

¹ In the *Guardian*, 1888, p. 1077, there is a suggestion that in the words of the Preface, "or inequality," there is a misprint for "of inequality," in Lat. sine differentia discretionis.

XXXIII.

The Tersanctus.

“ After each of which shall immediately be sung or said, Therefore with Angels and Archangels,” etc.

THE custom, which largely prevailed a few years ago, and is still observed in some churches, for the people to join with the Priest in the Introduction as well as the Tersanctus, has no sanction from antiquity. In the first Prayer-book the two parts were printed in separate paragraphs, and a rubric was subjoined to the second, “This the Clerks shall also sing.”¹ The division was preserved in the printing of the second Prayer-book, but the direction for singing the latter portion was erased, in accordance with the object of the revisers to reduce the musical element in the Service. After the Hampton Court Conference the whole was printed, 1604 A.D. as we now have it, in one clause.

It is ever the tendency of thanksgiving to merge

¹ All the old Musical settings are for the latter part only. Cf. also Pontifical of Egbert of York (8th cent.), which shows that all the congregation said the latter part.

The drawing
together of
earth and
heaven by
the Incarna-
tion.

into praise; from thanking God for what He has done for us, we are led on almost instinctively to praise Him for what He is. It has been so in this part of the Liturgy from the earliest times. No sooner was the commemoration of God's benefits in the Eucharistic Preface finished, than priest and people joined in the great Seraphic Hymn of praise. The Church, moreover, has always expressed her belief that in this act there has been a close community of worship¹ between earth and heaven, established by the Incarnation, for God has gathered "together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are on earth, even in Him . . . that we should be to the praise of His glory."

One illustration will serve to convince us of the sincerity of the belief among the primitive Christians. The Thanksgiving in S. James's Liturgy, used in the Church of Jerusalem, ran thus: "It is truly meet and right, becoming, and our bounden duty, that we should praise Thee . . . the Maker of all creation, visible and invisible . . . Whom the heavens, and the heavens of heavens, and all the host thereof celebrate with hymns . . . the heavenly congregation of Jerusalem, the Church of the first-

¹ Cf. S. Chrysost. *Hom. in 2 ad Cor.* 18. In commenting on 1 Cor. xi. 10, "because of the angels," he says: *μετ' ἐκείνων ὑμεῖς, μετ' ἐκείνων ᾄδεῖς.* Cf. Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* v. xxiii., xxv. 2.

born, who are written in heaven ; the spirits of righteous men and prophets ; the souls of martyrs and apostles, angels and archangels, thrones and dominions, principalities and powers, and the dread hosts and Cherubim with many eyes, and the six-winged Seraphim, with twain whereof they cover their faces, and with twain their feet, and with twain they fly, and they cry with ceaseless voices one to another 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 is He that cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.”¹

It will be noticed that the concluding words of the Tersanctus have not been preserved in our present Office.² In a slightly altered form³ they had a place in the first Prayer-book, but they were erased in the second, as expressing too strongly for the men of the time the Catholic doctrine of the Real Presence. Strictly speaking, one, who comes in the name of another, is not identical with him ; but in this case the early Church, remembering that these were the words with which our Blessed Lord

The omitted witness to the Real Presence.

¹ Much of the above is almost identical with the *Quedushah*, the Jewish Sanctification Hymn for Sabbath morning Sabbath Additional, in the various Rituals, Ashkenazic, Sepharadic, Italian.

² They are found in the Litt. of S. Chrysost., S. Basil, the Malabar, the Mozarabic, and in the Sarum Missal. In the Clementine the Tersanctus and the Hosanna are in different parts.

³ The last clause was, “Glory to Thee, O Lord, in the highest.”

was hailed in His triumphal entry, always interpreted them as applicable to Him, and in anticipation of His coming in the Sacrament sang them in what was not infrequently called the Triumphal Hymn.

Some confusion has arisen from the fact that "the Thrice Holy" is a title assigned to two different hymns of praise. That called by the Greek equivalent, Trisagion,¹ under the form "Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy upon us," was sung, before the Book of the Gospels was brought into the Church, in the Mass of the Catechumens in the East.² When it was first introduced is a matter of uncertainty, but it is generally assigned to the Patriarchate of Proclus from a tradition that a child which had been rapt into heaven in the time of a great earthquake at Constantinople commanded the people to repeat it, upon doing which the city was saved.³ A few years after this it was sung at the Council of Chalcedon, in exultation at the depriva-

The Trisagion distinct from the Tersanctus.

434 A. D.

451 A. D.

¹ Freeman, ii. 336, attempts to show that this was derived from the Jewish *Shemoneh Esreh*, or Eighteen Prayers used in the Synagogue; the similarity, however, is not at all obvious. It has, however, a close resemblance to the Targ. Jonathan of Isa. vi. 3, which runs thus: The Angels said: ". . . Holy in the high heavens, the celestial place of the concentration of His Omnipresence! Holy upon the earth is the work of His might! Holy for ever and for time without end is the Lord God of Hosts!"

² It was used in the West only on Good Friday, and forms in the present Latin Use part of "the Reproaches," being still repeated in Greek as well as in a Latin version. Miss. Sar., col. 329.

³ Bright's *Ch. Hist.*, 404.

tion of Dioscurus; "shouts of applause were mingled with the solemn hymn of the Trisagion."¹

The other hymn, designated by the Latin title *Tersanctus*, taken directly from the Seraphic ascription of praise in the vision which Isaiah saw in the Temple, has always been appropriated to the Mass of the Faithful, which is the more solemn part of the Office, and dates back as far as we can trace liturgical worship.

We shall find the thought of association suggested by the introduction to this hymn very helpful in our Eucharistic praise.

It is this consciousness that we are not alone in what we do that makes even the weakest feel himself strong. Why is it that the Church appoints a special day for united intercession? It is not merely, it is not mainly, that the prayers of the nation may be multiplied a millionfold; but it is because she knows that her people will pray the more easily and the more earnestly, when they are stirred by the inspiring thought that the whole world of Anglican Churchmen is on its knees, with the same prayer upon its lips and the same desire at heart. Even so in our praises; when bowed down with a sense of our own littleness and unworthiness, we gather warmth and zeal from the realisation of the truth, that our individual praises

The thought
of association
a help to
praise.

¹ Robertson's *Ch. Hist.*, i. 527 n.

are not offered alone, but that they help to swell a mighty chorus which is for ever entering into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth.

Union with
the Saints in
praise.

But with whom are we thus associated? In the Service of the Altar, more emphatically than in any other, we are with Christ; and where Christ is, there is the Communion of Saints, there is the Blessed Company of Angels.

We are one with those who have died in the faith and fear of God. In the Celebration there is a sense of nearness to the departed that is felt to be very real; and for this reason, not to mention others that are more obvious, the Church suffered a grievous loss when she allowed the Eucharist to drop out of the Burial Office. It is being gradually recovered through the growing conviction that whatever brings our holy dead into closer communion with us must help to purify our praises from earthly alloy.

The same
with Angels.

Again, we are one with the Angels. If it be true, as the poet sang, that

“Millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth
Unseen, both when we wake, and when we sleep,”

we cannot doubt that they surround the Altar in the highest Service, to minister to Him Who deigns to sit enthroned amid the praises of His Church.

There is yet another thought suggested by the Tersanctus. In that dread Vision which Isaiah saw, when the Seraphim cried one to another, “Holy,

Holy, Holy, is the Lord of Hosts," we remember that those angelic beings, who had never fallen, veiled their faces and covered their feet, and we endeavour to realise something of the awfulness of being permitted with our sin-stained hearts to mingle in their songs of praise. Then again, as we read on, we learn how the rapt seer, longing to speak, was checked by the thought of his sin, and could only cry out, "Woe is me, for I am undone, because I am a man of unclean lips!" We learn too, blessed be God! for our encouragement, that the cry of abasement unsealed his lips. Let it be then with more of the reverent awe of the Angels, who share our Eucharistic Worship, and with more of the sin-stricken conscience of the prophet of God, that we draw near to the Divine Mysteries and take up the Seraphic Hymn, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts, heaven and earth are full of Thy glory."

The lesson
of awe
taught by
Isaiah's
Vision.

XXXIV.

The Prayer of Humble Access.

“Then shall the Priest, kneeling down at the Lord’s Table, say in the name of all them that shall receive the Communion this prayer following: ‘We do not presume,’” etc.

1548 A.D.

THIS Prayer was composed for the Order of Communion, but it followed the line of thought to be found in one of the primitive Liturgies. The Liturgy of S. Basil contains the humble deprecation of those who serve the Altar closely corresponding to that with which this Form begins: “we sinners and Thy unworthy servants who have been permitted to minister . . . not for our own righteousness . . . but for Thy mercies and compassions, draw nigh to Thy holy Altar.” And there is a similar parallel to the petition of the second part for the mutual indwelling through the cleansing of our souls and bodies, viz., “cleanse us from all defilement of flesh and spirit, that . . . we may be united to the Holy Body and Blood of Thy Christ, and may have Christ dwelling in our hearts.”

The source from which the Prayer was drawn.

When this Prayer was introduced into the Scotch

Office it was entitled the "Collect of Humble Access to the Holy Communion"; this, together with the rubrical order that it is to be said "in the name of all them that shall receive the Communion," shows that its original position in the Office, after the Consecration and immediately preceding the Reception, was more appropriate.¹ Yet further, the direction in the Order of Communion to the Priest to kneel down at "God's Board"² associates it more closely with the act of participation. It indicates not so much the Altar on which the Oblation is made, as the "Table" from which God dispenses the Sacred Food. Again, the attitude of kneeling, enjoined on the Priest, is more naturally taken before communicating than before consecrating; in the latter act he stands as Christ's representative to the people; in the former, identifying himself with them, as also—on the only other occasion³ when he is bidden to kneel—he humbles himself in awe and self-abasement for the reception of the Unspeakable Gift. We do not mean of course that the Priest has no need to pray before he presumes to execute the office of Christ's delegate, for in the old English Use

Its original position before communicating more appropriate.

¹ It was first placed in this position when composed for the Order of Com., and it retained it in 1st P. B., and in the Scotch Office, but not in the American, which is somewhat singular, considering its derivation from the Scotch.

² This expression was adopted in the Scotch Office in 1637, but has since given way to "Altar."

³ For the Confession.

he was wont to pray before entering upon the Canon: "In the spirit of humility and with a contrite heart, may we be accepted by Thee, O Lord," and to ask the prayers of the people as well, "Brethren and sisters, pray for me, that my Sacrifice, and your own as well, may be accepted by the Lord our God"; but the special direction to him to kneel, combined with the other circumstances which we have noticed, seems decisive as to its most suitable position, if a choice were left.

After setting forth our utter unworthiness apart from God's mercy to approach the Divine Mysteries, the Prayer reminds us of the great possibilities within our reach, the purification of body and soul so complete that it may be followed up by the perpetual indwelling of Him Who cleanseth from all sin. It speaks first of the body, and it is worthy of notice how equal honour is bestowed upon the body as on the soul in this Office: "The Body" (and) "The Blood" "of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy body and soul"; "here we offer and present unto Thee our souls and bodies." It is an echo of the Apostle's prayer, "I pray God your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ";¹ and of that very striking declaration to the Romans

The honourable place assigned to the body in this Office.

¹ 1 Thess. v. 23.

that the adoption for which we are groaning within ourselves is "the redemption of our body."

The human body has been hallowed for ever by the Incarnation. Our own bodies are hallowed through the Sacraments, which are the Divinely-appointed means for appropriating to the individual in successive generations the blessings which the Incarnation procured once for all for the whole race of men. They are so cleansed from sin in Holy Baptism as to be made sanctuaries of the Spirit of God, and they may be kept so clean by union with the Body of Christ in the Holy Eucharist, that He will abide in us for ever; for "He that eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood dwelleth in Me and I in Him"; "and I will raise him up at the last day."

It was from not recognising the great honour and high destiny of the body that the Presbyterians were led at the Savoy Conference to raise an objection to the language of this prayer, on the ground that it seemed to assign greater efficacy to the Blood of Christ than to His Body; for while it ascribes the cleansing of our bodies to the latter, it attributes to the former the cleansing of the soul. In their eyes it was a higher office to fit the soul for heaven than the body. The Bishops in their reply were not careful to explain, as we might have expected, that for the restoration of the man the

Objections raised to the Prayer at the Savoy Conference.

redemption of the body is of equal import with that of the soul, but answered not very convincingly by an analogy, saying that they assigned no more efficacy to Christ's Blood than He Himself did "when He saith, This is My Blood which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins, and saith not so explicitly of His Body."

The compilers of the Order of Communion simply adopted the language of a primitive Liturgy,¹ "Grant, O Lord, that our bodies may be sanctified by Thy Holy Body, and our souls cleansed by Thy atoning Blood," and in doing so they rested on the authority of Scripture, which expressly states that "it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul."

Its testimony to the doctrine of the Real Presence.

Now, there is one word in this Prayer, small and insignificant in itself, but pregnant with importance as it is here used. "Grant us, therefore, Gracious Lord, so to eat . . . that we may evermore dwell in Him and He in us." It implies the terrible alternative that we may so eat the Flesh of Christ as not to ensure that blessed result. It teaches, in short, the doctrine of the objective Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, that, as the Article, when rightly interpreted, suggests, we may receive the Body of Christ and yet be in no wise *partakers of Christ*.² With this awful possibility before us, we

The Syrian Liturgy of S. James.

² Cf. *supra*, p. 188.

may well fall low on our knees, and in fear and trembling, before we put forth our hands to receive, pray that that which was ordained by Christ to be unto us "a savour of life unto life" may never be turned into "a savour of death unto death."

XXXV.

The Rubric before Consecration.

“When the Priest, standing before the Table, hath so ordered the Bread and Wine, that he may with more readiness and decency break the Bread before the people, and take the Cup into his hands, he shall say the Prayer of Consecration.”

THE Jewish Priest invariably stood to offer sacrifice. “Every Priest standeth daily ministering and offering oftentimes the same sacrifices”: this is the testimony of Holy Scripture.¹ The same posture was adopted into the Christian Church from the beginning. The Clementine Liturgy² directs the Celebrant to “put on a shining vestment and to stand at the Altar”; and in the Liturgy of Jerusalem³ the priests say, “we are filled with fear and trembling, being about to stand at Thy Holy Altar, and offer this awful and unbloody Sacrifice.” The same posture has been uniformly observed in the English Church; even the compilers of the second Prayer-book provided for it. It must be accepted as an indirect acknowledgment that the Service is in

The Priest has always stood to offer sacrifice.

¹ Ep. to Heb. x. 11; Deut. x. 8.

² *Apost. Constit.* viii. xii.

³ Goar, p. 162.

some sense sacrificial, and different in kind from that which the minister offers in Matins and Evensong, where he identifies himself with the congregation by kneeling for prayer. The single exception, during the Versicles preceding the Collects and the Collects themselves, finds its most probable explanation¹ in the idea that the Collects are an essential part of the Eucharistic Office, and that the Versicles are closely allied to them, as giving the key-note of the same. In the final revision the rubric was enlarged from, "Then the Priest standing up shall say," into its present form. There is some ambiguity touching its right interpretation, whether he is only to stand "before the Table" to order the Elements, or throughout the whole of the Prayer following. We can have no doubt as to primitive practice, though but very little positive evidence is forthcoming; perhaps there is none for several centuries save that which may be taken from the Catacombs. It was expressly ordered in the third century that the Eucharist should be celebrated, whenever it was possible, on the Altar-tombs of Saints and holy men. These were usually of the form known as *arcosolia*, where it would have been impossible for the Celebrant to stand otherwise than

His position
before the
Table.

A.D. 269.

In the Cata
combs.

¹ Some of these, however, refer to the Prayer for the Queen, etc., which are not properly Collects. No other intelligent reason has been assigned for the priest's posture.

His position
in the Re-
formed
Offices.

facing the tomb with the people behind him.¹ This position was observed all through the Pre-Reformation history in the English Church, and it is generally supposed that the rubric in the first Prayer-book, "the Priest, turning him to the Altar," implied a continuance of it. When at the second revision the Altars were brought down into the body of the Church, he would still stand relatively to the Altar as before, *i.e.* at the broad side of it; and the natural inference in the absence of any other direction is that "before the Table" in our present Office implies the old position. The legal decisions have spoken with uncertain sound, but the latest judgment of the Privy Council gives a qualified sanction to what is technically designated "the Eastward position."

Difficulty of
interpreting
"before
the people."

Again, the expression, "break the Bread *before the people*," seems to admit of various interpretations. The Privy Council have seemed to fix its meaning as "in the sight of the people," for they only allowed the Eastward position provided the Celebrant did not intentionally hide "the manual acts" of Consecration from the congregation. So far it would appear to have been directed by the revisers as a protest against the Roman practice, as well as

¹ If there had been any virtue in another position it would have been provided for by altering the construction of the tombs after this order had been passed.

that of the Eastern Church ; both concealed the manual acts, the former, not necessarily of set purpose, but as incidental to the ordinary position of the sacrificing Priest ; the latter by design, for the Chancel-gates were closed, or the Veil drawn till the Consecration was effected. But on the other hand we are almost driven to another explanation, for when we remember the dread the Reformers had of the mediæval Rite of Elevation, against which the Articles¹ had apparently protested in saying that “ the Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon,” or “ to be lifted up,” it does seem difficult to believe that the revisers would lay stress upon the congregation being able to witness with their eyes the breaking of the Bread in the hands of the Priest. It was at least creating a risk of reviving a condemned and disused practice.

We look therefore for some other interpretation. If “ before ” may be understood as meaning “ in the presence of,” the direction becomes intelligible at once. All through the Puritan ascendancy everything had been done to lower the dignity of the Sacrament. From the second Prayer-book to the final revision there were no rubrical notes for any manual acts in the Prayer of Consecration, and it is almost certain that there had been no ceremonial fraction of the Bread. Amid the prevailing indiffer-

¹ xxv., xxviii.

ence on the part of the Priesthood, it was broken or cut into pieces by a subordinate official in the Vestry before the Service.

When Cosin proposed the present rubrics, he called the attention of his fellow-revisers to the omission, having in view the restoration of a highly symbolical act to be performed by the proper person and in the proper place, as an integral part of the Consecration Service, in the presence of the congregation.¹

Whether the Priest should consecrate aloud or in a low voice.

The manner of "saying" the Prayer of Consecration has varied at different times. In the early ages it was invariably said "aloud" both in the East and West.² In the Eastern Church it would seem that the primitive custom was in danger of being lost earlier than in the Western, for Justinian I. enacted in his Code of Laws that the Oblation should be made "not silently, but in a voice audible to the faithful." The intervention of the Civil Power did not altogether stay the innovation, though it led to the Words of Institution being recited aloud, so that the people could respond at the close; all the rest is said inaudibly.

¹ Cf. Pamphlet, "*Before the People*," by Morton Shaw, published by Rivingtons, in which he considers both the above interpretations, together with a third taken from the Roman technical phrase, "*missa coram episcopo*," or "*summo pontifice*," in which case the Celebrant always stands with his back to the person *coram quo* he celebrates.

² For numerous authorities cf. *Scud. Notit. Euch.* vi. sec. iii.

There was less excuse for the change that took place in the Western Churches, for the Greek of the Oriental Liturgies was understood long after Latin had become a dead language. Nevertheless the Roman Church was anticipated in the departure from ancient usage by at least two centuries. The first notice of a "secret" recitation of the words of Consecration is in the Roman Directory, commonly called *Ordo Romanus*, and assigned to the beginning of the eighth century. It states that at the close of A. D. 730. the *Sanctus* the Bishop "rises alone and enters silently upon the Canon." A great variety of reasons have been put forward to justify the Roman practice, all more or less mystical and wholly insufficient. One will suffice in illustration. Amalarius writes, "The Prayer is called 'Secret,' as being said secretly. In this the priest prays to be purged at the present time. It belongs to the priest alone, to offer sacrifice to God alone; and therefore because we speak out of our thoughts, no loud voice is necessary, but words for this purpose alone, that the priest may be reminded what he ought to think."¹

It cuts at the very root of the priesthood of the laity. If they have been ordained in Baptism "to offer unto God spiritual sacrifices," it cannot be right to preclude them from taking an intelligent part in the central act of the great Eucharistic Oblation.

The priesthood of the laity not to be ignored.

¹ *De Eccles. Off.* iii. 32.

This prerogative was exercised in the early ages by the repetition of the "Amen" at the close of "the giving of thanks,"¹ by which they manifested their cooperation and sealed the action of their representative Priest; and it was happily restored after long neglect by the final revision.

It is to be jealously guarded by the laity, as everything else which reminds them of the responsibilities of their Baptismal consecration to the service of God.

¹ Cf. 1 Cor. xiv. 16; Just. Mart. *Apol.* i. 65; Euseb. *Ecc. Hist.* vii. 9.

XXXVI.

The Prayer of Consecration.

“ Almighty God, our heavenly Father, Who of Thy tender mercy didst give Thine only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the Cross for our redemption ; Who made there (by His one oblation of Himself 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 continue, a perpetual memory of that His precious Death, until His coming again.”

WE here reach the central act of the whole Service, the Consecration of the Elements. The form under which it is effected is called in the English Office “the Prayer of Consecration.” It is divided into three distinct parts, the commemoration of Our Blessed Lord’s Sacrifice and Death ; the petition which corresponds to the ancient Invocation of the Holy Spirit for the sanctification of the bread and wine ; and the recitation of the Words of Institution.

The three-
fold division
of this
prayer.

The first part begins by setting forth the Sacrificial Death of the Incarnate God as the perfect propitiation for the sins of the world, and ends by reminding us that it is not over and past like the ordinary events of history. The Incarnation and

The commemoration of
Christ’s
Death.

Passion have their extension in the commemorative sacrifice of the Altar.

It asserts that the Sacrifice of the Cross, unlike any of the typical sacrifices, was full and complete ; the latter by reason of their imperfection were continually repeated ; the former, as absolutely and entirely perfect, can never be renewed. It is "one oblation once offered," but though complete in itself, it is not a thing of the past. The Act of Will whereby the Eternal Father so loved the world that He gave His Only-Begotten Son, and whereby the Only-Begotten gave Himself to death, is as living and deliberate an act now, as eighteen centuries ago : since He whose act it was and is, "knows no variableness, neither shadow of turning." Accordingly Our Lord in glory, ever presenting before the Father His human Nature, crucified and risen, continuously pleads this one Sacrifice ; and with this perpetual pleading, His earthly representatives associate themselves at all the Altars of the Christian Church.

The perfect
ness of His
Sacrifice.

The Sacrifice of the Cross was a "full" sacrifice ; it did not supply one or another human need or make atonement for one or another phase of human sin, like the peace-offering or sin-offering or trespass-offering of the Old Dispensation, but it gathered up into itself every imaginable transgression, and made an atonement thereof to God. "The Blood of Jesus

Christ cleanseth from *all* sin." Again, it was a "perfect" sacrifice, for through the Union of the Divine and human Natures of Jesus Christ, He was compassed by no infirmity; in Him there was no sin¹ or imperfection of any kind—none by transmission from the progenitor of the race, none by commission in a sinful world.² "He is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, Who needeth not daily, as those high priests, to offer up sacrifice first for his own sins and then for the people's. For the Law maketh men high priests which have infirmity; but the word of the oath, which was since the Law, maketh the Son, Who is consecrated (or rather perfected) for evermore."³ Again, it was said of Him, "Being made perfect, He became the Author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey Him."⁴ Once more, it was a "sufficient" sacrifice. Christ's Death was more than an heroic act of self-sacrifice. By a mystery that must ever baffle our human comprehension, the Lord "laid on Him the iniquity of us all," and accepted His Offering as full payment and satisfaction for all the debts that had need to be forgiven. What gave to the Oblation its infinite worth was the tremendous fact that the

The sufficiency of the Atonement.

¹ Cf. the Author's *Footprints*, etc., i. 30 n. *Supra*, p. 244.

² The qualification for a victim to be sacrificed was that it should be ἀμωμος, ἀσπιλος, without any blemish at its birth, or injury contracted in life.

³ Heb. vii. 27, 28.

⁴ Heb. v. 9.

Once offered
but yet con-
tinuous.

Victim was not only perfect man but also perfect God. This Oblation, the prayer reminds us, was "once offered." The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews¹ contrasts the sacrifices of the Jewish with that of the Christian Dispensation. The former were many in number, various in kind: each was distinct from all others: they were offered afresh and repeated day by day and year by year. The latter was one, once for all offered, "one Sacrifice for sins for ever."

The Ritual
of Sacrifice
on the Day
of Atonement.

But how is this consistent with the continuity of the Sacrifice? The latter part of the Commemoration of the Sacrifice in this Prayer embodies a Divine command "to continue a perpetual memory² of that His precious Death, until His coming again." For the right understanding of the doctrine we must fall back upon the Levitical account of the typical sacrifice of the great Day of Atonement, to which we are directly referred by an inspired Writer.³ After the High-priest had offered the bullock as a sin-offering for himself, he was commanded "to bring the goat upon which the Lord's lot fell, and offer him for a sin-offering for the people." As soon as this was slain in the outer Court of the Temple, the High-priest took its blood within the

¹ Especially in chapp. ix. x.

² In 1 P. B. it was "memorial," not memory. It represents *ἀνάμνησις*, and implies something to remind God as well as man. Cf. *Footprints* ii. 196-8 for the evidence of this.

³ Lev. xvi.; Heb. ix. 7, 12, 25.

Veil, sprinkled it upon the Mercy-seat, and pleaded with God by virtue of it for the forgiveness of the people's sins for the whole year. It is "the blood which maketh Atonement for the soul"; and without the presentation of this before God, the victim would have died to no purpose. It was this which gave efficacy to and completed the sacrifice.

When we turn to the Antitype we see how Christ suffered "without the camp," dying on the Cross symbolically beyond the walls of Jerusalem, and how at the Ascension He passed into the Holy of Holies to appear before the true Mercy-seat, and plead with the Father the efficacy of His all-sufficient Sacrifice. "By His own Blood He entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us."

We can see now how the Sacrifice on the Cross was complete and perfect but continuous; for no Jewish propitiatory sacrifice was finished till the blood of it had been sprinkled on the altar. It is true that without shedding of blood there is no remission, but such blood-shedding is only preparatory to its being pleaded before God. Even so, it was not of the Sacrifice that Christ said "It is finished"; all pain and suffering was over; the agony of death was passed: "He being dead dieth no more," but the Sacrifice will never be consummated "until His coming again."

Not of His
Sacrifice that
Christ said
"it is finish-
ed."

As long as He is in heaven He is offering the Memorial of His Passion, exhibiting His sacrificial wounds, and interceding in His High-priestly office by the merits of His Blood; for we are expressly told that "He offered Himself once for all," and at the same time, that as "every high-priest is ordained to offer gifts and sacrifices, it is of necessity that This Man have somewhat also to offer."¹ It is "One Sacrifice for ever," begun when Christ surrendered Himself in the eternal counsels of the Godhead, but not to be fully accomplished till He shall have delivered up His Mediatorial Kingdom at the end of the world.

The Eucharist the earthly counterpart of Christ's Sacrifice.

Now the "perpetual memory" of which the Consecration Prayer speaks is the earthly counterpart of that which is being offered in heaven. In the Christian dispensation there is but one Sacrifice. The Holy Eucharist is no reiteration of the Sacrifice on the Cross; it is, as Cosin² wrote, "no new sacrifice, but the same which was once offered, and which is every day offered to God by Christ in heaven, and continueth here still on earth by a mystical representation"; or again, as Jeremy Taylor³ still further explained it, "as Christ Himself is a Priest in heaven for ever, and yet does not sacrifice Himself afresh, nor yet without a sacrifice could He be a

¹ Heb. viii. 3.

² Qu. by J. R. West, *The Holy Eucharist*, p. 131.

³ *Ibid.*

Priest, but by a daily ministration and intercession represents His Sacrifice to God, and offers Himself to God as sacrificed ; so He does upon earth by the ministry of His servants. He is offered to God, that is, He is by prayers and the Sacrament represented or offered up to God as sacrificed."

It was because of the vivid realisation, which the Church had all through the Pre-Reformation history, and during the time of the first Prayer-book, of the unity of the heavenly and earthly pleadings of the one great Sacrifice, that prayers for the whole estate of Christ's Church, alike the living and the dead, were knit up with the very central Act of the Eucharistic Office. The voices of the Celebrant, and of the people assenting in the exercise of their priesthood, are caught up and presented before God by the Voice of Him Who alone can make effectual intercession for the transgressors.

The unity of the earthly and heavenly Sacrifice realised by the Church.

Again, viewing the connexion in another light, the Church has never been satisfied merely to place before men the doctrine of the Atonement, and to leave them to obtain the benefits of it for themselves, as best they may, but has pointed them to the Eucharistic sacrifice as the Divinely - appointed means for appropriating its all-sufficient virtue to individual souls. Both for ourselves then, and for others, we can find in the Sacrament of the Altar in the fullest measure grace to help in time of need.

The means for appropriating the benefits of the Atonement.

XXXVII.

The Invocation of the Holy Ghost.

"Hear us (O Merciful Father) we most humbly beseech Thee ; and grant that we receiving these Thy Creatures of bread and wine, according to Thy Son, our Saviour, Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of His Death and Passion, may be partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood."

Prayer for
the descent
of the Holy
Spirit in the
Sacrament.

IN all the primitive Liturgies the act of consecration was associated with a prayer. The object, however, for which the prayer was offered was not always the same. In the Eastern Churches it was uniformly addressed to God the Father for a direct descent of the Holy Spirit upon the worshippers and upon the elements, to bless the former and so to sanctify the latter that they might become the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. Of this the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom, used at Constantinople, supplies the normal form, "Send down Thy Holy Spirit upon us, and upon these gifts lying before Thee. . . . Make this Bread the precious Body of Thy Christ. Amen. And that which is in this Cup the precious Blood of Thy Christ. Amen. Changing them by Thy Holy Spirit. Amen." ¹

¹ Swainson, *Greek Litt.*, 91, 92, 130, 131.

In some Liturgies there was combined with this twofold prayer a further petition that the recipients of the Blessed Sacrament might partake of it beneficially. The earliest form of this is found in the Liturgy of Jerusalem,¹ in which the All-Holy Spirit is invoked "upon us and on these gifts set forth; that He coming upon them may by His holy and good and glorious Presence, sanctify them, and make this Bread the holy Body of Thy Christ, and this Cup the precious Blood of Thy Christ, that they may be to all who partake thereof the cause of forgiveness of sins and eternal life, and the hallowing of souls and bodies, and the fruitful production of good works." One or other of these forms, with slight variations, occurs in all the Liturgies of the East; and it is important to notice that they testify distinctly to the objective Presence of Christ in the Sacrament. S. Cyril, in his Catechetical Lectures, commenting on this petition in the latter Liturgy, leaves no shadow of doubt by adding "for whatever the Holy Spirit touched is sanctified and changed."²

When we turn to the Western Liturgies we are confronted by some very important variations. Unfortunately there is considerable uncertainty

¹ The Clementine gives the same in an expanded form. *Apost. Constit.* viii. 12, § 17.

² *Catech. Myst.* v. 5.

Departures
from primi-
tive usage in
the Latin
form.

590 A. D.

hanging round the original forms used in not a few of the Churches; even the Roman form is by no means certain. Liturgiologists, however, seem generally agreed that there was an Invocation of the Holy Spirit in the Gallican and Spanish Liturgies,¹ but none in the Churches of Italy and Rome.² In the Roman Liturgy, as it was used in the time of Gregory the Great,³ a prayer, which corresponded to that of the Eastern Liturgies, was couched in these terms: "This oblation therefore of our service, as well as of Thy whole family, we beseech Thee, O Lord, graciously to accept through Christ our Lord; . . . and do Thou, O Lord, we beseech Thee, vouchsafe to make this oblation in all ways blessed, valid, reasonable, and acceptable, that it *may become unto us* the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son, our Lord God Jesus Christ." The variation here from the Eastern and undoubtedly primitive form is twofold; there is no mention of the agency of the Holy Spirit, and the petition for the change in the Elements is not absolute; in other words, the language used is consistent with the theory of a Presence which is only subjective. It is needless

¹ Maskell's *Anc. Lit.* cix. n.

² Palmer's *Orig. Lit.* ii. 137.

³ There is no certainty of the form in use before, but the passage cited in the text just below is found in the Canon, attributed to Gelasius in the Stowe Missal.—Ed. Warren, p. 226; Hammond, p. 369.

to say that it does not exclude the doctrine of the objective Presence, for this was universally taught in the Roman Church at this time. It is by no means improbable that the direct language of the East was purposely avoided, lest it should seem to traverse the Roman belief that the Sacramental change was wrought by the recitation of the Words of the Institution.

The Roman form was adopted in the Sarum Use. At the Reformation the first revisers of the Prayer-book introduced a form which could claim no authority from any one of the Liturgies which had come down from antiquity. They composed a prayer partly from the Eastern Liturgies, partly from the Roman: "Hear us (O Merciful Father), we beseech Thee; 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." The recognition of the agency of the Holy Spirit was a very distinct gain, and in accordance with the most primitive usage. But having followed antiquity so far, it was unfortunate that they did not do so throughout, and make a clearer statement of the true Eucharistic doctrine, by praying simply that the Elements might be made the Body and Blood of Christ. This novel form was

The form
introduced in
the first
Prayer-book.

adopted in Scotland in the Office which was drawn up in 1637, but in the present recognised Scotch Liturgy, as it was revised in 1764, it is changed so as to represent the primitive doctrine, the qualifying statement "unto us" being omitted.¹

Objections
raised by
Bucer.

It is evident, however, that the adoption of these words into the first Prayer-book were not interpreted as excluding the Catholic doctrine of the Objective Presence; for nothing would satisfy Bucer, and the School which he represented, till all reference to any change wrought by the operation of the Holy Ghost was erased, and the language was made to confine more clearly, as they thought, the Presence of Christ's Body to the worthy recipient: "grant that we receiving these Thy creatures . . . may be partakers of His Most Blessed Body and Blood."²

Now there can be no question that our present Office, which successive revisers in the reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and both Charles I. and II., endeavoured, and often successfully, to recover from the

¹ The original Scotch Office gained but little favour in Scotland. Its use in S. Giles', Edinburgh, was the signal for the revolt against the Church and the King. After the Restoration the English Office was sparingly used at first, and then very generally, till efforts were made for the revival of the Scotch Office by Bishop Gadderar in 1724, and continued at intervals till the present revised Office was formally accepted in 1764.

² In 2 P. B. Edw. vi. 1552.

baleful influence of Bucer and Calvin, is in the matter of the Invocation distinctly inferior to the first Prayer-book. It has even been objected that the absence of a direct prayer for the operation of the Holy Ghost goes far to invalidate the Consecration. The first American Bishop, Seabury, expressed such a strong disapproval of it that, when asked to celebrate with the English Office, he said: "To confess the truth, I hardly consider the form to be used as strictly amounting to a consecration"; and it would seem that the objection is still felt in the American Church, for Seabury's successor, the present Bishop of Connecticut, has declared that in giving the primitive form of Consecration, "Scotland gave us a greater boon than when she gave us the Episcopate."¹

The absence of the Invocation considered a grave defect.

The question of validity depends entirely upon our being able to ascertain the exact means by which consecration is effected; and this is far from being an easy matter. The Eastern Church, according to the language of the Liturgies, and the comments of S. Cyril, S. Basil, and others, used to attribute the Sacramental change to the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, and the position of this *after* the Words of Institution is quite consistent with this belief. But in later days, at the Council

¹ Dowden's *Annot. Scott. Office*. See 114, 117.

1439 A. D.

The difficulty
of deciding
what effects
consecra-
tion.

of Florence,¹ and since what is known as "the Moscow Controversy," the principle has been accepted that consecration is effected by the combined use of both. The Russian Catechism asks, "What is the most essential act in this part of the Liturgy?" The answer is, "The utterance of the words which Jesus Christ spake in instituting the Sacrament: *Take eat, this is My Body: drink ye all of this. This is My Blood of the New Testament.* And after this, the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, and the blessing the gifts, that is, the bread and wine which have been offered."

The English
and Roman
Churches
alike in the
absence of
the Invoca-
tion.

The Roman Church holds that the consecration is effected entirely by the recitation of the words, "This is My Body": "this is the Cup of My Blood";² and does not use, and never has used, as far as can be ascertained, the Prayer of Invocation. If, therefore, the absence of this invalidates, or in any way affects, the completeness of the Anglican consecration, the same applies with equal force to the Roman. But it has been well maintained that the question as to the necessity of that Prayer to a valid consecration is decided, because the whole

¹ The representatives of the East accepted the Roman view, and explained the necessity of the Invocation to prepare the Communicants; but their action was disavowed, and the authority of the Council rejected.

² Card. Bona, *Rer. Lit.* ii. xiii. Co. of Trent, *de Euch. Sacr.* xx.-xxiii.

Catholic Church held communion with the Churches of Italy and Rome during the primitive ages; and had there been any essential defect in the form of consecration in those Churches, it must have been noticed and objected to by the rest of the world. Now no such objection was ever made against the Roman and Italian Liturgies during the first six or eight centuries, and therefore the forms were valid according to the judgment of the primitive Church.¹ We may rest fully assured then that there is no essential feature wanting in the consecration by the English Office. We may have a full conviction that the agency of the Holy Spirit is instrumental in producing the Sacramental change, and yet not deem the omission to express this conviction in the Office fatal to its validity. We pray that those who receive the consecrated Bread and Wine may be partakers of Christ's Body and Blood; we may make no mention of the means by which the result is obtained, knowing well that God will accomplish it in His own appointed way, namely, by the agency of the Holy Spirit.

Having, however, established the validity of Consecration according to the Anglican Rite, we need not hesitate to point out how much would be gained by restoring the ancient recognition of the work of the Holy Ghost in the highest Service

The undoubted gain of restoring the Invocation.

¹ Palmer, *Orig. Lit.* ii. 137.

of the Church. On the one hand it would bring our Office into closer accord with the Offices of the earliest Churches; and everything that strengthens the historic character of our worship, amidst a growing love for much that is novel and untried, is a distinct gain.

On the other hand, it would help to remove a reproach that is often brought upon us in perfect good faith by religious Nonconformists. Believing, as they do, the Holy Spirit to be the One quickening power in the spiritual life, they not unnaturally feel difficulty in realising the fact that the Church is apparently contented to ignore His influence in her highest act of worship. We may sympathise with their objection; and while we point out how in the one Sacrament it is placed in the very forefront of the Office and recurs again and again, we are bound in self-justification to insist that but for the intervention of those, who were in fact the first to dissent from Catholic truth, the action of the Holy Ghost in the other Sacrament would have continued to receive the fullest recognition. The true motto of the Church, alike in public worship and private devotion, must always be, "It is the Spirit that quickeneth"; and if ever she has power to revise her Service-books, untrammelled by the control of a Parliament not necessarily Christian, there can be little doubt that the use of the Invoca-

tion will be one of the first restorations. Meanwhile it is incumbent upon all, whether priests or laity, who realise our present loss, to compensate for it, as best they can, by the private use of it in its appointed place, that our offering may "be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost."¹

¹ Rom. xv. 16, qu. in Lit. of S. James.

XXXVIII.

The Words of Institution.

“Who in the same night that He was betrayed took Bread. . . .
Do this as oft as ye shall drink it in remembrance of Me.”

THE commemoration of our Blessed Lord's words and acts in instituting the Holy Eucharist has always been regarded as an essential part of the Consecration.¹ The form in which they have been commemorated cannot be traced to any one of the four accounts which have come down to us in Holy Scripture; it may have been a composite record compiled from all, or one based on an independent

The supposed authority for the form in which the Institution is commemorated.

¹ Gregory the Great to John, Bp. of Syracuse, states that the App. consecrated with the Lord's prayer alone.—*Ep.* vii. 64. The same is asserted also by Amalarius and Leo VII., but in the absence of confirmatory evidence of an earlier date, it is generally doubted. It ought to be stated too that the language of S. Gregory in this place is open to another interpretation.

The Greek Church, though attributing the Sacramental change to the Invocation, has always united with it the recitation of the Words of Institution. The words “*This . . . is My Body . . . My Blood*” occur in at least 75 of the total number of extant liturgical formulæ (82) presented to us by Drs. Neale, Littledale, and Wright; and the absence of such important words from the small minority of Nestorian, Ethiopic, and Syro-Jacobite liturgies has been attributed by such authorities as Renaudot and Scudamore to causes other than heretical.

tradition. A circumstance noted in many of the Early Liturgies, and found in all the old English Uses, seems to favour the latter supposition. It is stated in these that Jesus Christ "lifted up His eyes to heaven," before He blessed the bread. The act, it is true, is told of Him in connexion with the miracle of feeding the five thousand,¹ but there is no indication of it in the Scriptural narrative of the Last Supper. Unless, therefore, it rested on some early tradition which appeared to be trustworthy, it would have been an unwarrantable intrusion, where accuracy of detail must have been of the utmost importance. It must be regarded with satisfaction that the Anglican form adheres strictly to the Biblical account. Its simplicity becomes very marked when we compare it with the Roman The Roman form. form, which is as follows: "Who on the day before He suffered took bread into His holy and adorable hands, and lifting up His eyes to heaven, unto Thee, His Father, God Almighty, gave thanks to Thee, blessed, brake and gave it to His disciples, saying, Take and eat ye all of this, For this is My Body. Likewise after supper, taking also this most excellent chalice into His holy and adorable hands, and giving thanks to Thee, He blessed and gave it to His disciples, saying, Take and drink ye all of it, For this is the Cup of My

¹ S. Matt. xiv. 19.

Blood of the New and Everlasting Testament, the Mystery of Faith, which shall be shed for you and for many for the Remission of Sins. As oft as ye shall do this, ye shall do it in remembrance of Me."

The significance of repeating Christ's exact words and acts.

Now in the Act of Consecration stress is laid upon the exact repetition of Our Lord's words, and the imitation of His acts by the priest. It is because the Church has a profound conviction that Christ is Himself the Consecrator in every Eucharist. But for this, it would have been the very height of presumption, bordering almost upon profanity. S. Chrysostom gave the clearest expression of the belief of Primitive times when he said, "Christ is present at the Sacrament now, Who first instituted it. He consecrates this also; it is not man that makes the Body and Blood of Christ by consecrating the Holy Elements, but Christ Who was crucified for us. The words are pronounced by the mouth of the priest, but the Elements are consecrated by the power and grace of God. This is, saith he, My Body."¹ The Priest, then, who celebrates, claims to do what he does as representing Christ; he puts himself so to speak in the place of Christ, not rendering His words in the third person, but in the first, saying, as he takes the Bread and the Cup into

The Priest is Christ's representative.

¹ *Serm. 2. in ii. ad Tim. de ped.*, i. 6. So in Lit. of S. Chrys. *Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ προσφέρων καὶ προσφερόμενος.*—S. Cyr. *Ep.* 63.

his hands, "This is My Body. This is My Blood. Do this in remembrance of Me."

Now all this impresses upon the Eucharist a sacrificial character. The acts and words of our Blessed Lord must necessarily have conveyed to the Apostles the idea that what He was doing and what He was instituting was distinctly sacrificial; for it was all done "in sacrificial terms, at a sacrificial time, and for a sacrificial end."¹ Let us dwell upon this thought in explanation of His words: "Do this in remembrance of Me." The old English rendering has become so stereotyped and hallowed by the most sacred associations, that there is but little probability of its being ever changed; and yet few persons who have studied the question can fail to realise how far short it falls of expressing the full meaning of Our Lord's command. To "do this," when taken in connexion with what follows, may certainly mean to "celebrate" this or to "offer" this. It is well known that the Greek word is used at least fifty times in the translation of the Seventy in a sacrificial sense,² but it has not been often noticed that our Lord Himself so used it in the very narrative which tells of the Institution of the Eucharist. When He sent forth His two disciples to prepare

The sacrificial character of the Holy Eucharist.

¹ Cf. Author's *Footprints*, etc., ii. 193-201.

² For references cf. Bp. Hamilton's *Charge*, 1867, and Willis's *Worship of the Old Covenant*.

for the feast, He bade them say to the goodman of the house, "The Master saith, My time is at hand; I will *keep* the Passover at thy house with My disciples."¹ "Keep"—it is the same word as that translated "do"—"do this in remembrance of Me." "I will celebrate the Passover at thy house." The Passover was essentially a sacrificial feast.

Again, the verb rendered "do" is often used distinctly for "offer."² The objection that "this" cannot here grammatically refer to the Bread or Wine, though often alleged, is wholly unfounded, for apart from the existence of similar constructions elsewhere,³ we may fall back upon the fact that perhaps the very earliest comment on the expression so explains it; for Justin Martyr, quoting Our Lord's words, writes, "Offer (do) this, for My Memorial, that is to say My Body," and again, "The Bread of the Eucharist which our Lord Jesus Christ has commanded us to offer."⁴

So also with "remembrance." It is used both in the Old and New Testaments⁵ for "a sacrificial memorial," a memorial before God; indeed, in its

¹ Matt. xxvi. 18, Heb. xi. 28.

² Exod. xxix. 36, 39; Lev. iv. 20; ix. 7; Ps. lxvi. 15, etc.

³ Exod. xxix. 38; Lev. xv. 14, 15.

⁴ Dial. cum Tryph., 41, 70.

⁵ Numb. x. 10. The original is somewhat ambiguous: the memorial may refer to the blowing of the trumpets; Lev. xxiv. 7; Heb. x. 3. For a fuller consideration see Chapter XLIV., on the Prayer of Oblation.

Scriptural usage it is restricted to this. The sacrifices of peace-offering were designed to be for an *anamnesis*, "a memorial before God"; the frankincense, too, on the shew-bread, was "set in order before the Lord every sabbath day" for an *anamnesis*, "a memorial, even an offering by fire unto the Lord." There is no instance of its being used to represent anything which was intended to quicken *men's* remembrance—it is always to call God to mind; and it is this which imparts to it its sacrificial character.

If, therefore, the one word *must* be interpreted sacrificially, and the other *may* be, it seems only natural to understand both, when they are found together, in the same sense.

Now there is a Ritual action, not enjoined in the Anglican Service, but in early times almost universal,¹ which is full of sacrificial significance, and is worthy of consideration because its original import has been completely overshadowed since the middle ages—viz., the elevation of the Elements after Consecration. It is now regarded as a signal for adoration to be

The original meaning of the rite of Elevation.

¹ Cf. Litt. of S. James (Syr.), S. Basil, S. Chrysos., Armen., the Copt. (S. Bas.), and others. In the Eastern Churches it could not have been for worship, because the doors of the Chancel were shut to hide the act of Consecration from the worshippers. Elevation for purposes of adoration was not introduced into the West till the 11th century, or formally authorised before the 13th. The ancient Elevation is retained in the modern Roman use at another part. That at this place is for another purpose, 'ostendit populo.' Cf. Mask. *Anc. Lit.*, 92 n.; Scud. *Not. Euch.* 616-620.

paid to the Host, but its primary object was a symbolical uplifting of the earthly Oblation in order to bring it sacrificially before God on the heavenly Altar. It was unquestionably taken from the "heaving and waving" which came into special prominence in the old Mosaic peace-offering, which was in so many ways especially typical of the Holy Eucharist. The oblation was "heaved" upwards and downwards, and "waved" to the right hand and to the left; and the action signified according to Jewish interpretation that it was solemnly presented to God, the Sovereign of the Universe.¹ It will be observed that this double movement, which was enjoined also in the Sarum Use, made the sign of the cross, and signified the uplifting of Christ in the Crucifixion. Now it has been well pointed out² that this is "a further instance of the representation of Christ's Own Actions, full of beautiful propriety, because it designs to place the Things consecrated on earth on a par with the glorious and complete Reality in heaven. It seeks, on behalf of all the mystic sacrificial gifts, the grace inherent in the original, meritorious, ever-abiding Sacrifice."

The more deeply, therefore, we enter into the meaning of the Words and Acts associated with the Consecration of the Elements, the more clearly does

¹ Outram on *Sacrifice*, i. xv. 5. Willis's *Worship*, 176.

² Freeman's *Principles*, etc., II. ii. 177.

the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharistic Rite stand out. Its "memorial" character will be brought before us in "the Prayer of Oblation"; suffice it now to state, in the briefest terms, the charge which Christ gave to His Apostles, and to all who should inherit in their line the Ministry of reconciliation; it was that under the consecrated symbols of broken Bread and outpoured Wine they should plead before the Father as long as time should last, the Sacrificial Death of His Son, presenting on Christian Altars that commemorative Oblation, by which the Great High Priest is for ever making intercession before the heavenly Mercy-Seat.

The memorial nature of the Sacrifice.

XXXIX.

The Reality of Christ's Presence in the Sacrament.

" This is My Body: This is My Blood of the New Testament."

PROBABLY no subject in the whole range of controversy has been so largely debated as the meaning of these words. Already in the preceding pages the Catholic interpretation of them has been set forth in part, as passing references seemed to call for it, but the present place is the fitting one for a full consideration. We shall be the better prepared to understand the truth if we begin by an examination of the various views that have found favour from time to time with different schools of Theology. We take first that which depreciated Sacramental Grace to the lowest ebb ; Zwinglius maintained that the Rite was purely commemorative, and that the Elements were merely signs of an absent Lord, in no way direct channels for the conveyance of spiritual gifts. It is doubtful whether his view was presented in this bare and unattractive form to the Marian exiles, whose Swiss Theology influenced not

Various
views of the
result of the
Consecration
of the
Elements.

The
Zwinglian
doctrine.

a little the second revision of the Prayer-book;¹ but even in its best estate, as modified by Bullinger, Peter Martyr, and John a Lasco, it is at variance with all the teaching of the Church for at least fourteen centuries. No other conclusion is admissible from it than that Christ is in no sense present in the Sacrament, and that the recipient of it has no real communion of Christ's Body and Blood.

The view which borders most nearly on this has been designated in modern times that of a "virtual Presence." It appeared first in the writings of Calvin,² who maintained that by Consecration a new power was imparted to the Elements, so that, without being themselves the Body and Blood of Christ, they were able to communicate them to the worthy recipient. He illustrated his theory by saying that Christ, though at the right hand of God, can send His influence upon the hearts of faithful communicants, just as the sun, though so far distant in the heavens, infuses light and heat into things on earth. But such influence is constantly being exercised, and it did not require the Institution of a Sacramental Mystery to secure it to the faithful. The real obstacle, however, to this interpretation is that, like

The theory
of a "virtual
Presence."

¹ There is strong evidence of their disbelief in any Sacramental Presence in the fact, that in the face of fifteen centuries of usage, they removed all mention of Christ's Body and Blood in distributing the Elements.

² *Instit.* iv. 17, §§ 20, 21, 22.

Zwinglianism, it takes away all idea of a sacramental Presence of Christ's Body, so that, in the terse and expressive language of Keble, "Virtual Presence is real absence." To assign to the Elements the power to communicate that which they themselves are not, is to suppose the effect incommensurably greater than the cause, and it strains the demands of faith to the furthest point. It is surely easier to believe that He would make that His Body which is to do the work of His Body.

Consubstantiation, or the Lutheran doctrine.

A third view has generally passed under the name of Consubstantiation. It is a term designed by his opponents to express the view broached by Luther¹ that after Consecration the substance of the Lord's Body co-exists by fusion with the substance of bread and wine. The figure by which he tried to illustrate it was that of heat diffused through a bar of iron.² According to the unscientific idea of his time heat was a substance: now it is known to be unsubstantial. A figure often used to explain the Eutychian heresy of the fusion of the human and Divine Natures in the One Person of Jesus Christ would have represented his teaching more accurately. Wine and water are two separate substances: pour them

¹ There is no doubt that Luther's teaching was by no means uniform. Cf. Pusey, *Doctr. of the Real Presence*, 43-56.

² *Contra Henricum, regem Angliæ*, p. 8.

into the same vessel, they mingle together and become a third substance composed of the two.

This view contradicts the Catholic doctrine in more ways than one; it confuses the sign with the Thing signified, and it introduces the idea of a physical or material change, whereas it is wholly spiritual, and after a heavenly manner.

The fourth doctrine to be noticed is that of The doctrine of Transubstantiation. "Transubstantiation," by which we understand briefly that at the Consecration the substance of the Elements ceases to be and is replaced by the substance of the Body and Blood of Christ. This doctrine takes for granted the truth of a distinction between "substance" and "accidents," which is open to serious philosophical objections; there is no certain proof of the existence of such a thing as substance transcending the "accidents" which meet the senses. If substance be used in a popular, unphilosophical sense, it means that the elements are annihilated at Consecration, and this certainly contradicts the teaching of Holy Scripture and of the primitive Church.

Irenaeus¹ says that "the Eucharist consisted of two things, an earthly and a heavenly"; and the Fathers generally spoke of the Elements as preserving their natural substance after Consecration; and herein they echoed the teaching of Scripture, which

¹ *Adv. Hær.*, iv. 18, § 5.

designates that which is received as both "bread" and the "Body" of Christ: as "the fruit of the vine" and the "Blood" of Christ. And to this the Formularies¹ of the Anglican Church adhere, declaring that Transubstantiation "overthroweth the nature of a sacrament," for it takes away the outward and visible sign.

Having considered, therefore, what we believe to be the chief erroneous views on the Presence of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, we are able to frame a definition of the Catholic doctrine, calculated not only to express the truth but to exclude error.

The Catholic
view of the
Real
Presence.

After Consecration the Elements are not a mere sign of the absent Body and Blood of Christ, but whilst undergoing no change of substance, they have become, not in grace and efficacy alone, but verily and indeed, though spiritually, that is, in accordance with the laws of the spiritual world, the Present Body and Blood of Christ. The substance of the outward part is not fused with nor changed into the substance of the inward, but though remaining distinct the two parts are, in a manner incomprehensible to finite minds, sacramentally united, so that what we receive is bread and wine, and is at the same time Christ's Body and Blood.

In support of this, the Catholic doctrine of the

¹ Cf. Catechism. Also Art. xxviii.

Real objective Presence, we appeal in the first instance to Holy Scripture, then to the testimony of the Fathers and Primitive Liturgies, and finally to the Formularies of our own Branch of the Church Universal. If we accept Hooker's declaration that it is "a most infallible rule in expositions of Holy Scripture, that where a literal construction will stand, the farthest from the letter is commonly the worst," we shall have no difficulty in accepting the above definition. Christ Himself said, not of bread generally but of a piece of bread, which He held in His hands and had just blessed, "This is My Body." The teaching of Holy Scripture. It was no sudden unexpected declaration, for a year before, speaking in anticipation of this Eucharistic Feast, He had said in the hearing of the same disciples, "The bread that I *will* give is My Flesh."¹ If He had meant anything else than what His words naturally indicated; if, in short, He had intended them to be interpreted in any way figuratively, it is inconceivable that He should not by the simplest explanation have removed the stumbling block, when some of them said "This is a hard saying," and left Him in consequence. Had this been the case, four words, "I speak metaphorically only," would have more than sufficed to satisfy every scruple.

Again, S. Paul says of certain Corinthians,² who

¹ S. John vi. 57.

² 1 Cor. xi. 27.

approached the Sacred Mysteries in an unworthy manner, that they were "guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord," and that they ate and drank a judgment upon themselves from "not discerning the Lord's Body." If that of which they partook was only a figure of Christ's Body, his mode of expressing it could not by any possibility have been more open to misconception.

The teaching
of the early
Church.

From the testimony of the early Church a few quotations will suffice as examples; S. Ignatius¹ speaking of the Docetae says, "They abstain from the Eucharist because they do not believe that it is the Flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ." Justin Martyr² writes in his Apology, "We have been taught that the Food, over which thanks have been given, is the Flesh and Blood of that Incarnate Jesus." In the primitive Liturgies the language in which the effect of the Invocation of the Holy Ghost is spoken of is most explicit; in that of S. James it is "that He may make this Bread the Holy Body of Thy Christ, and this Cup the precious Blood"; in that of S. Chrysostom, "make this Bread the precious Body and that which is in this Cup the precious Blood of Thy Christ . . . changing them by the Holy Ghost."

Of the
Reformation.

In the Articles³ of the Reformed Church of England

¹ *Ad Smyrn.* vii.; *ad Philad.* iv.

² *Apol.* i. 68.

³ Art. xxviii.

we read that "the Body of Christ is *given*, taken, and eaten in the Lord's Supper," and in the Prayer of Humble Access we ask, "*so* to eat the Flesh of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ that our sinful bodies may be cleansed by His Body." Both expressions in their *prima facie* meaning echo the teaching of antiquity on the objectiveness of the Thing signified in the Sacrament.

But it has been often noticed that there are what seem like counter truths to the above both in the writings of the Fathers and in the Formularies of our Church; we mean all those passages which appear to make the faith of the recipient a necessary prerequisite for the participation in Christ's Body. "The mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is Faith."¹ "The wicked and such as be void of a living faith . . . in no wise are partakers of Christ."² There is no antagonism between the two; they express a double aspect of the truth; they are parallel lines, they do not cross each other.

Apparent contradictions.

The necessity of faith.

We shall be able to understand more easily what is meant, when a distinction is drawn between the *res* Sacramenti and the *virtus*³ Sacramenti;

¹ Art. xxviii.

² Art. xxix. Observe the repeated association of calls to faith with the most solemn action of the Eucharist in ancient liturgies. Cf. Neale and Littledale's Transl., 50, 193, 4, 9; 208, 211.

³ Cf. S. Aug. *in Ep. S. Joh.*, Tract. vi. § 10; *in Evang. S. Joh.* Tract. xxvi. § 11.

the former is the Body and Blood of Christ: the latter is the strengthening and refreshing of our souls.

The one is given to all who receive the Sacrament, but to the unworthy recipient it becomes a source of judgment, as it did to the Corinthians. The other is received by all who have the qualification of faith, and it becomes a means of spiritual union with Christ, so that they dwell in Him and He in them.

We have something at least analogous to this in Christ's dealings with men during His Ministry upon earth.¹ His Body, in which healing power resided, was touched again and again. It was present to all, but virtue only went out of Him to heal some, and that in obedience to the touch of faith. There is however this great difference; those who touched His earthly Body carelessly as He went in and out among them, did not know their fault, and therefore received no punishment; those, on the other hand, who dare approach the Sacrament of His Body and Blood, without becoming reverence, are unable to plead ignorance of their guilt, and must risk the penalty of an unworthy reception.

So far, then, from cavilling at the 29th Article for

¹ Cf. *Ch. Quart. Review*, xxii., No. 43, p. 225.

appearing to traverse the doctrine of the Catholic Church, we may be thankful for the safeguard which it provides, by reminding us how alone we may receive the Sacrament beneficially to the strengthening and refreshing of our souls.

XL.

The Sign of the Cross.

IN ancient times the Cross was honoured by commemorative services, and the sign of it was frequently used. The only relic of the former is to be found in the retention of their titles in the Church Calendar, and the only rubrical provision for the latter is preserved in the Baptismal Office. The 3rd of May is marked as "the Invention of the Cross," in commemoration of the alleged discovery of the instrument on which the Saviour was crucified, by the Empress Helena, in 326. The 14th of September is designated "Holy Cross Day," and has been associated for many centuries with the elevation of a portion of the aforesaid Cross in a magnificent Church at Jerusalem, which the piety of the Empress raised on the site of the Holy Sepulchre.¹ Special Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, were appointed for these two days, and so highly were the days hon-

The honour
paid to the
Cro. in early

¹ This took place in 335, but it was not till the restoration of the Cross, after it had been carried off by the Persians, in the beginning of the 7th century, that the Festival became famous. In the Eastern Church both Festivals are united on Sept. 14th.

oured for the twelve centuries following the institution, that they have shared with Christmas Day, Easter, the Ascension, and a few others, the rare distinction of a separate Preface in the Office for the Holy Communion.

The legitimacy of the use of the sign of the Cross happily survived that long and bitter controversy in which the Church was torn by divisions, when the Presbyterians strove to rob her of that Catholic heritage of worship, which with a recognised system of forms and ceremonies had come down through many centuries. This was decided when the sign was deliberately retained in Baptism, and the xxxth Canon indorsed the principle "that the abuse of a thing doth not take away the lawful use of it." The same Canon pointed to the expediency of using it by asserting that it "begat a reverend estimation even in the Apostles' time," and that it was "held in the primitive Church, as well by the Greeks as the Latins, with one consent and great applause."

The use of the sign disputed at the Reformation.

1604 A. D.

Now, remembering how largely the honour of the Cross has entered into the religious worship of the Church, we shall do well to trace its history. Perhaps the earliest evidence of the use of the material form of the Cross is to be found in the Catacombs,¹

The history of the use of the Cross in the Church.

¹ This evidence is uncertain, as many of the inscriptions and emblems are of later date than the monuments.

312 A. D.

but it was not till the Conversion of the Empire that it came prominently forward. We do not care either to defend or to dispute the story of the discovery of the true Cross, and of the means adopted for distinguishing it from the others that were discovered with it. It is said that its touch instantly recovered a woman of her sickness.¹ The story was in all probability only the poetic dress in which a reverent people, under the impulse of a new-born faith, clothed its appreciation of the cardinal doctrine of Christianity, that no human help can save the soul, and that it is only by the Sacrifice of the Cross that the soul's sickness can be cured, and eternal life granted to those who are dead in trespasses and sins.

From the time of Constantine² the honour paid to the Cross spread widely and rapidly; and in the centuries that followed the second exaltation of the Cross, after its recovery by the Emperor Heraclius from the hands of the heathen, the emblem was set up in Churches. Churches were constructed in the form of it, and dedicated to the Holy Cross. In England alone it is said that more than a hundred received this dedication; and the historic Holyrood

¹ Sozomen, *Ecc. Hist.* ii. 1.

² The Catechetical Lectures of S. Cyril were delivered in the Basilica of the Holy Cross in 347-8. Cf. Euseb. Panegy. Constant. 9.

at Edinburgh is but another name for the Chapel of Saint Cross.

When we turn to the investigation of what we commonly mean by the sign of the Cross, we have far earlier testimony than we find for the use of the material form. Tertullian in the second century writes of the habits of the Christians of his day, "at every forward step and movement, at every coming in and going out, when we put on our shoes, when we bathe, when we sit down to table, when we light the lamps, on going to rest, on sitting down, in all the occurrences of daily life, we mark¹ our foreheads with the sign of the Cross." His language is repeated more or less by many of the writers of the fourth century,² but with rare exceptions they speak of the practice only in connexion with the ordinary life. It is very difficult, however, to believe that it could have found so large a place in the Christian's secular occupations, and have been excluded from his religious life and worship; but it has caused considerable perplexity to find no mention of it in S. Cyril's Lectures on the Mysteries, in which he dwells upon the ceremonies accompanying the Celebration, and no trace of its use in the oldest Sacramentary. On the other hand there are allu-

The early use
of the sign of
the Cross.

¹ *De Cor. Mil.* iii. He uses the significant word *terimus*.

² S. Ambrose, *Serm.* 56; S. Jerome *ad Eustoch.*; S. Cyril, *Cat. Lect.* xiii. 36.

sions to it in S. Chrysostom and S. Augustine,¹ which almost force us to believe that it had its appointed place not only in the Sacrament of Baptism, but in that of the Altar also. From the idea that the mark of the Cross imparted a sacred character to that upon which it was impressed, it was chiefly employed in the act of consecrating the elements. During the mediæval times a special virtue was attached to a repetition of the sign, and minute directions were given for the places in which it was to be made. In the Sarum Missal it was introduced more than twenty times.² The compilers of the first Prayer-book accounting this a vain repetition, retained the sign only twice, to be made during the Invocation of the Holy Ghost at the words "to bless and sanctify these Thy Gifts." At the second revision, when the Invocation was removed, the sign of the Cross disappeared with it, and has not been restored by any subsequent rubric.

In the mediæval times.

At the Reformation.

The multiplied repetition of the sign grew out of what would generally be accounted a superstitious belief in its efficacy as a charm to neutralise the powers of evil. It is true that this appears to be

Its use as a charm.

¹ S. Chrys. *Hom.* liv. in *S. Matt.* xvi. 23. S. Aug. *Hom.* cxviii. in *S. Joh.* xix. 24. In this passage S. Aug. speaks as though the sacraments were not properly ("rite") administered without it.

² About 740 A.D. Pope Zachary instructed Boniface as to the number to be used in the Canon, viz., about sixteen or eighteen. *Ord. Rom.* ii. In Greek Litt. at the Invocation the sign was made thrice. Swainson, 91, 130.

sanctioned by no less a writer than S. Chrysostom,¹ who wrote: "This sign, both in the days of our forefathers and now, hath opened doors that were shut up: it hath quenched poisonous drugs: it hath taken away the power of hemlock: it has healed the bites of venomous beasts"; but the context shows very clearly that in his judgment the virtue which accompanied the use of it was proportioned to the realisation of the great purpose of the Cross felt by him who used it. He warned his hearers that it was not merely with the fingers that they ought to make the sign, but before this in the purpose of their heart and with the fulness of faith. The revisers were of opinion that this principle was endangered by a frequent repetition of the sign, and aimed at restoring a more moderate use of it; and herein they only followed the example of the leading ritualist of the middle ages, for Amalarius pleaded for a single sign as sufficient in the act of Consecration. At the same time, while laying down the general rule, they were unwilling to fetter the hands of those, whether priests or people, who found a larger use helpful to their worship, for they subjoined to the Reformed Service-book a note "for the more plain explication and decent ministration," in these words "as touching kneeling, crossing, . . . and other gestures, they may be used or left, as every man's

The objection of the Reformers to the oft repetition of the sign.

¹ S. Chrys. *Hom.* liv. in *S. Matt.* xvi. 23.

devotion serveth, without blame.”¹ Both directions, viz., for the twofold sign in Consecration, and for the optional use at other times, were subsequently omitted, but there is great difficulty in accepting the dictum that “omission implies prohibition always,” if only from the fact that in the revised Liturgy the rubrics were withdrawn, which enjoined the manner in which the Celebrant is to receive. Neither in this nor in the present Prayer-book is he told whether he is to receive standing or kneeling, or what words he is to use in administering to himself. Some discretionary liberty seems of necessity left to him.

The primary object which induced the Christians to press the Cross into the forefront of their actions has long ceased to be a moving influence; it is no more treated with shame and contempt, as the instrument of an ignominious death, and there is no need to pay honour to it as an act of reparation; ² but “the offence of the cross” still remains, though the manner in which it makes itself felt is changed.

Its symbolism useful at the present day.

¹ This was the 3rd of “the Notes” placed at the end of the 1 P.B. This must have reference to occasions where no direction was given, and cannot therefore be limited to the single occasion where the sign of the Cross is inserted; at least this was the decision of the final revisers: “The rubric that leaves kneeling, crossing, etc., indifferent, is meant only at such times as they are not prescribed and required.” Cf. Answ. of the Bishops, Cardw. *Confer.* 354.

² Cf. *supra*, p. 122.

The cross is despised and hated in this generation because its symbolism is a standing rebuke to the self-indulgence of a soft and luxurious age. We can sympathise then with those who feel reluctant to part with any ceremonial emblem that can help to keep alive the true spirit of Christianity. "God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world."

XLI.

The Communion of the Priest.

“Then shall the Minister first receive the Communion in both kinds himself, and then proceed to deliver the same to the Bishops, Priests and Deacons (if any be present).”

The title
Minister or
Priest.

IN the first Prayer-book the Celebrant is designated the Priest ; in the second and in all subsequent issues, the Minister. It is somewhat perplexing that at the final revision the compilers should not have reverted to the original title, especially as they substituted “Bishops, *Priests*, and Deacons,” for “other ministers” in the same rubric. The only explanation is that they left “Minister” as a more general term, to embrace a Bishop. The Scotch Office had provided for it more explicitly, reading: “The Bishop, if present, or else the presbyter.” It is worthy of note that the title of “Minister” is in one of the authoritative Formularies used doctrinally as an equivalent of “Priest,” and that too in respect of his Ordination. The 32nd Canon appoints that “no Bishop shall make any person, of whatever qualities or gifts soever, a Deacon and a Minister in one day.”¹

1604 A. D.

¹ This expression is applied to the priest several times in the same Canon.

There is no rule laid down for the posture of the Celebrant in the act of receiving. On the following grounds it may be argued that he receives standing.

The posture to be assumed by the Priest in receiving.

Firstly, it is a generally acknowledged principle that whenever a change of posture or position is to be made, some direction is given in the rubrics. On the two occasions in this Office, where the Celebrant unquestionably kneels, definite instruction is given him to do so, viz., for the Confession and for the Prayer of Humble Access. It has been said that "all meekly kneeling" at the end of this rubric includes the Celebrant; but the grammatical construction of the sentence absolutely forbids such an interpretation, for the words follow not only the direction for the Priest's reception, but for his administration to others; they must apply therefore to both or neither.

Secondly, on doctrinal grounds it may be urged that standing is the posture of a Priest engaged in a sacrificial act. The participation of the Priest under the typical dispensation was regarded as an essential part of the sacrifice.¹

When we look at the question historically, we are placed at a disadvantage, from the absence of anything like primitive evidence. The most we can say of the early practice is that, even apart from doctrinal grounds, it was presumably standing, because

¹ Cf. Lev. vi. 26.

Reasons for pressing the posture of kneeling in the 17th century.

to kneel on a Sunday was considered unbefitting the joyful character of the festival. Throughout the middle ages there is no question that the Priest stood. After the commencement of the Reformation a diversity of practice seems to have grown up, for certain of the Bishops were careful to inquire upon the subject in their Visitation Articles, and Cosin endeavoured to introduce uniformity by a change in the rubric: "Then shall the Priest that celebrateth receive the Holy Communion in both kinds upon his knees." If any objection be raised against the validity of the doctrinal grounds as favouring the standing posture, from the fact that divines such as Andrewes, Wren, and Cosin, representatives, that is, of the Catholic School of Theology, advocated kneeling, we must allow full weight to the temper and circumstances of the times in which they lived. The Puritan attacks had fallen with the greatest violence upon the practice of kneeling for reception; every consideration had to be set aside by its defenders, and the principle maintained in its integrity both by precept and example. It may be that they were content to forego the sacrificial teaching of the other posture, when assumed by the Celebrant, lest this exceptional adoption should appear to the unlearned to lend even the least sanction to the

¹ *e.g.* Montague's Gen. Visit. of Chichester in 1634; Archb. Secker, *Serm.* v. iv. 11; Andrewes, Wren, etc.

Puritan practice. Now that all trace of the irreverent custom has passed away, it seems natural, especially in an age when the sacrificial doctrine of the Holy Eucharist is reclaiming its ancient recognition, to revert to the posture which is most consonant with it.

With what words is the Celebrant to administer to himself? Again, he is left without any rubrical guidance, and it may fairly be assumed that it was not intended that he should adapt the formula for himself by changing the second into the first person, "I take," etc.; at least the rejection of Cosin's proposed rubric at the final revision seems to admit of no other interpretation. His proposal was to alter the wording of the existing form as follows: "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for me, preserve my body and soul unto everlasting life. Amen. I take and eat this for the remembrance of Christ, Who died for me, and I feed on Him in my heart by faith with thanksgiving." In the absence of any direction it seems competent for him to use one of the primitive formulas which necessitate no adaptation, such, for instance, as that in the Clementine Liturgy; "The Body of Christ, Amen." "The Blood of Christ, the Cup of life, Amen."¹

The words to be used by the Celebrant on administering to himself.

The injunction for the people to say Amen has

¹ *Apost. Const.* viii. xiii.

most ancient authority, and it appears to have been generally enforced, as we may gather both from liturgical and Patristic evidence.¹

1548 A.D.

In the old English Missals there was no formula for administration to the laity, only to the Priest. In the Order of Communion it was: "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body unto everlasting life." In the first revised Office the prayer was made to extend to the soul: . . . "preserve thy body and soul." At the next revision, when so much was done to obscure Catholic teaching on the Real Presence, all allusion to Our Lord's Body and Blood was omitted, and the second clause of the present form, or, as it is sometimes called, "the Address," was substituted for the first, or "the Benediction." It was such a patent violation of Catholic usage that its continuance could hardly be expected; and as soon as better counsels prevailed, the time-honoured Benediction was restored at the Elizabethan reaction, but in combination with the later innovation of the second Prayer-book, and at the Caroline settlement this union of the two clauses was left undisturbed.

The innovation of 1552, and the Elizabethan compromise.

Viewed historically, the advantage is all in favour of the use of the first only, and there can be no question that, on occasions when the communicants

¹ Clem. Copt. Aethiop. Litt. S. Cyril, *Myst.* v. 18. S. Ambr. *de Sacram.* iv. 5. S. Aug. *Serm.*, 272, 332.

are numerous, the lengthened form is attended with much inconvenience; but under ordinary circumstances the combination of the two is by no means without use. It is a distinct gain to be reminded of the great end for which our Blessed Lord gave us His Flesh to eat; and the very injunction to take the Body "in remembrance that Christ died" for us is calculated to keep before our eyes the Sacrifice of the Cross, in "the Memorial" which priests and people are enjoined to celebrate.

XLII.

The Communion of the Laity.

“Then shall the Minister . . . proceed to deliver the same . . . to the people also in order, into their hands, all meekly kneeling. And when he delivereth the Bread to any one, he shall say, The Body,’ etc.

The Agnus
Dei.

IN the first Prayer-book it was directed that “in the Communion-time the Clerks shall sing, O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world: have mercy upon us,” twice repeated and followed by “O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, grant us Thy peace.” They began as soon as the Celebrant received.¹ When the laity had communicated, they sang a sentence from Holy Scripture, from a collection provided for the purpose, which was called the post-communion. Both were omitted in the second Prayer-book.

The removal of the former has been regarded in two different lights. On the score of antiquity it has no high claims, for it found no place in any of the primitive Liturgies, and was wholly unused in

¹ There are many notices of the singing of a Psalm or anthem to fill up the time. It was called in the West *communio*. Ord. Rom. iii. 18. Bing. *Antiq.* xv. v. 10.

the English Office before the ninth or the tenth century.¹ Again, it is felt to cut across the Sacrifical teaching of the Holy Eucharist, by directing prayers to the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, and that too, at the very central part of the Service immediately after the Oblation.²

On the other hand, its re-introduction has been strongly advocated as supplying a vivid witness to the doctrine of the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament. It could hardly be more forcibly impressed upon the congregation than by this sudden outburst in a direct personal address.

There is no rubrical direction where the laity are to receive the Holy Communion. In the Eastern Church it has never been customary for them to approach the Altar for the purpose, but for the ministers to come out at the Chancel door and administer in the nave. In the English Church it has been the general rule to enter the Chancel, save when the Holy Table was brought down into the body of the Church, or during the Puritan ascendancy, when the congregation remained in their pews, and received where they were.

The place where the laity are to receive.

¹ Traces of it have been found in one or two early Liturgies, but in a very imperfect form. It is in the ancient Celtic Stowe Missal, which may be assigned to the ninth century. Warren, p. 242.

² This is done only in three of the Collects, and in the *Gloria in excelsis*. In neither of these cases is the innovation so disturbing from the position.

The time at which they approached the Altar has varied, as may be seen by the controversy which has gathered round the right interpretation of the invitation, "Draw near with faith." Not a few of the Bishops¹ in the seventeenth century testify by their Articles of Enquiry, as well as in other places, to the prevailing practice of the day of approaching, when these words were spoken, and not waiting till the moment of communicating.

The posture
to be adopted
in receiving.

Surprise has been felt that there should have been no rubric in the first Prayer-book to order the people to receive kneeling, but the traditional habit was so strong that the revisers had no fears of its being altered. Within a year, however, an attempt was made to bring in the practice, adopted by certain Protestants on the Continent, of sitting to receive. It so shocked the feelings of English Churchmen that even the compilers of the second Prayer-book were compelled to make provision against it by the order that the Minister should deliver it "to the people in their hands kneeling." Continental influence, however, waxed too strong, and when the theory was pressed that this posture was a tacit acknowledgment of the doctrine of transubstantiation, the Church became divided into two camps upon the practice of sitting or kneeling

¹ Andrewes, Montagu, and Cosin. In the Parish Church at Leeds it has long been the use to draw near at the Invitation.

at the reception. During the Rebellion the advocates of the former posture had things entirely their own way; and at the Restoration the Church-party found it no easy task to uphold the ancient¹ and Catholic practice; for it is said that at the Savoy Conference all the controversy between the Presbyterians and the Bishops was summed up at last in one single topic:² "the sinfulness of enjoining ministers to deny the communion to all that dare not kneel." The closing words of the rubric, "all meekly kneeling," attest the result of the debate.

The Puritan party received another severe blow when the revisers reinstated in the rubric the injunction, which had been omitted from the first Prayer-book, that the words of administration must be repeated severally to each communicant. The addition, "when he delivereth the bread to *any one*³ he shall say," in place of "when he delivereth the bread," was intended to prohibit the practice, which had been largely adopted from the school of Calvin, of repeating the formula once only for a railful of communicants. Liberty in this matter

1645-1661
A.D.

The words
of adminis-
tration to be
said to each
communi-
cant singly.

¹ At first no doubt it was customary to receive standing, as is done now in the Eastern Church, inclining the body, but this was in accordance with the belief that on Sundays a posture indicative of joy was more fitting than one of humiliation. Cf. Co. Nicaea, Can. xx.

² Cardw. *Confer.* 265.

³ In first P. B. "to every one."

had long been contended for, and the Puritans in the reign of Elizabeth laid "an admonition" before Parliament¹ in favour of it. It was answered by Archbishop Whitgift,² who pointed out how much of significance might thereby be sacrificed: "forasmuch as every one that receiveth this Sacrament, hath to apply to himself the benefits of Christ's Death and Passion, therefore it is convenient to be said to every one, 'Take thou, eat thou.'" Hooker³ contended that it was because the Sacraments were "instruments of grace unto every particular man" that the Church with good congruity had framed her words in the administration; and the Bishops at the Savoy⁴ did but indorse the judgment of their predecessors when they asserted that "It is most requisite that the Minister deliver the bread and wine into every particular communicant's hand, and repeat the words in the singular number; for so much as it is the propriety of sacraments to make particular obsignation to each believer."

No plea, therefore, that it is advisable at large communions for the saving of time, to depart from the custom of repeating the words severally to each individual, may be entertained, for it not only

¹ In 1572 A.D.

² "An answer by John Whitgift, D.D.," p. 100.

³ *Eccles. Pol.* v. lxxviii. 2.

⁴ Aus. to Exceptions against the Pr.-bk. conc. Kneel. Cardw. Confer. 354.

violates the law but injures the significance of the Sacrament.

The mode of delivering the consecrated Bread to the communicants has varied; in the first Prayer-book,¹ to avoid its being taken away for superstitious purposes, it was enjoined "that the people commonly receive the Sacrament of Christ's Body in their mouths, at the Priest's hand." At the next revision the Minister was directed to deliver It "in their hands"; at the last revision "into their hands."

The Bread to be delivered into the hands.

So early as the second century anxiety was felt by the faithful lest in the act of communicating some portion of the sacred Elements should fall to the ground; and in the fourth, S. Cyril² gives minute directions to the newly-confirmed: "approaching therefore, come not with thy wrists extended or thy fingers open; but make thy left hand as it were a throne for thy right, which is on the eve of receiving the King. And having made thy palm hollow, receive the Body of Christ, saying after it, Amen."³ It is a clear indication that in primitive times the modern practice of taking

¹ Cf. Final Rubric at the close of the Office.

² *Myst. Cat.* v. 18.

³ It was the invariable practice for the communicant to say *Amen* at the end of the words of administration. It is often recommended in Eucharistic manuals; and whether we regard it as a prayer "so may it be" or as an assent "so it is," it seems to be well worthy of adoption.

by the fingers, which is dangerously liable to irreverence unless wafer bread be used, found no support.

For the administration of the Wine numerous expedients have been tried to avoid the possibility of spilling. The Bread has been dipped in the Cup and given to the communicant in a spoon. Tubes¹ too have been used by which the Wine was drawn into the mouth. At the beginning of the thirteenth century or somewhat earlier, certain Roman Churches took upon themselves without any authority to withhold the Cup altogether from the laity, and the practice spread rapidly, though nothing approaching to Ecclesiastical sanction was given to it till the Council of Constance resolved that the custom introduced by the holy Fathers on reasonable grounds should be accounted for a law.

Intinction.

The denial of the Cup to the laity.

1415 A. D.

The doctrine of concomitance.

It has been sought to justify Communion in one kind by the doctrine of concomitance, which implies that "whole Christ is present after consecration under either species of bread or wine."² The Eastern Church, though opposed entirely to the denial of the Cup to the laity, has sanctioned the principle of

¹ Pugillaris, fistula, arundo, etc.

² There are recorded instances in the early Church where the Eucharist was administered only in one kind, but they are distinctly exceptional. S. Basil, *Ep.* 93, *ad Cesar. Patric.* Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* vi. 41.

concomitance by its administration of Wine alone in infant Communion.¹

Without entering upon a subject, which has been largely debated, it must suffice to plead the example of Christ; what He gave could not but have a virtue of its own. Through the refusal of the Cup therefore, the laity are deprived of their rights, and even the doctors at the Council of Trent indirectly admitted it; for they dared not to deny that those who received in one kind only were deprived of any grace, but they limited the loss to any grace that was *necessary to salvation*.

While then it is our bounden duty to take every precaution against any accident which may lead to even the least irreverence, nothing can justify our withholding that which Christ Himself gave at the institution of the Feast, or which He designated as of such vital import when He said, "Except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man and drink His Blood, ye have no life in you. He that eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood, dwelleth in Me and I in him."²

¹ Cf. Goar in *Annot. Nitrusii ad Allatii Diss. de Missa Præsanct. ad fin.*, qu. in Smith, *Dict. Chr. Antiq.*, 837.

² S. John vi. 53-56.

XLIII.

The Lord's Prayer.

S. JEROME has told us that our Blessed Lord taught this Prayer to the Apostles that believers might use it "daily in the Sacrifice of His Body."¹ Whether he had authority for the statement or not it is impossible to say, but it is quite certain that the Lord's Prayer was regarded almost as an essential part of the Divine Liturgy from the very first; at least it is contained in every extant form but one.² Its position was almost invariably at the close of the Consecration-Office, which in primitive times comprised Intercessions and Oblation. S. Augustine says that as regards "the prayers repeated while that which is on the Holy Table is blessed, hallowed and broken for distribution, nearly every Church concludes them with the Lord's Prayer."³ If, as was clearly the case, Consecration was held to depend upon prayer, nothing could have been more fitting than that it should be combined with that

The Lord's Prayer from the first united with the Act of Consecration.

¹ *Dial. adv. Pelag.* iii. 15.

² The Clementine. *Constit. Apost.* viii. 13.

³ *Ep. 59 ad Paulin.* *Serm.* 227.

perfect Form which seemed to sanctify and give efficacy to forms of mere human composition. Yet further, whether we look upon it as completing the Act of Consecration, or as preparatory to Communion, its position between the two was marked by singular propriety.

No doubt in the early and mediæval Church it was linked on in idea to the former rather than to the latter; for it claimed whatever position was considered most honourable, and Consecration rather than Communion was generally held to be the culminating point of the Celebration. It is interesting to notice how this claim has been recognised in all the Offices of the English Church.¹ In the Baptismal Office the Lord's Prayer follows immediately upon the notification to the congregation that the child is "regenerate and grafted into the body of Christ's Church." In Confirmation it follows the laying on of hands. In the Burial of the Dead it is repeated as soon as the body has been solemnly committed to the ground. In the Communion it is connected with the great penitential Psalm or Miserere. The Form for the solemnization of Matrimony seems at first sight to break this general rule, but the Psalm which follows the priestly benediction on the union, is only introduced as a processional to be said while those who are

Its claim to the position of honour in every Service.

¹ This has been illustrated at length by Scud. *Not. Euch.* 768.

Separated
at the second
revision
from the
Consecration
Prayer.

taking part in the Service proceed from the Chancel-gates to the Altar. During the Puritan innovations of 1552, when the action of the Priest was depreciated and Consecration divested of much of its mystery, all the interest of the Service was made to centre in the Communion; and consequently the time-honoured position¹ of the Lord's Prayer was changed to suit this altered conception. There will always be a difference of opinion upon the relative import of two such tremendous mysteries:—whether it is a greater thing that God by the agency of the Holy Spirit should make bread and wine to become the Body and Blood of Christ, or that we should be made partakers thereof by actual reception; and men's judgment of the rightful position of the Lord's Prayer will be regulated by their individual opinion; but there can be no question that on some very substantial grounds it would more fitly precede than follow Communion. "The daily bread," for which we pray in this, was intended no doubt to comprehend all the means by which life is sustained, but in its highest sense it bespoke that Spiritual Food by which the soul is fed. The early Fathers loved to interpret it of this.² S. Jerome helped largely to fix this meaning by translating the word commonly

The
Eucharistic
sense of
"the daily
bread."

¹ The Æthiopic Liturgy is the single exception, having it in the same place as our own.

² Tert. *de Orat. Dom.* S. Cyprian, *de Orat. Dom.* in loco. S. Aug. crebro.

rendered "daily," *supersubstantialis*, that is, the Bread which is more than material.¹ It puts the petition into the fullest accord with the rest—all of which are for spiritual gifts. It robs us, it is true, of the authority of the model prayer for asking God for material things, but this is assured to us by Divine sanction in other places and with unmistakable distinctness.² Interpreting therefore this petition as clearly Eucharistic, it is obviously more appropriate to pray for "our daily bread" before than after receiving it; and it is therefore a matter of regret that the foreign compilers of the second Prayer-book took upon themselves, in face of the unbroken usage of fifteen centuries, to alter the position of the Lord's Prayer.

One change was introduced into the Prayer at the last revision deserving the highest commendation. It had been made part of the post-communion service, the key-note of which is thanksgiving. Nothing could be more in harmony with this idea than to append to it the doxology, ascribing praise

The addition of the doxology.

¹ *ἐπιούσιος* has been interpreted in various ways. For a full treatise upon it, cf. Lightfoot, on the Revised Version: also Wratislaw, *The Churchman*, July 1888, in which it is interpreted as bread "for the on-coming day": S. Matthew's version, "this day our daily bread" being the proper formula for a morning prayer;—S. Luke's, "day by day our daily bread," to be used at any time, for the bread of the on-coming space of the day, reckoning from the moment when the Prayer is used.

² S. Matt. xxi. 22. S. Mark xi. 24.

to God, Whose is the kingdom and glory and power. This had originally been inserted in some Eastern Liturgies, though with far less propriety when it was used strictly in supplication, but it had never found a place in the Western Forms. It was happily inserted by the same revisers as well in the Prayer, where it followed immediately upon the declaration of forgiveness in the preparatory Office at the beginning of Matins and Evensong, and also in the Form of Thanksgiving after Child-birth, which was from beginning to end a service of praise; but it is a matter of surprise that, having recognised the fitness of its use, they should not have added it uniformly in the other Offices, where the idea of praise predominates, as for instance in the Marriage Service and in that for Confirmation.

The mode of
reciting the
Prayer.

Another change was made at the Reformation touching the mode of reciting the Lord's Prayer. In the Eastern Churches and in the Gallican it was invariably repeated by the whole congregation. In the Mozarabic Liturgy, used in Spain, the people's share in it was almost more emphatically marked by their responding *Amen* to the several petitions, save that they joined themselves in the last "deliver us from evil," and responded to the request "Give us this day our daily bread" by the declaration "Because Thou art God." It is clear that they understood by it the Eucharistic Food, and acknowledged

the mystery, by confessing the Godhead of Him Who gave it. The Roman Church departed from the universal custom, and left the recitation to the priest alone, with the exception of the final clause;¹ and in mediæval times he said it secretly or in a low voice as far as "lead us not into temptation," when he raised his voice as a signal for the laity to take their part. The joint-recitation by all "the faithful," priest and people, is a distinct gain, in harmony with primitive practice, and most fitted to enable all to express those feelings of thankfulness, with which the Act of Communion has filled their hearts.

One ancient practice entirely disappeared from the Anglican Liturgy at the revision—viz., the expansion of both of the two final petitions, "lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil," by the insertion of a prayer, commonly called Embolismus, varying in form and length, before the doxology. Early forms of it are found in the Liturgies of S. James: in the Jerusalem, "lead us not into temptation, O Lord, Lord of power, Who knowest our infirmity, but deliver us from the Evil One,² and his works, and all malice and wile of his, for the sake of Thy Holy Name, which is called upon our lowliness": in the Syriac, "lead

"lead us not
into tempta-
tion."

¹ *Greg. Ep. lxiv. ad Johann. Syrac. de Mirac. S. Mart. ii. 30.*

² This recognition of the Personality of the Tempter in the Liturgies testifies very strongly to the belief of the early Church.

us not into temptation, such as we being destitute of strength are not able to bear, but with the temptation also make a way of escape, that we may be able to bear it, and deliver us from evil."

In the later Liturgies the intercession of the Saints was largely recognised in this place, the names of local saints¹ being frequently united with those which were recognised throughout the Church.

Reasons for discontinuing the Embolismus.

The retention of this intercalary petition would have been inconsistent with the altered position of the Prayer; it was well suited to an office of supplication, but not to one of thanksgiving. It is in this latter spirit that we now say it,—dispelling thoughts of fear, such as the mention of the Evil One must ever inspire, and letting cheerfulness and joy take possession of our souls, because we are realising, in the highest degree that is possible to man, the Divine declaration concerning our Blessed Lord, that "as many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God"; and so with one heart and voice, in all the confidence of trustful children, we address Him as "Our Father."²

¹ Cf. Stowe Miss. in Warren's *Celtic Church*, p. 242, where S. Patrick is added to SS. Peter and Paul. For other examples, cf. Scud. *Not. Euch.* 658. *Microl.* c. 33.

² Wheatley, *Com. Pr.* 309.

XLIV.

The Prayer of Oblation.

“O Lord and heavenly Father, we Thy humble servants,” etc.

THE present position of this prayer has often been designated a grievous blot upon the Anglican Office. For many centuries Consecration was immediately followed by Oblation; as soon, that is, as the bread and wine became by the agency of the Holy Spirit the Body and Blood of Christ, they were presented to the Father. In the Sarum Use the Oblation was made in these words: “Wherefore also, O Lord, we Thy servants . . . offer to Thy excellent Majesty of Thy gifts and bounties, a pure, a holy, a spotless Sacrifice, the holy Bread of eternal life, and the Cup of everlasting salvation. Upon which do Thou vouchsafe to look with favourable and gracious countenance, and accept them as Thou didst accept the gifts of Thy righteous servant Abel, the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and the holy sacrifice, the pure oblation, which Thy high priest Melchisedek offered to Thee. We humbly entreat Thee, Almighty God, command these things to be carried by

Oblation and consecration closely united.

The Sarum form of Oblation.

the hands of Thy holy Angel to Thy Altar on high before the sight of Thy Divine Majesty," etc.

The first
Prayer-book.

In the first Reformed Office the commemorative character of the oblation was more distinctly expressed: "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," etc. All this was omitted in 1552,

Objection to
the disloca-
tion that
took place at
the second
revision.

and the effort made by Cosin to restore it at the final revision was unavailing; and not only was this unmistakably sacrificial language removed, but the position of what was left of the form of Oblation was separated from the act of Consecration by placing it after the Communion of the people, and an option allowed of substituting for it a thanksgiving Collect.¹ Now it is competent for us to look at the change in two different lights; on the one hand, we may regard it as liturgically defective, and join with those eminent divines who have denounced it in vehement terms. Overall,² the author of the second part of the Catechism, had such a strong feeling against the dislocation of this prayer, that he did not hesitate, when Bishop of Norwich, to restore it, at the Celebration in his own chapel, to its rightful

¹ The second post-communion Collect was composed for the first Prayer-book, to be said always.

² Cosin, *Works*, v. 114, 115.

position ; and Cosin,¹ after recording this practice of his master, justified his conduct, saying, " We ought first to send up Christ to God, and then He will send Him down to us."

On the other hand we may plead that the Oblation does not depend upon the use of any form of words, but that " the simple *action* of the Church in obedience to the command is the sufficient and perfect memorial of the Sacrifice on the Cross." As we noticed before, (ch. XXI.) " oblation is an act," not a form of prayer. Some support might be found for this in Primitive Liturgies ; but it cannot be denied that a verbal presentation generally marks the act.²

It will be better therefore to accept the existing form as a " prayer of oblation," and to use it as a verbal expression of the sacrificial act ; and the retention of one portion of the old prayer, " accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving," in connexion with the accompanying petition, " 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," supplies all that is needed for the purpose. It is possible, no doubt, to interpret the phrase as though " praise and thanksgiving "

¹ Cosin, *ibid.*

² Scud. *Not. Euch.*, 648, quotes some Egyptian Litt. where there is no verbal oblation, but there is in the Litt. of S. James, S. Chrysost., the Clementine, and others.

A verbal oblation not necessary.

The present prayer applicable for the purpose.

The Scriptural and Liturgical significance of " a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving."

were in themselves offered up as a sacrifice, and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews¹ has shown that such an interpretation is admissible, when he wrote, "therefore let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of our lips, giving thanks to His Name." If this were the only Scriptural authority for the term, the Church would feel limited to this view in the present prayer; but there is abundant evidence in the Old Testament of its usage for a material sacrifice accompanied by praise and thanksgiving,² and especially for the peace-offering, which was itself typical of the Eucharistic sacrifice. It was in this latter sense that it was adopted so generally into the Primitive Liturgies: in this sense that the first revisers used it when they wrote, "we do celebrate with these holy gifts this Memorial," following it up by the prayer "to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving." The phrase was, moreover, so understood alike by Roman Catholics and English reformers, for Watson,³ one of the Marian Bishops, said, "Thus doth the Church offer Christ her Head to God the Father, as a worthy sacrifice of praise and thanks"; and

¹ xiii. 15.

² Lev. vii. 12, 13; xxii. 29; Ps. cvii. 22; cxxi. 17; 2 Chron. xxix. 31; Jer. xxxiii. 11; Amos iv. 5.

³ Both this and the following are quoted by Scud., II. x. § iv. There is a full discussion of the meaning of the term in Johnson's *Works*, i. ch. ii. § 2 (Angl.-Nic. Lib.).

Ridley wrote, "as though our unbloody Sacrifice of the Church were any other than the Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, than a Commemoration, a showing-forth, and a Sacramental representation of that one only bloody Sacrifice offered up once for all." All this affords ample justification for the assertion that the Anglican Church, by retaining the prayer that God will "accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving," still possesses a verbal oblation of the Memorial Sacrifice of Christ's Death.

The Holy Eucharist is the earthly counterpart of "the Memorial" which Christ Himself is presenting to the Father in heaven.¹ As He is pleading by the wounds in His hands and His pierced side—the marks of the Sacrifice once for all offered in the Death of the Cross—He has willed that His priests should make a commemorative oblation of the self-same Sacrifice on Christian Altars; and they do this when they hold in their hands the Bread and Wine, consecrated and made by the operation of the Holy Ghost His Body and Blood, and pray by the merits of His Death, that His Church may obtain remission of sins and all other benefits of His Passion.

The Eucharist the Commemorative oblation of the One Sacrifice.

"Christ in heaven," says Jeremy Taylor,² "per-

¹ Cf. *Footprints of the Son of Man*, ii. 194-8.

² Cf. *Worthy Communicant*, ch. i. § 4; *Holy Living*, ch. iv. § 10.

petually offers and represents that Sacrifice to His Heavenly Father, and in virtue of that obtains all good things for His Church. Now what Christ does in heaven He hath commanded us to do on earth—that is to represent His Death, and commemorate His Sacrifice . . . to lay it before the eyes of our Heavenly Father. . . . The Church being the image of heaven; the priest the minister of Christ; the Holy Table being a copy of the celestial Altar; and the eternal sacrifice of the Lamb slain from the beginning of the world being always the same; it bleeds no more after the finishing of it on the Cross; but it is wonderfully represented in heaven, and graciously represented here; by Christ's action there, by His commandment here."

The faithful
dead prayed
for.

This pleading by the merits of the One Sacrifice is in this prayer accounted efficacious for "all the whole Church"; not only for that part of it which is militant here on earth, but for that which is waiting in Paradise. The words were deliberately left at the final settlement, in the full consciousness of the pregnant meaning which such a cumulative expression was certain to carry with it; for Cosin¹ himself said that its intention was "that those on earth and those that rest in the sleep of peace, being departed in the faith of Christ, may find the effect

¹ Cf. *Notes*, 1st series. *Works*, v. 351-2 (Ang.-Nic.). *After Death*, by the Author, 242.

and virtue of it," and in two other places he reverts to the application of the term to the faithful dead.

We have here and in a previous chapter considered the liturgical action of oblation under three aspects : The three-fold oblation in the Eucharist, to which is added the oblation of self. first, in the offerings of the people; secondly, in the oblation of the Elements for the Holy Eucharist upon the Altar; thirdly, the representation of the One Oblation of Christ before the Father.

There is yet a fourth, upon which, at least as far as the individual worshipper is concerned, the efficacy of the rest practically depends. We said before that the essential idea of the Jewish sacrifice was the surrender of something, absolutely and entirely, at the cost of the offerer. Now the price which God demands of every one, who would offer acceptably the Eucharistic sacrifice, is emphasised in this prayer. It is the echo of S. Paul's claim from his Roman converts; ¹ "I beseech you therefore by the mercies of God that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service." Its main features. It is a "living" sacrifice—no incense merely; no material gift of bread and wine; but our life—life, it may be, with its joys and pleasures, its vigour and activity, its heart and soul; all must be surrendered, if God demands them.

It is a "holy" sacrifice—the human body has

¹ Rom. xii. 1.

been sanctified for ever by the Incarnation, and the body of each individual has been made a dwelling-place of the Holy Ghost; but, like the great Temple at Jerusalem, it may be defiled through the base traffic in sin. If then we are conscious of any unhallowed affection, any inordinate desire, any corrupting presence, we must seize the scourge of cords, and with a righteous indignation and a determined resolve drive out everything that offends this sanctuary of the Holy Ghost.

It is an "acceptable" sacrifice—something better than the costliest offering of silver and gold; better than hecatombs of sheep and oxen: even the willing mind, and an ungrudging self-devotion. It was said in olden time that in the School of Socrates, a pupil was so captivated by what he had heard of the beauty of self-sacrifice, that at the close of the lecture he went up to the teacher and said: "I have nothing worthy of your acceptance, but I give you myself; do with me whatever you will." Socrates at once accepted the offering with the assurance that he should one day give it back better than when he received it. This simple story is but a parable of the Christian life. It is in the spirit then of that poor Æschines (for that was the pupil's name) that, recognising the true beauty of self-surrender, we kneel down and say, we are "unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto

Thee any sacrifice, yet we beseech Thee to accept this our bounden duty and service; not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences" through the Sacrifice of Him, Who alone can cleanse the unclean and make our offering acceptable in Thy sight.

XLV.

The Post-Communion Thanksgiving.

“Or this,

“Almighty and Everlasting God, we most heartily thank Thee, for that Thou dost vouchsafe to feed us, who have duly received these holy Mysteries,” etc.

Thanksgiving after reception an element in the early Services.

THIS form of Thanksgiving was composed for the first Prayer-book, and was intended to recall a lost feature from the primitive Liturgies.¹ Throughout the East in early times ample provision was made for the expression of gratitude after reception, and in the West, in Gaul and the Celtic Churches, in a less degree; but in the mediæval ages in the English Use it was altogether ignored, save as an act of private devotion for the Priest who celebrated. It was placed very much on a par with preparation for the Rite, in which the Priest and those who ministered at the Altar alone were thought of. The revised Service-book went far to redress the wrong; and while it introduced the Exhortations for all, to

¹ It in parts resembles that in the Litt. of Alexandria and Cæsarea. Cf. Lit. Basil., Palm. *Orig. Lit.* ii. 156.

prepare for a worthy participation, and provided a general Confession and Absolution, it was not unmindful of the obligation to be thankful for the blessings received.

The revision of 1552 marks a retrograde movement; for this form of Thanksgiving was made an alternative with the old Prayer of Oblation then for the first time separated from the act of Consecration. The liberty of choice between two things, which the Church in her purest and best estate had regarded as necessary elements of the Service, could not but involve harm and loss on one side or the other. To omit the Prayer of Oblation was to overshadow the sacrificial aspect of the Rite; while the omission of the Thanksgiving was the curtailment of a feature to which Our Lord had given especial prominence at the original Institution. Both were obligatory: "these things ought ye to have done, but not to leave the other undone."

An alternative use of it a distinct loss.

One argument may be urged to extenuate the action of the revisers; when they sanctioned the disuse of the form of Thanksgiving in the post-communion, they provided the worshipper with some compensation, by transferring to this later part the *Gloria in excelsis*.

As few Priests in the present age, when the doctrine of the Memorial Sacrifice has recovered its recognition, are likely to pass over the Prayer of

Oblation, it only remains for us to urge all communicants to use for themselves the Thanksgiving immediately after the close of the Office.¹ If our Blessed Lord, when He brake the loaves in the wilderness, taught the multitudes that they should "give thanks" for the meat that perisheth, how much more incumbent upon men is it to do so for the Bread of life and the Cup of immortality!

The special causes for thankfulness here selected.

In the present Form two causes for thankfulness are especially marked out: (i.) that we have been fed with the spiritual Food of the Body and Blood of Christ; (ii.) that we are assured thereby of our part in the Communion of the Saints.

We have seen in other parts of this Office what it is to be made "partakers of Christ" for the strengthening and refreshing of our undying souls; we turn then to the pledge which it gives us of our membership of His Mystical Body. The participation in the Blessed Sacrament is an assurance that we have not forfeited that which we received as our Baptismal birthright. It is first a fellowship with the Church on earth: it is a feast of union from which all malice and hatred are excluded; wherein mutual love is the spirit that dominates those that communicate; "for we, being many, are one bread, and one body; for we are all partakers of that one

¹ Other appropriate devotions for thanksgiving are part of the *Benedicite*, Psalm cl., the *Nunc Dimittis*, the Lord's Prayer, etc.

bread.”¹ It is still further a bond of union with the Church in Paradise; for we cannot dwell in Christ and be one with Christ without holding at the same time a close communion also with those who have been admitted to an even nearer fellowship with Him. We are all members of His Body, though some, it may be, more honourable than others:—the visible and the invisible one with Him:—

“ One family, in Christ we dwell,
One Church, above, beneath.”

The means by which these gifts of spiritual Food and Communion are imparted to the faithful are here designated “holy Mysteries.” It is no new title, but one which the Church of the Reformation inherited from antiquity; and despite every attempt of profane hands to tear away the veil from her Sacraments and “make all things common,” she deliberately retained and perpetuated it in her worship. In the Baptismal Office: “sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin.” God’s power to do this is first recognised, and then the exercise of the power is asked for. In this Office: “consider the dignity of that holy Mystery”: “so shall ye be meet partakers of those holy Mysteries”: “to feed us, who have duly received these holy Mysteries.” It was not for nothing that a repetition was made

The awe-inspiring title given to the Sacrament.

¹ 1 Cor. x. 17.

of this awe-inspiring designation. If there had been no regeneration in Baptism, and that rite had been regarded only as a badge of the Christian profession, why should the Reformers have spoken of it in a manner so calculated to mislead? Again, if, in their eyes, there were no invisible yet real Presence of Christ beneath the outward forms of Bread and Wine: if the language which speaks of Christ's Body in the Sacrament had been figurative or metaphorical, could anything possibly have justified them in drawing round the Ordinance a shroud of Mystery by the very title that they gave to it, not once only, but again and again? They knew that to treat it as a plain and simple thing would have been to sever their connexion with the teaching of the great Fathers of the Church. The doctrine of reserve which the early Christians had been so careful to maintain was an abiding witness to the awe in which the Sacraments were held. S. Clement¹ exclaimed, as he spoke thus of the words of Christ, about eating His Flesh and drinking His Blood, "O amazing Mystery! . . . receiving Him, if we can, to hide Him within!"

S. Cyril gave to the manual of instruction which he wrote for the newly-baptized the title, "The Catechism of the Mysteries." The ministers of the Sacrament were "stewards of the Mystery"; and

¹ *Pædag.*, lib. i. c. vi.

Inherited
from anti-
quity and
handed on
by the Re-
formers.

to draw near to the Altar was to "partake of the holy Mysteries."¹ Every one of the teachers of the fourth century, to whom we are wont to look as the authoritative exponents of Catholic doctrine, S. Athanase, S. Ambrose, S. Augustine, S. Chrysostom, and others besides them, dwell upon "the Mysteries." The title, too, was adopted into the Service-books of the early Church, and men spoke with awe of the Service as "the mystic" and "most dread" Liturgy.² We may well be thankful then that no change of designation was suffered to break the Church's continuity with the past, or to endeavour to make plain what Christ Himself had purposely wrapt in obscurity. If Christ did not intend the Sacraments to be regarded as Mysteries, beyond the reach of finite intelligence to grasp, but to be received in faith, then have His words, as has been forcibly said, "mised the saints and martyrs and confessors of the early Church: they have misled such men as Augustine, Chrysostom, Thomas à Kempis, Bernard, Anselm, Wesley, and Keble; whilst they have been taken in their right sense by Socinus and Zwinglius, by the Latitudinarians and the Rationalists. Is it credible that these should have been right and the Universal Church wrong?"³

¹ Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 39 Laod. Conc. *Can.* 7.

² ἡ μυστικὴ — ἡ φοβερὰ καὶ φρικωδὴς — ἡ φρικωδεστάτη λειτουργία.

³ Sadler, *Mysteries of God.*

The mystery of the Sacrament analogous to that of the Incarnation.

In the Sacrament of the Altar we are confronted by mystery, just as we are in contemplating the Incarnation. The mystery of God incarnate in human Flesh admits of no explanation: the union of two Natures without confusion in One Person, so close that it is theologically lawful¹ to say that God suffered, or that the Son of Man came down from heaven, is far beyond the grasp of finite intelligence. Even so is the mystery of the two parts of the Blessed Sacrament—the visible and the invisible, the material and the spiritual—both retain their distinctive properties, yet, through the operation of the Holy Ghost, they are made so truly one, that we may speak of that which we receive either as Bread and Wine, or as the Body and Blood of Christ.

Let us draw near then with faith, in awe of the mystery, taking the shoes from off our feet, and with the prayer upon our lips, "Lord, I believe, help thou mine unbelief," and thus, it may be, we shall have the promise fulfilled in ourselves: "All things are possible to him that believeth."

¹ Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.*, v. liii. 3, 4.

XLVI.

The Gloria in excelsis.

“Glory to God in the highest,” etc.

A CLOUD of uncertainty hangs over the origin and primitive form of this Hymn of praise. There can be hardly a doubt, however, that it is Eastern. It has been either read or sung¹ daily in the Greek Church from the fourth century to the present time; but it is disappointing to find that it has never found a place in any Oriental Liturgy, ancient or modern. Its Eucharistic use is confined to the West, and even here its earliest adoption was into the daily Matins.² In Gaul it was sung in this Office “every Lord’s Day” by the Rule of Cæsarius; in Spain on Sundays and Festivals; at Milan, in the Ambrosian Breviary, every day. In Ireland it was sung also at night.³

The earliest use of the Hymn not Eucharistic.

¹ It is sung on Sundays and Festivals; read on other days. Smith, *Greek Ch.*, 223. Bingham says erroneously, “it was always used in the Communion service.”—xiii. x. 9.

² Cf. *Ch. Quart. Rev.*, xli. 8.

³ Ad vesperum et ad matutinam. Cf. Bang. Antiph. Warren, *Celt. Ch.*, 193, 196. The Irish scribe attributes the addition to S. Luke ii. 14 to S. Ambrose.

There was an old tradition that it was first ordered to be sung in the Celebration in the Roman Church by Telesphorus in the second century;¹ but there can be little question now that what he enjoined was the use of the single verse, containing the Angels' ascription of praise taken from S. Luke's Gospel, without any of the verses which follow in the Hymn. At least it is a very fair conclusion, for it is known to have existed in several Liturgies, such as the Clementine and the Syriac Liturgies of S. James and others.²

Rome first
adopted it in
the Liturgy.

Though we are compelled to abandon the old belief, Rome still retains the honour of being the first to adapt the Hymn itself for liturgical use. Whether this was done at the beginning of the sixth century by Pope Symmachus,³ or at the end of it by Gregory, it is not easy to decide; all that is known for certain is that it found no place in the Leonine or Gelasian Sacramentaries, while in the Gregorian there is a rubric ordering that it should be sung "on Sundays and Feast-days, if a Bishop were present; but that a presbyter should say it only at Easter." In all probability England received it from Rome, either through S. Augustine or after the Council of Cloveshoo; for it soon came into

747 A D

¹ On the authority of the *Lib. Pontificalis*, not earlier than the 6th century. Cf. *Ch. Quart.*, *ibid.*

² Nest. Lit. of SS. Adæus and Maris.

³ Walafrid Strabo, *de rebus Ecc.*, c. 22. Warren, *Celt. Ch.*, 250.

general use in this country. Further, it was not long before it formed an important element of Eucharistic worship, for it was made a means of marking the particular seasons and Festivals, through the interpolations or "farsings" which were largely introduced into it.¹ Many examples of these are to be found; in the Sarum, Bangor, and Hereford Uses those for Feasts of the Blessed Virgin are emphatically marked.

Apart from the variations so introduced, there were different versions of the Hymn. That which seems to claim priority is found in "the Constitutions of the Apostles,"² a document, in parts at least, of very uncertain date. In this it bears the title of "a Morning Prayer." It is addressed, save in the final clause, to God the Father, and is as follows: "Glory to God in the highest, and upon earth peace, goodwill among men. We praise Thee, we sing hymns to Thee, we bless Thee, we glorify Thee, we worship Thee by Thy great High Priest; Thee Who art the One unbegotten, the only unapproachable Being. For Thy great glory, O Lord and heavenly King, O God, the Father Almighty, O Lord God, the Father of Christ, the immaculate Lamb, Who

The versions
of it vary.

¹ These are found in the *Troparia*, or Tropers, so called from *τροπαί*, "turns" or "changes," or from *τρόπος* in the rhetorical sense. Cf. Rock. vol. iv. 22 n.

² vii. 47. The close of this book could not well have been composed before the end of the fourth century.

taketh away the sin of the world, receive our prayer, Thou that sittest upon the cherubim. For Thou only art holy, Thou only art the Lord Jesus, the Christ of the God of all created nature, and our King, by Whom glory, honour, and worship be to Thee."

The form
in the
Alexandrian
Manuscript.

There is another and fuller version, found in the Alexandrian MS. of the Scriptures, now in the British Museum. It occurs with the thirteen canticles of the Greek Church at the end of the Psalms, under the title of "a Morning Hymn." The main points on which it differs from the other version are in its being addressed to the Three Persons in the Godhead, and in its containing a triple¹ repetition of the clauses "that taketh away the sins of the world" and "have mercy upon us." The address was, "God, Almighty Father, Lord, only begotten Son, Jesus Christ, and Holy Spirit." The only modern Liturgy in which this is reproduced is the Office now recognised by the Scotch Church. It had no place in that which was issued under the direction of Laud in 1637, as it has none in our Liturgy of 1662. It was introduced at the revision of the Scotch Office made by the Primus of Scotland, Bishop Forbes, in 1764, to bring it "to as exact conformity with the ancient standards of

¹ It has been said that the third clause is written in a later hand, but this is disputed.

Eucharistic service as it would bear.”¹ The eminent Liturgiologist, Neale,² was betrayed into the approval of a most dangerous principle in speaking of this alteration in the *Gloria in excelsis*; after saying that perhaps it was indefensible, he goes on, and “yet I confess that in that century of Arianism (the eighteenth), when the enemy came in like a flood, there is something noble in the courage with which an obscure and persecuted Church interpolated the Catholic Faith of the Blessed Trinity into a hymn which, in the altered sentence, had not previously borne witness to the doctrine of Nicæa and Constantinople.” Any hymn or human composition, that lays no claim to be inspired, may be altered by the Church; but nothing could justify such an alteration as this, without the support of some authoritative standard, when the avowed object of revision was the recovery of primitive forms. But Neale’s panegyric was as undeserved as it was unwise. The Scotch Bishops had evidence before them, of which their liturgical predecessors were ignorant. The Alexandrian MS. had, it is true, been brought to England and presented to Charles I. some years previously to the compilation of the Laudian Office of 1637; but it was some time before it was collated or its details were at all accurately

The address to the Holy Spirit inserted in the Scotch Form authoritative.

¹ Cf. Dowden’s *Annot. Scott. Office*, pp. 97-99, 224-231.

² *An Earnest Plea for the Retention of the Scotch Lit.*, p. 17.

known. After the lapse of nearly a century and a half, scholars had become familiar with its contents; and it was quite natural that the ancient reading of such an interesting portion as a hymn that was used in Public Worship should have transpired; it was equally natural, too, that when the opportunity offered, it should have been eagerly adopted. It is much to be hoped that whenever the English Liturgy is revised, a similar course will be followed; for such a distinct recognition of the Blessed Trinity in the highest act of praise is full of significance. The whole Three Persons have taken part in the Sacrifice: the Father has accepted it: the Son has presented it: the Holy Ghost has made it what it is. How natural for the worshipper to give vent to his gratitude in an outburst of praise to All alike! It is true that even in the unrevised form All are confessed in the concluding ascription: "Thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost, are most high in the glory of God the Father"; but it detracts inevitably from the acknowledgment of our dependence on the agency of the Holy Spirit, not to place Him on an equality with the Father and the Son also in the opening address.

The great doctrinal value of this addition to the ordinary Form.

The position of the Hymn changed in 1552, and not without reason.

The revisers of 1552 transferred this Hymn from the beginning to the close of the Office, and they have been severely rebuked for the change. We could well wish that they had done nothing worse

or more unliturgical; for though it would have been better to leave it in its old place, the alteration admits of vindication. If the Hymn had been largely used in the ancient Liturgies, and had maintained therein anything like an uniform position, we might have indorsed the condemnation; but what are the facts? It had no place in the Eastern Liturgies; and it was not general in the West. It was absent from the original Gallican, and when adopted for partial use in the seventh century, it was sung as a thanksgiving after Communion. In the Roman Liturgy and in Churches that drew their forms of worship from Rome, it occupied a position at the beginning; but in placing a hymn of praise at the end the revisers carried us back to the very fountain-head of liturgical worship. Some will regard it as no light thing to have recovered a single feature of the original Celebration, for it may well be regarded as the echo of the Hymn which our Lord and His Apostles sang before they separated on the night of the Institution.

That the outburst of praise, with which the Hymn begins, is followed immediately by confession of sin and prayer, is a marked characteristic of Christian worship. No sooner has the penitent heard the words of Absolution in Matins and Evensong, than he is awed into a sense of humility by its merging into prayer. No sooner again has

The mingling of praise and penitential prayer.

he risen into the very heavens in concert "with angels and archangels," than he sinks back into the cry of self-abasement: "We are not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under Thy Table." And it is the same here: the threefold cry for mercy to Him, Who taketh away the sins of the world, breaks forth in the very midst of the ascription of glory; but there is just one distinction: in the Hymn the last thought is not of man's weakness but of God's greatness, and so the highest act of earthly worship ends in praise: "For Thou only art holy, Thou only art the Lord, Thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father."

XLVII.

The Blessing.

" Then the Priest (or Bishop, if he be present), shall let them depart with this Blessing, The Peace of God," etc.

" Collects ¹ to be said after the offertory," etc.

THE act of benediction is of a twofold character : on the one side it is little more than an intercession to obtain a blessing ; on the other it conveys what the spoken words imply ; but in either case it is restricted to those who are placed in a position of authority, natural or official. It may be exercised by the head of an ordinary household, or by a Priest in the House and Family of God. In the Services of the Church it has always been appropriated to the ordained ministry, and in the greatest Service of all for a long period during which the Episcopate was far larger than it is now, it was regarded at least in the West as the special prerogative of the highest

To whom belongs the authority to bless.

¹ Of these six Collects, three were ancient, three composed for the 1st P.B. " Assist us," etc., is in the Sac. Gelas. : " O Almighty Lord," etc., and " Prevent us," etc., in the Sac. Greg. The beauty of the original of this last is very striking : " Actiones nostras, quæsumus Domine, et aspirando præveni et adjuvando proseguere : ut cuncta nostra operatio et a te semper incipiat, et per te cœpta finiatur. Per, etc.

order in the ministry.¹ The rule in the Anglican branch of the Church is laid down in the rubric before us, which directs that the Blessing be given by "the Priest (or Bishop, if he be present)."

In the fourth century we find this principle of recognising superiority of Orders in the office of blessing clearly laid down:² "A bishop blesses, but does not receive the blessing. He receives the blessing from bishops, but by no means from presbyters. A presbyter blesses, . . . he receives the blessing from the bishop or a fellow-presbyter. A deacon does not bless." This was in accordance with the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews,³ "without all contradiction, the less is blessed of the better."

The form of blessing known as "the Prayer of Inclination."

In the ancient Liturgies the most important Blessing invariably preceded the act of Communion, following the *Embolismus* immediately after the Lord's Prayer, which was united with the Form of Consecration. This was commonly called "the Prayer of Inclination." In the Western Churches it was always pronounced by a Bishop, and much stress was laid upon the bowing down to receive it, as an acknowledgment of the superior dignity of the Episcopal office. Thus we are told⁴ that Valentinian

¹ In the East it was not so, but generally in the West, except in Spain. Cf. Co. of Agde, 506 A.D. ; Martene, lib. i. c. iv.

² *Apost. Constit.* viii. 28.

³ vii. 7.

⁴ ὅπως καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰλικρινῶς αὐτῷ τὰς ἡμέρας ὑποκλινόμεν κεφαλὰς, Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iv. c. 6.

gave orders to the Bishops, who were assembled to fill up the vacant see of Milan, that they should be careful to place upon the Bishop's throne one of such eminence for life and doctrine, that the Emperors themselves might not be ashamed to bow down their heads before him.

In lapse of time the privilege was extended to a Priest by delegation, not of right, and in some Churches by order of council.¹ In wellnigh all the Liturgies the blessing was preceded by a monition from the deacon: "Bow down for the benediction," "Bow your heads to the Lord"; and the custom was preserved in England down to the Reformation whenever a Bishop celebrated, the rubric in the Sarum Missal giving this direction, "Let the Deacon, turning to the people and holding the Bishop's staff in his right hand, with the crook turned towards himself, say, Bow down yourselves for a blessing."

The form of this Episcopal benediction varied with the season, except in the final clause, which in the old Roman Liturgy² most nearly resembled the final blessing of our present Office—viz., "The Blessing of God the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and the Peace of the Lord, be always with you." If the Bishop was not present, the

¹ Co. of Toledo, 633 A.D., Can. xviii.

² This is quoted from the ancient Rom. Lit. of Greg. the Gt., but doubts have been expressed whether these Episcopal Benedictions were ever used in the Rom. Ch.; cf. Burbidge, *Liturgies*, p. 78 n.

Priest said the latter portion only: "The Peace of the Lord be always with you."

An indication of the importance attached to this element of the Office may be seen in the injunctions that all persons, whether communicating or not, should remain up to this point.¹

The absence
of a final
Blessing in
the Roman
Mass.

A benediction at the dismissal of the congregation, at the close of the Office, was unknown in the Roman Church till the fourteenth century.² At the Reformation the revisers of our Liturgy introduced the first clause of the present form in the Order of Communion, and the second in the first Prayer-book the following year. Furthermore, they discontinued that which had been regarded as the Bishop's distinctive blessing before Communion, and thus, as was done in the East, placed the priesthood on a level with the episcopate in the authority to bless, only reserving to the latter the natural order of precedence, whenever a Bishop happened to be present.

Blessing was a priestly function inherited from the institution of the order among the Jews: "Speak unto Aaron and unto his sons, saying, On

¹ Co. of Agde, and 1st and 3rd Co. of Orleans, 511 A.D. and 538 A.D., ordered this. Cæsarius preached a sermon to enforce it. Sermon. 281.

² In the Sar. Miss. there was a mutual blessing by priest and people, common to other parts as well: "The Lord be with you; and with thy spirit." A distinction was made between *Pax vobiscum* and *Dominus vobiscum*: the former, as being more authoritative, was confined to the Bishop.

this wise ye shall bless the children of Israel";¹ The right to bless inherent in the priesthood of the Jews. and though a right of priority was reserved to the High Priest, the people at the morning and evening Sacrifice ordinarily received the blessing from the priest who celebrated. When "the people waited for Zacharias, and marvelled that he tarried so long in the Temple," it was because they might not depart without his blessing. In accordance with ancient Jewish usage the Priest stands and lifts up his hands in blessing.²

A variety of forms have been used in the Christian Church, no two Services concluding with precisely the same. Where freedom of choice is allowed, as on occasions not provided for in the Prayer-book, it seems convenient to adopt one from other Offices than the Liturgy. That in the latter is so peculiarly consonant to the spirit of the Office to which it has been affixed, that it seems most undesirable to use it elsewhere. It was after the Institution of the Holy Eucharist that Christ gave peace to the Apostles as His parting bequest: "Peace I leave with you, My peace I give unto you." It was no worldly peace of which He spoke, for "without were fightings"; the result of His Mission would be "to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against

The various forms of blessing in the English Church.

The fitness of appropriating "The Peace" to the Holy Eucharist.

¹ Numb. vi. 23; Lev. ix. 22.

² *Ibid.* S. Luke xxiv. 50. In the East the first, second, and fourth fingers are outstretched; in the West, the first, second and the thumb, the three together symbolising the Trinity.

her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law; and a man's foes shall be they of his own household"; and so He turned away their thoughts from that which the world could offer to that which was peculiarly His own—"My peace": it is even more in the original, "the peace that is Mine," of which I alone am the source. It is analogous to the expression that He used very shortly after: "ye shall abide in My love"; or, more strictly, "the love that is Mine," which answers to My nature.¹

Even so the Peace which the Priest is empowered by the Church to offer here in Christ's Name is that which comes from union with Him Who is the source thereof; and inasmuch as the Blessed Sacrament is before all else the means whereby "we dwell in Him, and He in us," nothing could be more fitting than to restrict the Blessing of Peace to the Eucharistic Office.

Yet again, if S. Paul² has assured us that "the peace of God, which passeth all understanding," shall be the possession of those who "by prayer and supplication, with thanksgiving," let their "requests be made known unto God," the echo of the Apostolic promise comes home with peculiar force, at the time when we have been joining in the highest act of prayer and thanksgiving that is possible to man.

¹ Cf. Westcott on S. John xiv. 27; xv. 10.

² Philipp. iv. 6, 7.

XLVIII.

Leavened or Unleavened Bread and Reservation.

“And to take away all occasion of dissention and superstition, it shall suffice that the Bread be such as is usual to be eaten; but the best and purest Wheat Bread that conveniently may be gotten.”

“And if any of the Bread and Wine remain unconsecrated, the Curate shall have it to his own use; but if any remain of that which was consecrated, it shall not be carried out of the Church, but the Priest and such other of the Communicants as he shall then call unto him, shall, immediately after the Blessing, reverently eat and drink the same.”

“The Bread and Wine for the Communion shall be provided . . . at the charges of the Parish.”

It has long been a subject of dispute between the East and the West whether the sacramental bread should be leavened or unleavened. The Eastern Church has always ¹ used leavened bread; and in all probability ² the Western did the same for the first ten centuries. We have already mentioned ³ that it was customary in the early Church to select the

The ancient use of leavened bread in the Eucharist.

¹ There seems to be an exception, at least if the account given of our Lord's institution in the Lit. of S. Epiphanius (Ethiopic) was followed: “He took unleavened wheaten bread.” Cf. Neale and Littledale's Litt. p. 213; on the other hand, cf. S. Maruthas (Syr. Jac.), p. 232.

² Pellicia says that Mabillon had clearly proved that “from earliest times the Latins everywhere used unleavened bread,” but Sirmond is decidedly against this view, and it is generally thought that Bona satisfactorily overthrew Mabillon's arguments. Alcuin's evidence, c. 780 A.D., is very ambiguous, cf. Scud. *Not. Euch.* 870. *Polity of the Chr. Ch.* 272.

³ Cf. *supra*, p. 158.

elements for consecration from the offerings of the people. Every one intending to communicate brought to the Church a loaf and a flagon of wine, and there is no indication that the bread which they thus offered had been specially prepared. In the life of S. Gregory the Great¹ there is a story which bears distinct witness to its being such as was in ordinary use. A certain matron named Candida, who had made her usual offerings, when S. Gregory was about to deliver to her the consecrated Bread with the words, "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ," was seen by him to smile; he thereupon withheld the Sacrament and passed her by, but at the close of the Service questioned her upon the cause of her irreverent behaviour. She told him after much hesitation that it was because he said that bread, which she knew that she had made with her own hands, was the Lord's Body. It almost necessitates the belief that there had been nothing unusual in the mode of preparation; had there been, she would have felt no surprise.

The innovation of unleavened bread in the West.

1051 A. D.

The first indisputable notice² of unleavened bread being used occurs in the middle of the eleventh

¹ The above is translated roughly from the Latin given by Bingham, xv. ii. § 5 n., from the life by John the Deacon, l. ii. c. xli.

² Though it is now first noticed, it is thought to have been introduced in the 9th century, probably when the Church took upon itself the preparation of the bread.

century, when a fierce quarrel broke out between the Churches of the East and West, and the departure from primitive custom was employed as a weapon of attack by the Patriarch of Constantinople. Much bitterness was infused into the dispute, and the Greeks contemptuously nicknamed the Romans Azymites, that is, "unleavened-ers." We may gather that the cause of contention was held to be very serious indeed from the fact that a number of Greek monks actually laid down their lives rather than admit the validity of a Eucharist celebrated with unleavened bread, and they have been commemorated by their Church as martyrs in consequence.¹ 1225 A. D.

Thomas Aquinas and the schoolmen vigorously defended the new practice; but the Roman Church, though forbidding leaven, has not gone so far as to question the validity of the Sacrament, if it is used.² She appeals to the original Institution, maintaining that our Blessed Lord celebrated with Passover cakes, which were of necessity unleavened; but there is such a cloud of uncertainty hanging round all the circumstances of the Last Supper, that it is impossible to speak with confidence.³ The ceremony

The uncertainty of what was used at the original institution.

¹ When Cyprus was conquered by Honorius III.

² Coun. of Trent, P. ii. *de Euchar. Sac.*, c. xv: "It can be celebrated even in leavened bread."

³ The nature of the Last Supper and its connexion with the Passover has been fully considered in the author's *Footprints*, etc., ii. 183-7. It is, however, there erroneously stated that unleavened bread must have been used.

of "the search for leaven" took place on the 13th of Nisan, that would be, we hold, on this occasion, on Thursday evening after dark;¹ but if the Sacrament was instituted on that night, that is, on the beginning² of the 14th, it would not have been illegal to use leavened bread, for after "the search" enough was allowed to be preserved for eating at breakfast or luncheon the next morning. This at the latest was eleven o'clock.³ The law was that all leaven must be burnt before mid-day on the 14th. "Thou shalt not kill the Passover, while yet leaven is in existence."⁴ After this no kind of bread whatever might be eaten till evening, when unleavened cakes were introduced, and became one of the chief features of the Feast. Now there is a strong probability that they had leavened bread at the Last Supper, and that they had to wait for the Passover bread till the time when it was absolutely commanded. The grace that they said over this latter was, "the blessing of Him Who hath kept us alive,"⁵ and this is usually appropriated to occasions when something new is being done; if they had eaten unleavened bread already on the day it would

¹ Mishnah *Pesachim* i. 1. 4. Maimonides *Hilekhoth Chametz U-mattzah*, ii. 1. 3.

² Confusion often arises from forgetting that the Jewish day began in the evening.

³ Modern Jews do not eat after 10 A.M.

⁴ Mekhilto, *Massekhto de-Khaspo*, Par. 20. Exod. xxiii. 18, xxxiv. 25.

⁵ *Shehecheyanu* was the exact form used.

be inappropriate. It may be thought, however, that Our Lord would wish to conform, as far as possible, to the ordinary Paschal Feast, and would use Passover cakes, which were at least procurable; but if so, it is inconceivable that the whole Church should, from the very first, and for wellnigh a thousand years, have deliberately disregarded His example in regard to one of the elements of the Feast He then instituted, when she scrupulously observed it in the other. He might possibly have used unleavened bread, just as He might have used unmingled wine: there would be nothing illegal in either case. The universal tradition of the Church points to the conclusion that He did neither the one nor the other.

What, then, may be urged in vindication of the Roman Church, and of our own, for this, too, at one period distinctly ordered, and at the present time appears to sanction, the use of unleavened bread? In the first Prayer-book it was directed that the bread "be made, through all this realm, after one sort and fashion: that is to say, unleavened and round, as it was afore, but without all manner of print." In the second a change was made, and for the express direction for unleavened bread, the words were substituted, "*it shall suffice* that the bread be such as is usual to be eaten." This has been interpreted by the Privy Council¹ as forbidding any

The English Church at the first revision followed the Roman.

¹ Hibbert v. Purchas.

other kind ; but it is extremely difficult, at least for a non-legal mind, to recognise such an interpretation as consistent with the common usage of language, especially when precisely the same expression is used in the very next Office in the natural sense of the words. In the Baptism of Infants it is said, if the sponsors "certify that the child is weak, *it shall suffice* to pour water upon it"; but that this does not prohibit immersion under other conditions is manifest from the preceding rubric, which expressly orders it.

The Shew-bread without leaven.

Setting aside the original Institution as involved in obscurity, a motive for the use of unleavened bread is found in the fact that the Shewbread was "without leaven." As the Bread of the Face, that is, of the Presence of God,¹ it was an express type of that "Bread which came down from heaven," of which we are made partakers in the Holy Eucharist.

The origin of wafer-bread.

The habit of using wafer-bread probably dates from the twelfth century. It seems always to have been round in shape, and at this time it is often mentioned that it was moulded in the shape of a penny;² the most likely explanation of which is, that when the laity ceased to bring their oblation of bread or flour, they made an offering of a piece of money instead. Certain letters, such as Alpha and Omega,

¹ Joseph. *Ant.* iii. x. 7. Bähr, *Symbolik*, i. 6, § 2.

² Statutum est eum in modum denarii formari et ut populus pro oblatione farinae denarios offerent.—*Gem. Animæ*, i. 66.

the initial letters of Christ's name, crosses, and at last crucifixes,¹ were stamped upon the wafers, and these were forbidden in the first revised Office, for fear of superstition, by the words "without all manner of print." The present legitimacy² of wafers stands or falls with that of unleavened bread.

The next rubric enjoins that "if any remain of that which was consecrated, it shall not be carried out of the Church," but that the Priest and other communicants "shall, immediately after the Blessing, reverently eat and drink the same." It must be read in connexion with the rubric after the people have communicated: "the minister shall return to the Lord's Table, and reverently place upon it what remaineth of the consecrated elements, covering the same with a fair linen cloth." Both were introduced at the final revision, and witness to the desire to recognise more clearly the doctrine of the Reality of Christ's Presence.

Provisions at the last revision against contempt of the Sacrament.

An evil practice had grown up, for the Priest to prepare and consecrate far more than was needed,

¹ *Gen. Animæ*, i. 35.

² No authoritative decision has been given by the Church since Qn. Elizab. Injunc., which ordered wafers. At the close of her reign, however, a diversity arose owing to the objections of the Puritans; and Hooker pronounced it to be indifferent "what kind of bread was used," *Eccl. Pol.* iv. x. 2. The Lower House of Convoc. of Canterbury in 1866 decided that the use of wafers was discouraged by the Church.

1627 A. D.

and then to consume what was left in a careless and irreverent manner. Cosin in his Visitation Articles¹ asks: "doth the Curate carefully see . . . that the quantity thereof may be answerable to the number of his communicants, and that he prepareth or blesseth not twice as much as shall suffice, either to have it home to his house, or to tarry behind in the church, there with other people, in profane and common manner to eat and to drink at the Lord's Table and in the house of God?" There can be little doubt, therefore, that the primary object of the first rubric was to guard against the prevailing contempt of the Sacrament, but we dare not assert that it was the only object. At the time of the Reformation it was usual to reserve the Sacrament for several purposes, mainly for the public adoration, called the *Expositio*, for benediction,² for communion on Good Friday and other Fast-days, and for communicating the sick. Now at the first revision nothing was said in this Office about reservation of any kind, but we can have little doubt that the revisers intended to prohibit the practice in some, probably in all, cases. They could have no sympathy with the first two objects, for absolutely no ancient precedent could be pleaded in their behalf, the

Objects for which the Sacrament was wont to be reserved.

¹ *Correspondence*, vol. i. 118. *Works*, v. 519.

² It is not certain that these two latter usages were then known in England.

former having originated in the thirteenth, the latter only in the sixteenth century.

It was different with the last two, for the Eastern Church¹ almost from the beginning, and the Western for many centuries, had refused to consecrate the Eucharist on Good Friday. Two grounds have been alleged for the prohibition, one, that, while Communion may be allowed, Consecration is too festal a thing for such a day of sorrow and humiliation; another and more reasonable one, that "Christ was sacrificed on that day, and when the truth comes, the figure ought to cease and give it place." Inasmuch, however, as there seems to be no call at the present time for the restoration of Communion on Good Friday, we may pass to the consideration of reservation for the sick; and here we are able to plead not only universal recognition from the earliest times, but also a widely felt desire for liberty to use it on grounds of pressing need and practical utility.

The Eucharist not consecrated on Good Friday.

It was sanctioned in the Office for the Communion of the Sick in 1549, but the sanction would appear to have been withdrawn in 1552,² because the rubric was suppressed; and at the same time other provision was carefully made for communicating the sick.

Reservation for the sick deliberately abandoned at the Reformation.

¹ They only consecrated in Lent on Saturday and Sunday, and on the Feast of the Annunciation.

² Mr. Kempe argues that the rubric was simply dropped to

Furthermore, the practice of the Church in discontinuing it after the change implied prohibition. The twenty-eighth Article has been often referred to as though it settled the illegality, saying that "the Sacrament was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped." It was ordained, it is true, that it might be received, but it is by no means denied here that it may be reserved for a purpose in the fullest accord with that object. The language does not touch the case in point. Had, however, the final revisers intended to secure this exceptional use, it is difficult to see why it was not positively provided for.

Reasons
why such a
course is to
be regretted.

While, however, we are constrained to construe the absence of such provision as prohibitory of the practice, its abandonment is much to be regretted, and mainly on these two grounds: first, it places the English Church in a disadvantageous position, and deprives her of a long and time-honoured privilege. It is a distinct breach in the continuity of Catholic practice. Secondly, it creates a risk of

conciliate the foreign Reformers, and argues from the analogy of the omission of the rubrical directions for the manual acts in consecration, which, he says, were nevertheless undoubtedly continued, *Reservation of the B. Sacr.*, p. 13. It is by no means certain, however, that they were continued in all cases, *e.g.*, the fraction of the bread, but if so, there is this great difference: the rubrics enjoining these were reinserted in the final revision, but the rubric for reservation was not.

the sick being deprived of the Sacrament when it is most needed.

Cases are far from infrequent, where in times of grievous sickness and epidemic diseases, especially in large and populous places, the Church, if reservation is forbidden, is wellnigh powerless to supply the wants of the sick, and is obliged, simply from the exigency of the imposed restriction, to leave them to die without that which might have ministered to their great and endless comfort. "Whoso eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood hath eternal life": that is the sure promise of the Saviour. The Church, in the full conviction that "God is not bound by Sacraments," has mercifully taught that in such dire extremities a man may spiritually eat and drink the Body and Blood of Christ profitably to his soul's health, even without actual participation of the Sacrament; but it is her bounden duty to leave no stone unturned to enable every one to ensure the blessings of the promise by a literal obedience to the Divine command.

XLIX.

Frequency of Communion.

"Upon the Sunday and other Holy-Days (if there be no Communion) shall be said all that is appointed,"¹ etc.

"And there shall be no Celebration . . . except there be a convenient number,"² etc.

"And if there be not above twenty persons in the Parish of discretion . . . except four (or three at the least), communicate with the Priest."

"And in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, and Colleges, where there are many Priests and Deacons, they shall all receive the Communion with the Priest every Sunday at the least, except they have a reasonable cause to the contrary."

"And note, that every Parishioner shall communicate at the least three times in the year, of which Easter to be one. And yearly at Easter every Parishioner shall reckon with the Parson,"³ etc.

It is far from clear how frequently the early Christians were wont to communicate. In all pro-

¹ There is early authority for a partial use of the Liturgy. "At Alexandria on Thursday and Friday all the solemnity for the Communion is accomplished, yet the Communion is not received" cf. Socrat. *Ecc. Hist.*, v. 21). In the mediæval Ch. the *Missa Sicca*, or Dry Mass, without the Canon, became very common. In 1 P.B. Edw. VI. it was ordered that when there was no Communion the Priest should "say all things at the Altar until after the Offertory." In 2 P.B. the place for saying was omitted, and the Puritans began to read this "Second Service" from the reading-desk. No alteration in this respect was made in 1662, and the Puritan custom, notwithstanding the discouragement of the Bishops, lingered on almost to the present generation. It is to be noted that this service must include the Prayer for the Church.

² The restriction on consecration to the presence of communi-

³ Cf. *supra*, p. 160.

bability S. Augustine's¹ observation, that there was a divided practice, was applicable to preceding ages as well as to his own: "some communicate in the Lord's Body and Blood every day, others receive on stated days." It is quite true that the earliest notice leaves no doubt that the disciples, in the fervour of their first love and devotion, celebrated daily in the upper chamber at Jerusalem;² but it is somewhat remarkable that the assembling together "to break bread" very shortly comes to be a distinguishing mark of the Lord's Day.³ At the beginning of the second century the Bithynian Christians, on the testimony of the Roman governor,⁴ confined their Communion to a particular day in the week; and a generation later the day appropriated to the Celebration, on the evidence of the

Diversity of practice as to the frequency of Communion in early times.

cants was in the 1 P.B. vaguely, "except there be some." In 2 P.B. two rubrics were introduced—one "except there be a good number"; the other as at present, "except four, or three at the least." The object of the revisers was to check Private and Solitary Masses, and to encourage communion among the laity (cf. Sparrow, *Rationale*, p. 154; Beveridge, *Necess. of Com.*, pp. 44, 92). There is great difficulty in obeying these rubrics at the present day, from the absence of discipline. So long as there is no enforcement of the rubric, which orders intending communicants "to signify their names to the Curate" beforehand, it is quite impossible to be sure till after the Consecration that the requisite number are prepared to communicate. If the laity resent this as a restriction on their liberty, they cannot complain if the other rubric is disregarded.

¹ *Ep. ad Januar.*, c. ii. 2.

² Acts ii. 42, 46. Cf. *supra*, pp. 26, 27.

³ Acts xx. 7. Somewhat later Sunday was called *Dies Panis*.

⁴ Pliny, *Ep.* x. 97

Apologist, was "that day called Sunday."¹ Other days² were added: Wednesday and Friday in the West, Saturday in the East.

It was not long, however, before the Fathers³ interpreted the petition in the Lord's Prayer for "daily bread" as applicable to Christ, the Bread of Life; and this led to a general revival of the practice of the first disciples at Jerusalem. With this increase of Celebrations, strange to say, there came a falling away in the frequency of Communion. The fourth century witnessed what have been called "vast polar and equatorial extremes" in the Eucharistic life of the Church, some communicating every day, some restricting their reception to once a year. This age was marked by much controversy touching the value of frequent reception, as well as the possible risk of detracting from the honour of the Sacrament by a familiar use thereof. The first question was left for the most part to be settled as a case of conscience by the communicant himself on the result of his experience. S. Jerome,⁴ when consulted for the resolution of a man's scruples on this point, advised him, if possible, to follow the traditions of the particular Church to which he belonged, and while

Daily Communion common in the fourth century.

¹ Just. Mart., *Apol.* i. 67.

² Tert., *de Orat.* 14. Basil, *Ep.* 289.

³ Tert., *de Orat.* 6. S. Cypr. *de Orat. Dom.* sect. 18. S. Cyril, *Cat. Myst.* v. 15.

⁴ *Ep. 2nd ad Lucin. Eetic.*

personally counselling a daily reception, warned him strictly that it might only be, provided he could do it "without condemnation and pricks of conscience for an unworthy receiving." S. Augustine¹ gave similar advice, and referred also to a high estimate of the Sacrament being the aim alike of the infrequent and the frequent communicant, both of whom were contending to show to it the greatest reverence; "the one to honour it, not daring to receive every day, and the other shrinking, for the same end, from passing any day without it." But S. Augustine's experience was not shared by his great contemporary in the Church of Antioch, who speaks in tones of the deepest sadness of the people's negligence, and contrasts the paucity of communicants with the vast multitudes who flocked together to hear his sermons. "What pardon or excuse," he asks indignantly, "can be granted for such conduct? If you had laid to heart what I preach to you, it would hold you back that you might receive the holy Mysteries with piety and reverence; but now, as if you were hearing a man play upon some instrument, the preacher has no sooner done, but you are all gone out of the church."² This was the beginning of the decadence in lay-communions. No long time elapsed before legislation became necessary, and the Council of

The increase of Celebrations led to a diminution of Communions.

¹ *Ep. ad Jan.* iii. 4.

² S. Chrys., *Hom. 3 de Incomprehensibili Dei Nat.*

Ecclesiastical legislation on the subject.

Agde¹ fixed three communions in the year as the minimum to be allowed consistently with church-membership. It was a sad declension from the high religious standard of another Council,² which, exactly two hundred years before, had decreed that if any one dwelling in a town should absent himself from Church on three Sundays, he should be excommunicated.³

The practice in England before the Reformation. 734 A.D.

Turning to the Church in our own country, we find that, as the Venerable Bede says, it was no better than the Churches on the Continent. Everywhere, rare Communions were the rule, and satisfied even the more religious; and after the beginning of the thirteenth century, all Churches in communion with Rome adopted the decree of the Lateran Council,⁴ allowing a single reception at Easter to fulfil the Christian obligation. No advance was made at the Reformation, the first revised Prayer-book merely directing "every man and woman to communicate once a year at the least," till 1552, when it was ordered as at present, "at the least three times in the year, Easter to be one." We may feel some

1215 A.D.

After the Reformation.

¹ Co. of Agde, 506 A.D.

² Ilberis, 305 A.D. It does not mention attendance at the Celebration *totidem verbis*; but as this was the regular Sunday Service at this time the significance of the decree cannot be mistaken. So also at Co. of Trullo and Antioch. Cf. Wal. Strabo, *de reb. Eccl.* c. xx.

³ He mentions Epiphany as one of the three days, and omits Pentecost.

⁴ Fourth Lat. Council, Can. xxi.

surprise that men, so loyal to primitive doctrine as Cosin, Wren, and their co-revisers, should have consented at the final to impress no higher standard upon the Church at large; but it is impossible for us to understand the state of popular feeling resulting from a famine and starvation of Eucharistic Food for twenty years. Throughout a great part of England even the recollection of the Blessed Sacrament had passed away; and where it was not wholly forgotten, it was mentioned only in contempt and blasphemy. In the "Exemplary Churches," however, the revisers insisted upon the restoration of a weekly Communion, but the Visitation Articles of the Bishops show no traces of their influence being felt in the dioceses outside. No Bishop, as far as we know, looked for more than a monthly Celebration, and the majority were satisfied to insist on one each quarter, or even on the minimum "three times in the year."

Difficulty of setting a high standard after the Rebellion.

It was not till the Catholic Revival of 1833 that the English Church awoke to her duty of offering a Communion on every day for which her Prayer-book provides an appointed Service. Even after half a century of resuscitation and quickened energy, there is still, in not a few of the rural districts, a clinging to the "old order," and the monthly Communion is thought sufficient. This is a purely arbitrary practice, based upon no substantial prin-

The beginning of better things in 1833 A.D.

Weekly and
Festival
Com-
muni-
ons
to be the
general aim.

ciple or recognised authority. But it is altogether different when a Sunday or Festival Communion is adopted. This rule rests on the teaching and usage of the purest ages of the Church's history, and it brings our practice up to a level with the standard enforced by the provisions of our Service-books. Few will deny that, in exceptional cases, even a higher standard may be striven after with profit, and the deep religious fervour of the Apostles imitated by a daily Eucharist; but for the generality of Christians, Sunday and Saints'-day Celebrations, with others occasionally added, seem most consistent with the need for a constant supply of this spiritual Food, while it recognises the obligation to approach the Mysteries only after due preparation, which would often be impossible at shorter intervals. We speak here only of occasions for communicating. Additional opportunities are freely offered for "the faithful" to be present for purposes of worship and intercession.¹ It will be a grievous loss to the spiritual life if history is allowed to repeat itself, and these latter occasions are ever suffered to diminish the former. We need have no fears, if the true principles of Sacramental Grace continue to be taught, as they have been taught with ever-increasing faithfulness, since their revival in the past generation. We have learned to recognise how the necessity for frequent

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 202.

Communion was symbolised in the very elements which Christ used for the conveyance of the gift. When He took the bread and the wine as the outward and visible signs, He chose those which were —both at least in the country where He was—the very staff of life : not the choice viands and luxuries of the rare feast, but that which was absolutely necessary for the continual support of the bodily frame. And by this choice He must have intended to teach us that, just as in the human body there is always going on a process of waste, which needs to be constantly repaired, so in the spiritual life the ravages of sin cannot possibly be counteracted by rare supplies of Divine grace, but only by a frequent participation of the life-giving Food. We can only be loyal then to the true spirit of the ordinance, and the ideal that our Prayer-book puts before us, if we live in such a state of preparation that we may be ready week by week, and festival by festival, to respond to the invitation which Wisdom gives us : “Come, eat of my bread, and drink of the cup that I have mingled.”

The sym-
bolism of the
Elements.

L.

The Declaration upon kneeling, or The Black Rubric.

“Whereas it is ordained in this Office that the Communicants should receive the same kneeling, . . . it is hereby declared, that thereby no Adoration is intended . . . unto any Corporal Presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood, . . . the Natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven, and not here; it being against the truth of Christ's natural Body to be at one time in more places than one.”

The history
of “the Black
rubric.”

“THE Black rubric,” as it is familiarly called, was composed in all probability by Cranmer, and illegally foisted into the second Prayer-book of Edward VI. It had no place in the revised Form that was laid before Parliament, and enforced by an Act of Uniformity, passed on April 6th, 1552; but three days¹ before the time appointed for the Book to come into use, it was sent by the Privy Council to the Lord Chancellor, with a direction that it might be inserted. This was done on the sole authority of the King's signature. It is not surprising therefore, that, when this second Prayer-book was adopted by the Elizabethan Commissioners as the basis of a new revision, the interpolation was

¹ Nov. 1, 1552, was the day fixed by the Act. This was inserted Oct. 27th.

ignored as destitute of any legal sanction. Nothing more was seen or heard of it till at the Savoy Conference the Presbyterians tried to vindicate its authority, and pleaded for its admission into the new Service-book, on the ground that it was "established by law as much as any other part of the Common Prayer-book." This was peremptorily denied by the Bishops, who expressed at the same time their conviction that its re-introduction was uncalled for, as the prevailing tendency of the world at the time was towards the profanation of the Sacrament rather than idolatry.¹ When, however, it was pressed upon them that kneeling for reception had come to be popularly interpreted as favouring transubstantiation, being themselves as strongly averse to this erroneous doctrine as any of their opponents, they yielded to the demand, but not till they had guarded themselves against the possibility of being misunderstood by making a vital change in the language. In its original form the Declaration had spoken of "any real and essential Presence." This they struck out and substituted "any corporal Presence." It might, no doubt, be argued that in the language of the Schools² there is no great difference between the two phrases, since a Real Presence of Christ involves the Presence of Christ's Body, that is, a Corporal

1661 A. D.

The reasons that prompted the Bishops to accept it.

The change in its language.

¹ Cf. Cardw. *Conf.*, 354.

² Cf. Perry's *Decl. on Kneeling*, pp. 42, 46, 53, etc.

Presence. But the Bishops knew that a "Real Presence" of Christ's Body in the Sacrament was the doctrine of the Catholic Church, and they were anxious to disentangle it from errors, whether speculative or popular, with which it had come to be associated. They therefore adopted "corporal" for "real and essential," in the belief that it would be accepted simply as rejecting the idea of such a Presence of Christ's Body under natural conditions as at the time was connected with the doctrine of transubstantiation. To suppose that they intended to lend even the semblance of support to those who denied a Presence under supernatural or sacramental conditions such as the great Fathers of the Church in all ages had upheld, is to accuse them of deliberate inconsistency. Every other change they made at this revision tended to the exaltation of the Sacrament.¹ If they are to be judged by their acts and writings, there cannot be a question that "the Declaration is nothing more than a negation of transubstantiation." It is well known that Gauden, Bishop of Exeter, was mainly instrumental in bringing about its re-admission; and this is how he expresses himself touching the nature of Christ's Presence: "I believe that in the Sacrament

Gauden's
belief re-
specting the
Real Pre-
sence.

¹ *e.g.*, the oblation of the elements: the introduction of the manual acts: the veiling of the consecrated elements: the reverent consumption of that which was left, etc.

of the Lord's Supper there are both Objects presented to and received by a worthy receiver: first, the *Bread and Wine* . . . which are true Objects of our sense. . . . Also there are spiritual, invisible, and credible, yet most true and really present, Objects of faith: *the Body and Blood of Christ*, that is, *Christ Jesus Himself*. These two materials of the Sacrament are so united, that it may be truly said (not in a gross and physical, but Divine and sacramental sense) the *Bread and Wine* are *the Body and Blood of Christ*."¹ And as showing his belief in the Objective Presence, independently of the faith of the recipient, he writes, "Shall I who am laden with sins, . . . with my polluted looks and lying tongue, shall I touch the Bread of Angels? or shall I lodge the King of kings in a heart filled with foul concupiscence?" Furthermore, as indicative of the general acceptance of such views, it is worthy of notice that these passages are cited from the tenth edition of a manual for communicants, bearing the *imprimatur* of Archbishop Sancroft,² who had acted as secretary when the Black rubric was re-admitted.

Accepting this then as the primary object of the

¹ Perry has printed the Manual at length, and the extracts are made from his copy, *Decl.* pp. 308-320.

² This is of the utmost importance. It is next to impossible that he could have authorised it, if the Declaration contradicted the Real Presence.

Declaration, we have less difficulty in interpreting the expressions "Christ's natural Flesh and Blood," and "the natural Body and Blood of Our Saviour Christ are in heaven and not here." "Natural" was an unfortunate term to use, because it has received a Scriptural definition in regard to the body which makes it inapplicable here. Our Lord has no natural Body in the sense affixed to the term "natural" by S. Paul.¹ When he spoke of a man's natural body he signified that with which he was born into the world, "actuated by an animal soul": and he opposed to it his "spiritual" body, with which he will be clothed in the risen life. Such is the Body of Christ, and such it has been since the morning of the Resurrection. We are driven therefore to find out why the Bishops used the language which they did. It must have been simply because it seemed to add weight to their repudiation of the popular belief with its carnal ideas resulting from the theory of transubstantiation. The fact is that the traditional language of the Church about the reality of the sacred Presence in the Sacrament had led men to think of it as a Presence of the same kind as that of Our Lord in Palestine before His Death and Resurrection, with the single exception of its being invisible; and hence discussions as to whether Our Lord saw out of the sacramental

What was
meant by
Christ's
natural
Body.

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 44.

Species and the like. The conditions of the sacramental Presence in the Church were very different from those under which Christ was present on earth before His Death; they also differed from those in which in His risen Body He is now in the courts of heaven. It was inconsistent with the reality of this to be in two places at once; but it is not inconsistent with His Presence in the Sacrament to be at the same time on the many thousand Altars in the Catholic Church. It was this difference which the Bishops, by using the word "natural," endeavoured, not very happily, to express; but while questions may be raised about the appropriateness of their phraseology, there is no room for question as to their meaning.

What the Anglican Church believes is that Christ's risen and glorified Body is in heaven, at the right hand of God, there to remain till He shall come again at the end of the world, and that His Body is one, having the same form, dimensions, and outline, as it possessed when the Apostles saw it ascend, or when S. Stephen, S. Paul, and S. John recognised it in vision; and further, that naturally it is not "at one time in more places than one."

And all that the Bishops denied in this Declaration is, first, that any adoration is to be paid to such a Presence of Christ's Body as was that in the Manger or on the Cross, because in fact such a Presence no

The particular adoration of Christ's Body here rejected.

longer exists anywhere; or yet to such as that which is in heaven at this moment, because the truth of this Presence is inconsistent with a presumed ubiquity of Christ's human Nature on divers Altars here on earth. But it contains no censure or rejection of any such worship or adoration of what is called His "Sacramental" Body, that is, His Body, present under conditions peculiar to the Sacrament, mystically and invisibly, and after a wholly different manner from that in which His Body is present at God's right hand.

The views of those who accepted the Declaration for re-admission into the Prayer-book are well understood in relation to transubstantiation; and the following evidence will make it abundantly clear what they held as touching the legitimacy of true Eucharistic adoration.

Testimony
borne to
Eucharistic
adoration by
Gauden;

Gauden,¹ two years before the revision, wrote, "we . . . reverently adore in that blessed Mystery . . . the real Body and Blood of Christ"; and again, he spoke of "receiving the heavenly dainties with that adoration and gratitude which is meet." In the manual aforesaid, containing "the whole duty of a communicant," he directs him to say, when the Minister is drawing near with the Elements, "I adore Thee, O most righteous Redeemer."

¹ Perry, *ibid.* p. 307; cf. also Gauden's *Ecclesie Anglicane Suspiria*.

Cosin,¹ again, quotes with approval a note from by Cosin ; Callixtus : “ they worship and adore, not indeed the Elements . . . but Our Lord and God Himself, Jesus Christ ” ; and in his own words he writes, “ whosoever so receiveth them (the Elements), at that time when he receiveth them, rightly doth he adore and reverence his Saviour there together with the sacramental Bread and Cup, exhibiting His Own Body and Blood unto them.”

One more quotation from a contemporary divine will suffice. Sparrow,² the author of the “ Rationale by Sparrow ; of Common Prayer,” speaking of the posture for reception, says : “ It is to be given to the people kneeling : for a sin it is not to adore when we receive the Sacrament ” ; and again, “ the old custom was to receive It after the manner of adoration.”

Finally, as absolutely conclusive evidence of the views of the Commission as a body, they made by the whole Commission ; answer to the “ Exceptions of the Ministers ”³ that in primitive times when the Church used to stand for prayers, “ the manner of receiving was *more adorantium*,” that is, after the manner of adoration ; and in support of their assertion they appealed to the Fathers SS. Augustine and Cyril.

We turn therefore to a consideration of the Patristic evidence. In the middle of the fourth

¹ *Works*, v. 345.

² P. 236.

³ *Cardw. Conf.*, 350.

by S. Cyril; century S. Cyril wrote his Catechetical Lectures¹ for the newly-baptized and confirmed, and herein he bids them approach "bending and saying after the manner of worship, Amen," that is, signifying their assent to the truth of the words spoken by the Celebrant, "The Body of Our Lord Jesus," not only by word, but in gesture and act, paying that homage that is due to the Presence of God.

by S. Ambrose;

S. Ambrose,² about thirty years later, in defending the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, dwells upon the worship of Christ, and speaks of "the Flesh of Christ which we adore in the Mysteries to this day": and argues that adoration was due to Christ's sacramental Presence every bit as much as it was to that Risen Body which Mary Magdalene and the disciples worshipped during the forty days.

by S. Augustine.

S. Augustine, at the beginning of the fifth century, enforced the same when he said, "No one eats that Flesh except he have first adored: we not only do not sin by adoring, but we should sin if we did not"; and in his exposition of the words "All they that be fat upon earth shall eat and worship," he interprets it of "the proud who are brought to the Table of Christ and receive of His Body and Blood, but only adore and are not also satisfied, because they do not imitate Him," and again, "they

¹ V. § 22 (19).

² *De Spiritu Sancto*, lib. iii. c. xi.

eat and adore, and yet they are not satisfied, because they do not hunger and thirst after righteousness."

Theodoret, in a treatise which he put forth shortly before the fourth General Council, speaks of ^{451 A. D.} the adoration which Christ received in the Sacrament as the counterpart of the adoration of Christ's Body by all creatures in heaven ; and his testimony is of importance, because he argues against that view of the Real Presence which was afterwards designated transubstantiation.

It is worthy of notice that the way in which these Fathers speak of adoration leaves no doubt upon the mind that they were recording no new thing, but a custom which had long prevailed in the Church.

S. Cyril, the earliest of them, characterises the practice as one of the "traditions" which they were to hold fast, applying to it the same designation as is given to Apostolic doctrines.

S. Ambrose again carries the practice back to earlier times by the use of a striking expression: "the Flesh of Christ, which we adore *down to this day.*" It can only be interpreted as indicating his belief that it was inherited from their forefathers in the Faith.

It is our firm and abiding conviction that "the Black rubric," when fairly interpreted in the light of contemporary history, does not contravene any true and Catholic doctrine. It has been often made the

battle-ground of angry strife as opening up the great questions which have divided our Church; but we look forward in the same prayerful hope which animated one of our most saintly priests¹ to the time when "this Sacrament of peace, ceasing to be to believers a Sacrament of contention, will be free to work its Lord's work among men: being, indeed, that wonder-working Fire which He came to kindle on the earth, of power to transform and subdue all to itself."

Should what we have set forth in this treatise, following as our finite judgment has enabled us the teaching of Holy Scripture, as the great Fathers have interpreted it, be the means of hastening in any hearts this blessed consummation, to God be all the praise; it will not have been written in vain.

¹ Keble, *Euchar. Adoration*, ch. v.

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