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OR, THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

VOL. IV.

ANTIQUITIES

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THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH
Origins & Antiquities

OTHER WORKS
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AND THE VARIOUS FORMS OF THE SCRIPTURES

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PRINTED FOR WILLIAM BENTLEY

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THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH,

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OTHER WORKS,

OF THE

REV. JOSEPH BINGHAM, M.A.

FORMERLY FELLOW OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD;
AND AFTERWARDS RECTOR OF HEADBOURN WORTHY, AND HAVANT,
HAMPSHIRE.

WITH THE QUOTATIONS AT LENGTH, IN THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGES,
AND A BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR.

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THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

OTHER WORKS

JOSEPH BINGHAM, M.A.

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THE ANTIQUITIES
OF THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

BOOK XII.

OF CONFIRMATION, AND OTHER CEREMONIES FOLLOWING
BAPTISM, BEFORE MEN WERE MADE PARTAKERS OF THE
EUCCHARIST.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE TIME WHEN, AND THE PERSONS TO WHOM,
CONFIRMATION WAS ADMINISTERED.

SECT. I.—*Confirmation anciently given immediately after
Baptism, if the Bishop were present.*

IMMEDIATELY after the persons came up out of the water, if the bishop was present at the solemnity, they were presented to him, in order to receive his benediction; which was a solemn prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon such as were baptized. And to this prayer there was usually joined the ceremony of a second unction, and imposition of hands, and the sign of the cross; whence the whole action many times took these names, *χρίσμα*, ‘the unction;’ *χειροθεσία*, the ‘imposition of hands; and *σφραγίς*, ‘the sign or seal of the Lord;’ which are names much more common among the ancients than that of ‘confirmation.’ But by all these names they understood one and the same thing, which was the bishop’s prayer for the descent of the Spirit upon persons newly baptized. This was

always administered, together with baptism, if the bishop, who was the ordinary minister of it, were present at the action; but if he was absent, as it usually happened to be in churches at a distance from the mother church, or when persons were baptized in haste upon a sick-bed, then confirmation was deferred till the bishop could have a convenient opportunity to visit them. This we learn from St. Jerome^a; who speaks of it as customary in the Church, for bishops to go and invoke the Holy Spirit by imposition of hands on such as were baptized by presbyters and deacons, in villages and places remote from the mother Church. And it many times happened, that such persons died before the bishop could come to give them imposition of hands. To prevent which inconvenience, the canons, in some places, obliged bishops to visit their whole dioceses once every year: and if they were so large that they could not do so, then they were to divide their dioceses, and make them less, as we find it decreed and practised in some of the Spanish councils^b. But in case persons were baptized in the presence of the bishop, then, without any delay, they were immediately confirmed with imposition of hands and the holy unction. Tertullian says very plainly^c, “that as soon as they came out of the water, they were anointed with the oil of consecration; and then received imposition of hands, inviting down the Holy Spirit by that benediction.” And so Cyril of

^a Hieron. cont. Lucifer. c. iv. (Ben. Veron. vol. ii. p. 181. A 5.) Non abnuo hanc esse ecclesiarum consuetudinem, ut ad eos qui longe a majoribus urbibus per presbyteros et diaconos baptizati sunt, episcopus ad invocationem Sancti Spiritus manum impositurus excurrat.—And a little after, In villulis, aut in castellis, aut in remotioribus locis, per presbyteros aut diaconos baptizati ante dormierunt, quam ab episcopis inviserentur.—Conc. Illiber. can. lxxvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 978.) Si quis diaconus regens plebem, sine episcopo vel presbytero aliquos baptizaverit, episcopus eos per benedictionem perficere debet.

^b Conc. Lucens. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 374.) Cupio, sanctissimi patres, ut provida utilitate decernatis, in provincia regni nostri, quia in tota Gallæciæ regione spatiosæ satis dioceses a paucis episcopis tenentur; ita ut aliquantæ ecclesiæ per singulos annos vix possint a suo episcopo visitari: insuper tantæ provinciæ unus tantummodo metropolitanus episcopus est, et de extremis quibusque parochiis longum est singulis annis ad concilium convenire.

^c Tertul. de Bapt. cc. vii. viii. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 45.) Egressi de lavacro perungimur benedicta unctione.—Dehinc manus imponitur, per benedictionem advocans et invitans Spiritum Sanctum.

Jerusalem represents it, when he tells the neophytes^d, “that as soon as they come up out of the waters of the font, they received the chrism or unction; with the antitype of which, that is, the Holy Ghost, Christ was anointed when he came up out of Jordan.” In like manner, the author of the Constitutions, describing the ceremonies of baptism, orders the priest^e, as soon as he has baptized any one, to anoint him with the holy chrism, and give him imposition of hands, saying a prayer which is there appointed. Thus we find, in the Life of St. Basil^f, how Maximinus the bishop, who baptized him and Eubulus together, immediately clothed them with white garments, and anointed them with the holy chrism, and gave them the communion. The same may be observed in the description of the ceremonies of baptism, given by the author under the name of Dionysius^g, St. Ambrose, Optatus, Pacian, and all others amongst the ancients, who have made any mention of the time of administering confirmation.

^d Cyril. Catech. Mystag. ii. n. i. (Venet. 1763. p. 317.) *Κάκεϊνος μὲν Ἰορδάνῃ λουσάμενος ποταμῷ, καὶ τῶν φώτων τῆς θεότητος μεταδούς τοῖς ὕδασι, ἀνέβαινε ἐκ τούτων καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου οὐσιώδης ἐπιφοίτησις αὐτῷ ἐγένετο, τῷ ὁμοίῳ ἐπαναπανομένου τοῦ ὁμοίου καὶ ἡμῖν ὁμοίως, ἀναβεβηκόσιν ἀπὸ τῆς κολυμβήθρας τῶν ἱερῶν ναμάτων, ἐδόθη χρίσμα, τὸ ἀντίτυπον, οὗ ἐχρίσθη Χριστός· τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.*

^e Constitut. Apostol. lib. vii. c. xliv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 449.) *Μετὰ τοῦτο βαπτίσας αὐτὸν, χρισάτω μύρω, ἐπιλέγων, κ. τ. λ.*

^f Amphiloch. Vit. Basil. c. v. (Paris. 1644. p. 173) *Ἐνδιύσκει τὰ τῆς Χριστοῦ ἀναστάσεως ἄμφια . . . χρίσας τῷ ἁγίῳ μύρω, κ. τ. λ.*

^g Dionys. de Hierarch. Eccles. c. ii. (Venet. 1755. p. 185.) *Ἐξῆς δὲ φωτοειδεῖς ἐσθῆτας ἐπιβάλλουσι τῷ τελουμένῳ . . . Ἡ δὲ τοῦ μύρου τελειωτικὴ χρίσις εὐώδη τὸν τελούμενον ποιεῖ . . . Ἐν τέλει δὲ πάντων ὁ ἱεράρχης ἐπὶ τὴν ἱερωτάτην εὐχαριστίαν καλεῖ τὸν τετελεσμένον, καὶ τῆς τῶν τελεστικῶν μυστηρίων αὐτῷ μεταδίδωσι κοινωνίας.*—Ambros. de Sacram. lib. iii. c. ii. (Bened. 1690. vol. ii. p. 363.) *Sequitur spiritale signaculum, quod audistis hodie legi, quia post fontem superest, ut perfectio fiat, quando, ad invocationem sacerdotis, Spiritus Sanctus infunditur. Post hæc quid sequitur? Venire habes ad altare, &c.*—Optat. lib. iv. *Descendit (Christus) in aquam, etc.* See note (d) p. 8.—Pacian. Serm. de Bapt. (Bibl. Patr. tom. iv. p. 318. H, Lugd. 1677.) *Hæc compleri alias nequeunt, nisi lavaeri, et chrismatis, et antistitis sacramento. Lavaero enim peccata purgantur; chrismate Sanctus Spiritus superfunditur; utraque vero ista, manu et ore antistitis, impetramus; atque ita totus homo renascitur et innovatur in Christo.*

SECT. II.—*And this as well to Infants as adult Persons; which is evidenced, first, from some plain Testimonies.*

Nor was this only true with respect to adult persons, but also with respect to infants, who were anciently confirmed by imposition of hands, and the holy chrism or unction, as soon as they were baptized. Which, perhaps, will seem a paradox to many, who look no further than to the practice of later ages; but it may be undeniably evidenced these two ways: 1. From plain testimonies of the ancients declaring it so to be; and, 2. From that known custom and usage of the Church in giving the eucharist to infants, which ordinarily presupposes their confirmation. First, for the testimonies of the ancients, nothing can be plainer than those words of Gennadius^h: “If they be infants that are baptized, let those that present them to baptism, answer for them according to the common way of baptizing: and then let them be confirmed with imposition of hands and chrism; and so be admitted to partake of the eucharist.” In like manner, Pope Innocent, in one of his decrees, saysⁱ, “Infants are not to be consigned or confirmed by any but the bishop.” And in the Collection of Canons made by Martin Bracarenis^k out of those of the Greek Church, this is one, “that a presbyter may not consign infants in the presence of the bishop, except he be particularly appointed by the bishop to do it.” This practice continued in the Church for many ages: for it is mentioned by Pope Gregory both in his *Sacramentarium* and in his Epistles^l; and, after him, by all the writers in the eighth and ninth centuries. Alcuin, who wrote about the offices of the Church in the time of Charles the

^h Gennad. de Dogmat. Eccles. c. lii. (apud Aug. tom. iii. opp. p. 204. C. D. edit. Basil. 1569.) Si parvuli sunt vel hebetes, qui doctrinam non capiunt, respondeant pro illis, qui eos offerunt, juxta morem baptizandi: et sic manus impositione et chrismate communiti, eucharistie mysteriis admittantur.

ⁱ Innocent. Ep. i. c. iii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1246.) De consignandis infantibus, manifestum est, non ab alio, quam ab episcopo fieri licere.

^k Martin. Bracar. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 911.) Presbyter, presente episcopo, non signet infantes, nisi forte ab episcopo fuerit illi præceptum.

^l Gregor. lib. iii. c. ix. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1142. B.) Presbyteri baptizatos infantes signare sacro in frontibus chrismate non præsumant; sed presbyteri baptizatos ungant in pectore, ut episcopi postmodum ungere debeant in fronte.

Great, speaking of infant baptism, says ^m, “After an infant is baptized, he is to be clothed, and brought to the bishop, if he be present, who is to confirm him with chrism, and give him the communion : and if the bishop be not present, the presbyter shall communicate him.” The same is in the *Ordo Romanus*, a book written and used as a liturgy about the same time ; where, after the bishop has given the white garment to infants, he lifts up his hand and lays it upon their heads ⁿ, praying for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon them, and signing them with the sign of the cross in the forehead, he says, “I confirm thee in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.” Baluzius, in his Notes upon Rhegino ^o, gives us two ancient manuscript pontificals of the ninth century, wherein this order for confirming infants is continued. And to these he adds ^p an epistle of Jesse, bishop of Amiens, describing the order of baptism : where the rule is for the bishop, after the child has been baptized with three immersions, to confirm him with chrism in the forehead, and then to *confirm* him (for so it is worded), or communicate him with the body and blood of Christ. These testimonies are so plain and convincing, that all learned men, who have exactly considered this matter, as well Papists as Protestants, are agreed, that this was the ancient and general practice of the Church, to confirm infants as soon as they were baptized ; for so I find not only Baluzius, but Peter de

^m Aleuin. de Offic. cap. de Sabbato Paschæ. (Bibl. Patr. tom. x. p. 259. Paris. 1654.) Postea vestiatur infans vestimentis suis. Si vero episcopus adest, statim confirmari eum oportet chrismate, et postea communicari ; et si episcopus deest, communicetur a presbytero.

ⁿ Ordo Roman. cap. de Bapt. (Bibl. Patr. tom. x. p. 63, edit. cit.) Pontifex, elevata et imposita manu super capita omnium, dat orationem super eos cum invocatione septiformis gratiæ Spiritus Sancti. Et tincto pollice in chrismate, faciat crucem in frontibus singulorum, ita dicendo : ‘Confirmo te in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.’ See Max. Bib. V. Patr. vol. xiii. p. 659, etc.

^o Baluz. Not. in Rheginon. lib. i. c. lxix. Statim autem confirmetur infans, et communicetur ab episcopo, ita dicente, ‘Corpus et sanguis Domini.’—Item ex altero pontificali : ‘Si episcopus adest, statim confirmari eum oportet chrismate, et postea communicari.’

^p Jesse Ambianens. Epist. de Ordine Bapt. ap. Baluz. ibid. Post trimam mersionem episcopus puerum chrismate confirmet in fronte : novissime autem corpore et sanguine Christi confirmetur, seu communicetur, ut Christi membrum esse possit.

Marca^q, Hugo Menardus^r, Maldonat^s, Estius^t, Galenus^u, among the Papists, and Bishop Taylor^x and Daillé^y, among the Protestants, readily consenting. And some^z tell us, the same practice continues among the Greeks to this day. The learned reader may add to the former testimonies the authority of St. Austin, who witnesses for this practice in his own person; for, he says^a, “he himself was used to give imposition

^q Marc. Not. ad Conc. Claramont. p. 312, edit. Paris. [Not. In edit. Francof. 1708, quæ una mihi ad manus est, locum diu quæsitum non inveni. —*Grischov.*]

^r Menard. Not. ad Libr. Sacram. (Gregory's Works, Paris. 1705. vol. iii. p. 357. A 3.) Nec soli adulti, sed etiam ipsi infantes, simul cum baptismo sumebant eucharistiæ sacramentum, etc.

^s Maldonat. de Confirmat. quæst. ii. (p. 115, Lugd. 1614.) Quando confirmari debeant baptizati, ea in re laudabilior consuetudo est ecclesiæ hodiernæ, quam veteris: nam in ecclesia veteri statim post baptismum confirmatio et eucharistia dabantur, etiam infantibus: nunc autem merito exspectatur illud tempus, quo tempore possint baptizati confiteri fidem suam.

^t Estius, Sentent. lib. iv. distinct. vii. n. xxiii. (Paris. 1638. vol. iii. p. 101.)

^u Galen. Catech. apud Dall. de Confirmat. p. 21. Debet hoc sacramentum etiam pueris infantibusque conferri; de quibus pessime merentur, qui in septimum vel decimum annum differunt. Quum enim ea vis, quam diximus, exserat sese in eos omnes, qui non obturent rivos fluentis gratiæ; profecto iis omnibus chrismatibus infantes spoliatur, tantumque cælestis gloriæ detrahit, quibus properata morte præreptis doluit hoc dari sacramentum, quantum beneficiorum Christi per hoc labrum eis communicari vetuit.

^x Taylor's Worthy Communicant, chap. iii. sect. ii.

^y Dall. de Confirmat. lib. iii. c. xiii. (Genev. 1659. p. 386.) Apud istos veteres, episcopus cujuscumque baptismo aderat, eum extempore manus impositione et chrismate confirmabat: quo fiebat, ut plurimi in singulis parœciis confirmationem cum baptismo simul et semel acciperent. Solemne enim erat et adultos catechumenos, et parvulos etiam fidelium liberos (nisi imminentis a morbo mortis necessitas aliter fieri cogeret) omnes duobus tantum anni temporibus baptizari, Paschate et Pentecoste. Quod in episcopali ecclesia, nisi presente episcopo, non fiebat. Quum ergo quos baptizari fas erat, ii illuc ex civitate pene omnes concurrerent, plurimi, quod dixi, una cum baptismo chrismatis confirmationem accipiebant. Qui vero in remotioribus parœciæ ecclesiis, puta in vicis, et castellis, et pagis, a presbyteris solis baptizati et chrismati erant, ii quamprimum ab episcopo confirmabantur, vel ad ipsos ea de causa excurrente, vel certe ad eum ipsi venientes, aut si parvuli essent, delati.

^z Pet. du Moulin's Buckler of Faith, p. 381.

^a Aug. Tract. vi. in Joan. iii. (Bened. 1679. vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 868.) Quando imposuimus manum istis infantibus, attendit unusquisque vestrum, utrum linguis loquerentur? Et quum videret eos linguis non loqui, ita perverso corde aliquis vestrum fuit, ut diceret, Non acceperunt isti Spiritum Sanctum; nam si acceperunt, linguis loquerentur, quemadmodum tunc factum est?

of hands, or confirmation, to infants, that they might receive the Holy Spirit.”

SECT. III.—*And, secondly, from the Custom of giving the Eucharist to Infants for many Ages.*

If this matter needed further proof, we might insist upon that known practice and custom in the ancient Church, of giving the eucharist to infants, which continued in the Church for several ages. It is frequently mentioned in Cyprian, Austin, Innocentius, and Gennadius, writers from the third to the fifth century. Maldonat confesses it was in the Church for six hundred years; and some of the authorities, just now alleged, prove it to have continued two or three ages more, and to have been the common practice beyond the time of Charles the Great. Now, all men know that, in the common course of things, confirmation always preceded the eucharist, unless there was some special cause, as sometimes it happened in the case of clinic baptism, or the bishop's absence, to prevent it; for, in these two cases, the eucharist was, many times, given before confirmation, as now it is in our large dioceses, where the bishop's presence cannot always be had to give confirmation, in places at a great distance, before the communion. But, in all other cases, the usual way was to let confirmation usher in the communion. And, therefore, since it is evident that the communion itself was given to infants, and that immediately from the time of their baptism; it would be reasonable to conclude from hence, were there no other evidence, that confirmation also was given to infants together with baptism; because this rite, by all ordinary rule and custom, was prior and introductory to the communion.

SECT. IV.—*Whence it appears, that Confirmation was not esteemed a proper Sacrament distinct from Baptism.*

This observation may help us to understand some difficult passages in the ancients, and answer an objection which the Romanists draw from them, as if confirmation were a proper sacrament distinct from baptism. The ancients, it must be owned, sometimes gave it the name of a sacrament, and call

baptism and confirmation two sacraments. But then, it is very evident, they take the word 'sacrament' in a large sense for any sacred ceremony, rite, or mystery, belonging to baptism. In which sense, they suppose two sacraments, or chief mysterious ceremonies to be in baptism; that is, the immersion in water, and the unction with the holy chrism; both which are spoken of as sacraments or ceremonies belonging to baptism. Thus, in the Council of Carthage, under Cyprian, Nemesianus à Tubunis says ^b, "It was not sufficient for men to be regenerated only by imposition of hands, but they ought to be born again by both the sacraments in the Catholic Church; that is, as well by washing in water as imposition of hands;" both which he makes sacraments, that is, sacred rites of the same sacrament of regeneration. In the same sense, Cyprian himself says ^c, "Both the sacraments of regeneration were required to complete men's sanctification." Which plainly shows, that by two sacraments, he means no more but two of the principal ceremonies that belonged to a complete and perfect baptism; because, he says, "men were regenerated or born again by them both." In like manner, Optatus ^d makes imposition of hands and unction to be only parts and ceremonies completing baptism. For, speaking of the baptism of Christ,

^b Conc. Carth. ap. Cyprian. n. v. (Oxon. 1682. p. 231.) (p. 159, Amstelod. 1700.) Male sibi quidam interpretantur, ut dicant, quod per manus impositionem Spiritum Sanctum accipiant, et sic recipiantur; quum manifestum sit utroque sacramento debere eos renasci in ecclesia Catholica.

^c Cyprian. Epist. lxxii. ad Stephan. (Oxon. 1682. p. 196.) (p. 305, edit. Amstelod. cit.) Parum est eis manum imponere ad accipiendum Spiritum Sanctum, nisi et accipiant ecclesie baptismum. Tunc enim demum plene sanctificari, et esse Filii Dei possunt, si sacramento utroque nascantur, quum scriptum sit: 'Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu, non potest introire in regnum Dei.'

^d Optat. lib. iv. (Paris. 1702. p. 76, etc. See note (g) p. 3.) Descendit in aquam, non quia erat quod in Deo mundaretur, sed venturum oleum aqua debuit anteedere, ad mysteria initianda, et ordinanda, et implenda baptismatis. Lotus quum in Joannis manibus haberetur; secutus est ordo mysterii; et complevit Pater, quod rogaverat Filius, et quod nuntiaverat Spiritus Sanctus: apertum est cœlum, Deo Patre ungente; spiritale oleum statim in imagine columbæ descendit, et insedit capiti ejus et perfudit eum: unde cœpit dici Christus, quando unctus est a Deo Patre. Cui ne manus impositio defuisse videatur, vox audita est Dei de nube dicentis, 'Hic est Filius meus, de quo bene sensi, hunc audite.'

he says, “ He went not into the water, as if any thing in God could need cleansing ; but it was necessary the water should go before the unction that was to follow after, to initiate, and order, and complete the mysteries or sacramental rites of baptism. When he was washed by the hands of John, the order of the mystery was settled : the Father fulfilled what the Son had asked, and what the Holy Ghost had foretold. The spiritual oil immediately descended in the image of a dove, and sat upon his head, and anointed him : from whence he began to be called ‘ Christ,’ because he was anointed of God the Father. And that imposition of hands might not seem to be wanting, the voice of God was heard from the cloud, saying, ‘ This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.’ ” Here Optatus professes to describe the order, and parts, and mysteries of baptism, from the similitude of the baptism of Christ. In each of these, he makes three sacraments, or principal mysteries ; the washing, the unction, and imposition of hands ; which are not properly three distinct sacraments, but three parts or rites of the same sacrament of baptism ; which, according to Optatus, were ordered, and shadowed, and completed in the baptism of Christ. Unless we take ‘ sacrament ’ in this large sense, we shall have three proper sacraments in baptism, which neither Optatus nor any of the ancients ever thought of, when they speak of the mysteries of baptism : but they allow both unction and imposition of hands to be sacraments, as they are parts or rites of the mystery of baptism. After this manner, Pacianus, bishop of Barcelona, makes also three sacraments of the mystery of baptism, viz. the laver or washing of water, the unction of the Spirit, and the hand and mouth of the priest. For he says^e, “ The seed of Christ, that is, the Spirit of God, brings forth a new man, by the hands of the priest, out of the womb of the Church, which is the font, faith being the bridemaid to all this. And without these

^e Pacian. Serm. de Bapt. Bibl. Patr. (Max. Bibl. V. P. vol. iv. p. 318. H 9.) Christi semen, id est, Dei Spiritus, novum hominem, alvo matris agitatum, et partu fontis exceptum, manibus sacerdotis effundit, fide tamen pronuba. . . . Hæc autem compleri alias nequeunt, nisi lavaeri, et chrismatis, et antistitis sacramento. Lavaero enim peccata purgantur ; chrismate Sanctus Spiritus superfunditur : utraque vero ista manu et ore antistitis impetramus ; atque ita totus homo renascitur et innovatur in Christo.

three sacraments, the laver, the chrism, and the priest, this new birth is not effected. For by the laver, sin is purged away; by the chrism, the Holy Spirit is poured down upon us; and both these we obtain by the hand and mouth of the priest; and so the whole man is regenerated and renewed in Christ." Here we must of necessity say, either that the laver, the chrism, and words and actions of the priest, are three sacraments; or else that they are but three parts or ceremonies of the same sacrament of baptism: which is what Pacian plainly intended. For he is speaking of the manner how men are regenerated in baptism; and he makes chrism to be one means of this regeneration, whence it is evident he had no other notion of it, but as of an integral part of baptism, though not absolutely essential to it. This, then, is one plain reason why the ancients sometimes call the immersion in the water, and the unction of chrism, 'two sacraments,' because they are parts, or rites, or ceremonies, of the mystery of baptism. And there is nothing more usual with the ancients than this way of speaking, to call every sacred rite or ceremony used in the Church, by the name of a 'sacrament' or 'mystery.' As St. Austin calls exorcism^f a 'sacrament.' And the salt which was given to the catechumens before baptism, is called the 'sacrament of the catechumens,' both by St. Austin^g and the third Council of Carthage^h: as has been observed in another place, where I speak particularly of this sacrament of the catechumens. Cyprianⁱ speaks of sacraments in the Lord's Prayer. And to insist no longer upon these, it is usual also with the ancients to divide the proper sacraments, baptism and the eucharist, each of them into two or more, meaning the several parts or rites belonging to them. Thus, Isidore^k speaks

^f Aug. Hom. lxxxiii. de Diversis. Exorcismi sacramento quasi molebamini.

^g Aug. de Peccator. Meritis, lib. ii. c. xxvi. Vid. supra, lib. x. c. ii. sect. xvi.

^h Conc. Carth. III. can. v. Vid. supra, lib. x. c. ii. sect. xvi.

ⁱ Cyprian. de Orat. Domin. (Oxon. p. 142.) (p. 101, lin. 15, Amstelod.) Qualia sunt Orationis Dominicæ sacramenta, quam multa, quam magna, breviter in sermone collecta; sed in virtute spiritaliter copiosa, ut nihil omnino prætermisum sit, quod non in precibus atque orationibus, cœlestis doctrinæ compendio comprehendatur.

^k Isidor. Origin. lib. vi. c. xix. (Col. Agr. 1616. p. 52. A 13.) Sunt sacramenta, baptismus et chrisma; corpus et sanguis Christi.

of four sacraments in the Church; which are, baptism, chrism, the body of Christ, and the blood of Christ. As, therefore, the bread and wine are called two sacraments, though they be but two parts of the same eucharist; so the washing and the unction are called two sacraments, though they be but two rites of the same sacrament of baptism. The like style is used by Pope Innocent¹, when he calls the bread and wine ‘sacraments,’ in the plural. And Fulbertus Carnotensis^m is more express, when he says, “There are two sacraments of life, the body and blood of Christ.” No wonder, therefore, the same authorⁿ should call the immersion in water, and the unction of chrism, conveying the Spirit, by the name of the ‘two sacraments of baptism.’ For nothing can be plainer, than that immersion and chrism are not properly two sacraments of baptism, but only two rites of it; as the bread and wine are not strictly two sacraments of the eucharist, but only different parts of the same communion. It were easy to add abundance more of such expressions out of other authors, many of which the reader may find collected together by the learned Daillé^o. I shall only add the words of Haymo Halberstadiensis, where he expressly makes confirmation a rite or ceremony of baptism, always accompanying, and administered at the same time with it, as the consummating act and perfection of it: “the gift of the Holy Spirit,” says he^p, “is given in baptism

¹ Innocent. Epist. i. ad Decent. c. v. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1247.) De fermento, quod die dominica per titulos mittimus, superflue nos consulere voluisti, quum omnes ecclesie nostre intra civitatem sint constitutæ. Quarum presbyteri, quia die ipsa propter plebem sibi creditam nobiscum convenire non possunt, ideirco fermentum a nobis confectum per acolythos accipiunt:—quod per parochias fieri debere non puto, quia nec longe portanda sunt sacramenta.

^m Fulbert. Epist. i. (Bibl. Patr. tom. iii. p. 434, Paris. 1654.) (tom. xviii. p. 3. F, Lugd. 1677.) Tria nobis sunt ad profectum Christianæ religionis proposita. . . . Horum primum est intelligere, et firmiter tenere mysterium Trinitatis et unius veritatem Deitatis; secundum, salutaris baptismi rationem nosse vel causam; tertium, in quo duo vitæ sacramenta, id est, dominici corporis et sanguinis, continentur.

ⁿ Fulbert. *ibid.* p. 436. (p. 4. E.) Requiritur sane in baptismatis sacramentis, aqua propter sepulturam, Spiritus Sanctus propter vitam æternam.

^o Dall. de Confirmat. lib. i. c. viii.—It. lib. iii. c. xiii.

^p Haymo in Hebr. xiii. extr. et *ibid.* c. vi. p. 2. Donum Spiritus Sancti datur in baptisate per impositionem manus episcoporum. Per impositionem, etc. See page 37, note (i).

by the imposition of the bishop's hands." So that when the ancients call confirmation a 'sacrament,' they always mean that it is a part or ceremony of the sacrament of baptism. In which sense, they give the name of sacraments to many other things, which were only parts, or ceremonies, or attendants on it; such as exorcism and the sign of the cross, which were sacraments in the same sense as confirmation.

SECT. V.—*No, not when it was separate from Baptism, as in the Case of Heretics, who were baptized out of the Church.*

But it may be said, "that confirmation, imposition of hands, or unction, was many times given to men at some years' distance from baptism, as in the case of heretics and schismatics, who were baptized in infancy out of the Church, and were received by imposition of hands when they returned to the Church afterwards." To which I answer, that the imposition of hands which the Church gave in this case, separate from baptism, was what could not be avoided; because the Church had no opportunity of administering it before. And, therefore, no argument is to be drawn from what she was forced to do upon such an exigence, being only an exception to her ordinary practice. It is owned, that the Church gave imposition of hands to all heretics upon their return to the Church. And this, as I have showed at large in another discourse ⁹, was to supply the deficiencies of that outward form of baptism, which could not grant them the graces of the Spirit whilst they remained in heresy or schism. And there I also observed, that some heretics retained the unction and imposition of hands as well as baptism, and administered it to infants together with baptism; which was the practice of the Donatists, and, it may be, of several others. But yet the Church, though she neither repeated the outward form of baptism, nor always the unction of chrism, especially in the Western parts, where St. Austin, Optatus, Alcimus, and Avitus, lived, yet she always gave a new imposition of hands, with prayer, to implore the descent of the Holy Ghost upon them. And though this was separating confirmation from baptism,

⁹ Scholast. History of Lay Baptism, chap. i. sect. xxi.

yet it was only in an extraordinary case, when the Church was not capacitated to do otherwise. In other cases, she always joined these two ceremonies together, as well in infants as adult persons: as I suppose the allegations and proofs, alleged in this chapter, do abundantly show to any candid reader, beyond possibility of contradiction.

SECT. VI.—*No Necessity of giving Confirmation to Infants now, any more than the Eucharist, from the Example of the Primitive Church.*

But some will be apt to object, that “if this were the case, then all Churches at present, as well Protestant as Popish, differ from the practice of the primitive Church in this particular, that now they never administer confirmation to infants, but only to adult persons, who can confirm their baptismal vow in their own persons.” And this difference is readily owned, as to practice. But, then, if the question be about right, which is the more suitable and agreeable practice; and, whether we ought not to conform in every circumstance to the practice of the primitive Church; I suppose every Church, in this case, is best judge for herself, what is most for the edification of her children. And as no Church now thinks herself under any obligation to give the eucharist to infants, because the primitive Church for eight hundred years did so; so neither does any Church judge herself bound to give confirmation to infants from the same example: though some learned persons have pleaded for both, as Bishop Bedel^r, among the Protestants, for the communion of infants, and Matthew Galen^s, among the Papists, for giving them confirmation. Whilst others judge the modern practice the more edifying way, and think there are no sufficient arguments to engage the Church to make an alteration.

^r See Bishop Ussher's Letters, ep. clxiii. p. 442.

^s Galen. Catech. ap. Dallæum de Confirmat. lib. i. p. 21.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE MINISTER OF CONFIRMATION.

SECT. I.—*The Consecration of Chrism reserved only to the Office of Bishops by the Canons.*

NEXT to the persons to whom confirmation was given, we are to make inquiry about the ministry of it, and see by whom it was usually given. And here it will be necessary to distinguish the several parts and ceremonies of confirmation, and cases ordinary and extraordinary; as also the consecration of the chrism from the use of it, and the practice and custom of some Churches from others: for one rule was not precisely observed in all these. Confirmation consisted of several acts, as we shall see in the next chapter. There was first the consecration of the chrism, which was always the bishop's act; then there was the unction itself, or the use of it, with consignation, or the sign of the cross on the forehead or other parts of the body; then imposition of hands, with prayer. There were also cases ordinary, when the bishop was present at baptism; and cases extraordinary, when he was absent, and the party in danger of death. There were also different practices according to the rules of different Churches. And according to these distinctions, the answer must be given to this general question. The consecration of the chrism was generally reserved to the bishop in all Churches; and so the use of it was derived from his authority, in all cases whatsoever. The second Council of Carthage^a forbids presbyters to have any concern in it, and refers to a former Council, wherein the like prohibition was made before. The third Council of Carthage^b allows presbyters, by the commission of the bishop, to consecrate virgins, but never to consecrate the chrism. The

^a Conc. Carth. II. c. iii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1160.) Memini præterito concilio fuisse statutum, ut chrisma, vel reconciliatio pœnitentium, nec non et puellarum consecratio, a presbyteris non fiant.

^b Ibid. III. can. xxxvi. (ibid. p. 1172.) Ut presbyter, inconsulto episcopo, virgines non consecret: chrisma vero nunquam conficiat.

fourth Council of Carthage^c obliges presbyters in country Churches to go to the bishop yearly, before Easter, or else to send their sacrist to him for the chrism. In some Churches of Spain, the presbyters took upon them to consecrate it themselves; which occasioned the first Council of Toledo^d to renew the decree against this as an usurpation, forbidding any beside the bishop to do it from that day forward; and obliging presbyters, as before, to go to their own bishop for it before Easter. The like injunctions are made in the first Council of Vaison^e, the Council of Auxerre^f, the Council of Barcelona^g, the first and second Councils of Bracara^h, and in the collection of Greek Canons made by Martin Bracarensisⁱ; as also in the Roman Decrees made by Pope Innocent^k, Leo^l, and

^c Ibid. IV. c. xxxvi. (ibid. p. 1203.) Presbyteri, qui per dioceses ecclesias regunt, non a quibuslibet episcopis, sed a suis; nec per juniorem clericum, sed aut per ipsos, aut per illum qui sacrarium tenet, ante Paschæ solemnitate chrisma petant.

^d Conc. Tolet. I. c. xx. (ibid. p. 1226.) Quamvis pene ubique custodiatur, ut absque episcopo chrisma nemo conficiat, tamen quia in aliquibus locis vel provinciis, presbyteri dicuntur chrisma conficere, placuit ex hac die nullum alium nisi episcopum chrisma facere et per diocesium destinare: ita ut de singulis ecclesiis ad episcopum ante diem Paschæ diaconi destinentur aut subdiaconi; ut confectum chrisma ab episcopo, destinatum ad diem Paschæ, possint ad tempus deferre [possit occurrere].

^e Conc. Vasens. I. c. iii. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 1457.) Per singula territoria presbyteri, vel ministri, ab episcopis, non, prout libitum fuerit, a vicinioribus, sed a suis propriis, per annos singulos chrisma petant, appropinquante solemnitate Paschali, etc.

^f Conc. Antissiodor. c. vi. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 958.) Ut a media quadragesima presbyteri chrisma petant.

^g Conc. Barcinon. c. ii. (ibid. p. 1605.) Simili statutum conditione est, ut quum chrisma presbyteris diocesanis pro neophytis confirmandis datur, nihil pro liquoris pretio accipiatur.

^h Conc. Bracar. (II. c. xix. Labbe, vol. v. p. 842.) Placuit, si quis presbyter, post hoc interdictum, ausus fuerit chrisma benedicere, aut ecclesiam aut altarium consecrare, a suo officio deponatur.—Ibid. (III. ibid. p. 897.) c. iv. Placuit, ut modicum balsami, quod benedictum pro baptismi sacramento per ecclesias datur, etc.

ⁱ Martin. Bracar. Collect. Can. c. li. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 911.) Omni tempore episcopis liceat chrisma conficere, et per suas dioceses destinare; ita ut ad dirigendum chrisma diaconus, aut subdiaconus, ante diem Paschæ, de singulis ecclesiis ad episcopum destinentur.

^k Innocent. Epist. i. ad Decent. c. iii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1246.) Presbyteris, . . . chrismate baptizatos ungere licet, sed quod ab episcopo fuerit consecratum.

^l Leo, Epist. lxxxviii. ad Gallos. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 1395. C 10.) Nec eri-

Gelasius ^m, which I need not repeat at length upon this occasion. So that, by this means, the bishop's authority was secured, even in such cases, where presbyters were allowed to have their share in this holy unction.

SECT. II.—*The Use of the Chrism divided between the Office of Bishops and Presbyters.*

Now, this unction or consignation, in many Churches (particularly in the Roman Church), was distinguished into two sorts; the consignation of the forehead, and the consignation of the other parts of the body. And the former, in such Churches where this distinction was made, was generally reserved to the bishop, to be administered with imposition of hands; but the latter was given by presbyters also. All Churches did not allow of this distinction of chrism into two sorts: but such as did allow of two, granted authority to presbyters to administer the one, but not the other. The double chrismation was first brought in by Pope Innocent; and he thus divides the office between bishops and presbyters. "A presbyter," says he ⁿ, "baptizing either in the bishop's presence or absence, may anoint the baptized party with chrism, provided it be consecrated beforehand by the bishop: but he may not sign him in the forehead with the same oil; because it belongs to bishops only, when they give the Holy Ghost." And so it is in the Decrees of Gelasius ^o and Pope Gregory ^p, his successor in the Roman see. But this double chrismation was not received in France, nor in any of the

gere eis (presbyteris ac diaconis) altaria, nec ecclesias vel altaria consecrare licet, nec per impositiones manuum fidelibus baptizandis, vel conversis ex hæresi, Paracletum Spiritum Sanctum tradere, nec chrisma conficere, etc.

^m Gelas. Epist. ix. ad Episcopos Lucaniæ, c. vi. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1189.) Presbyteros ultra modum suum tendere prohibemus: nec episcopali fastigio debita sibimet audacter adsumere: non conficiendi chrismatis, non consignationis pontificalis adhibendæ, sibimet arripere facultatem.

ⁿ Innocent. Epist. i. ad Decent. c. iii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1246.) Presbyteris, qui seu extra episcopum, seu præsentem episcopum, baptizant, chrismate baptizatos ungere licet, sed quod ab episcopo fuerit consecratum; non tamen frontem ex eodem oleo signare, quod solis debetur episcopis, quum tradunt Spiritum Paracletum.

^o Gelas. Ep. ix. c. vi. See preceding note (m).

^p Gregor. lib. iii. ep. ix.

Eastern Churches. In France, it was the office of presbyters ; and the imposition of hands was only reserved to the bishop. This is undeniably evident from the Council of Orange ^q, which orders every minister, who had received the office of baptizing, wherever he went, to have the chrism with him, because it was agreed, that chrism should only be once used in baptism. But if, by any necessity, it had been omitted in baptism, then the bishop should be put in mind of that omission in confirmation. For it was agreed to have only one chrismation. This canon is repeated and referred to again in the second Council of Arles ^r ; and Valesius ^s adds to them an inscription in Gruter, confirming the same thing, “ that the bishop did not minister the chrism, except it had been omitted by the presbyter before.” In the Eastern Churches, they had but one unction after baptism, and that performed by the bishop, except in some particular and extraordinary cases. The author of the Apostolical Constitutions ^t makes this the office of the bishop, to anoint those that were baptized with the holy chrism. “ And this,” he says, “ was the confirmation of the professions which they had made in baptism ^u.” The author, under the

^q Conc. Arausic. I. can. ii. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 1447.) Nullus ministrorum qui baptizandi recepit officium, sine chrismate usquam debet progredi, quia inter nos placuit semel in baptismate chrismari. De eo autem, qui in baptismate, quacumque necessitate faciente, non chrismatus fuerit, in confirmatione sacerdos commonebitur. Nam inter quoslibet chrismatis ipsius non nisi una benedictio est.

^r Conc. Arelat. II. c. xxvii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1014.) Nullum ministrum, qui baptizandi recepit officium, sine chrismate usquam debere progredi : quia inter nos, juxta synodi constitutionem, placuit semel chrismari.

^s Vales. Not. in Euseb. lib. vi. c. xliii. (Aug. T. 1746. p. 273.) Hæc baptizatorum consignatio interdum fiebat cum chrismate : quoties scilicet aliquis, urgente morbi necessitate, baptizatus fuerat a minoribus clericis, nec chrismatus. Tunc enim episcopus, qui baptismi solemnia postmodum supplebat, chrismare simul et manus imponere necesse habebat : qui vero perfectum baptismum acceperant, iis manus tantum imponebatur ab episcopo sine chrismatione, ut docet canon Arausicanus. Quo pertinet vetus epigramma apud Gruterum, p. 1177, de Marea :

Tuque sacerdotes docuisti, chrismate sancto

Tangere bis nullum judice posse Deo.

^t Constitut. Apostol. lib. iii. c. xvi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 322.) Μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ ἐπίσκοπος χριέτω τοὺς βαπτισθέντας τῷ μύρῳ.

^u Ibid. c. xvii. Τὸ μύρον βεβαίωσις τῆς ὁμολογίας.—Ibid. lib. vii. c. xliii.

name of Dionysius, says the same ^x; “that after the presbyters have baptized a man, they bring him to the bishop, and he anoints him with the divine chrism, and pronounces him capable of partaking of the holy eucharist.” Now, this episcopal unction was not only in the forehead, as was usual in the Roman Church, but in all other parts of the body; for, as Cyril of Jerusalem ^y tells those that were baptized, “They were first anointed in the forehead, to wipe away that shame which the first man, by his transgression, had contracted; and that they might now, with open face, behold the glory of the Lord. Then they were anointed on the ears, that they might have ears to hear the divine mysteries. After that, on the nose and breast; that they might be a sweet savour unto the Lord; and being armed with the breastplate of righteousness, might be able to withstand all the insults of the devil.” Thus ^z, also, all such heretics as were to be received into the Church without rebaptization, as having been baptized in due form before, are appointed to be received by consignation or unction of the holy chrism; first on the forehead, then on the eyes, nose, mouth, and ears, with this form of words; “The seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit.” But though this whole ceremony of unction, in the Eastern Church, was ordinarily to be per-

Βαπτίσας αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, χρισάτω μύρω.

^x Dionys. Hierarch. Eccles. c. ii. (Venet. 1755. vol. i. p. 169.) Ἐπὶ τὸν ἱεράρχην αὐθὺς ἀπάγουσιν· ὁ δὲ τῷ θεουργικωτάτῳ μύρῳ τὸν ἄνδρα σφραγισάμενος, μέτοχον ἀποφαίνει λοιπὸν τῆς ἱεροτελεστικωτάτης εὐχαριστίας.

^y Cyril. Catech. Mystag. iii. n. iv. (Venet. 1763. p. 317.) Πρῶτον ἐχρίεσθε ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον, ἵνα ἀπαλλαγῆτε τῆς αἰσχύνης, ἣν ὁ πρῶτος παραβάτης ἄνθρωπος πανταχοῦ περιέφερε, καὶ ἵνα ἀνακεκαλυμμένη προσώπῳ τὴν δόξαν κατοπτρίζησθε. Εἶτα, ἐπὶ τὰ ὦτα, ἵνα προσλάβητε τὰ ἀκουστικά τῶν θείων μυστηρίων ὦτα, περὶ ὧν Ἡσαίας ἔλεγε, Καὶ προσέθηκέ μοι Κύριος ὥτιον τοῦ ἀκούειν· ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν εὐαγγελίῳ, Ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκούειν, ἀκούετω· εἶτα, ἐπὶ τὴν ὄσφρησιν, ὅπως τοῦ θεοῦ ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι μύρου, λέγητε, Χριστοῦ εὐδία ἔσμεν τῷ Θεῷ ἐν τοῖς σωζομένοις· μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐπὶ τὰ στήθη, ἵνα ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν θώρακα τῆς δικαιοσύνης, στήτε πρὸς τὰς μεθοδείας τοῦ διαβόλου.

^z Conc. Constant. I. c. vii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 951.) Τοὺς προστιθεμένους τῇ ὀρθοδοξίᾳ καὶ τῇ μερίδι τῶν σωζομένων ἀπὸ αἱρετικῶν, δεχόμεθα . . . σφραγίζομένους, ἥτοι χριστομένους πρῶτον τῷ ἁγίῳ μύρῳ τὸ τε μέτωπον, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, καὶ τὰς ῥίνας, καὶ τὸ στόμα, καὶ τὰ ὦτα· καὶ σφραγίζοντες αὐτοὺς λέγομεν· Σφραγίς δωρεᾶς Πνεύματος ἁγίου.

formed only by the bishop, and not divided, as in the Roman, between the bishops and presbyters ; yet in some special cases, in some particular Churches, this office devolved upon the presbyters. For at Alexandria, if the bishop was absent, it was usual for the presbyters to give this consignation at the same time that they baptized: as I think the words of the author, under the name of St. Ambrose ^a, are to be understood, when he says, “ In Egypt, the presbyters consign in the bishop’s absence.” And this, another author, under the name of St. Austin ^b, calls ‘ consecration:’ which some learned persons, I know, take for the consecration of the eucharist. But that was nothing singular, but common to all the world, for presbyters to consecrate the eucharist in the bishop’s absence, in all Churches ; and therefore needed not to be noted as a peculiar custom in Egypt. Therefore, I rather judge it to mean some consecration, which presbyters, in many other Churches, were not allowed, in the absence of the bishop ; as the consecrating or consigning such as were baptized with the chrism of confirmation, which a presbyter might not do in the Roman Churches. But in some of the Eastern Churches this was allowed : for the author of the Constitutions, speaking of the celebration of baptism, addresses himself both to bishops and presbyters, telling them in what order they should perform it : “ Thou bishop, or presbyter, shalt first anoint the party to be baptized, with the holy oil : then thou shalt baptize him with water : and, last of all ^c, thou shalt sign him with the holy chrism.” Where we see not only the unction preceding baptism, but that which followed after, which was the unction of confirmation, is commanded to the presbyter as well as the bishop : which must, at least, be interpreted to mean his doing it in the absence of the bishop, or in his presence, if he has a particular command and delegation. So that

^a Ambros. in Ephes. iv. 11. (Bened. 1690. vol. ii. append. p. 241.) Denique apud Ægyptum presbyteri consignant, si præsens non sit episcopus.

^b Aug. Quæst. in Vet. et Nov. Test. quæst. ci. (Ben. 1679. vol. iii. append. p. 93.) In Alexandria et per totam Ægyptum, si desit episcopus, consecrat presbyter.

^c Constitut. Apostol. lib. vii. c. xxii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 425. B.) Ὡ ἐπίσκοπε, ἦ πρεσβύτερε, πρῶτον χρίσεις ἐλαίῳ ἁγίῳ, ἔπειτα βαπτίσεις ὕδατι, καὶ τελευταῖον σφραγίσεις μύρῳ.

as to what concerned this first ceremony of confirmation, the unction of chrism, the practice of different Churches varied much upon it. Some Churches, as the Roman, divided the office between bishops and presbyters. Others, as those of France, committed it wholly to presbyters, reserving to the bishop only the consecration of the oil, and imposition of hands in confirmation. Others, as those of the East, reserved not only the consecration of the chrism, but the use of it, to the bishop entirely, when he was personally present, and in all ordinary cases; only allowing it to be used by presbyters in his absence, or some such extraordinary cases.

SECT. III.—*The other Ceremony of Imposition of Hands reserved more strictly to the Office of Bishops.*

As to the other ceremony of ‘imposition of hands’ in confirmation, we find that more universally and strictly reserved to the office of bishops; yet not so absolutely and entirely, but that the canons authorized presbyters to do it, in subordination to their bishop, in some certain cases. It is certain Cyprian^d speaks of it as the ordinary office of bishops, or chief ministers of the Church. For, mentioning the imposition of hands, given by the apostles to those whom Philip had baptized (Acts viii.), he says, the same custom was now observed in the Church, that those who were baptized, were presented to the governors of the Church, that, by their prayer and imposition of hands, they might receive the Holy Ghost, and be consummated with the seal of the Lord. In like manner, Firmilian, bishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, who was contemporary with Cyprian, makes bishops the ordinary ministers of this office^e, whilst he draws a comparison between St. Paul giving

^d Cyprian. Epist. lxxiii. ad Jubaian. (Oxon. 1682. p. 202.) (p. 308, Amstelod. 1700.) Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur, ut, qui in ecclesia baptizantur, prepositis ecclesiæ offerantur, et, per nostram orationem ac manus impositionem, Spiritum Sanctum consequantur, et signaculo Dominico consummentur.

^e Firmil. Epist. lxxv. ap Cyprian. (Oxon. 1682. p. 221.) (p. 322, Amstelod.) Nisi si his episcopis, de quibus nunc, minor fuit Paulus; ut hi quidem possint per solam manus impositionem venientibus hæreticis dare Spiritum Sanctum; Paulus autem idoneus non fuerit, qui ab Joanne baptizatis Spiritum Sanctum per manus impositionem daret, nisi eos prius etiam ecclesiæ baptismo baptizasset.

imposition of hands to those whom he baptized at Ephesus (Acts xix.), and the bishop's giving imposition of hands to such as returned from heresy or schism to the unity of the Catholic Church. So likewise the anonymous^f author, who writes of the baptism of heretics, at the end of St. Cyprian's works, makes imposition of hands the office of bishops, in imitation of the apostles giving imposition of hands to those who were baptized by Philip the deacon. (Acts viii.) And, in another place^g, he says, "If bishops were present at baptism, they gave imposition of hands together with baptism; but if any were baptized by the inferior clergy, in time of necessity, then the bishops supplied this afterwards; or else the Lord supplied it as he saw fit." The Council of Eliberis, not long after, made two canons to this purpose. In one of which^h it is ordered, "that if a layman baptized a catechumen, when he was dangerously sick at sea, or where there was no church near at hand, he should afterward bring him to the bishop, that he might perfect his baptism by imposition of hands." And in the other canon, it is also orderedⁱ, "that in case a deacon, governing a country people, where there is no bishop or presbyter present, shall baptize any of them, the bishop shall afterwards perfect them by his benediction." Or if they chanced to die before this could be done, they were to be

^f Anonym. de Bapt. Hæretic. ap. Cyprian. (Oxon. p. 23, in appendice.) Per manus impositionem episcopi datur unicuique credenti Spiritus Sanctus, sicut apostoli circa Samaritanos post Philippi baptismum manum ei imponendo fecerint.

^g Ibid. (Oxon. p. 26.) Et ideo quum salus nostra in baptismate Spiritus, quod plerumque cum baptismate aquæ conjunctus sit, constituta, si quidem per nos baptismum tradetur, integre et solemniter et per omnia, quæ scripta sunt, adsignetur, atque sine ulla ullius rei separatione tradatur: aut si a minore clero per necessitatem traditum fuerit, eventum exspectemus, ut aut suppleatur a nobis, aut a Domino supplendum reservetur.

^h Conc. Illiber. c. xxxviii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 974.) Peregre navigantes, aut si ecclesia in proximo non fuerit, posse fidelem, qui lavacrum suum integrum habet, nec sit bigamus, baptizare in necessitate infirmitatis positum catechumenum: ita, ut si supervixerit, ad episcopum eum perducat, ut per manus impositionem proficere possit.

ⁱ Ibid. c. lxxvii. Si quis diaconus, regens plebem, sine episcopo vel presbytero aliquos baptizaverit, episcopus eos per benedictionem perficere debet. Quod si ante de sæculo recesserint, sub fide, qua quis credidit, poterit esse justus.

reputed in a salvable condition by the faith in which they were baptized. We have heard St. Jerome^k before testifying of this, as the general practice of the Church, for bishops to go about the country villages, and remoter places in their dioceses, to give imposition of hands to such as were baptized by presbyters and deacons. And some of these died before the bishop could come to them; which implies, not only that it was the bishop's ordinary office, but that presbyters and deacons did not administer imposition of hands, even in such cases of necessity; otherwise the party who wanted it, could not have died without it. This was evidently the practice of the Roman Church, where, though the office of chrismation was in part allowed to presbyters, yet the consignation in the forehead, with imposition of hands, was still reserved to the bishop, as his peculiar office in confirmation: as we learn from the letters of Pope Innocent^l, Gelasius^m, and Gregory the Greatⁿ; which have already been mentioned in the last section. To which we may add the testimony of Cornelius, who lived before all these in the time of Cyprian, as it is recorded by Eusebius. He there, speaking^o of Novatian, who was baptized only with clinic baptism upon a sick bed, says, "When he recovered from his distemper, he never received those things, which, by the laws of the Church, he was obliged to receive, to wit, consignation by the hands of the bishops," &c. All those testimonies likewise, which require heretics to have imposition of hands from the bishop, in order to obtain the gift of the Holy Ghost, are a further evidence of this practice. To which purpose, we have the decrees of Pope Leo^p and Siricius^q, who particularly observes this to have been the general

^k Hieron. Dial. cont. Lucifer. c. iv. See note (a) p. 2.

^l Innocent. Epist. i. ad Decent. c. iii. See page 15, note (k).

^m Gelas. Epist. ix. ad Episcop. Lucan. c. vi. See page 16, note (m).

ⁿ Gregor. lib. iii. ep. ix. See page 16, note (p).

^o Euseb. lib. vi. c. xliii. (Aug. T. 1746. p. 272. C.) Οὐδὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἔτυχε, διαφυγῶν τὴν νόσον, ὧν χρὴ μεταλαμβάνειν κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας κανόνα, τοῦ τε σφραγισθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου.

^p Leo, Epist. xxxvii. ad Leonem Raven. c. ii. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 1316.) Si ab hæreticis baptizatum quempiam fuisse constitierit, . . . hoc tantum quod ibi defuit, conferatur, ut per episcopalis manus impositionem virtutem Sancti Spiritus consequatur.

^q Siric. Epist. i. ad Himer. c. i. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1018.) Arianos nos

practice of the whole Church, both Eastern and Western, as well as the Church of Rome, in the reception of those who had been baptized in any heresy or schism. And as to all persons baptized in the Church, St. Austin is a further witness, who says, "that in propriety of speech, neither the apostles nor any other man, but Christ alone, as he is God, could give the Holy Ghost: for the apostles only^r laid hands on men, that the Holy Ghost by their prayers might descend upon them; which custom the Church now observed and practised by her bishops and governors also." In like manner, St. Ambrose^s says, "The spiritual seal, or seal of the Spirit, which was the completion of baptism, came after the font, when by the prayer of the priest," that is, in his language, 'the bishop,' "the Holy Ghost was poured upon them." From all which testimonies it is most undeniably evident, that the bishop, in all ordinary cases, was the only standing and regular minister of this part of confirmation, which consisted in imposition of hands and prayer,—to invoke the gift of the Holy Ghost.

SECT. IV.—*Yet in some special Cases, Presbyters by Commission, allowed to minister it also. As, First, when Bishops particularly required their Presbyters to do it, to such as were baptized in the Church.*

Yet there were some special and extraordinary cases, in which some Churches, if not all, granted a license by canon to presbyters, to minister this part of confirmation also. As when bishops, either in their presence or absence, appointed a presbyter by a particular delegation or command to do it. This was no encroachment upon the bishop's authority, nor infringement of his privilege and power, because what was

cum Novatianis . . . per invocationem solam septiformis Spiritus, episcopalis manus impositione, Catholicorum conventui sociamus. Quod etiam totus Oriens Occidentisque custodit.

^r Aug. de Trinitat. lib. xv. c. xxvi. (Bened. 1679. vol. viii. p. 999. A 3.) Neque enim aliquis discipulorum ejus (Christi) dedit Spiritum Sanctum. Orabant quippe, ut veniret in eos, quibus manum imponebant, non ipsi eum dabant. Quem morem in suis præpositis etiam nunc servat ecclesia.

^s Ambros. de Sacram. lib. iii. c. ii. Sequitur spirituale signaculum . . . quia post fontem superest, ut perfectio fiat, quando, ad invocationem sacerdotis, Spiritus Sanctus infunditur. See note (g) p. 3.

done, was only done in subordination to him, and in pursuance of his command. This license we find sometimes granted to presbyters, even in the bishop's presence. As is clear from that canon ^t in the collection of Martin Bracarensis, out of the canons of the Greek Church: "A presbyter shall not consign infants in the presence of his bishop, unless it be particularly enjoined him by his bishop." Here three things are manifestly implied: 1. That this consignation or imposition of hands, with the sign of the cross and prayer, was ordinarily the sole office of the bishop. 2. That, by a special commission, he might authorize presbyters to do it even in his presence. 3. That in his absence, they were authorized to do it by a general commission, rather than infants or any other baptized persons should die without confirmation. And this agrees very well with what has been said before in the last section, concerning the practice of the Churches of Alexandria and Egypt, though in the Western Churches it was otherwise; as is evident from what has been alleged before out of Pope Innocent ^u and St. Jerome ^x, who tell us, "that presbyters neither in the presence of the bishop, nor in his absence, were allowed to do it; but many men were forced to die without confirmation or imposition of hands, because the bishop did not come time enough to administer it to them."

SECT. V.—*Secondly, Presbyters might administer to the Energumens.*

Yet, also, in the Western Churches, there were some special cases, in which this consignation was allowed to be performed by presbyters. Nay, and in one case, by deacons also. As it was in the case of energumens, or persons possessed with evil spirits after baptism; concerning whom Pope Innocent makes this decree, in the same epistle where he prohibits presbyters from consigning in all ordinary cases ^y: "That if any one was

^t Martin. Bracar. Collect. Canon. c. lii. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 911.) Presbyter, presentate episcopo, non signet infantes, nisi forte ab episcopo fuerit illi præceptum.

^u Innocent. Epist. i. ad Decent. See page 11, note (l); and page 15, note (k).

^x Hieron. cont. Lucifer. c. iv. See page 2, note (a).

^y Innocent. Epist. i. ad Decent. c. vi. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1247.) De his bapti-

seized with an evil spirit after baptism, the bishop might give orders to a presbyter or a deacon to consign him in that condition." It was not to be done but by the bishop's authority ; for he only had the power of imposition of hands ; but because an energumen, who was a great distance from the bishop, might have several chances in his journey, it was therefore thought more proper for the bishops to grant a commission to a presbyter or deacon, to give him imposition of hands at home, than to venture his falling into his distemper, by either coming to the bishop, or returning.

SECT. VI.—*Thirdly, And to such as were baptized in Heresy or Schism, in case they were in Danger of Death.*

Another extraordinary case in which this office of imposition of hands was granted to presbyters, was, when any who had been baptized by heretics or schismatics were, upon their return to the Church, seized with a violent sickness, and in imminent danger of death, before they could go to the bishop, or the bishop come to them, to give them imposition of hands, and confirm them with that grace of the Spirit, which they could not have in heresy or schism. In that case, rather than such persons should die without this office, a commission was granted to presbyters to administer it. This we find most expressly in the first Council of Orange^z ; " That heretics, if they be in extremity, and apparent danger of death, when they desire to become Catholics, shall, in the bishop's absence, be consigned by the presbyters with chrism and benediction, that is, imposition of hands in the benediction prayer." And the like decree is made in the Council of Epone^a : " That if any

zatis, qui postea a dæmonio, vitio aliquo aut peccato interveniente, corripuntur, quæsit dilectio tua, si a presbytero vel diacono possint aut debeant consignari : quod hoc nisi episcopis præcipere non licet. Nam eis manus imponenda omnino non est, nisi episcopus auctoritatem dederit id efficiendi. Ut autem fiat, episcopi est imperare, ut manus ei vel a presbytero vel a ceteris clericis imponatur. Nam quomodo id fieri sine magno labore poterit, ut longe constitutus energumenus ad episcopum deducatur, quum, si talis casus ei in itinere acciderit, nec perferri ad episcopum, nec referri ad sua, facile possit ?

^z Conc. Arausican. I. c. i. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 1447.) Hæreticos, in mortis discrimine positos, si Catholici esse desiderent, si desit episcopus, a presbyteris cum chrismate et benedictione consignari placet.

^a Conc. Epaumens. c. xvi. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1578.) Presbyteros propter

heretics, who lay desperately sick, upon a death-bed, desired suddenly to be converted, in that case, for the salvation of their souls, which was heartily desired, a presbyter should be permitted to give them the consolation of chrism. Which they that were in health were to go to the bishop for at their conversion." Where we may observe, that the chrismation here spoken of, was not the chrismation which presbyters were ordinarily allowed to give in the Western Church, but that which was joined with imposition of hands, which was peculiarly reserved to the bishop, except in such cases of extremity, when a presbyter was allowed to give it, rather than a converted heretic should die without it. And the reason of this concession was, because heretics, who were baptized out of the Church, were supposed to be without the grace of the Spirit, till they received it by imposition of hands in the Catholic Church: for which reason, all heretics, as well those who used imposition of hands at baptism, as those that did not, received a new benediction when they returned to the unity of the Church; as I have showed from St. Austin^b, Optatus^c, and Alcimus Avitus^d, in another place^e.

salutem animarum, quam in cunctis optamus, desperatis et decumbentibus hæreticis, si conversionem subitam petant, chrismate permittimus subvenire. Quod omnes conversuri, si sani sunt, ab episcopo noverint expetendum.— Vid. Pontifical. Damasi, Vit. Sylvestri, p. 229, ap. Grab. tom. i. (tom. i. Conc. Labbe, p. 1408. E.) Privilegium episcopis contulit, ut baptizatum consignet.

^b Aug. de Bapt. lib. iii. c. xvi. (Bened. 1679. vol. ix. p. 116.) Spiritus Sanctus quòd in sola Catholica per manus impositionem dari dicitur, nimirum hoc intelligi majores nostri voluerunt, quod apostolus ait, Quoniam caritas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum Sanctum, qui datus est nobis, etc.

^c Optat. lib. vii. p. 109, Paris. 1631.

^d Avit. Epist. xxiv. ad Stephanum. (tom. ix. Bibl. Patr. Lugd. 1677, p. 574. H.) Quocirca Donatistarum nomen, ne diu in loco vivere possit alieno, benedictione protinus sepelite vitali. In ipso fomitis sui ortu, peregrinantis igniculi frigescat incendium. De quo ne vel famæ fumus narem Gallix innocentis adspergat, manus impositionem personæ, de qua scribitis, adhibete, interdicta nominis ipsius in posterum, si ex corde convertitur, mentione, etc.

^e See Scholast. History of Lay Baptism, part i. p. 86.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE MANNER OF ADMINISTERING CONFIRMATION, AND
THE CEREMONIES USED IN THE CELEBRATION OF IT.

SECT. I.—*The first Ceremony of Confirmation was the
Unction of Chrism.*

HAVING thus far considered both the subject of confirmation, or persons to whom it was administered, and the persons by whom it was administered, we are, in the next place, to take a view of the form and manner of its administration: in which we may observe four distinct ceremonies besides the consecration of the chrism, which were,—the unction; the sign of the cross; imposition of hands; and prayer. The unction was commonly first in order, as we learn from that of Tertullian^a: “As soon as we are come out of the water, we are anointed with the blessed unction. And then we receive imposition of hands, invoking the Holy Spirit by a benediction.”

SECT. II.—*The Original of this Unction.*

The first rise and original of this unction in the Church is not exactly known; and the sentiments of learned men are various about it. The late famous writer, under the feigned name of Petrus Aurelius, in his book called *Orthodoxus*, against Sirmond, takes a great deal of pains to prove it an apostolical practice. But Habertus^b calls this a dream and a mad undertaking, against the general stream and current of learned men. And Estius says^c, “The common opinion is, that the apostles, in the beginning of their preaching, used no chrism in the

^a Tertul. de Bapt. cc. vii. viii. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 45.) Exinde egressi de lavacro perungimur benedicta unctione. . . . Dehinc manus imponitur, per benedictionem advocans et invitans Spiritum Sanctum.

^b Habert. Archierat. p. 702. Quod divinare quidam nos volunt, apostolos in libro Praxapostol. confirmasse cum chrismate, id rationem fugit. Præfracte id contra summos theologorum persuadere nititur Petrus Aurelius in *Orthodoxo* contra Sirmondum.

^c Estius in Sentent. lib. iv. distinct. vii. sect. vii. (vol. iv. p. 88. B 3.) Communior sententia est, apostolos initio sæ prædicationis non usos fuisse chrismate in administratione hujus sacramenti.

administration of this sacrament," as he calls it. So that what the Romanists now make the matter of their new sacrament, is confessed to be without any foundation in Scripture. Bishop Pearson^d is of opinion, that the use of it came into the Church shortly after the time of the apostles. Basnage^e and Daillé^f think not till the third century, when it is first mentioned by Origen^g and Tertullian. Some, indeed, allege an author more ancient than either of these, which is Theophilus Antiochenus^h, who says, "that we are therefore called Christians, because we are anointed with the oil of God." But the unction he speaks of, is a spiritual and mystical unction; "such as," he says, "the whole air and earth under heaven is anointed with, viz. the unction of light, and the Spirit of God." So that there being no author before Tertullian, who mentions the material unction, as used in confirmation, it is most probable it was a ceremony first begun about his time, to represent the unction of the Holy Ghost.

SECT. III.—*The Form and Manner of administering it, together with the Effects of it.*

But when it was once admitted, it was usually magnified as the symbol, and sometimes the instrumental cause, of very great effects. The consecration of it was supposed to work a mystical change in its nature, answerable to the change wrought in the waters of baptism, and the bread and wine in the eucharist, which Cyril of Jerusalem compares togetherⁱ. It

^d Pearson, Lect. in Act. v. n. vi. p. 69.

^e Basnag. Critic. in Baron. p. 76. Nullus in consignandis fidelibus chrismatis usus ante tertium æræ Christianæ sæculum. Atque res apparet ex Tertulliano, qui chrisma in posterorum prospectum primus produxit.

^f Dall. de Confirmat. lib. ii. c. ii. pp. 116—118.

^g Origen. in Levit. hom. ix. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 243. B.) Omnes, quicumque unguento sacri chrismatis delibuti sunt, sacerdotes effecti sunt, sicut et Petrus ad omnem dicit ecclesiam, 'Vos genus electum, et regale sacerdotium, gens sancta.'

^h Theoph. ad Autolyceum, lib. i. (Bibl. Patr. Gr.-Lat. vol. i. p. 110.) Καλούμεθα Χριστιανοί, ὅτι χρισόμεθα ἐλαίῳ Θεοῦ.

ⁱ Cyril. Catech. Mystag. iii. n. iii. (Venet. 1763. p. 316. D 3.) "Ὅρα μὴ ὑπονόησῃς ἐκεῖνο τὸ μύρον ψιλὸν εἶναι ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ἐνχαριστίας, μετὰ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, οὐκ ἔστι ἄρτος λιτὸς, ἀλλὰ σῶμα Χριστοῦ· οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἅγιον τοῦτο μύρον οὐκ ἔστι ψιλὸν, οὐδ' ὡς

was this unction, as the completion of baptism, to which they ascribed the power of making every Christian, in some sense, partaker of a royal priesthood. Which is not only said by Origen in the passage last mentioned, but by Pope Leo^k, St. Jerome^l, and many others^m. To it they also ascribed the noble effects of confirming the soul with the strength of all spiritual graces on God's part, as well as the confirmation of the professions and covenant made on man's part. The author of the Constitutions makes it to be, on man's part, *βεβαίωσις τῆς ὁμολογίας καὶ συνθηκῶν*, "the confirmation of the confessions and compactsⁿ," made with God in baptism: and on God's part, the collation of the Holy Spirit, represented by this ceremony of anointing. Which is so frequently mentioned in every Greek writer upon this subject, that it is superfluous to refer any learned reader to them. It will be sufficient only to hint the forms of prayer which they used upon this occasion; for these will evidently show what spiritual effects they expected from this unction. Now, of these we have two ancient forms remaining, a shorter and a longer; the one an express, and the other an implicit prayer. The shorter form was conceived in

ἀν εἴποι τις κοινὸν, μετ' ἐπίκλησιν, ἀλλὰ Χριστοῦ χάρισμα, καὶ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου παρουσία τῆς αὐτοῦ θεότητος ἐνεργητικὸν γινόμενον.

^k Leo, Sermon. iii. de Assumptione sua, p. 3. (Bibl. Patr. tom. vii. p. 983. F, Lugd.) Omnes in Christo regeneratos, crucis signum efficit reges; Sancti vero Spiritus unctio consecrat sacerdotes.

^l Hieron. cont. Lucifer. c. iv. (Bened. Veron. vol. ii. p. 174. A 5.) Deponat sacerdotium laici, id est, baptisma: et ego do veniam poenitenti. Scriptum est enim, 'Regnum quoque et sacerdotes Deo Patri suo fecit.' Et iterum: 'Gentem sanctam, regale sacerdotium, populum acquisitum.'

^m Prosper. Sentent. ex Aug. n. cccxlii. De Chrismate: Christi nomen a chrismate est, id est, ab unctione. Quia ideo omnis Christianus sanctificatur, ut intelligat, se non solum sacerdotalis et regie dignitatis esse consortem, sed etiam contra diabolum fieri luctatorem.—Ambros. de Initiatis, c. vi. (Paris. 1661. vol. iv. p. 347.) Quantæ hodie renovatæ animæ dilexerunt te, Domine Jesu, dicentes, 'Attrahe nos post te; in odorem unguentorum tuorum currimus,' ut odorem resurrectionis haurirent! Quare hoc fiat intellige, quia oculi sapientis in capite ejus. Ideo in barbam defluit, id est, in gratiam juventutis. Ideo in barbam Aaron, ut fias electum genus, sacerdotale, pretiosum. Omnes enim 'in regnum Dei et in sacerdotium unguimur' gratia spiritali.—Aug. Sermon. iii. post xl. a Sirmondo, edit. in append. tom. x. p. 847.

ⁿ Constitut. Apostol. (Labbe, vol. i.) lib. iii. c. xvii. *Τὸ μύρον, βεβαίωσις τῆς ὁμολογίας.*—Lib. vii. c. xxii. *Τὸ μύρον σφραγίς τῶν συνθηκῶν.*

these words,—σφραγίς δωρεᾶς Πνεύματος ἁγίου, “the seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit;” as we find it in the first General Council of Constantinople^o, where they order such as were baptized by heretics to be confirmed by the unction of chrism, in this form of words. And so again in the Council of Trullo^p and some private writers^q. Not to mention now, that this is the form still in use in the *Euchologium* of the present Greek Church. But beside this shorter form (which was only an implicit prayer, as if they had said, ‘Let this unction be unto thee the seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit’), they had also some larger forms, which were more express prayers; one of which is in the author of the Apostolical Constitutions, under the title of an εὐχαριστία περὶ τοῦ μυστικοῦ μύρου, “a thanksgiving or benediction to be used in the unction of the mystical chrism;” where the bishop is ordered to anoint the party baptized, saying these words^r: “O Lord God, the unbegotten, who hast no Lord, who art Lord of all, who madest the sweet savour of the knowledge of the Gospel to go forth among all nations; grant now that this chrism may be effectual in this baptized person, that the sweet savour of thy Christ may remain firm and stable in him; and that he, being dead with him, may rise again and live with him.” Now this unction, in the Greek Church, was not only in the forehead, but in several other parts of the body, all performed by the bishop in one and the same act: but the Latins divided the office, in some places, between the bishop and presbyters, as has been observed before: but whether united or divided, it was all reckoned the

^o Conc. Constant. I. c. vii. Σφραγίς δωρεᾶς Πνεύματος ἁγίου.—See p. 18, note (z).

^p Conc. Trul. c. xcv. (Labbe, vol. vi. p. 1182.) Τοὺς προστιθεμένους τῇ ὀρθοδοξίᾳ καὶ τῇ μερίδι τῶν σωζομένων ἀπὸ αἱρετικῶν δεχόμεθα . . . καὶ σφραγίζοντες αὐτοὺς λέγομεν, Σφραγίς δωρεᾶς Πνεύματος ἁγίου.

^q Asterius Amasen. de Filio Prodigio, ap. Photium, Cod. cclxxi. p. 1499. Ὡς ἐν τῇ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος παλιγγενεσίᾳ καὶ στολή καὶ σφραγίς δωρεᾶς Πνεύματος ἁγίου· οὕτω καὶ ἐν τῇ διὰ τῆς μετανοίας ἀναγεννήσει.

^r Constitut. Apostol. lib. vii. c. xlv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 450.) Κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἀγέννητος καὶ ἀδέσποτος, ὁ τῶν ἄλων κύριος, ὁ τὴν ὁσμὴν τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν εὖοσμον παρασχόμενος· σὺ καὶ νῦν τοῦτο τὸ μύρον δὸς ἐνεργὲς γενέσθαι ἐπὶ τῷ βαπτιζομένῳ, ὥστε βεβαίαν καὶ πάγιον ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν εὐωδίαν μεῖναι τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ συναποθανόντα αὐτὸν συναναστήναι καὶ συζῆσαι αὐτῷ.

unction of confirmation. Which is evident from that canon of the Council of Barcelona which, speaking of presbyters receiving the consecrated chrism from their bishops, which they themselves were to use, says expressly^s, “that it was for confirming neophytes, or persons newly baptized:” which is a manifest proof, that that part of the ceremony of unction, which was committed to presbyters, was reckoned a part of confirmation. And so much of it might be committed to presbyters, acting in subordination to their bishop, as the rules of every Church allowed. For this part of confirmation being wholly of ecclesiastical institution, it was in the power of the Church to make orders in all things concerning it, both in what manner, and by what persons, she would have it performed. Which is the true reason of so much variety as we have observed in different Churches, in the administering this first ceremony of confirmation.

SECT. IV.—*The second Ceremony of Confirmation was the Sign of the Cross.*

Together with this unction they usually joined the sign of the cross. For this ceremony they used upon all occasions; and, therefore, would not omit it in this solemn act of confirmation. Of this we have several clear proofs in Tertullian, Pope Leo, and others; which, because they have been already recited at large^t, in speaking of the use of the sign of the cross in baptism, I will not here repeat them; but only add, that the name ‘consignation,’ which is so often used by the Latin writers to denote ‘confirmation^u,’ seems to have had its rise from this ceremony and custom of signing with the sign of the cross, when they gave the unction to persons baptized. And this, in some measure, answers to the Greek name *σφραγίς*, which many times, though not always, denotes

^s Conc. Barcinon. c. ii. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1605.) Statutum est, ut quum chrisma presbyteris diocesanis pro neophytis confirmandis datur, nihil pro liquoris pretio accipiatur, etc.

^t Book xi. chap. ix. sect. vi.

^u Innocent. Epist. i. ad Decent. c. iii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1246.) De consignandis infantibus, manifestum est, non ab alio quam ab episcopo fieri licere.—Martin. Bracar. c. lii. Presbyter non signet, etc. See note (t) p. 24.

the sign of the cross, as used in baptism or confirmation, or any other office of religion ; of which I need not here be more particular.

SECT. V.—*The third and most noted Ceremony, Imposition of Hands ; and Fourthly, Prayer joined therewith.*

The most noted ceremony in this whole affair, and that which most universally prevailed, was imposition of hands ; a ceremony used in all sorts of benedictions, but more peculiarly applied to ordination, reconciling of penitents, and confirmation. The Latin writers commonly speak of confirmation under this title. But some think it was not in use among the Greeks, who, they say, only used chrism, and not imposition of hands, in confirmation. But this is a great mistake : for the author of the Constitutions^x, in the same chapter, where he rehearses the prayer of the mystical chrism, immediately subjoins, “ This is the power of imposition of hands necessary for every one : for unless he that is baptized have this invocation of the holy priest, he only goes into the water as a Jew, and puts off the filth of the body, but not the filth of the soul.” Therefore, though this ‘imposition of hands’ be not so frequently mentioned in the Greek writers, yet it is always to be understood, as ‘chrism’ is in the Latin writers, where only ‘imposition of hands’ is mentioned.

SECT. VI.—*The Original of this Ceremony of Imposition of Hands.*

The antiquity of this ceremony is, by all ancient writers, carried as high as the apostles, and founded upon their example and practice. There are three passages in Scripture from which they generally deduce it ; Acts viii., where mention is made of the apostles’ laying hands on those whom Philip had baptized ; Acts xix., where St. Paul laid his hands on those whom he baptized after John’s baptism ; and Heb. vi. 2, where mention

^x Constitut. Apostol. lib. vii. c. xlv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 450. C 3.) ‘Εκάστου γὰρ ἡ δύναμις τῆς χειροθεσίας ἐστὶν αὕτη· ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ εἰς ἕκαστον τούτων ἐπίκλησις γένηται παρὰ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς ἱερέως τοιαύτη τις, εἰς ὕδωρ μόνον καταβαίνει ὁ βαπτιζόμενος, ὡς Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ ἀποτίθεται μόνον τὸν ῥύπον τοῦ σώματος, οὐ τὸν ῥύπον τῆς ψυχῆς.

is made of imposition of hands among the first principles of religion. Cyprian derives it from the practice of the apostles ^y laying their hands on those whom Philip baptized: "for," says he, "the same custom is now observed in the Church, that they who are baptized, are presented to the governors of the Church, that by their prayer and imposition of hands, they may receive the Holy Ghost." And, in other places ^z, he refers it, in general, to apostolical institution and practice. The anonymous author of the book concerning Heretical Baptism, at the end of Cyprian ^a, deduces it likewise from the same example of the apostles laying hands on the Sacraments, whom Philip baptized. Firmilian compares the bishop's imposition of hands to invoke the Holy Spirit, to that of St. Paul ^b upon those whom he baptized at Ephesus. St. Jerome owns the Luciferians' argument to be good, when he derives this custom ^c

^y Cyprian. Epist. lxxiii. ad Jubaian. (Oxon. 1682. p. 202.) (p. 308, Amstelod. 1700.) Quia legitimum et ecclesiasticum baptisma consequuti fuerant, baptizari eos ultra non oportebat: sed tantummodo quod deerat, id a Petro et Joanne factum est, ut oratione pro eis habita, et manu imposita, invocaretur et infunderetur super eos Spiritus Sanctus. Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur, ut qui in ecclesia baptizantur, præpositis ecclesiæ offerantur, ut per nostram orationem et manus impositionem Spiritum Sanctum consequantur.

^z Ibid. Epist. lxxii. ad Stephan. (Oxon. p. 196.) (p. 305, Amstel.) De eo maxime tibi scribendum, et cum tua gravitate ac sapientia conferendum fuit, quod magis pertineat, et ad sacerdotalem auctoritatem, et ad ecclesiæ Catholicæ unitatem pariter ac dignitatem, de divinæ dispositionis ordinatione venientem, eos, qui sint foris extra ecclesiam tincti, et apud hæreticos et schismaticos profanæ aquæ labe maculati, quando ad nos atque ad ecclesiam, quæ una est, venerint, baptizari oportere; eo quod parum sit eis manum imponere ad accipiendum Spiritum Sanctum, nisi accipiant ecclesiæ baptismum. Tunc enim demum plene sanctificari, et esse filii Dei possunt, si sacramento utroque nascantur, quum scriptum sit, 'Nisi quis renatus fuerit,' etc.

^a Anon. de Bapt. Hæret. ap. Cyprian. in append. (Oxon. p. 23.) (p. 21, Amstelod.) Per manus impositionem episcopi datur unicuique credenti Spiritus Sanctus, sicut apostoli circa Samaritanos, post Philippi baptismum, manum eis imponendo fecerunt.

^b Firmil. Ep. lxxv. (Oxon. p. 221.) (p. 322, Amstelod.) Vid. cit. e. ii. sect. iii. lit. (e).

^c Hieron. cont. Lucifer. e. viii. (Bened. Veron. vol. ii. p. 180. D 6.) An nescis, etiam ecclesiarum hunc esse morem, ut baptizatis postea manus imponantur, et ita invocetur Spiritus Sanctus? Exigis, ubi scriptum sit? In Actis Apostolorum. Etiamsi Scripturæ auctoritas non subesset, totius orbis in hanc partem consensus instar præcepti obtineret. Nam et multa alia, quæ per traditionem in ecclesiis observantur, auctoritatem sibi scriptæ legis usurpaverunt; velut in

from the Acts of the Apostles, and the case of the Samaritans receiving imposition of hands after Philip had baptized them : though he thinks the practice and tradition of the Church sufficient to authorize such a custom in this case, as well as in several other rites belonging to baptism and other things, which had the authority of laws, though they were no where expressly commanded in Scripture ; as the triple immersion in baptism, and the tasting of milk and honey, in token of a new birth. St. Austin, in like manner, affirms^d this observation descended to the governors of the Church from the apostles, who prayed over those on whom they laid their hands, that they might receive the Holy Ghost. And, because it might be objected, that the apostolical practice was for a quite different end, to confer on men the miraculous gift of the Spirit, empowering them to speak with new tongues ; he is very careful, once or twice, to answer this objection, and show, that notwithstanding any such difference, this practice of imposition of hands, in order to obtain the Holy Spirit, might be said to descend from the apostles. “ For,” says he^e, “ by the Holy Ghost, which is given only in the Catholic Church by imposition

lavaero ter caput mergitare ; deinde egressos, lactis et mellis prægustare concordiam ad infantiaë significationem.

^d Aug. de Trinit. lib. xv. c. xxvi. (Bened. vol. viii. p. 999.) Orabant, ut veniret in eos quibus manum imponebant, non ipsi eum dabant. Quem morem in suis præpositis etiam nunc servat Ecclesia.

^e Ibid. de Bapt. lib. iii. c. xvi. (Bened. 1679. vol. ix. p. 116.) Nam Spiritus Sanctus, quod in sola Catholica, per manus impositionem dari dicitur, nimirum hoc intelligi majores nostri voluerunt, quod apostolus ait, ‘ Quoniam caritas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum Sanctum, qui datus est nobis.’ Ipsa enim est caritas, quam non habent qui ab ecclesiæ Catholicæ communione præcisi sunt ; ac per hoc, etiamsi linguis hominum loquantur et angelorum, si sciant omnia sacramenta et omnem scientiam, etsi omnem habeant prophetiam, et omnem fidem, ita ut montes transferant, et distribuant omnia sua pauperibus, et tradant corpus suum, ut ardeant, nihil eis prodest. Non autem habent Dei caritatem, qui ecclesiæ non diligunt unitatem : ac per hoc recte intelligitur dici, non accipi nisi in Catholica Spiritus Sanctus. Neque enim temporalibus et sensibilibus miraculis attestantibus per manus impositionem modo datur Spiritus Sanctus, sicut antea dabatur ad commendationem rudis fidei, et ecclesiæ primordia dilatanda. Quis enim nunc hoc exspectat, ut ii, quibus manus ad accipiendum Spiritum Sanctum imponitur, repente incipiant linguis loqui ? Sed invisibiliter et latenter intelligitur per vinculum pacis eorum cordibus Divina caritas inspirari, ut possint dicere, ‘ Quoniam caritas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum Sanctum, qui datus est nobis.’

of hands, our forefathers would have us to understand that which the apostle says, ‘The love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given us.’ For that is the charity which they have not, who are cut off from the communion of the Catholic Church. And though they speak with the tongues of men and angels, and know all mysteries and all knowledge, it profits them nothing. For they have not the love of God, who love not the unity of the Church; upon which account it is rightly said, that the Holy Spirit is not received but only in the Catholic Church. For now the Holy Spirit, which is given by imposition of hands, does not appear with sensible and temporal miracles to attest it, as it was heretofore given to recommend the first plantation of faith, and to dilate the Church in its infancy. For who now expects that they to whom imposition of hands is given to receive the Holy Spirit, should immediately begin to speak with new tongues? But the love of God is supposed to be inspired into their hearts, invisibly and latently, by the bond of peace, so as they may truly say, ‘The love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost that is given us.’” He gives the same answer to this pretended difficulty in another place^f, “Hereby,” says he, “we know that he dwells in us, by the Spirit which he hath given us. If thou findest in thy heart the love of God, thou hast the Spirit to give thee knowledge: which is a very necessary thing. In the first

^f Aug. Tractat. vi. in 1 Joan. iii. (Ben. 1679. vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 868. B 5.) ‘In hoc cognoscimus, quia manet in nobis, de Spiritu, quem dedit nobis.’ Si enim inveneris te habere caritatem, habes Spiritum Dei ad intelligendum: valde enim necessaria res est. Primis temporibus cadebat super credentes Spiritus Sanctus, et loquebantur linguis quas non didicerant, quomodo Spiritus dabat eis pronuntiare. Signa erant tempori opportuna. Oportebat enim ita significari in omnibus linguis Spiritum Sanctum, quia evangelium Dei per omnes linguas cursurum erat toto orbe terrarum. Significatum est illud, et transiit. Numquid modo, quibus imponitur manus, ut accipiant Spiritum Sanctum, hoc expectatur, ut linguis loquantur? Aut quando imposuimus manum istis infantibus, attendit unusquisque vestrum, utrum linguis loquerentur, et quum videret eos linguis non loqui, ita perverso corde aliquis vestrum fuit, ut diceret, Non acceperunt isti Spiritum Sanctum; nam si acceperunt, linguis loquerentur, quemadmodum tunc factum est? Si ergo per hæc miracula non fiat modo testimonium præsentiae Spiritus Sancti; unde cognoscit quisque accepisse se Spiritum Sanctum? Interroget cor suum: si diligit fratrem, manet Spiritus Dei in illo.

age, the Holy Ghost fell on them that believed; and they spake with tongues, which they had never learned, as the Spirit gave them utterance. These were signs proper for that time; for then it was necessary that the Holy Ghost should be thus demonstrated in all kinds of tongues; because the Gospel was to run throughout the whole world in all sorts of languages. But this demonstration once made, it ceased. For does any man now expect to hear them speak with new tongues, who receive imposition of hands as a means to obtain the Holy Spirit? Or, when we laid hands on these infants, did any of you look when they should speak with tongues? And when they did not speak with tongues, was any one so perverse in heart as to say, 'They have not received the Holy Ghost; for if they had received it, they would have spoken with tongues, as was done heretofore?' If, therefore, there be no such miracles now, to testify the presence of the Spirit, how knows any man that he has received the Holy Ghost? Let him ask his own heart. If he loves the brethren, the Spirit of God abideth in him." Thus St. Austin derives imposition of hands, for conveying the Spirit, from the practice of the apostles, though there were very different effects then from what they are now. Though men had not the gift of tongues conferred upon them, as in the days of the apostles, yet they might have other graces, sufficient both to testify the presence of the Spirit, and to entitle the act of imposition of hands to the dignity of an apostolical institution. From whence, also, we may observe, that charity and unity, or stedfastness in the love of God and religion, was a particular grace of the Spirit given by imposition of hands: which because heretics could not have, who were baptized out of the Church, therefore they always received imposition of hands upon their ^ε return to the Church, whether they had received it in pretence among their own party before or not. For some heretics gave imposition of hands, together with baptism, and others did not: but both of them received imposition of hands again, upon

^ε Aug. de Bapt. lib. v. c. xxiii. (Bened. 1679. vol. ix. p. 157. D.) Propter caritatis copulationem, quod est maximum donum Spiritus Sancti, sine quo non valent, quæcumque alia sancta in homine fuerint, manus hæreticis correctis imponitur.

their return to the Catholic Church. There is one passage more, upon which some of the ancients found this practice, which is Heb. vi. 2, where the apostle joins imposition of hands with baptism. Upon which the author, under the name of St. Ambrose^h, notes, “that it means that imposition of hands, which is supposed to confer the Holy Ghost, which is ordinarily given by the chief priests, or bishops, after baptism, for the confirmation of men in the unity of the Church of Christ.” Which exposition is repeated by Haymoⁱ and some later writers, and allowed as probable by Grotius and Calvin. There is one writer more, who seems to derive it from the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the apostles at the day of Pentecost. He goes under the name of Eusebius Emissenus; but learned men suppose him to be Eucherius of Lyons, or Hilary of Arles, or some other writer about the time of Pope Leo, in the middle of the fifth century. Whoever he was, the account he gives of confirmation is very particular and instructive; and, therefore, the whole passage may be worth translating. “That which imposition of hands,” says he^k,

^h Ambros. in Heb. vi. 2. (Paris. 1661. vol. iii. p. 633.) *Impositionis manuum : per quam Spiritus Sanctus accipi posse creditur : quod post baptismum ad confirmationem unitatis in Ecclesia Christi a pontificibus fieri solet.*

ⁱ Haymo, in Hebr. vi. 2. (ap. Dallæum de Confirmat. p. 387.) *Per impositionem manuum plenissime creditur accipi donum Spiritus Sancti, quod post baptismum ad confirmationem unitatis in ecclesia a pontificibus fieri solet.*

^k Euseb. Emissen. Hom. de Pentecoste. (Bibl. Patr. Max. vol. vi. p. 649. C, Lugd. 1677.) *Quod nunc manus impositio tribuit singulis, hoc tunc Spiritus Sancti descensio in credentium populo donavit universis. Sed quia diximus, quod manus impositio et confirmatio ei, qui jam renatus in Christo est, conferre aliquid possit, forte cogitat sibi aliquis, ‘Quid mihi prodest, post mysterium baptismatis, ministerium confirmantis? Aut quantum video, non totum de fonte suscepimus, si post fontem adjectione novi generis indigemus.’ Non ita est, dilectissimi: attendat caritas vestra. Sic enim exigit militaris ordo, ut quum imperator quemcunque in militum receperit numerum, non solum signet receptum, sed etiam armis competentibus instruat pugnaturum. Ita in baptizato benedictio illa munitio est. Dedisti militem, da ei adjumenta militiæ. Numquid prodest, si quisquam parentum magnam parvulo conferat facultatem, nisi providere studeat et tutorem. Ita Paracletus regeneratis in Christo custos, et consolator, et tutor est. Ideo dicit sermo Divinus: ‘Nisi Dominus custodierit civitatem, in vanum vigilant, qui custodiunt eam.’ Ergo Spiritus Sanctus, qui super aquas baptismi salutifero descendit illapsu, in fonte plenitudinem tribuit ad innocentiam, in confirmatione augmentum præstat ad gratiam. Quia in hoc mundo tota ætate victuris inter invisibiles hostes et pericula gradiendum est: in baptismo regeneramur ad vitam; post baptismum confir-*

“now gives to every one in confirming neophytes, the same did the descent of the Holy Ghost then confer on all believers. But because we have said that imposition of hands and confirmation confers something on him that is born again and regenerated in Christ; perhaps some one will be ready to think with himself, and say, ‘What can the ministry of confirmation profit me after the mystery of baptism? If, after the font, we want the addition of a new office, then we have not received all that was necessary from the font.’ It is not so, beloved. For, if you observe, in the military life, when the emperor has chosen any one to be a soldier, he does not only set his mark or character upon him, but furnishes him with competent arms for fighting; so it is in a baptized person; the benediction is his armour. Thou hast made him a soldier; give him also the weapons of warfare. What doth it profit, though a father confer a great estate upon his child, if he do not also provide him a tutor? Now, the Holy Ghost is the keeper, and comforter, and tutor to those who are regenerated in Christ. As the Scripture saith, ‘Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain.’ Therefore the Holy Ghost, who descends with his saving presence on the waters of baptism, there gives us the plentitude of perfection to make us innocent; but in confirmation, he gives us an augmentation of grace. Because in this world, we are to live all our lives among invisible enemies, and to walk in the midst of dangers; in baptism we are born again to life;

mamur ad pugnam: in baptismo abluimur; post baptismum roboramur. Ac sic continuo transituris sufficiunt regenerationis beneficia; victuris autem necessaria sunt confirmationis auxilia. Regeneratio per se salvat mox in pace beati seculi recipiendos; confirmatio armat et instruit ad agones mundi hujus et praelia reservandos. Qui autem post baptismum cum acquisita innocentia immaculatus pervenit ad mortem, confirmatur morte: quia jam non potest peccare post mortem. Heic si forte illud etiam requirere velimus, post passionem et resurrectionem Christi, quid apostolis profuerit adventus Spiritus Sancti, ipse Dominus eis hoc evidenter exponit: ‘Quæ dico,’ inquit, ‘vobis, non potestis ea portare modo. Quum autem venerit ille Spiritus veritatis, ipse vos docebit omnem veritatem.’ Vides, quia quum Spiritus Sanctus infunditur, cor fidele ad prudentiam et constantiam dilatatur. Itaque ad descensionem Spiritus Sancti usque ad negationem apostoli deterrentur; post visitationem vero ejus, usque ad martyrium contemptu salutis armantur. Secundum hæc per Christum redimimur; per Spiritum vero Sanctum dono sapientiæ spiritualis illuminamur, ædificamur, erudimur, consummamur.

but, after baptism, we are confirmed to fight : in baptism we are washed ; but, after baptism, we are strengthened. And so the benefits of regeneration are sufficient for those who presently leave this world ; but to them who are to live in it, the auxiliary aids of confirmation are also necessary. Regeneration, by itself, alone saves those who are presently received, in peace, into a better world ; but confirmation arms and prepares those who are reserved to fight the battles and combats of this world. He that after baptism goes immaculate, with the innocence which he has acquired, to death, is confirmed by death ; because he cannot sin after death. If here we shall ask, what advantage the apostles had by the coming of the Holy Spirit, after the passion and resurrection of Christ, the Lord himself evidently shows us, saying, ‘ I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now : howbeit, when he, the Spirit of Truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth.’ You see, when the Holy Ghost is given, the heart of a believer is dilated and enlarged with prudence and constancy. Before the descent of the Holy Ghost, the apostles were terrified even to the denial of Christ ; but after his visitation, they were armed with a contempt of death, even to suffer martyrdom for his sake. Thus it is that we have redemption by Christ ; but the Holy Ghost gives us the gift of spiritual wisdom, by which we are illuminated, edified, instructed, and consummated to perfection.” This is the account which the ancients generally give of the original of imposition of hands ; which ceremony is now wholly laid aside and disused in the Roman Church, though they pretend to make another sacrament of confirmation. But this is only by the way.

SECT. VII.—*What Opinion the Ancients had of the Necessity of Confirmation.*

From the account given by this author, we clearly learn what the ancients supposed confirmation superadded to the benefit of regeneration. The new birth gave innocence and pardon of sins ; but the invocation of the Spirit added wisdom and strength, to preserve and establish men in innocence to perfection. He also shows us, what opinion the ancients had of the necessity of confirmation. It was not absolutely the

same as that of baptism. For if men died immediately after baptism, without imposition of hands, they were saved by their innocence, which they had acquired in baptism: they needed no other confirmation but death, which was a security against all other dangers. Confirmation was only necessary to those who were to live and fight with the world and invisible powers. And this is the sense of all other writers, who speak the highest of the necessity of confirmation. The Council of Eliberis having said¹, “that it was necessary for the bishop to consummate those by his benediction, who were baptized by deacons,” adds, “Yet if any one die before this can be done, he is justified by the faith which he professed in baptism.” And so the author of the Apostolical Constitutions says^m, “If there be neither oil nor chrism, the water alone is sufficient both for the unction of the Holy Ghost, and the seal of the covenant.” By which we are to mollify that other harsh expression of his in another place, where he saysⁿ, “that baptism, without this imposition of hands, and prayer of the priest, is only a bodily washing, like that of the Jews; purging the filth of the body, but not of the soul.” For unless some very candid interpretation be put upon this expression, it will be highly injurious and derogatory to the saving power of baptism, which purges away sin by a spiritual regeneration. And, therefore, it is but reasonable to let the harsh expressions of this author be interpreted by himself, when he owns that the water of baptism is sufficient to answer all the ends of chrism or confirmation, where that is omitted, not by any contempt, but for want of opportunity to receive it. And this is plainly St. Jerome’s meaning, when he says^o, “that though the practice of im-

¹ Conc. Illiber. c. lxxvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 978.) Si quis diaconus, regens plebem, sine episcopo vel presbytero aliquos baptizaverit, episcopus eos per benedictionem perficere debet. Quod si ante de sæculo recesserint, sub fide, qua quis crediderit, poterit esse justus.

^m Constitut. Apostol. lib. vii. c. xxiii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 425. B 5.) Εἰ μήτε ἔλαιον ᾗ, μήτε μύρον, ἀρκεῖ ὕδωρ, καὶ πρὸς χρίσιν, καὶ πρὸς σφραγίδα, etc.

ⁿ Ibid. lib. vii. c. xlv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 449. C 3.) Ἐκάστου γὰρ ἡ δύναμις τῆς χειροθεσίας ἐστὶν αὐτῇ· ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ εἰς ἕκαστον τούτων ἐπίκλησις γένηται παρὰ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς ἱερέως τοιαύτη τις, εἰς ὕδωρ μόνον καταβαίνει ὁ βαπτιζόμενος, ὡς Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ ἀποτίθεται μόνον τὸν ῥύπον τοῦ σώματος, οὐ τὸν ῥύπον τῆς ψυχῆς.

^o Hieron. cont. Lucifer. c. iv. (Bened. Veron. vol. ii. p. 181.) Quod si hoc

position of hands descends from the Acts of the Apostles ; yet, in many places, it was observed rather for the honour of the chief priesthood, than for any absolute necessity of the thing. For, otherwise, if the Spirit was only obtained by the prayer of the bishop, those men must be in a deplorable condition, that were baptized in villages, and castles, and remote places, by presbyters and deacons, and died before the bishop could come to visit them. All, therefore, that was necessary to salvation, was conferred in baptism, which ministered such a portion of the Spirit, as was sufficient to cleanse men from sin, and qualify them for eternal life." So that when some of the ancients say that baptism does not minister the Spirit, which was only given by imposition of hands in confirmation ; as Cornelius pleads in his letter^p against Novatian ; and Tertulian^q who says, "that we do not obtain the Holy Ghost in baptism ; but are only cleansed in the water, and prepared for the Holy Ghost ;" they are to be understood as meaning only that the Holy Ghost is not given in that full measure of baptism, as afterward by imposition of hands. They do not deny that baptism grants men remission of sins, by the power of the Holy Ghost ; but only that there are some further effects and operations of the Holy Spirit, which are not ordinarily conferred on men, but by the subsequent invocation of the Spirit ; the increase of which men were to desire, and to receive imposition of hands, in order to obtain it. In which sense it is said in the gospel, "that the Holy Ghost was not given, because the apostles had not yet received that plentiful effusion of it in the gift of tongues, which they afterwards had on the day of Pentecost," though they had before received such a

loco quaeris, Quare in ecclesia baptizatus, nisi per manus episcopi, non accipiat Spiritum Sanctum, quem nos asserimus in vero baptismo tribui ; discere hanc observationem ex ea auctoritate descendere, quod post adscensum Domini Spiritus Sanctus ad apostolos descendit. Et multis in locis idem factitatum reperimus ad honorem potius sacerdotii, quam ad legem necessitatis. Alioquin, etc.

^p Ap. Euseb. lib. vi. c. xliii. *Τούτου δὲ μὴ τυχόντων, πῶς ἂν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἔτυχε ;*

^q Tertul. de Bapt. c. vi. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 45.) Non quod in aquis Spiritum Sanctum consequamur, sed in aqua emundati, sub angelo Spiritui Sancto præparamur.

measure of it, as both enabled them to work several sorts of miracles, and also qualified them in every respect for the kingdom of heaven.

SECT. VIII.—*How they punished those that neglected it.*

But though the ancients did not think this imposition of hands so absolutely necessary, as that the want of it should exclude those who were baptized from the kingdom of heaven; yet they thought fit to punish the neglect of it by setting some marks of disgrace and public censure upon such as voluntarily and carelessly omitted it, when they had opportunity to receive it. Such men were ordinarily denied the privilege of ecclesiastical promotion and holy orders. As appears from the objection made against Novatian ^r, “that he ought not to be ordained, because, being baptized privately with clinic baptism, he had afterward neglected to receive his consummation from the hands of the bishop, which he ought to have done by the laws of the Church.” And, to this purpose, the Council of Neocæsarea has a canon ^s, forbidding such to be ordained; which is made part of the Code of the universal Church. The Council of Eliberis also ^t excludes such as have not *lavacrum integrum*, ‘their own baptism completed by imposition of hands,’ from the privilege of giving baptism to others, which, in cases of necessity, they allowed to all other laymen. So far they

^r Euseb. lib. vi. c. xliii. (Aug. T. 1746, p. 272. B 10.) “Ὁς βοηθούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπορισκῶν, νόσῳ περιπεσὼν χαλεπῆ, καὶ ἀποθανεῖσθαι ὅσον οὐδέπω νομιζόμενος, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κλίνῃ, ἧ̄ ἔκειτο, περιχυθεὶς ἔλαβεν· εἶγε χρὴ λέγειν τὸν τοιοῦτον εἰληφέναι· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἔτυχε, διαφυγὼν τὴν νόσον, ὧν χρὴ μεταλαμβάνειν κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας κανόνα· τοῦ τε σφραγισθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου· τούτου δὲ μὴ τυχῶν, πῶς ἂν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἔτυχε; . . . ὃς διακωλυόμενος ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ κλήρου, κ. τ. λ. — See Book xi. c. xi. sect. v. note (h).

^s Conc. Neocæs. c. xii. (vol. i. Conc. p. 1484.) ‘Ἐὰν νοσῶν τις φωτισθῆ, εἰς πρεσβύτερον ἀγεσθαι οὐ δύναται. Οὐκ ἐκ προαιρέσεως γὰρ ἢ πίστις αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἀνάγκης, εἰ μὴ τάχα διὰ τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ σπουδὴν καὶ πίστιν, καὶ διὰ σπάνιν ἀνθρώπων.

^t Conc. Illiber. c. xxxviii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 974.) Peregre navigantes, aut si ecclesia in proximo non fuerit, posse fidelem, qui lavacrum suum integrum habet, nec sit bigamus, baptizare in necessitate infirmitatis positum catechumenum: ita ut si supervixerit, ad episcopum cum perducat, ut per manus impositionem [perfici] proficere possit.

thought fit to discountenance the contempt and neglect of confirmation, though they neither esteemed it a distinct sacrament from baptism, nor of absolute necessity to salvation, but only as a proper means to strengthen men in their Christian warfare.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE REMAINING CEREMONIES OF BAPTISM FOLLOWING
CONFIRMATION.

SECT. I.—*Persons newly baptized clothed in White Garments.*

MUCH about the same time as the unction of confirmation was administered to persons newly baptized, they were also clothed in white garments. In the Latin Church, it came immediately before confirmation; but, in the Greek Church, it seems to have followed after. For Cyril of Jerusalem speaks of it as following the unction^a. This was to represent their having put off the old man with his deeds, and having put on the new man Christ Jesus. Hence they were called, *λευχαιμονοῦντες*, and *grex Christi candidus et niveus*, ‘the white flock of Christ,’ as we find in Laetantius^b and many others. Palladius, in the Life of St. Chrysostom^c, notes it particularly, as a great piece

^a Cyril. Catech. Mystag. iv. n. viii. (Venet. 1763. p. 322.) Ἀποδυσάμενος δὲ τὰ παλαιὰ ἱμάτια, καὶ ἐνδυσάμενος τὰ πνευματικὰ λευκά, χρηὶ λευχαιμονεῖν διαπαντός, κ. τ. λ.

^b Laetant. Carm. de Resurrect. Dom. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 257.)

Fulgentes animas vestis quoque candida signat;

Et grege de niveo gaudia pastor habet.

—Mosh. Prat. Spirit. c. ccvii. (Bibl. Patr. Gr.-Lat. tom. ii. p. 1158. D.) Οἱ γείτονες ἰδόντες αὐτὴν λευκοφοροῦσαν, εἶπον αὐτῇ, Τίς σε ἐβάπτισεν;—Paulin. Epist. xii. ad Sever.

Unde parens sacro ducit de fonte sacerdos

Infantes niveos corpore, corde, habitu.

^c Pallad. Vit. Chrysostom. c. ix. (Bened. vol. xiii. p. 34. E 5.) Τῇ ἐπαύριον γούν ἐξελθὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς, τοῦ γυμνασθῆναι ἐν τῷ παρακειμένῳ πεδίῳ, εἶδεν τὴν ἄσπορον γῆν, τὴν περὶ τὸ Πέμπτον, λευχαιμονοῦσαν· καὶ ἐκπλαγεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ θεᾷ τοῦ ἄνθους τῶν νεοφωτίστων· ἦσαν γὰρ ἀμφὶ τοὺς τρισχιλίους ἤρτο παρὰ τῶν δορυφόρων, Τίς ἢ λογὰς τῶν ἐκεῖ συνθροισμένων;

of barbarity in Arcadius, that when St. Chrysostom's presbyters, in his exile, had baptized three thousand persons at one festival, the emperor sent his soldiers to disperse them, as they were λευχειμονοῦντες, 'clothed in their white garments.' This was otherwise called 'the garment of Christ,' and 'the mystical garment.' For so Socrates^d and Sozomen^e, speaking of the ordination of Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, which was immediately given him after his baptism, say, "He was ordained whilst he had his mystical garment on;" meaning this white robe which had just before been given him at his baptism. St. Jerome^f, also, writing to Fabiola, seems to allude to this, when he says, "We are to be washed with the precepts of God; and when we are prepared for the garment of Christ, putting off our coats of skins, we shall put on the linen garment, that hath nothing of death in it, but is all white; that rising out of the waters of baptism, we may gird about our loins with truth, and cover the former filthiness of our breasts." Some also allege two other passages of his in his epistles to Pope Damasus^g, where he speaks of his having put on the garment of Christ, at Rome. But others who have more exactly^h considered the time of St. Jerome's baptism, and the same phrase as used by him in other places, more probably conclude that he means the monastic habit, which he elsewhereⁱ calls the garment of Christ, and not, the *albes* of

^d Socrat. lib. v. c. viii. (Aug. T. 1746. p. 228. B 9.) "Ὁς ἀρπασθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ, εἰς τὴν ἐπίσκοπὴν προεβλήθη, τῶν τότε παρόντων ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα ἐπισκόπων χειροτονησάντων αὐτόν.

^e Sozom. lib. vii. c. viii. (p. 264. E.) Τὴν μυστικὴν ἐσθῆτα ἔτι ἡμφιεσμένος, κοινῇ ψήφῳ τῆς συνόδου ἀναγορεύεται Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος.

^f Hieron. Ep. cxxviii. (Bened. 1734. vol. i. p. 367.) Præceptis Dei lavandus sumus, et quum parati ad indumentum Christi, tunicas pelliceas deposuerimus, tunc induemur veste lineæ, nihil in se mortis habente, sed tota candida; ut de baptismo consurgentes cingamus lumbos in veritate, et tota pristinorum peccatorum turpitudine celetur.

^g Ibid. Epist. lvii. ad Damas. (vol. i. p. 37.) Cathedram Petri et fidem Apostolico ore laudatam censui consulendam; inde nunc animæ postulans cibum, unde olim Christi vestimenta suscepi. — It. Epist. lviii. ad Damas. (vol. i. p. 41.) Christi vestem in Romana urbe suscipiens, nunc barbaro Syriæ limite teneor.

^h See Wall, of Infant-Baptism, part ii. chap. iii. sect. x.

ⁱ Hieron. Epist. xxii. ad Eustoch. c. i. (vol. i. p. 87. C 8.) Non expedit, apprehenso aratro, respicere post tergum, nec de agro reverti domum; nec post Christi tunicam, ad tollendum aliud vestimentum tecto descendere.

baptism. However, not insisting on those dubious passages of St. Jerome, the ancient custom is sufficiently attested from other authors.

SECT. II.—*These sometimes delivered to them with a solemn Form of Words.*

Some of which also tell us, that these garments were wont to be delivered to the neophytes with a solemn form of words, in the nature of a charge: such as that in Gregory's *Sacramentarium*^k, "Receive the white and immaculate garment, which thou mayest bring forth, without spot, before the tribunal of our Lord Jesus Christ, that thou mayest have eternal life. Amen."

SECT. III.—*Worn eight Days, and then laid up in the Church.*

These garments were commonly worn eight days, and then laid up in the church. St. Austin, or some one under his name^l, speaks of the Sunday after Easter as the time appointed for this purpose. That was the conclusion of the Paschal festival, and then the neophytes changed their habit: whence that day is thought to have the name of *dominica in albis*; and 'Whit-Sunday' is said to be so called from this custom of wearing white robes after baptism. These, being laid aside, were carefully preserved in the vestries of the church, as an evidence against men, if afterward they violated those professions which they had made in baptism. A remarkable instance of which we have related in Victor Uticensis, concerning one Elpidiphorus, a citizen of Carthage, who having a long time lived in the communion of the Church, at last turned Arian, and became a bitter enemy to the orthodox in the Vandalic persecution. Among others, whom he summoned

^k Gregor. Sacram. de Bapt. Infant. Accipe vestem candidam et immaculatam, quam perferas sine macula ante tribunal Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ut habeas vitam æternam, Amen!—Ordo Roman. de Sanct. Sabbato, Bibl. Patr. tom. x. p. 83. Deportantur ipsi infantes ad eum, et dat singulis stolam candidam, et decem siliquas, et chrimale, dicens, Accipe vestem candidam, etc.

^l Aug. Hom. lxxxvi. de Diversis, in Octavis Paschæ. (Basil. vol. x. p. 709.) Paschalis solemnitas, hodierna festivitate concluditur, et ideo hodie neophytorum habitus commutatur; ita tamen, ut candor, qui de habitu deponitur, semper in corde teneatur †.

before him as their judge, was one Maritta, a deacon, who had been sponsor for him at his baptism. He being ready to be put upon the rack, produced against him those white robes with which he had been clothed at his baptism; and with words melting all the whole city into tears, he thus bespoke him^m: “These are the garments, O Elpidiphorus, thou minister of error, which shall accuse thee, when the majesty of the great Judge shall appear; these I will diligently keep as a testimony of thy ruin, which shall depress thee to the bottom of the lake that burns with fire and brimstone. These are they that were girt about thee, when thou camest immaculate out of the holy font; these are they that shall bitterly pursue thee, when thou shalt begin to take thy portion in the flames of hell; because thou hast clothed thyself with cursing as with a garment, and hast cast off the sacred obligation of thy baptism, and the true faith which thou didst then profess and take upon thee.” So that the design of this significant ceremony was first to represent that innocence and angelical purity, which every man obtained by the remission of his sins in baptism; and then to remind them of the obligations and professions they had entered into; which, if they had violated, would rise up as so many accusers at the day of judgment.

SECT. IV.—*The Ceremony of Lights and Tapers. What intended by it. And at whose Charge both these were provided.*

To this ceremony of wearing white robes, they added ano-

^m Vict. de Persecut. Afric. lib. v. (Max. Bibl. Patr. vol. viii. p. 694. G 5.) Hæc sunt linteamina, Elphidiph[of]ore, minister erroris, quæ te accusabunt, dum majestas venerit judicantis. Custodientur diligentia mea ad testimonium tuæ perditionis, ad demergendum te in abyso putei sulphurantis. Hæc te, infelix, immaculatum cinxerunt de fonte surgentem: hæc te, miserrime, acrius persequentur, flammantem gehennam dum cœperis possidere: quia induisti te maledictionem sicut vestimentem, scindens atque amittens veri baptismatis et fidei sacramentum. Quid facturus es, miser, quum servi patrisfamilias ad cœnam regiam congregare cœperint invitatos? Tunc te aliquando vocatum, terribiliter indignatus, exutum stola rex conspiciet nuptiali, dicetque tibi: Amice, quo modo huc venisti, vestem non habens nuptialem? Non video, quod contuli; non nosco, quod dedi. Perdidisti militiæ chlamydem, quam in tela virgineorum membrorum decem mensibus texui, et tendicula crucis extendens aqua mundavi, et purpura mei sanguinis decoravi: non conspicio cultum signaculi mei: characterem non video Trinitatis, etc.

ther of the like nature, which was the carrying of lighted tapers in their hands. I cannot say this was so universal a practice as the former; but it is mentioned by Gregory Nazianzen among other ceremonies following baptism. “The station,” says he, “when immediately after baptism thou shalt be placed before the altar, is an emblem of the glory of the life to come; the psalmody with which thou shalt be received, is a foretaste of those hymns and songs of a better life; and the lampsⁿ which thou shalt light, are a figure of those lamps of faith, wherewith bright and virgin souls shall go forth to meet the bridegroom.” Others refer it to another reason, that it might be a symbol of their own present illumination, and as done in allusion to that saying of our Saviour, “So let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.” In some baptisms, also, of great men, we find these ceremonies enlarged and set off with greater pomp: for not they only themselves, but all their retinue and attendants, were clothed in white garments, and all carried lamps in their hands. As it was in the magnificent baptism of the younger Theodosius, related in an epistle of Marcus Gazensis^o, published by Baronius, where he says, “The procession from the church to the palace was extremely splendid: for the leaders of the people were all clothed in white, which made the company look as if it had been covered with snow. And all the senators, and men of quality, and soldiers in their ranks, carried lamps in their hands, that one would have thought the stars had appeared upon earth.” The

ⁿ Nazianz. Orat. xl. de Bapt. (Paris. 1630. vol. i. p. 672. A 9.) Ἡ στάσις, ἣν αὐτίκα στήσῃ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα πρὸ τοῦ μεγάλου βήματος, τῆς ἐκείθεν δόξης ἐστὶ προχάραγμα· ἡ ψαλμωδία, μεθ’ ἧς δεχθήσῃ, τῆς ἐκείθεν ἰμνωδίας προοίμιον· αἱ λαμπάδες, ὥσπερ ἀνάψεις, τῆς ἐκείθεν φωταγωγίας μυστήριον, μεθ’ ἧς ἀπαντήσομεν τῷ νυμφίῳ· φαιδραὶ καὶ παρθένοι ψυχαὶ φαιδραῖς ταῖς λαμπάσι τῆς πίστεως, μήτε καθεύδουσαι διὰ ῥαθυμίαν, ἵνα μὴ λάθῃ παρῶν ἀδοκήτως ὁ προσδοκώμενος, μήτε ἄτροφοι καὶ ἀνέλαιοι, καὶ καλῶν ἔργων ἐπίδειξις, ἵνα μὴ τοῦ νυμφῶνος ἐκπέσωμεν.

^o Ap. Baron. an. 401. 28. (Lucæ, vol. vi. p. 366.) Baptizato Juniori Theodosio, et ab ecclesia egresso in palatium, licebat rursus intueri decorem eorum, qui præerant multitudini, et vestem eorum refulgentem. Erant enim omnes candidati, ut existimaretur multitudo esse nive repleta. Præcedebant autem Patricii, Illustres, et omnis dignitas cum ordinibus militaribus, omnes portantes cereos, ut putarentur astra cerni in terra.

expense of these things, especially when so very sumptuous and magnificent, we may reasonably suppose, was defrayed by every person at his own proper cost and charge. And so the objection which some make in Gregory Nazianzen, against baptism, upon the account of the charge attending it, plainly intimates. For they thus object against it^p: “Where is the gift that I shall offer at baptism? Where is the garment of light in which I must shine? Wherewithal shall I entertain my baptizers?” To which Nazianzen replies, “that, in great things, men should not be concerned about such small matters as these. For the sacrament itself was far above these visible objects. Therefore, offer thyself for a gift; put on Christ for a garment; and let thy entertainment of me, the minister, be a holy conversation. God requires no great things of us, which the poor cannot give.” From whence we may conclude, that either these ceremonies were omitted in the baptism of poor men; or else the Church herself was at the charge of them. Which some think may be inferred from the donations of Constantine made to the baptisteries of Rome, mentioned in the Pontifical, in the Life of Pope Sylvester: but it may more certainly be proved from the Epistles of Pope Gregory^q, where he often mentions his giving these garments to the poor, who could not provide them for themselves.

SECT. V.—*The Kiss of Peace given to Persons newly baptized.*

Another ceremony used to congratulate such as were newly baptized, upon their admission and incorporation into the Church, was the kiss of peace. Which was observed even

^p Nazianz. Orat. xl. de Bapt. p. 655. Ποῦ δὲ μοι τὸ καρποφορούμενον ἐπὶ τῷ βαπτίσματι; ποῦ δὲ ἐμφώτειος ἐσθῆς, ἣ λαμπρυνθήσομαι; ποῦ δὲ τὰ πρὸς δεξιῶσιν τῶν ἐμῶν βαπτιστῶν; . . . μὴ μικρολόγει περὶ τὰ μεγάλα, μηδὲν ἀγεννὲς πάθης, μεῖζον τῶν ὀρωμένων ἐστὶ τὸ μυστήριον, σαυτὸν καρποφόρησον, Χριστὸν ἐνδύσαι, θρέψον με πολιτεία, οὕτως ἐγὼ χαίρω φιλοφρονούμενος· οὐδὲν τῷ Θεῷ μέγα, ὃ μὴ καὶ πένης δίδωσιν, ἵνα μὴ κἀνταῦθα παραθῶνται οἱ πένητες.

^q Gregor. lib. vii. epist. xxiv. ad Faustin. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1301. D.) Quoscumque ex eis pauperes, et ad vestem sibi emendam non sufficere posse cognoscis; te eis vestem quam ad baptismum habeant, comparare volumus ac præbere.—Id. lib. iv. ep. xvi. Vestem ei, quæ baptizanda est, direximus, etc.

towards infants, as we learn from that objection raised against it in Cyprian; where the opponents pleaded for deferring baptism till the child was eight days old, because children, at their birth, were unclean; and every one abhorred to kiss them, as was necessary to be done after baptism, to testify their right of fraternity upon their adoption into God's family. To which Cyprian replied^r, "that this was no impediment to their baptism: for all things were clean to them that were clean. No one ought to abhor that which God had vouchsafed to make. For though an infant was but just born, yet he was then in such a condition as no one ought to abhor in giving him the grace of baptism, or imparting to him the kiss of peace." The custom is also mentioned by St. Austin^s; and it seems to be founded upon the apostolical rule, observed in the eucharist and other holy offices, of saluting one another with a holy kiss, in token of their most cordial affection, and acknowledging one another as brethren. St. Chrysostom gives another reason why it was called 'the peace,' or 'the kiss of peace;' because "men were now reconciled to God, by baptism, and restored to his peace and favour." For, elegantly comparing the two natiivities of man together, the natural and the spiritual, he says^t, "The first birth is always attended with

^r Cyprian. Epist. lix. al. lxxiv. ad Fidum. (Oxon. p. 160.) (p. 281, Fell, Amstel. 1700.) Nam et quod vestigium infantis, in primis partus sui diebus constituti, mundum non esse dixisti, quod unusquisque nostrum adhuc horreat exosculari, nec hoc putamus ad cœlestem gratiam dandam impedimento esse oportere, scriptum est enim: 'Omnia munda sunt mundis.' Nec aliquis nostrum id debet horrere, quod Deus dignatus est facere. Nam etsi adhuc infans a partu novus est, non ita est tamen, ut quisquam illum in gratia danda atque in pace facienda horrere debeat exosculari; quando in osculo infantis unusquisque nostrum pro sua religione ipsas adhuc recentes Dei manus debeat cogitare, quas in homine modo formato et recens nato quodammodo exosculamur, quando id, quod Deus fecit, amplectimur.

^s Aug. cont. Epist. Pelag. lib. iv. c. viii. (Bened. 1679. vol. x. p. 480. D.)

^t Chrysostom. Serm. l. de Util. Legendæ Script. (Bened. 1718. vol. iii. p. 80. E 2.) Τόκος ὁ πρότερος ἀπὸ θρήνων ἔχει τὴν ἀρχήν· τὸ γὰρ παιδίον ἐκ τῆς μήτρας ὀλισθαίνει καὶ ἐκ τῆς νηδύος καταφερόμενον, πρώτην φωνὴν μετὰ δακρύων ἐκβάλλει. . . διὰ θρήνων γὰρ ἡ εἴσοδος εἰς τὸν βίον, διὰ δακρύων προοίμια, τῆς φύσεως τὸ μέλλον ὀδυνηρὸν προαναφώνουσης. . . οὐ δάκρυα δὲ ἐν τῇ γεννήσει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σπάργματα καὶ δεσμὰ δάκρυα ἐν τῇ γεννήσει, δάκρυα ἐν θανάτῳ, σπάργματα ἐν γεννήσει, σπάργματα ἐν θανάτῳ ἵνα μάθῃς, ὅτι πρὸς θάνατον ἢ ζωὴ αὕτη τελευτᾷ, καὶ πρὸς

tears and lamentations; nature, as it were, presaging the subsequent sorrows and miseries of life: but in the second birth it is otherwise: here are no tears or mournings, but salutations, and kisses, and embracings, of the brethren, who acknowledge the person baptized as one of their own members, and receive him as one returning from a long peregrination out of his own country. For, because, before his baptism, he was an enemy, but, after baptism, is made a friend of our common Lord; we, therefore, all rejoice with him. And, upon this account, the kiss has the name of ‘peace,’ that we may learn thereby that God has ended the war, and received us into familiarity and friendship with himself.” Hence it is, that to give the ‘peace’ to any one, is the same thing, many times, in the writings of the ancients, as to salute him with the ‘holy kiss,’ in the phrase of the Apostle.

SECT. VI.—*And a Taste of Honey and Milk, in token of their new Birth.*

They were used also to give to the newly baptized a little taste of honey and milk: which Salmasius^u and some others suppose to be given them instead of the eucharist. But that is a mistake, for the eucharist was given them at the same time. The ancients themselves give another reason for it. St. Jerome^x and Tertullian^y say it was to signify their new

ἐκείνο καταστρέψει τὸ τέλος· ἀλλ’ οὐχ ἡ γέννησις αὐτῆ· οὐδαμοῦ δάκρυ καὶ σπάργανα, ἀλλὰ λελυμένος ὁ γεννηθεὶς, καὶ πρὸς ἀγῶνας παρεσκευασμένος· διὰ τοῦτο ἄφεται οἱ πόδες καὶ αἱ χεῖρες, ἵνα τρέχῃ καὶ πυκτεύῃ· οὐδαμοῦ θρῆνος, οὐδαμοῦ δάκρυα ἐνταῦθα, ἀλλ’ ἀσπασμοὶ καὶ φιλῖαι, καὶ περιπλοκαὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, τὸ οἰκεῖον μέλος ἐπιγινωσκόντων, καὶ ὡσπερ ἐκ μακρᾶς ἀπολαβόντων ἀποδημίας· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ φωτισματος ἔχθρὸς ἦν, μετὰ τὸ φῶτισμα γέγονε φίλος τοῦ κοινοῦ πάντων ἡμῶν δεσπότην· διὰ τοῦτο πάντες συνηδόμεθα· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ φίλημα εἰρήνη καλεῖται, ἵνα μάθωμεν, ὅτι πόλεμον κατέλυσεν ὁ Θεός, καὶ πρὸς τὴν οἰκείωσιν ἐπανήγαγε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ.

^u Salmas. ap. Suicer. Thes. part. ii. p. 1136. Adulti in pane et vino sacramentum corporis et sanguinis accipiebant; infantes, in lacte et melle.

^x Hieron. cont. Lucifer. c. iv. (Veron. vol. ii. p. 180. E 6.) Deinde egressos, lactis et mellis prægustare concordiam ad infantie significationem.

^y Tertul. de Coron. Milit. c. iii. (Oberthür, vol. i. p. 207.) Inde suscepti, lactis et mellis concordiam prægustamus.

birth ; and that they were now as children adopted into God's family. Tertullian says, moreover^z, " that the Marcionites retained the custom for the same reason, as they did many other usages of the Church." St. Jerome^a says further, " that in some of the Western Churches, the mixture was made up of milk and wine instead of honey ; and this in allusion to those passages of the apostle, ' I have fed you with milk, and not with strong meat ;' and St. Peter's saying, ' As new-born babes, desire the sincere milk of the word.' For milk denotes the innocency of children." Clemens Alexandrinus^b also takes notice of this custom, saying, " As soon as we are born, we are nourished with milk, which is the nutriment of the Lord. And when we are born again, we are honoured with the hope of rest, by the promise of Jerusalem which is above ; where it is said to rain milk and honey. For, by these material things, we are assured of that sacred food." We learn, further, from the third Council of Carthage^c, that this milk and honey had a peculiar consecration, distinct from that of the eucharist. It is there said to be offered at the altar " on a day most solemn" (which means the Great Sabbath, or Saturday before Easter, which was the most solemn time of baptism), and there to have its proper benediction for the mystery of ' infants,' that is, persons newly baptized, who are commonly called ' infants' in the mystical sense, that it

^z Tertul. cont. Marcion. lib. i. c. xiv. (Oberthür, vol. i. p. 312.) Sed ille usque nec aquam reprobavit creatoris, qua suos abluit ; nec oleum, quo suos ungit ; nec mellis et lactis societatem, qua suos infantat ; nec panem, quo ipsum corpus suum representat, etc.

^a Hieron. in Iesa. lv. 1. (Bened. Veron. vol. v. p. 644.) Lac significat innocentiam parvulorum. Qui mos ac typus in Occidentis ecclesiis hodie usque servatur, ut renatis in Christo vinum lacque tribuatur. De quo lacte dicebat et Paulus, ' Lac vobis potum dedi, non solidum cibum.' Et Petrus, ' Quasi modo nati parvuli, rationale lac desiderate.'

^b Clem. Alex. Prædag. lib. i. c. vi. (Oberthür, vol. i. p. 256.) Τῷ γάλακτι, τῇ κυριακῇ τροφῇ, εὐθὺς μὲν ἀποκυθίνετες, τιθηνούμεθα· εὐθὺς δὲ ἀναγεννηθέντες τετιμῆμεθα, τῆς ἀναπαύσεως τὴν ἐλπίδα, τὴν ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ, εὐαγγελιζόμενοι ἐν ᾧ μέλι καὶ γάλα ὀμβρεῖν ἀναγέγραπται διὰ τῆς ἐνύλου, καὶ τὴν ἀγίαν μνηστεύόμενοι τροφὴν.

^c Cone. Carth. III. c. xxiv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1170.) Primitiæ vero, seu mel et lac, quod uno die solemnissimo pro infantis mysterio solet offerri, quamvis in altari offerantur, suam tamen habent propriam benedictionem, ut a sacramento Dominici corporis ac sanguinis distinguantur.

might be distinguished from the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. This part of the canon, indeed, is omitted in some collections, but Labbe says it was in the ancient manuscripts: and it is now so read in the body of the African Code^d; which puts the matter beyond all dispute. I have given this canon with a little explanatory paraphrase, because some learned men complain of the obscurity of it, and profess themselves to be in the dark about the mystery of infants, which seems to me evidently to refer to this custom of giving milk and honey to the newly baptized.

SECT. VII.—*Then required to say the Lord's Prayer.*

When persons were thus adopted into God's family, and acknowledged as brethren in Christ, then they were admitted, as sons, to call upon God their Father, and immediately required to do it in the form of words taught us by Christ. The author of the Constitutions^e bids them repeat the Lord's Prayer, standing upright, because they were now risen with Christ from the dead: and, after that, repeat this other short form: "Almighty God, the Father of Christ, thy only begotten Son, give me an immaculate body, a pure heart, a watchful soul, an unerring knowledge, with the influence of the Holy Ghost, that I may possess and enjoy the fulness of the truth, through thy Christ; by whom all glory be to thee in the Holy Ghost for ever. Amen." St. Chrysostom^f also mentions their

^d Cod. Eccles. African. c. xxxvii. (ap. Justellum, p. 348.) (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1068.) Ἀπαρχὴ δὲ, εἴτε μέλι, εἴτε γάλα, ὡς εἶωθε, προσφέρεισθω ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ἐθίμῳ εἰς τὸ τῶν νηπίων μυστήριον· εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα γάλα ἐν θυσιαστηρίῳ προσφέρεται, ὅμως ἰδίαν ἐχέτω κυρίως εὐλογίαν, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ἀγιάσματος τοῦ κυριακοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος δίστασθαι.

^e Constitut. Apostol. lib. vii. c. xlv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 449. C 8.) Μετὰ τοῦτο, ἐστὼς προσευχέσθω τὴν εὐχὴν, ἣν ἐδίδαξεν ἡμᾶς ὁ Κύριος· ἀναγκαιῶς δὲ τὸν ἀναστάντα δεῖ ἐστάναι καὶ προσεύχεσθαι, διὰ τὸ τὸν ἐγεγυρμένον ὄρθιον εἶναι· καὶ αὐτὸς οὖν συναποθανὼν τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ συνεγεγερθεὶς, στηκίτω.— Id. c. xlvi. Ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ Παντοκράτωρ, ὁ Πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, τοῦ μονογενοῦς Υἱοῦ σου, δός μοι σῶμα ἄσπιλον, καρδίαν καθαρὰν, νοῦν γρήγορον, γνῶσιν ἀπλανῆ, Πνεῦματος ἁγίου ἐπιφοίτησιν πρὸς κτήσιν καὶ πληροφορίαν τῆς ἀληθείας, διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου· δι' οὗ σοι δόξα ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· Ἀμήν.

^f Chrysostom. Hom. vi. in Coloss. (Bened. fol. 1734. vol. xi. p. 370. B 8.)

repeating the Lord's Prayer presently after their coming up out of the water ; and that, standing also ; not falling upon their faces, but looking up to Christ, to whose body they are united, as he sits above in heaven, where Satan has no access. And this was the first time they were allowed to use this prayer. For, till men were baptized and made sons of God by regeneration, they were not allowed to call God their Father. And though they learned the Lord's Prayer before baptism, yet they were not permitted, till after baptism, to use it as a prayer publicly in the Church.

SECT. VIII.—*Received with Psalmody.*

Among other ceremonies after baptism, Gregory Nazianzen mentions their reception with psalmody^g, which, he says, “ was a *prælude*, or ‘ foretaste ’ of those hymns and praises which should be the employment of the life to come.” But whether this means any particular psalms appointed to be sung at baptism, or the common psalmody of the Church, he does not inform us. If I may be allowed to conjecture, I should conclude for the former; because the common psalmody of the Church was no more than what catechumens were allowed to hear before, as being part of the *missa catechumenorum*, or first service, at which not only catechumens, but professed Jews and heathens, might be present. Perhaps, they sung the 118th Psalm, in which are these words : “ This is the day which the Lord hath made ; we will rejoice and be glad in it ;” because St. Austin^h, speaking of the Easter festival, seems to refer to it, saying, “ This is the day which the Lord hath made, higher than all, brighter than all, in which he hath acquired to himself a new people, by the Spirit of

Εὐθὺς γὰρ ἀνελθὼν, ταῦτα φθέγγεται τὰ ῥήματα· Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· οὐκ ἐπ’ ὄψιν πίπτει τὸ παιδίον, κ. τ. λ.

^g Nazianz. Orat. xl. de Bapt. (Paris. 1630. vol. i. p. 672. A 9.) Ἡ ψαλμωδία, μεθ’ ἧς δεχθήσῃ, τῆς ἐκείθεν ὑμνωδίας προοίμιον.

^h Aug. Serm. clxiii. de Tempore. (Bened. 1679. vol. v. append. p. 292.) Hic est dies, quem fecit Dominus, celsior cunctis, lucidior universis, in quo Dominus resurrexit ; in quo sibi novam plebem, ut ipsi videtis, regenerationis Spiritu conquisivit ; in quo singulorum mentes gaudio et exultatione perfudit.

regeneration, and hath filled our minds with joy and gladness." And Paullinusⁱ speaks of singing hallelujahs upon this occasion. But, in doubtful matters, I will not be over positive to determine.

SECT. IX.—*And admitted immediately to the Communion of the Altar.*

It is more certain, that as soon as the ceremonies of baptism were finished, men were admitted to a participation of the eucharist. For this was the τὸ τέλειον, 'the perfection' or consummation of a Christian, to which he was entitled by virtue of his baptism. Therefore, all the ancient writers speak of this as the concluding privilege of baptism, which, in those days, was almost immediately subjoined to it. And this was observed, not only with respect to adult persons, but children also. For proof of which custom, at present it will be sufficient to allege the testimony of Gennadius^k, who joins the baptism of infants, and confirmation, and the eucharist, all together. And this continued to the ninth century, as appears from the rituals of that age, some of which have been produced before^l, and many others might be added: but these belong to another place, where it will be more proper to treat of the communion of infants, among other things that relate to the subject of the eucharist, which, together with the ancient psalmody, reading of the Scriptures, preaching, and prayers, which make up the whole ordinary service of the Church, under the name of *missa catechumenorum*, and *missa fidelium*, will be the subject of Book XIII., which is intended to give an account of the liturgy of the Church.

SECT. X.—*Of the Ceremony of Washing the Feet, retained in some Churches.*

There was one ceremony more, used in some Churches, but

ⁱ Paullin. Epist. xii. ad Sever. p. 145 :

Hinc senior sociæ congaudet turba catervæ ;

Alleluia novis balat ovile choris.

^k Gennad. de Eccles. Dogmat. c. lii. Si parvuli sint, qui doctrinam non capiunt, respondeant pro illis, qui eos offerunt, juxta morem baptizandi : et sic manus impositione et chrismate communiti, eucharistiæ mysteriis admittantur.

^l Book xii. chap. i. sect. ii. (See p. 4 of this volume.)

rejected by others, which it will not be improper to give some account of here in the close :—that was the custom of washing the feet of the baptized. Vicecomes^m thinks, at first it was a ceremony preceding baptism, and used on Maundy Thursday, or the same day that our Saviour (from whose example it was taken) washed his disciples' feet. And this seems to be clear, he says, from St. Austin's words, who has occasion to mention it in two of his epistles. But in the former epistleⁿ, St. Austin is speaking of the custom of bathing the whole body before Easter, that the catechumens, who had neglected themselves in the observation of Lent, might not appear offensive, when they came to be baptized : therefore, Maundy Thursday was chosen as a day to cleanse themselves, by bathing, from the bodily filth which they had contracted. And because this was allowed to the catechumens, many others chose to bathe them-

^m Vicecom. de Ritib. Bapt. lib. iii. c. xx. Quo die pedes abluerentur. Beroldus, post baptismi ritus, hanc caerimoniam refert; cum antiquitus die, Christi apostolorum pedes lavantis commemoratione celebri, præstari soleret, ut multis argumentis probare facile est; nam pedum ablutio, quemadmodum supra diximus, ad detergendas corporis sordes, quæ baptizanti stomachum facere poterant, instituta videtur, quæ ratio post baptismum locum non habet; deinde S. Ambrosius, lib. iii. de Sacramentis, c. ii., et lib. de Initiat. c. vi., locis quæ attulimus, aperte significat, pedes ablui consuevisse, ut macula ortu contracta deleteretur, cum post baptismum omnis peccati labes abolita sit. Palladius quoque (Historia Laus. sect. lxxiii.) refert, duobus histrionibus ante pedes ablutos esse, tum salutare baptisma impertitum: ex quo ablutionem baptismo priorem fuisse omnes intelligunt. De die autem feriæ quintæ hebdomadis sanctioris, ut rationes eas, quæ e conjecturis pendent, omittamus, S. Augustini certissimum est testimonium, Epist. cxviii. ad Januar. quum ait: 'Si autem quæris,' etc. [See below, note (n).] Beroldus igitur solum sui temporis consuetudinem expressit; quod indicant ejus verba, quum baptismi trium puerorum meminit; qui antiquitus, quando in Paschate vel Pentecoste baptizabantur, in usu non erat; fieri enim potuit, ut quemadmodum, teste S. Augustino (Epist. cxix. ad Januar.), honoris ergo, a die altero in alterum, ea consuetudo mutata est; sic etiam Mediolani ad caerimonias post baptismum delata sit, ut negligendi veri baptismi occasio demeretur. Et sic intelligendi sunt, quotquot eam caerimoniam post baptismum numerarunt, cum posteriorum temporum ratio habita sit.

ⁿ Aug. Epist. cxviii. ad Januar. (Bened. 1679. vol. ii. p. 127. E.) Si autem quæris, cur etiam lavandi mos ortus sit: nihil mihi de hac re cogitanti probabilius occurrit, nisi quia baptizandorum corpora per observationem quadragesimæ sordidata, cum offensione sensus ad fontem tractarentur, nisi aliqua die lavarentur. Istum autem diem potius ad hoc electum, quo cœna Dominica anniversarie celebratur. Et quia concessum est hoc baptismum accepturis, multi cum his lavare voluerunt, jejuniisque relaxare.

selves with them on that day also, and relax their fast, because fasting and bathing would not agree together. So that this washing was not the washing of the feet, however Vicecomes came to mistake it, but the bathing of the whole body; and not used as a religious ceremony, but as a ceremony of convenience and civil decency, that they might not be offensive to the senses of others, when they came to baptism. In the other epistle, he speaks particularly of washing the feet, but that was after baptism, on the third day, or the *octaves*, or such other time as those Churches which retained the ceremony thought fit to appoint it. “For many Churches^o,” he says, “would never admit of this custom at all, lest it should seem to belong to the sacrament of baptism, when our Saviour only intended it as a lesson of humility.” And other Churches, for the same reason, abrogated the custom, where it had been received. And others, who retained it, that they might recommend it by fixing it to some more sacred time, and yet distinguish it from the sacrament of baptism, chose either the third day of the *octaves*, or the *octave* after baptism itself, as most convenient for this purpose. Among the Churches which wholly refused, or abrogated, this custom, the Spanish Church is one, which, in the Council of Eliberis, made a canon against it; forbidding, at once, the exacting any gift or reward for administering baptism, lest the priest should seem to sell what he freely received: of which I have given a full account^p, in speaking of the revenues of the Church; and also forbidding the priests^q, or any other of the clergy, to wash the feet of

^o Aug. Epist. cxix. ad Januar. c. xviii. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 141.) De lavandis vero pedibus, quum Dominus hoc propter formam humilitatis, propter quam docendam venerat, commendaverit, sicut ipse consequenter exposuit, quæsitum est, Quonam tempore potissimum res tanta etiam facto doceretur, et illud tempus occurrit, quo ipsa commendatio religiosius inhaereret. Sed ne ad ipsum sacramentum baptismi videretur pertinere, multi hoc in consuetudinem recipere noluerunt. Nonnulli etiam de consuetudine auferre non dubitaverunt. Aliqui autem, ut hoc et sacratiore tempore commendarent, et a baptismi sacramento distinguerent, vel diem tertium octavarum, quia et ternarius numerus in multis sacramentis maxime excellit, vel etiam ipsum octavum, ut hoc facerent, elegerunt.

^p Book v. chap. iv. sect. xiv.

^q Conc. Illiber. c. xlvi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 976.) Emendari placuit, ut hi qui baptizantur (ut fieri solet) nummos in concham non immittant; ne sacerdos,

such as were baptized. Among those Churches which never received this custom, we may reckon the Roman Church; and among those which always received it, the Church of Milan, whose practice is opposed to the Roman by St. Ambrose, or whoever was the author of the books *De Sacramentis, et de iis qui Mysteriis initiantur*, among his works. He says^r, in the Church of Milan, the bishop was used to wash the feet of the baptized. But the Roman Church had not this custom: and he thinks they might decline it, because of the multitude of those that were baptized. But they of the Roman Church pleaded that it was not to be done by way of mystery in baptism or regeneration, but only by way of humility, as the custom of washing the feet of strangers. But, on the contrary, the Church of Milan pleaded, that it was not merely a business of humility, but of mystery and sanctification, because Christ said to Peter, “Except I wash thy feet, thou hast no part with me.” “This I urge,” says our author, “not to reprehend others, but to commend my own office: for though we desire to follow the Roman Church, yet we are men that have our senses about us: and, therefore, we observe that practice which we conceive to be righter in other Churches.” He adds further^s, “that this was not done to obtain remission of sins, for that was already done in baptism: but because Adam was supplanted by the devil, and the serpent’s poison

quod gratis accepit, pretio distrahere videatur. Neque pedes eorum lavandi sunt a sacerdotibus vel clericis.

^r Ambros. de Sacram. lib. iii. c. i. (Bened. 1690. vol. ii. p. 362.) Succinctus summus sacerdos pedes tibi lavit. . . . Non ignoramus, quod ecclesia Romana hanc consuetudinem non habeat, cujus typum in omnibus sequimur et formam: hanc tamen consuetudinem non habet, ut pedes lavet. Vide ergo, ne propter multitudinem declinavit. Sunt tamen qui dicant et excusare conentur, quia hoc non in mysterio faciendum est, non in baptisate, non in regeneratione: sed, quasi hospiti, pedes lavandi sunt. Aliud est humilitatis, aliud sanctificationis. Denique audi, quia mysterium est et sanctificatio. ‘Nisi laveris tibi pedes, non habebis mecum partem.’ Hoc ideo dico, non quod alios reprehendam, etc.

^s Ibid. (p. 364.) In baptisate omnis culpa diluitur. Recedit ergo culpa. Sed, quia Adam supplantatus a diabolo est, et venenum ei effusum est supra pedes, ideo lavas pedes, ut in ea parte, in qua insidiatus est serpens, majus subsidium sanctificationis accedat, quo postea te supplantare non possit. Lavas ergo pedes, ut laves venena serpentis. Ad humilitatem quoque proficit, ut in mysterio non erubescamus, quod non dedignamur in obsequio.

was cast upon his feet: therefore, men were washed in that part for greater sanctification, that he might have no power to supplant them any further." These were the reasons given by the Church of Milan, for their adhering to this practice: but they were not so strong as to prevail with others; and so this custom never got any great footing in the Christian Church.

SECT. XI.—*A General Reflection upon the whole preceding Discourse, with Relation to the Practice of the Present Church.*

I have now gone over the most material ceremonies and usages of the Church, observed about the administration of baptism, as well those that went before, as those that accompanied the action itself, and those that followed after; and, as near as I could, delivered them in the same order and manner as she herself observed them; and shall here close the discourse only with one general reflection, which may be of some use to vindicate the practice of the present Church, and give satisfaction to such sober dissenters as scruple our office of baptism for the sake of an innocent, significant ceremony or two retained in it. The candid reader may observe throughout this discourse, that not only one or two, but many significant ceremonies, were observed by the ancient Church, in the administration of baptism; particularly the sign of the cross was used, at least four or five times, in the whole process of the action. Therefore, they who now raise objections against the present office, had they lived in the primitive times, must have had much more reason to complain of the ancient practice. And yet we do not ordinarily find objections raised against the baptism of the Church, upon the account of the ceremonies she used therein; no, not even by those who in other things differed from her. Which consideration, methinks, should a little satisfy those who really value the peace and unity of the Church; and be an argument to them not to dissent from the practice of the present Church, for those things which must more forcibly have obliged them to have been dissenters in all ages. I know not how far this consideration

may prevail upon any ; but I know how far it ought to prevail upon all that love the peace, and study the quiet, of the Church ; and, therefore, I could not but, in this place, here seasonably suggest it.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE LAWS AGAINST REBAPTIZATION BOTH IN CHURCH AND STATE.

SECT. I.—*But one Baptism, properly so called, allowed by the Church ; and why.*

To what has been said about baptism, it will not be improper to add something about the laws, made both in Church and State, against the repetition of it, when once duly performed. The ancients generally determine against a repetition of baptism ; though Vossius thinks ^a their reasons are not always strictly conclusive. Some argued that baptism was not to be repeated, because we are baptized into the death of Christ, who died but once. So St. Basil ^b and St. Austin ^c. But Vossius thinks there is no weight in this argument, because that which is but once done, may be often represented : as the sacrament of the eucharist is often repeated, though it also be in remem-

^a Voss. de Bapt. Disput. xvii. nn. v.—xiv. pp. 210—214.

^b Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. c. xv. (Bened. 1721. vol. iii. p. 29.) "Ἐν οἷδαμεν τὸ σωτήριον βάπτισμα, ἐπειδὴν εἰς ἐστὶν ὁ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κόσμου θάνατος, καὶ μία ἢ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐξανάστασις, ὧν τύπος ἐστὶ τὸ βάπτισμα.

^c Aug. vel alius potius, de Vera et Falsa Pœnit. c. iii. (Bened. 1679. vol. vi. app. p. 233.) Sicut semel Christus crucifixus est ; sic baptismus iterandus non est. Una enim morte sua omnes redemit, ut amplius mori non oporteat : quod videns ecclesia, intellexit, non iterandum baptismum.—Isidor. lib. ii. de Offic. Eccles. c. xxiv. (Col. Ag. p. 411. E 15.) Semel autem nos oportet in Christo lavari ; quia Christus semel pro nobis mortuus est. Si enim unus Deus et fides una est ; necessariò et unum baptismum sit ; quia et Christi mors una pro nobis est, in cujus imaginem mergimur per mysterium sacri fontis, ut consepeliamur Christo morientes huic mundo, et ab iisdem aquis in forma resurrectionis ejus emergimur, non reversuri ad corruptionem ; sicut neque est reversus ad mortem.—Damas. lib. iv. Orthod. Fid. c. ix. (Venet. 1748. vol. i. p. 259. D.) "Ὡσπερ ἅπαξ ἐτελέσθη ὁ τοῦ Κυρίου θάνατος, οὕτως καὶ ἅπαξ δεῖ βαπτίζεσθαι.

branch of the Lord's death till he come. Others prove it from those words of our Saviour (John xiii. 10): "He that is washed, needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit." This argument is used by Optatus, St. Austin, Fulgentius, Pacianus, and St. Ambrose. But Vossius thinks there is as little force in this reason as the former: because men may become polluted and unclean after baptism, and so have need of a second washing, if there were no other reason against it. Others argued from those words of the apostle (Heb. vi. 4): "It is impossible for those who are once enlightened, if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance." The ancient expositors, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Primasius, Sedulius, and Haymo, understand this as a prohibition of renewing men to repentance again by a second baptism: for they do not deny absolutely the possibility of a second repentance or pardon, but only upon a second baptism. And so Vossius says it is also expounded by Epiphanius^d, Cyril of Alexandria^e, St. Jerome^f, St. Austin^g, and St. Am-

^d Epiphanius. Hæres. lix. Novatian. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 494.) Καὶ γὰρ τῶ μὲν ὄντι τοὺς ὑπαξ ἀνακαισθέντας καὶ παραπεισόντας ἀνακαινίζειν ἀδύνατον· οὔτε γὰρ ἔτι γεννηθήσεται Χριστός, ἵνα σταυρωθῆ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν· οὔτε ἀνασταυροῦν δύναται τις τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν μηκέτι σταυρούμενον· οὔτε δύναται τις λουτρὸν δεύτερον λαμβάνειν· ἔν γάρ ἐστι τὸ βάπτισμα, καὶ εἰς ὃ ἐγκαισμός· ἀλλὰ εὐθὺς ἐπιφέρει τὴν τούτων ἴσιν ἄγιος ἀπόστολος, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἰατροῦν, καὶ τῶν αὐτῆς μελῶν ἐπιμελούμενος, καὶ φησι, Πειπίσμεθα, κ. τ. λ.

^e Cyril. lib. v. in Joan. c. xvii. [Not. Vaga, si non falsa, adlegatio. Neque enim in commentario ipso locum illum Heb. vi. 4, explicatum, neque in indice locorum scripturæ S. notatum invenio.—*Grischor.*]

^f Hieron. cont. Jovin. lib. ii. c. ii. (Bened. Veron. vol. ii. p. 325. A 10.) 'Impossibile est, eos, qui semel illuminati,' etc. Certe eos qui illuminati sunt, et gustaverunt donum cœlestis, et participes facti sunt Spiritus Sancti, gustaveruntque bonum Dei verbum, negare non possumus baptizatos. Si autem baptizati peccare non possunt, quomodo nunc Apostolus dicit, 'Et prolapsi sunt?' Verum ne Montanus et Novatus hic rideant, qui contendunt non posse renovari per pœnitentiam eos qui crucifixerunt sibimet Filium Dei, et ostentui habuerunt, consequenter hunc errorem solvit, et ait, 'Confidimus autem de vobis,' etc.

^g Aug. in Inchoat. Commentar. in Epist. ad Roman. (Bened. 1679. vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 937. G 4.) Non possunt denuo baptizari, qui semel baptizati sunt, quamvis etiam post baptismum per ignorantiam veritatis peccaverint. Ita fit, ut quoniam sine baptismo nemo recte dicitur accepisse scientiam veritatis, omnis qui accepit eam, non ei relinquatur pro peccatis sacrificium, hoc est, non possit denuo baptizari. Nec tamen omnis, qui non accepit per doctrinam

brose^h. But he thinks their exposition not so agreeable to this place as that of others, who interpret the ‘falling away’ either to mean the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, or what St. John calls ‘a sin unto death,’ or a total apostasy from the Christian religion, for which there is no renewal of repentance. But I will not be so positive as Vossius, that any of these are better interpretations of that text, which is so unanimously urged by the ancients against the Novatians, as a prohibition, not simply of a second repentance, but of a repentance by a second baptism. Others made use of those words of the apostle (Eph. iv.), “One faith, one baptism.” Which is the argument urged by Cyril of Jerusalem and Pope Leo against rebaptization. But this, as Vossius observes, probably was not intended as a prohibition of a second baptism, but only to declare the community of that baptism, which is received one and the same by all, without exception. As the apostle calls the eucharist ‘one bread,’ not because it was only once to be received, but because it was that common bread, of which all were partakers. The true reason, Vossius thinks, why baptism is not to be repeated, is the Divine will that so appointed it. For there is no command to reiterate baptism, as there is to repeat the eucharist, in the words of institution. Neither is there any example of any rebaptization in Scripture; though we often read of men’s falling into gross and scandalous sins after baptism. To which may be added, that baptism succeeds in the room of circumcision, being the entrance and seal of the covenant, which, on God’s part, is never broken: so that as circumcision was never repeated, though the Passover was yearly; in like manner, men enter into the covenant by baptism, and their breaches of the covenant are not to be repaired by repeated baptisms, but by confession and repentance; which is the method prescribed by the apostle for restoring fallen

scientiam veritatis, debeat arbitrari posse pro se illud offerri sacrificium, si jam oblatum est; id est, si jam ejusdem veritatis per baptismum sacramenta percepit, non potest iterum baptizari. . . . Eos enim, qui jam baptizati fuerint, curari melius dicimus per pœnitentiam, non renovari; quia renovatio in baptismo est. Ubi quidem operatur pœnitentia, sed tamquam in fundamento. Manente itaque fundamento, recurari ædificium potest: si autem fundamentum iterare quis voluerit, totum ædificium subvertat necesse est, etc.

^h Ambros. de Pœnit. cont. Novat. lib. ii. c. ii. tot.

brethren. St. Jerome¹ observes, “that though there were many heretics in the apostles’ days, as the Nicolaitans and others, yet there was no command given to rebaptize them upon their repentance.” And Optatus^k makes the unity of circumcision a good argument for the unity of baptism, in which both the Catholics and Donatists agreed. For though the Donatists rebaptized the Catholics, yet they did it not under the notion of a second baptism, but as supposing they had received no true baptism before.

SECT. II.—*Only the Marcionites allowed Baptism to be thrice repeated.*

Indeed, among all the ancient heretics, we find none for a plurality of baptisms, but only the Marcionites; which Epiphanius observes to have been an invention of Marcion¹, their first founder, in regard to his own conversation: for he, having been guilty of deflowering a virgin, invented a second baptism, asserting that it was lawful to repeat baptism three times for the remission of sins. So that if any man fell, he might receive a second baptism after the first, and a third after that, upon his repentance. Which he pretended to ground upon those sayings of our Saviour, “I have a baptism to be baptized with, and I have a cup to drink;” which have no reference to any other baptism in water, but to his baptism in blood, that is, his death and passion. Of which the ancients speak much, as they do of some other sorts of baptism, which are

¹ Hieron. cont. Lucifer. c. viii. (Bened. Veron. vol. ii. p. 198. A 24.) De Apocalypsi quoque approbemus, hereticis sine baptismate debere poenitentiam concedi. Numquid dixit, Rebaptizentur qui in Nicolaitarum fidem baptizati sunt?

^k Optat. lib. i. (Paris. 1702. p. 6.) Quid magis pro nobis et nostrum est, quam quod dixisti, in comparatione baptismatis semel factum esse diluivium? Et singularem circumcisionem salubriter profecisse populo Judæorum, magis pro nobis, quasi noster, loquutus es.

¹ Epiphan. Hæres. xlii. Marcionit. n. iii. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 304. C 9.) Ἐπειδὴ φθείρας ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πόλει τὴν παρθένον, καὶ ἀποδράσας μὲν ἐν παραπτώματι μεγάλῳ ἐνρέθη, ἐπενόησεν ὁ ἀγύρτης ἑαυτῷ δεῦτερον λουτρὸν, φήσας· ὅτι ἕξεστιν ἕως τριῶν λουτρῶν, τουτέστι τριῶν βαπτισμῶν, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν δίδοσθαι· ἢν εἴ τις παρέπεσεν εἰς τὸ πρῶτον, λάβῃ δεῦτερον μετανοήσας, καὶ τρίτον ὡσαύτως, ἐὰν ἐν παραπτώματι μετὰ τὸ δεῦτερον γένηται.

only metaphorical, as the baptism of afflictions, the baptism of tears and repentance, and the baptism of fire at the last day. But here the question is only about proper baptism by water, which the Marcionites affirmed might be repeated three times in the same way; which the Church never allowed of.

SECT. III.—*What the Church did in doubtful Cases, not reckoned a Rebaptization.*

It is true, indeed, there were some doubtful cases, in which it might happen accidentally that a man might be a second time baptized: but these were such cases only, in which the party was reputed not to have received any former baptism at all. As when a man could neither give any account of his own baptism; nor were there any other credible witnesses that could attest it. Which often happened to be the case of those who were taken captives in their infancy, and made slaves by the heathen. When any such were redeemed or recovered by the Christians, the Church made no scruple to baptize them; because, though they might perhaps have received a former baptism, yet no evidence of it appeared. And so this was not reputed a rebaptization. A decree was made to this purpose in the fifth Council of Carthage^m, upon a question put by the bishops of Mauritania, who affirmed that they redeemed many such captive children from the hands of the barbarians. The Council ordered, “that in this case, as often as it happened that there were no certain witnesses found, who could give undoubted testimony of their baptism; nor were they able of themselves to affirm, by reason of their age, that they ever had received it; they should be baptized with-

^m Conc. Carth. V. c. vi. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1216.) Placuit de infantibus, quoties non inveniuntur certissimi testes, qui eos baptizatos esse sine dubitatione testentur, neque ipsi sint per ætatem idonei de traditis sibi sacramentis respondere, absque ullo scrupulo eos esse baptizandos, ne ista trepidatio eos facit sacramentorum purgatione privari. —Vid. Cod. Eccles. Afric. c. lxxii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1094.) Ὁμοίως ἤρесе περὶ τῶν νηπίων, ὡσάκις μὴ εὕρισκονται βέβαιοι μάρτυρες, οἱ ταῦτα ἀναμφιβόλως βαπτισθέντα εἶναι λέγοντες· καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτὰ διὰ τὴν κείραν περὶ τῆς παραδοθείσης αὐτοῖς μυσταγωγίας ἀποκρίνεσθαι ἐπιτηδείως ἔχουσι, χωρὶς τινος προσκόμματος ὀφείλειν ταῦτα βαπτίζεσθαι, μήποτε ὁ τοιοῦτος δισταγμὸς ἀποστερήσῃ αὐτὰ τῆς τοιαύτης τοῦ ἀγιασμοῦ καθάρσεως. — Conf. Conc. Trull. c. lxxxiv. ubi eadem verba leguntur.

out any scruple, lest a hesitation in this case should deprive them of the purgation of the sacraments." The like determination was also given in one of the Roman Synods under Leo, upon the same case, where it was concludedⁿ, "that in such a doubtful case, neither the baptizer nor the baptized incurred the crime of rebaptization." And Leo resolves the matter^o himself after the same manner, in other places. Neither was it reckoned any crime, though it afterward appeared that the party had been baptized before, because it was done in ignorance. But yet, like clinic baptism, it was a sort of blemish to him, that deprived him of ecclesiastical promotion, except in some extraordinary case, as we learn from Theodore's *Pœnitentiale*^p, cited by Gratian.

SECT. IV.—*Nor when she baptized those who had been unduly baptized before, in Heresy or Schism.*

Neither was it reckoned properly a second baptism, when the Church baptized any who had before been unduly baptized in heresy or schism. For then she did it only on presumption that they had received no true baptism before. Some heretics corrupted baptism by altering the necessary form; and others corrupted it by changing the matter of it into some other substance of their own appointing. And the baptisms of all such were looked upon as no baptisms: and, therefore, the Church ordered all those to be baptized upon their return to her communion, in the very same manner as Jews and Gentiles, as supposing their former pretence of baptism to be nothing at all, but her own baptism the first true baptism that was given them. And even the Cyprianists, who baptized all that had been baptized in any heresy or schism whatsoever, without

ⁿ Leo, Epist. xxxvii. ad Leon. Raven. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 1316. B.) Non potest in iterationis crimen devenire, quod factum esse omnino nescitur.

^o Ibid. Epist. xcii. ad Rustic. c. xvi. (ibid. p. 1408.) Si nulla exstant indicia inter propinquos aut familiares, nulla inter clericos aut vicinos, quibus hi, de quibus quæritur, baptizati fuisse doceantur: agendum eat, ut renascantur: ne manifeste pereant, in quibus, quod non ostenditur gestum, ratio non sinit, ut videatur iteratum.

^p Theodor. Pœnitent. ap. Gratian. distinct. iv. de Consecrat. c. cxvii. Qui bis ignoranter baptizati sunt, non indigent pro eo pœnitere: nisi quod secundum canones ordinari non possunt, nisi magna aliqua necessitas cogat.

distinction, did it still only upon this supposition, that the baptism which they had received before was no baptism at all, but a mere nullity. But if any had been baptized in the Catholic Church, and after that turned heretics or schismatics, or even apostates, Jews or Gentiles, they never gave such another baptism upon their return to the Church again.

SECT. V.—*Apostates never rebaptized in the Catholic Church.*

For the Cyprianists, in this, agreed with the rest of the Catholic Church, that Catholic baptism was never to be repeated in the greatest apostates. This doctrine is not only inculcated by St. Austin^q, but even by Cyprian himself and his followers, where they plead so much for baptizing those who had been baptized in any heresy or schism; they still except those heretics who had originally been baptized in the Catholic Church: though they turned apostates, they were not to be received again by baptism^r, but only by repentance,

^q Aug. de Bapt. lib. ii. cap. i. (Bened. 1688. vol. ix. p. 96. F.) Si potuit Petrus contra veritatis regulam quam postea ecclesia tenuit, cogere gentes Judaizare, cur non potuit Cyprianus, contra regulam veritatis quam postea tota ecclesia tenuit, cogere hæreticos vel schismaticos denuo baptizari?—Cont. Liter. Petil. lib. ii. cc. vii. et xlviiii.—Cont. Crescon. lib. ii. c. xvi.

^r Conc. Carth. ap. Cyprian. n. viii. (Oxon. 1682. p. 232.) Censeo omnes hæreticos et schismaticos, qui ad ecclesiam Catholicam voluerint venire, non ante ingredi, nisi exorcizati et baptizati prius fuerint; exceptis his sane, qui in ecclesia Catholica fuerint ante baptizati, ita tamen, ut per manus impositionem in pœnitentiam ecclesiæ reconcilientur.—Ibid. n. xxii. (p. 234.) Censeo, flebiles et tabidos hæreticos baptizandos esse, quum ad ecclesiam venire ceperint; et sacra et divina lavatione lotos, et lumine vitæ illuminatos, . . . in ecclesiam recipi; absque his, qui de ecclesia fideles supplantati, ad hæresis tenebras transierant: sed eos per manus impositionem restituendos.—Cyprian. Epist. lxxi. ad Quint. (Oxon. p. 194.) (p. 303, edit. Amstelod.) Quod nos quoque hodie observavimus, ut quos constat heic baptizatos esse, et a nobis ad hæreticos transiisse, si postmodum peccato suo cognito et errore digesto, ad veritatem et matricem redeant, satis sit in pœnitentiam manum imponere; ut quia ovis jam fuerat, hanc ovem abalienatam et errabundam in ovile suum pastor recipiat. Si autem, qui ab hæreticis venit, baptizatus in ecclesia prius non fuit, sed alienus in totum et profanus venit; baptizandus est, ut ovis fiat, quia una est aqua in ecclesia sancta, quæ oves faciat.—Id. Epist. lxxiv. ad Pompeium. (Oxon. p. 216.) (p. 318.) Observatur a nobis et tenetur, explorata et perspecta veritate, ut omnes, qui ex quacumque hæresi ad ecclesiam convertuntur, ecclesiæ unico legitimo baptismo baptizentur, exceptis his, qui baptizati in ecclesia prius fuerant, et sic ad hæreticos transierant: hos enim oportet, quum redeunt

as was determined in the Council of Carthage, over which Cyprian presided. St. Austin refers us to this very passage, and thence concludes this was a point agreed upon universally in the Catholic Church, that no lapse or crime could make it necessary to give a second baptism to any who had once been truly baptized within the pale of the Church. A longer penance, indeed, was imposed upon such deserters and apostates, as had been baptized in the Church, than upon those who had been baptized among heretics originally, as the rules of Pope Innocent^s inform us; the one were obliged to go through a long course of penance for their apostasy, but the other were admitted immediately by imposition of hands upon their recantation: yet still the Church kept strict to her rule, that whatever way she admitted them, she would not do it by a second baptism.

SECT. VI.—*What Heretics rebaptized the Catholics.*

Several heretics pretended to observe the same rule; for they rebaptized the Catholics, yet they said this was not a second baptism; because the Catholics were reputed heretics with them, and therefore their baptism was of no value in their account. Upon this ground, the Novatians rebaptized the Catholics; as we learn from Cyprian^t, and the Epistle of Pope Innocent last cited. The Donatists followed the Novatians in this sacrilegious practice; as the charge is often brought against them by St. Austin^u and many others. And

acta pœnitentia per manus impositionem solam recipi, et in ovile, unde erraverant, a pastore restitui.

^s Innocent. Epist. ii. ad Victricium, c. viii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1251.) Ut venientes a Novatianis vel Montensibus, per manus tantum impositionem suscipiantur: quia quamvis ab hæreticis, tamen in Christi nomine sunt baptizati: præter eos, si qui forte a nobis ad illos transeuntes, rebaptizati sunt. Hi si resipiscentes et ruinam suam cogitantes, redire voluerint, sub longa pœnitentiæ satisfactione admittendi sunt.

^t Cyprian. Epist. lxxiii. ad Jubaian. (Oxon. 1682. p. 198.) Nec nos movet, . . . Novatianenses rebaptizare eos, quos a nobis sollicitant.

^u Aug. cont. Fulgent. c. vii. (Bened. 1679. vol. ix. append. p. 6. C 10.) Da mihi aliquem sanctorum post Trinitatem rebaptizare, quod facis.—It. de Hæres. c. lxix. Audent etiam rebaptizare Catholicos, ubi se amplius hæreticos esse firmarunt, quum ecclesiæ Catholicæ universæ placuerit, nec in ipsis hæreticis baptismum commune rescindere.—Vid. Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. vi. Ne

the Eunomians not only rebaptized the Catholics, but all others of the Arian sects, that were not of their own particular faction; as is noted by Epiphanius^x, in his account of them. And the other Arians, though they were at first averse to this practice (as Papebrochius^y and Pagi^z rightly observe, in order to refute the story of Constantine's being baptized by Pope Sylvester, and rebaptized by Eusebius of Nicomedia; for at that time the Arians had not taken up the practice of rebaptizing the Catholics); yet, afterwards, they gave way to it, about the time of St. Austin. For he charges it upon them more than once^a, that they rebaptized the Catholics. And it appears from Victor Uticensis^b that they insisted

sanctum baptisma iteretur. leg. iv. Honorii. In tantum sceleris progressi dicuntur ii, quos Donatistas vocant, ut baptisma sacrosanctum, mysteriis recalcatis, temeritate noxia, iterent, et homines semel, ut traditum est, munere divinitatis ablutos, contagione profanae repetitionis infecerint: ita contigit, ut hæresis ex schismate nasceretur. Inde male credulas mentes ad spem secundæ indulgentiæ blandus error invitat: etc.

^x Epiphanius. Hæres. lxxvi. Anomœor. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 992. B 3.) Ἀναβαπτίζει γὰρ τοὺς ἤδη βαπτισθέντας, οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἀπὸ ὀρθοδόξων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐρχομένους, καὶ αἰρέσεων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀρειανῶν.

^y Papebroch. Vit. Constant. Mai. tom. v. p. 17. C. Hinc porro intelligitur inanem esse conatum quorundam paucorum, qui utramque de Constantini baptismo reconciliaturi, Romæ quidem a Silvestro baptizatum esse dicunt; sed Nicomediæ rebaptizatum ab Eusebio. Cetera vid. sub lit. seq. (z).

^z Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 324, n. xv. (Lucæ, vol. iv. p. 66.) Neque audiendi, qui utramque de Constantini baptismo sententiam conciliaturi, Romæ quidem a Silvestro baptizatum esse dicunt, sed Nicomediæ rebaptizatum ab Eusebio. Nam rebaptizationem ab Arianis, ante Vandaliæ persecutionis tempora, tentatam nemo cum fundamento dixerit, nec debet, tota antiquitate silente, recipi: multo minus, eam jam a tempore Constantini imperatoris usurpatam. Quis enim eo vivente ausus fuisset Nicenæ fidei professores, quam ille semper et ubique spectabat, et omnino sartam tectam volebat, adfirmare hæreticos, quorum proinde baptismus invalidus crederetur? Ut autem Ariani jam tunc tale quidpiam clam ausi essent, nec dum posset dici, quod Eusebius Arianismi notam conatu omni a sese tunc adhuc amoliri studens, partem habuerit in ea impietate, ut ait Papebrochius in Vita S. Constantini M. die xxi. mensis Maii, ex quo hæc de Constantini baptismo exseripsi, ne acta agerem.

^a Aug. de Hæres. c. xlix. (Bened. 1679. vol. viii. p. 18.) Rebaptizari quoque ab his Catholicos novimus, utrum et non Catholicos nescio.—Id. de Hæres. c. vii. Speluncam fabricat, illic Catholicum præfoeat, Christianum vocat paganum, 'baptizato ingerit baptismum,' contra id quod scriptum est, Qui semel lotus est, non indiget denuo lavari †.

^b Vict. de Persecut. Vandal. lib. i. (Max. Bibl. V. Patr. Lugdun. 1677. vol.

stiffly upon it in the time of the Vandalic persecution. And we afterwards meet with the same in the Epistles of Vigilius^c. Valesius^d cites the Life of Fulgentius, and the author of the *Breviarum Fidei*, published by Sirmondus, to the same purpose. By which last author^e we find, that the Arians not only rebaptized the Catholics, but also made an argument of it (as some Romanists in another case have since argued against the Protestants) that their baptism was better than the Catholics, because the Catholics never rebaptized those that came over from the Arians, but reconciled them only by imposition of hands: but the Arians, whenever they could seduce any from the Catholics, always gave them a second baptism.

SECT. VII.—*What Punishments were inflicted on Rebaptizers by the Laws of Church and State.*

Now, to prevent this petulant humour from spreading in the Church, many and severe laws were made against it, both by the ecclesiastical and the secular power. The Church, by her canons^f, not only censured and condemned all such rebaptiza-

viii. p. 677. C 1.) Apprehendens Sebastianus (a Geiserico rege monitus, ut ad Arianorum sacra transiret) mundissimum panem similaceum, ita fatus est: Hic panis, ut ad tantum decorem veniret, et mensæ regię necessarius haberetur, discussa spuria furfuris, ex massa similaginis conspersus, per aquam transivit et ignem: ideirco et adspectu clarus, et esu suavis habetur. Ita et ego mola Catholice matris commolitur, et cribro examinationis, ut similia munda, purgatus, 'rigatus sum aqua baptismatis,' et igne Sancti Spiritus coctus. Et ut hic panis de furno, ita et ego per officia sacramentorum divinorum, artifice Deo, de fonte mundus adscendi. Sed fiat, si velis, quod ipse propono. Iste panis confringatur in frustra, madidetur aqua, iterum conspergatur, et mittatur in furnum. Si melior exierit, faciam quod hortaris.

^c Vigil. Epist. ii. ad Euther. c. iii. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 312.) De his etiam, qui, gratia baptismatis salutaris accepta, apud Arianos iterum baptizati, etc.

^d Vales. Not. in Sozomen. lib. vi. c. xxvi. (Aug. T. 1746. p. 232.) Ariani Catholicos ad se venientes rebaptizabant, ut notum est. Qua de re locus est illustris in Breviario Fidei adversus Arianos, quod olim edidit Jacobus Sirmondus. 'Dicere etiam solent de baptismo,' etc. [vid. lit. seq. (e)]. Idem testatur vetus auctor vitæ Sancti Fulgentii, c. xxi.

^e Breviar. Fidei adversus Arianos. Dicere etiam solent de baptismo, quod in eo melius sit ipsorum baptismum, quam nostrum; quia qui de illis ad nos convertuntur, non eos rebaptizamus, sed per manus impositionem reconciliamus. Illi vero, si quos de nostris seducere possunt, inconsideranter rebaptizant.

^f Vid. Cod. Eccles. African. c. xlvi. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1072.) "Ὡστε μὴ

tions as impious and sacrilegious, as a crucifying of Christ again, a doing despite to the Spirit, as a mockery of the divine mysteries, and derision of holy things; but also inflicted penalties on all those who were either actively or passively concerned in them. The Council of Lerida^s forbids the faithful so much as to eat with persons that suffered themselves to be rebaptized. The canons of Pope Innocent^h enjoin them a long penance to make satisfaction. And those of Pope Leoⁱ require even those who, through fear or terror, were rebaptized against their wills, to do penance at the discretion of the bishop, before they were admitted again to communion. If they were bishops, presbyters, or deacons, who thus suffered themselves to be rebaptized, then they were to be degraded, and obliged to do penance all their lives, without being suffered to communicate with the Church, either in the prayers of the faithful, or the prayers of the catechumens, and were only to be admitted to lay communion at the hour of death; because they had not only denied their orders, but their Christianity, and openly professed themselves pagans, by being rebaptized. This we find in the Decrees of Felix the Third, made in a Roman council^k, with respect to the African Churches, where

ἔξῃναι, γίνεσθαι ἀναβαπτίσεις. — Constitut. Apostol. lib. vi. c. xv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 390.) *Ὁμοίως καὶ βαπτίσματι ἐνὶ ἀρκείσθαι μόνῳ, τῷ εἰς τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου θάνατον δεδομένῳ . . . μήτε τὸ παρὰ τῶν ὄσιων ἀκυρούσθω διὰ δευτέρου . . . ὡς γὰρ εἰς ὁ τοῦ Κυρίου ἐν σώματι θάνατος· οὕτως ἐν καὶ τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν διδόμενον βάπτισμα . . . τοὺς μεμνημένους ἐκ δευτέρου βαπτίζειν πειρώμενοι, ἀνασταυροῦσι τὸν Κύριον, ἀναιροῦσιν αὐτὸν ἐκ δευτέρου, γελῶσι τὰ θεῖα, μκκηρίζουσι τὰ ἅγια, ὑβρίζουσι τὸ Πνεῦμα, τὸ αἶμα, τὸ ἅγιον, ὡς κοινὸν ἀτιμάζουσιν.*

^s Conc. Ilerd. c. xiv. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1613.) Cum rebaptizatis fideles religiosi, nec in cibo, participant.

^h Innocent. Epist. ii. ad Victric. See note (s) p. 66.

ⁱ Leo, Epist. lxxix. ad Nicetam, c. vi. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 1372.) Qui ad iterandum baptismum vel metu coacti sunt . . . non nisi per poenitentiae remedium et per impositionem episcopalis manus communionis recipiant unitatem.

^k Felix, Ep. vii. c. ii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1076.) Eos, quos episcopos, presbyteros, vel diaconos fuisse constiterit, et seu optantes forsitan, seu coactos, lavacri illius unici salutarisque claruerit fecisse jacturam; et Christum, quem non solum dono regenerationis, verum etiam gratia pcepti honoris induerant, exuisse; quum constet, neminem ad secundam tinctionem venire potuisse, nisi se palam Christianum negaverit, . . . usque ad exitus sui diem, si resipiscunt, jacere conveniet; nec orationi non modo fidelium, sed ne catechumenorum omnimodis interesse, quibus communio laica tantum in morte reddenda est.

such rebaptizations were often practised by the power of the Arians, who compelled the Catholics to be rebaptized. This was the ancient discipline of the Church toward those who were only passive in admitting a second baptism, after they had once been truly baptized with Catholic baptism before. Then again for those who were actively concerned in such rebaptizations, the canons appointed, that if any bishop or presbyter presumed to give a second baptism, after a true one once received¹, he should be degraded. And this penalty was confirmed by the civil law: for Valentinian^m put forth an edict against such rebaptizers, declaring them unworthy of the priesthood. But because such sort of penalties did not much affect either the Donatists or Eunomians, who were already out of the Church, and little regarded her censures; therefore, Honorius reinforced the former laws, by adding a civil penalty to them. For, in two laws made against the Donatists, who were chiefly concerned in this crime, he enactedⁿ, “that it should be confiscation of all a man’s goods, whoever was found to rebaptize another.” And Theodosius Junior^o laid the same penalty upon the Eunomians, and those that were rebaptized by them, commanding their goods to be confiscated, and

¹ Vid. Can. Apostol. c. xlvi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 36.) Ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, τὸν κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἔχοντα βάπτισμα, εἰ ἄνωθεν βαπτίσῃ . . . καθαιρεῖσθω.

^m Theod. lib. xvi. tit. xvi. de non Iterando Baptismo, leg. i. Antistitem, qui sanctitatem baptismi iterata usurpatione geminaverit, et contra instituta omnium eam gratiam iterando contaminaverit, sacerdotio indignum esse censemus.

ⁿ Ibid. leg. iv. Quisquis post hæc fuerit rebaptizasse detectus . . . facultatum omnium publicatione multatus, inopie pœnam expendat.—Ibid. leg. v. Ne divinam gratiam, sub repetito baptismate pollutam, Donatistarum secreta violarent, et fallendi occasionem, severitate hujus præceptionis, abolemus, stantentes, ut cetera hujusmodi homines pœna sequatur, legisque censuram experiantur ultricem, qui in Catholicam religionem perverso dogmate commisissent. Jubemus igitur, ut si quis posthac fuerit rebaptizasse detectus, judici, qui provincie præsidet, offeratur, ut facultatum omnium publicatione multatus inopie pœnam expendat.

^o Ibid. leg. vii. Theodosii. Nefarios Eunomianorum cœtus ac funesta conventicula penitus arceri jubemus. Eos, qui episcoporum, seu clericorum, vel ministrorum nomine usurpato, hujusemodi cœtibus præsent . . . quum in hoc fuerint scelere deprehensi, stilum proscriptionis incurrere, et bonorum amissione coerceri. Eos vero, qui fide, ut dictum est, imbutos immani furore rebaptizare deteguntur, cum his, qui rebaptizantur (arceri jubemus).

their persons to be banished. Such was the care both of the civil and ecclesiastical governors to preserve the unity of baptism in the Catholic Church. But as Gothofred^p, I think, rightly observes, the laws seem only intended against heretics rebaptizing Catholics. For if heretics rebaptized heretics, as the Eunomians did the Arians, it does not appear, that in that case the penalties of these laws affected them, but only were designed to restrain their insolencies against the Catholic Church. Some Catholics continued still, after the Cyprianic way, to rebaptize all heretics and schismatics whatsoever, without distinguishing those that were baptized in the name of the Trinity from those that were not. And though this was contrary to the general custom and discipline of the Church, yet I conceive the penalties of these laws did not affect them neither. And the same may be said of those, who thought themselves obliged to rebaptize those who were only baptized by laymen. For though it was reckoned a rebaptization by those Churches which practised otherwise, yet it was not that criminal rebaptization against which these laws were chiefly intended. And these being something more of doubtful and disputed cases, about which good Catholics themselves were divided, a greater allowance was made in these, so long as men only observed the custom and practice of the Churches in which they lived, about them: which was St. Basil's advice to the Churches of Asia which were divided upon these questions.

^p Gothofred. ad Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. vi. lib. vi. Observandum, hanc pœnam imponi severissimam, non omnibus baptisma iterantibus, verum his, qui orthodoxorum ritu seu mysteriis jam initiatos baptizarent; . . . procul dubio enim impune cessit rebaptizantibus, si quos ex hæreticis, veluti Arianis ad sectam suam concedentibus rebaptizassent: quod Eunomianos fecisse ostendi ad lib. xvii. supr. de Hæreticis.

BOOK XIII.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS RELATING TO DIVINE WORSHIP
IN THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

SOME NECESSARY REMARKS UPON THE ANCIENT NAMES OF
DIVINE SERVICE, WHICH MODERN CORRUPTIONS HAVE
RENDERED AMBIGUOUS.

SECT. I.—*The Partition of this Work.*

WE have hitherto seen the method of introducing men into the Church, through the various steps of their catechumen-ship, and baptism, and confirmation : we are now to view their practice, in the worship of God, after their admission, and to examine into the manner of their holding religious assemblies, and performing there the several public offices of divine service. Some things of this kind are general considerations, that run through all offices, and relate to every part of divine worship,—such as the object of their worship, and the circumstances of language, and forms, and habits, and gesture, and time ; and, therefore, of these general things, I shall discourse first in this Book. After this, I shall consider the several parts of their most solemn worship on the Lord's day : such as their psalmody, and reading of the Scriptures, and preaching, and prayer, and receiving the communion, which were their solemn acts of worship on every festival. And because some of these were such as the catechumens and others were allowed to be present at, for their benefit and edification ; whilst other parts of divine service were more restrained to persons baptized, who were complete and perfect Christians (who were, therefore, called ' communicants,' because they had a more peculiar right to all the privileges of Christian communion) ; I shall,

upon this account, speak of their worship under these two heads, according to their own distinction ; the *missa catechumenorum*, and the *missa fidelium*, ‘ the service of the catechumens,’ and ‘ the service of the communicants ;’ or as we may otherwise term them, ‘ the ante-communion service,’ and ‘ the communion service.’

SECT. II.—*Of the Missa Catechumenorum, or first Part of Divine Service, to which all Orders of Men were admitted.*

The *missa catechumenorum* comprehended all that part of the service which preceded the common prayers of the communicants at the altar ; that is, the psalmody, the reading of the Scriptures, the sermon, and the particular prayers that were made over the catechumens and other orders of penitents, energumens, &c., before they were dismissed : for, by the ancient rules and discipline of the Church, the method of divine service was so ordered, that all persons, except some very scandalous sinners, had liberty to be present at some parts of it. The psalms, and lessons, and sermons, were for the instruction, not only of believers, but also of catechumens and heathens, Jews and infidels, unbelievers and heretics : and, therefore, by some canons, all these had liberty to stay in the church, till this part of the service, called *missa catechumenorum*, was ended. The fourth Council of Carthage has a rule to this purpose ^a, “ that the bishop shall not prohibit any one to enter the church, and hear the word of God, whether he be Gentile, Jew, or heretic, till the service of the catechumens was ended.” A like canon was made by the first Council of Orange ^b : “ that the catechumens should have the liberty to stay and hear the gospels read in all their churches.” The Council of Valentia ^c, in Spain, extends the privilege to

^a Conc. Carth. IV. c. lxxxiv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1206.) Ut episcopus nullum prohibeat ingredi ecclesiam, et audire verbum Dei, sive gentilem, sive hæreticum, sive Judæum, usque ad missam catechumenorum.

^b Conc. Arausican. I. c. xviii. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 1450.) Evangelia placuit deinceps catechumenis legi, apud omnes provinciarum nostrarum ecclesias.

^c Conc. Valent. c. i. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1617.) Inter cetera hoc censuimus observandum, ut sacrosancta evangelia, ante munerum illationem, in missa

heretics and heathens, as well as catechumens; and, therefore, orders that the gospel should be read before the oblation was brought forth, in the usual order of the lessons; so that not only the communicants, but the catechumens, and penitents, and Gentiles, and heretics, who were of the contrary part, might have liberty to hear the saving precepts of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the sermons of the bishops. For they had learned by experience, that, by the bishops' preaching, many had been brought over to the faith. And by this we may interpret an obscure canon of the Council of Lerida^d, which orders, "that incestuous persons, so long as they continued in their sin, should not be permitted to stay any longer in the church, save only during the service of the catechumens;" that is, to hear the psalmody, the lessons, and the sermon. St. Chrysostom abundantly confirms this observation; for in many of his homilies^e he speaks not only of catechumens, but of heretics and heathen being present as part of his auditory. Particularly in his homily upon the Forty-fourth Psalm^f, he wishes all the Jews and heathens had been then present to

catechumenorum in ordine lectionum post apostolum legantur; quatenus salutaria præcepta Domini nostri Jesu Christi, vel sermonem sacerdotis, non solum fideles, sed etiam catechumeni, ac pœnitentes, et omnes, qui ex diverso sunt, audire licitum habeant. Sic enim pontificum prædicatione audita, nonnullos ad fidem attractos evidenter scimus.

^d Conc. Herdens. c. iv. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1611.) De his, qui se incesta pollutione commaculant, placuit, ut quousque in ipso detestando et illicito carnis contubernio perseverant, usque ad missam tantum catechumenorum, in ecclesia admittantur.

^e Chrysost. Hom. xli. de Pelagia. (Bened. 1718. vol. ii. p. 703. C 4.) Νῦν δὲ ἐννοήσατε, ὅτι πολλοὶ τῶν αἰρετικῶν εἰσιν ἡμῖν ἀναμειγμένοι. — Id. Homil. lxxii. de Phoca. (Bened. 1718. vol. ii. p. 843. B.) Ἐνταῦθά μοι τὸν αἰρετικὸν κάλει, ἐάν τε παρῆ, ἐάν τε μὴ παρῆ· ἐάν τε γὰρ παρῆ, παρὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας φωνῆς παιδεύεσθω· ἐάν τε μὴ παρῆ, διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀκροάσεως μανθανέτω. — Homil. Pater, si possibile. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 15.) Εἰκόσ δὲ καὶ αἰρετικούς παρόντας ἐπιπηδῆσαι τοῖς εἰρημένοις, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ἀφελεστέρων ἀδελφῶν ἐντεῦθεν ὑποσκελίζειν. — Homil. de Prophet. Obscur. (Bened. 1718. vol. vi. p. 172. C 8.) Δεῖ γὰρ εὐθύνας ἡμᾶς ἀπαιτεῖσθαι, εἰ καὶ ἐν φίλοις λέγομεν· καὶ γὰρ πολλοὶ ἴσως καὶ τῶν οὐ φίλων πάρεισι.

^f Chrysost. Hom. in Psalm. xlii. (Bened. 1718. vol. v. p. 160.) Ἐβουλόμην παρεῖναι νυνὶ Ἰουδαίους ἅπαντας καὶ Ἑλληνας, καὶ τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο παρὰ Ἰουδαίων λαβόν, οὕτως ἀναγνῶναι τὸν ψαλμόν· . . . ἀλλ' εἴτε πάρεισιν, εἴτε μὴ πάρεισιν οὔτοι, ἡμεῖς τὸ ἡμέτερον ποιήσωμεν, καὶ τῆς ἐρμηνείας ἀψώμεθα.

have heard him expound that prophetic Psalm of Christ. In another homily upon the Forty-eighth Psalm ^g, he brings in a heathen using this form of complaint against Christians : “ I went into a Christian church, and there I heard Paul say to their women, ‘ that they should not adorn themselves with gold or pearl ;’ but I saw every thing contrary in their practice.” “ And,” says Chrysostom, “ will not the heathen, when he comes into the church, and sees the women thus adorned in the galleries above, and hears Paul thus speaking below, be ready to say, ‘ our religion is mere pageantry and fable ?’ It is not so indeed ; but the heathen is scandalized and offended at this contrariety in our practice.” This plainly implies, that the heathens had free liberty to come into the Christian churches, and hear the Scriptures read, and the sermon preached. And it is very remarkable what Sozomen observes of St. Chrysostom ^h, “ that, by this means, he brought over many of those who heard him in the church, to acknowledge the divinity of Christ.” Which some understand of the scholars of Libanius ; but Valesius, I think, more truly interprets it of heathens and heretics in general, who flocked to St. Chrysostom’s church to hear him. There is but one thing that can be said against all this, and that is, that the Council of Laodicea has a contrary canon, which absolutely forbids the permitting of heretics to enter into the house of God ⁱ. But this is only a local ordinance ; and the thing being a matter of pure discipline, there might be prudential reasons for denying heretics, in some places, the privilege that was allowed them in

^g Chrysost. Homil. in Psalm. xlviii. (Bened. 1718. vol. v. p. 513. B 7.) Εἰσέρχῃ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, κεχρυσωμένη τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ τὸν τράχηλον ἔαν ἔλθῃ Παῦλος . . . βοᾷ καὶ λέγει ὡσαύτως· Τὰς γυναικὰς κοσμεῖν ἐαυτὰς χρὴ μὴ ἐν χρυσῷ, μὴ ἐν μαργαρίταις, μὴ ἐν ἱματισμῷ πολυτελεῖ. Εἶτα ἂν εἰσέλθῃ ὁ Ἕλληγ, καὶ ἴδῃ ἄνω μὲν φορούσας ταῦτα ἐκείνας, κάτω δὲ Παῦλον ταῦτα λέγοντα, οὐκ ἔρεῖ, ὅτι σκηνηὶ καὶ μῦθος ταῦτά ἐστιν ; οὐκ ἔστι μὲν σκηνηὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα, κὰν οὕτω ταῦτα γίνηται ὃ δὲ Ἕλληγ βλέπεται καὶ λέγει, Εἰσῆλθον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν Χριστιανῶν, καὶ ἤκουσα Παύλου λέγοντος, Μὴ ἐν χρυσῷ, μηδὲ ἐν μαργαρίταις, τὴν δὲ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐναντία ἐπίδεικνυμένην.

^h Sozom. lib. viii. c. ii. (Cant. 325.) Πλείστους δὲ τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀκούοντων ἐπ’ ἐκκλησίας, εἰς ἀρετὴν ὠφέλησε, καὶ ὁμόφρονας αὐτῷ περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐποίησε.

ⁱ Cone. Laodic. c. vi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1497.) Περὶ τοῦ μὴ συγχωρεῖν τοῖς αἱρετικοῖς εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Θεοῦ.

others. Or else, the canon may be understood of not permitting them to come into the church for prayers or communion, which was a thing forbidden by all canons whatsoever, till after their recantation. Some indeed think, that in Tertullian's time, the catechumens were excluded before sermon; because he objects it to the heretics^k, "that there were such confusions in their assemblies, that no one could tell who was a catechumen, and who was a communicant; because they all met, and heard, and prayed together: and heathens, if they came in among them, were not excluded from the very mysteries of their religion." But in this, as Schelstrate^l has observed against Albaspinæus and Christianus Lupus, Tertullian does not object to the heretics, "that they admitted catechumens to hear their sermons, but that they made no distinction in their assemblies, as the Church did; but, without any observation of decency or order, suffered their catechumens to mingle themselves with communicants, whom the Catholics always confined to a separate place in the church, while heretics admitted them confusedly, not only to hear sermons, but to be present at their prayers and the oblation of the eucharist also." So that this passage of Tertullian rather confirms the thing asserted, "that the *missa catechumenorum*, or 'service of the catechumens,' lasted to the end of the sermon." After which, it was usual for the deacon to call to the heathens and heretics, if there were any present, to be gone: *Μή τις τῶν ἀκροωμένων μή τις τῶν ἀπίστων*: 'Let none that are only hearers, none of the unbelievers, be present,' as the author of the Constitutions words it^m. Then followed the prayers for the catechumens of the order called *prostrators*; and, after

^k Tertul. de Præscript. advers. Hæret. c. xli. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 477.) In primis quis catechumenus, quis fidelis, incertum est: pariter adeunt, [pariter audiunt,] pariter orant: etiam ethnici, si supervenerint, 'sanctum canibus, et porcis margaritas,' licet non veras, jactabunt.

^l Schelstrat. de Conc. Antiocheno, p. 200. Illis verbis non insimulat Tertullianus catechumenos, quod ecclesiam adeant, vel in illa audiant, sive orent, sed quod sese cum fidelibus miscerent, nec observato narthecis loco in ipsa interiori ecclesia, ac si fideles essent, audirent, et sacrificio interessent. Et hoc vult Tertullianus, quum scribit, 'pariter audiunt.' Ac si diceret, Separatim et in alio loco audire potuisse catechumenos.

^m Constitut. lib. viii. c. v.

their dismissal, prayers for the energumens; and, after them, the prayers for the candidates of baptism; and, last of all, the prayers for the penitents: all which was included in the general name of *missa catechumenorum*, ‘the service of the catechumens,’ or ‘ante-communion service.’

SECT. III.—*Of the Missa Fidelium, or ‘Communion Service,’ peculiar to Communicants only.*

After this was ended, it was usual for the deacon to make another solemn proclamation to all orders of non-communicants to withdraw: Οἱ ἀκοινωνῆτοι περιπατήσατε, “Ye that cannot communicate, walk off and be gone;” “Let no catechumen be present, no hearer, no infidel, no heterodox or heretical person,” as the author of the Constitutions words itⁿ. And, as St. Chrysostom acquaints us^o, he was used to add further, ἐπιγινώσκετε ἀλλήλους, “Ye that are communicants, discern and ‘know one another:’ see that there be no catechumen, none of those that cannot eat of the sacrifice, no spy, no one that cannot see the heavenly blood shed for the remission of sins, no one unworthy of the living sacrifice, no unbaptized person, no one that may not touch the tremendous mysteries with his polluted lips.” And here began the *missa fidelium*, or ‘communion service,’ so called, because none might be present at it but communicants only; as appears from these solemn forms of dismissing all others before it began. This contains all those prayers which were said at the altar, and were properly called εὐχαὶ πιστῶν, ‘prayers of the faithful,’ or communicants, in opposition to the prayers of the catechumens, which went before. These were the prayers for the whole state of the Church, and peace of the world, which

ⁿ Constitut. lib. viii. c. xii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 473. A 4.) Μὴ τις τῶν κατηχομένων· μή τις τῶν ἀκροωμένων· μή τις τῶν ἐπεροδόξων.

^o Chrysost. Hom. i. cont. Judæos. (Bened. 1718. vol. i. p. 593. B 7.) Οὐχ ὄρατε ἐπὶ τῶν μυστηρίων, τί βοᾷ συνεχῶς ὁ διάκονος; Ἐπιγινώσκετε ἀλλήλους.—Hom. xxxvii. de Filio Prodigio. (Bened. 1718. vol. viii. append. p. 37. A 7.) Μὴ τις κατηχομένων, μή τις τῶν μὴ ἐσθιόντων, μή τις τῶν κατασκόπων . . . μή τις τῶν μὴ δυναμένων θεάσασθαι τὸ οὐράνιον αἷμα, τὸ ἐκχυνόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, μή τις ἀνάξιος τῆς ζώσης θυσίας, μή τις ἀμύητος, μή τις μὴ ἐνδύμενος ἀκαθάρτοις χεῖλεσι προσψαύσασθαι τῶν φρικτῶν μυστηρίων.

preceded the oblation and consecration of the eucharist : and then the consecration prayers, and prayers again for all orders of men in the Church, with proper forms of communicating, and doxologies, hymns and thanksgivings after reception, of which we discourse particularly in the last of these Books, under the general title of *missa fidelium*, or ‘ communion service.’ This part of the service being wholly spent in prayers, and that by the communicants only, is therefore peculiarly distinguished by the name of *εὐχαὶ πιστῶν*, ‘ the prayers of the faithful,’ by the Council of Laodicea^p, which speaks of them as coming after the prayers of the catechumens and their dismissal. In other canons, they are called ‘ the common prayers of the people ;’ and absolutely ‘ the prayers,’ without taking notice of any other prayers in the church. Whence, in the Council of Nice^q, speaking of penitents, the phrase, “ communicating in prayers with the people, without the oblation,” denotes joining in this part of the service of the Church, distinguished by the name of ‘ prayers,’ or ‘ communion service,’ which belonged not to the catechumens, but the body of the people, in which the penitents of the highest class, called ‘ co-standers,’ were allowed to join, though they might neither make their oblations, nor partake of the eucharist with the faithful. And, in the same sense, the Council of Ancyra^r speaks of penitents, who, as they were to be three years *substrators* among the catechumens, and bow down under the bishops’ hands for benediction, so were they, for two years, to

^p Conc. Laodic. c. xix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1500.) Περὶ τοῦ δεῖν ἰδίᾳ πρῶτον μετὰ τὰς ὀμιλίας τῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ τῶν κατηχομένων εὐχὴν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι· καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐξελεῖν τοὺς κατηχομένους, τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ τὴν εὐχὴν γίνεσθαι καὶ τούτων προσελθόντων ὑπὸ χεῖρα, καὶ ὑποχωρισάντων, οὕτως τῶν πιστῶν τὰς εὐχὰς γίνεσθαι τρεῖς· μίαν μὲν τὴν πρώτην διὰ σιωπῆς, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην διὰ προσφωνήσεως πληροῦσθαι, εἰθ’ οὕτως τὴν εἰρήνην δίδοσθαι.

^q Conc. Nic. c. xi. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 241.) “Ὅσοι γνησίως μεταμέλονται, τρία ἔτη ἐν ἀκρωμένοις ποιήσουσι οἱ πιστοὶ, καὶ ἑπτὰ ἔτη ὑποπεσοῦνται· δύο δὲ ἔτη, χωρὶς προσφορᾶς, κοινωνήσουσι τῷ λαῷ τῶν προσευχῶν.

^r Conc. Ancyr. c. xxiv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1464.) Οἱ καταμαντευόμενοι, καὶ ταῖς συνηθείαις τῶν χρόνων [ἐθνῶν] ἐξακολουθοῦντες, ἢ εἰσάγοντές τινες εἰς τοὺς ἑαντῶν οἴκους ἐπὶ ἀνευρέσει φαρμακειῶν, ἢ καὶ καθάρσει, ὑπὸ τὸν κανόνα πιπτέωσαν τῆς πενταετίας κατὰ τοὺς βαθμοὺς ὠρισμένους, τρία ἔτη ὑποπτώσεως, καὶ δύο ἔτη εὐχῆς χωρὶς προσφορᾶς.

communicate in prayers, only without the oblation: And so ‘communicating in prayers with the people’ is taken in the Council of Antioch, when they say^s, “All such as come to church, and hear the Holy Scriptures read, but will not ‘communicate in prayers with the people,’ or withdraw themselves disorderly from partaking of the eucharist, shall be cast out of the Church.” Whereas ‘reading of the Scriptures’ is put for the ‘whole service of the catechumens,’ which was the first service; so ‘communicating in prayers,’ and the ‘eucharist,’ denotes the second part of the service, peculiar to communicants, or persons baptized; from which, as catechumens were debarred, so others might not withdraw themselves, under pain of ecclesiastical censure. This was the true order of the first and second service in the ancient Church, and the true distinction between the *missa catechumenorum* and *missa fidelium*; of which I intend to give a full account in the two next Books.

SECT. IV.—*The true Original and Meaning of the ancient Name, Missa, ‘the Mass,’ which, in its primitive Use, denotes every part of Divine Service: but no where an expiatory Sacrifice for the Quick and Dead.*

At present we may observe how shamefully they have abused the ancient name *missa* under the appellation of ‘mass,’ who apply it only to denote the office of consecrating bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, and offering that as an expiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead. For anciently the name *missa* signified no such thing; but was a general name for every part of divine service. It signified, as we have seen already, the service of the catechumens, as well as the service of the altar; and is often used for the psalmody, for the lessons, and for the prayers at evening, when there was no communion, as well as for the prayers used in time of celebration of the eucharist. Thus Cassian^t often mentions the *missa nocturna*: by which

^s Conc. Antioch. c. ii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 561.) Πάντας τοὺς εἰσόντας εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν ἀκούοντας, μὴ κοινωνοῦντας δὲ εὐχῆς ἅμα τῷ λαῷ, ἢ ἀποστρεφομένους τὴν μετάληψιν τῆς εὐχαριστίας κατὰ τινα ἀταξίαν, τούτους ἀποβλήτους γίνεσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

^t Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. c. xiii. (Atrebat. 1628. p. 35.) Inscriptio sic habet :

he means the ‘morning prayers and psalmody before day,’ when it is certain they had no communion. The Council of Agde^u speaks of evening mass, as well as morning, which meant no more but morning and evening prayer without any communion. For they had no communion either morning or evening at their daily prayers, but only on festivals, at a distinct hour from both these. So the Emperor Leo, in his Tactics^x, speaks of the *μίσαι ἑσπεριναί*, a word plainly borrowed from the Latin *missa* (for the Greeks had originally no such name), to signify only ‘evening prayer.’ And Bishop Ussher, in his Religion of the Ancient Irish^y, gives us another such instance out of Adamnanus, who uses the name *vesper-tinalis missa* for what is commonly called ‘evening prayer.’ And the late learned Mabillon has observed^z, out of the Rules of Cæsarius Arelatensis and Aurelian, “that the word *missa* is sometimes used for the ‘lessons’ also.” For it is one of Aurelian’s Rules, “that they should take six *missas*, that is, ‘lessons,’ out of the Prophet Isaiah:” *Facite sex missas de Esaia Propheta*. And Mabillon very judiciously remarks further^a, “that the word *missa* has at least three significations. It sometimes signifies ‘the lessons;’ sometimes ‘the collects, or prayers;’ and sometimes ‘the dismissal of the people.’” And, indeed, the third sense is the original notation of the word. For *missa* is the same as *missio*. And it was the form used in the Latin Church: *Ite, missa est*; which answers to the Greek Ἀπολύεσθε and Προέλθετε, the solemn words used at the dismissal of the catechumens first, and then of the whole assembly afterwards, at the end of their respective

Quare post missam nocturnam dormire non oporteat. — Lib. iii. c. v. (p. 54.)
 Quod Ægyptii ne incurrant, equidem, quum soleant certis temporibus, etiam ante gallorum cantum, consurgere, missa canonica celebrata, usque ad lucem posthæc vigiliis extendunt, etc.

^u Conc. Agath. c. xxx. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1368.) In conclusione matutinarum vel vespertinarum missarum, post hymnos capitella de psalmis dicantur, etc.

^x Leo, Tactic. c. xi. n. xviii. citat. ab Usserio.

^y Ussher’s Religion of the Ancient Irish, chap. iv. p. 26, ex Adamnani Vita Columban. lib. iii. c. xxxi.

^z Mabill. de Cursu Gallicano, lib. ii. p. 107.

^a Ibid. p. 393.

services. Whence the services themselves at last took their names from these solemn dismissions; the one being called *missa catechumenorum*, and the other, *missa fidelium*; neither of which ever signify more than the divine service, at which the one or the other attended.

In vain, therefore, do many learned men labour to deduce its original from foreign languages, to make it signify something agreeable to the modern notion of the Roman ‘mass,’ when it is so plainly of Latin extraction. Baronius^b, after Reuchlin and Genebrard, would have it come from the Hebrew word *missah*, ‘an oblation.’ But Durantus^c has a good reason against that; because, if it had been of Hebrew extraction, the Greeks would have retained it in their language, as they do the words Hosanna, Sabaoth, Alleluia, and Amen; whereas there is no Greek writer uses it till the time of Leo Sapiens, who first borrows it from the Latin, in his *Tactics*. Albaspinæus^{cc} has still a wilder conjecture; he says, the word ‘mess,’

^b Baron. an. xxxiv. n. lix. (Lucæ, vol. i. p. 136.) Quum multa sint hujus sacrificii nomina, illud est antiquissimum, et apud Latinos usitatus atque frequentius, Missa; quod quidem (sicut et Christiana fides profitetur) ex Hebraica vel Chaldaica nomenclatura acceptum esse videtur. Quod enim in nostra Vulgata legitur, ‘spontanea oblatio,’ (Deut. xvi.) Hebraice et Chaldaice dicitur, ‘missah,’ quam offerebant Domino, in gratiarum actionem de fructibus terræ, qua et vesebantur in templo cum recordatione preteritæ servitutis, et ab eadem liberationis. Quæ quidem omnia quum optime conveniant prædicto a Christo instituto sacrificio; eo potius majores nostri usi sunt nomine, quam cujuspiam alterius sacrificii: nam et ea potissimum ratione ab illis id factum esse videtur, quod spontanea recolatur prima illa sua ipsius a Domino nostro Jesu Christo facta oblatio, etc.

^c Durant. lib. ii. c. i. n. i. (Paris. 1632. p. 298.) Quod si missæ nomen Hebraicum esset, a Christianis ab Hebræis retentum, Græci patres, a quibus Sabaoth, Alleluia, Hosanna, Amen, aliaque Hebraicorum vocabula ad nos transmissa sunt, nominis ‘missæ’ meminissent: at nemo Græcorum patrum ea voce usus est.

^{cc} Albaspin. de l’Eucharistie, liv. ii. c. iii. p. 236, ad calc. Optat. Il est constant, que le mot de Mess est un mot du Nord; car encore aujourd’huy il est en usage parmy ces nations. Il est aussi constant qu’anciennement parmy ces mesmes peuples il signifiøit une assemblée, une feste, et un sacrifice par consequent; car les Barbares ny les payens n’ont jamais eu de festes sans sacrifice; et l’essence d’une feste parmy eux estoit le sacrifice. . . . Or si du temps de ces Capitulaires (de Charlemagne) ce mot estoit en usage, pour signifier une feste et une terme des choses civiles, faut eroire, qu’il avoit la mesme signification aux siècles précédentes; et que lorsque la religion a esté établie au Nord, qu’ils appelloient leurs festes Mess. Et partant je concluds qu’on a baillé ce

among the northern nations, signifies a festival; and therefore he imagines the name *missa* and 'mass' might come from that: which is only to invert the origination, and make the daughter to become the mother; since it is evident the name 'mess' comes from *missa*, and not *missa* from that. Cardinal Bona^d

mesme nom au Sacrifice de la Messe, lors qu'il a esté estably parmy ces peuples, à cause qu'il est une feste, un sacrifice; et que pour le célébrer, il faut faire une assemblée, qui sont les significations, qu'on trouve que ce mot avoit parmi eux.

^d Bona, lib. i. c. i. sect. vi. (Antverp. 1677. p. 329.) Alii denique, quorum non ambigimus verissimam esse sententiam, a missione seu dimissione populi, missæ nomen ortum esse adseverant, ita ut missa idem sit ac missio populi et licentia discedendi. Audiendus primo loco Avitus Viennensis archiepiscopus, qui circa finem quinti sæculi et initio sexti floruit. Is Epist. i. ad Gundobadum Burgundionum regem, 'Non missum facitis,' inquit, 'nihil est aliud quam non dimittitis.' A ejus proprietate sermonis in ecclesiis palatiisque, sive prætoriiis, 'missa' fieri pronuntiatur, quum populus ab observatione dimittitur. Nam genus hoc nominis etiam in sæcularibus auctoribus, nisi memoriam vestram per occupationes lectio desueta subterfugit, invenietis.' Hæc Avitus, qui non exprimit sæculares auctores, apud quos nomen missæ hoc sensu reperitur. Mihi vero occurrunt, Cicero, qui in fine Philipp. v. placere dixit, 'Legiones bello confecto missas fieri:' et Suetonius, in Caligula, c. xxv. ubi agens de Lollia Paulina, quam in uxorem duxerat, 'Brevi,' ait, 'missam fecit,' hoc est, dimisit. Porro verbis Aviti nihil efficacius ad supra memoratos scriptores redarguendos, qui 'missæ' nomen exoticum fingunt, et aliunde derivant. Missio autem in veteri ecclesia duplex erat: una post evangelium et sermonem, quando catechumeni, infideles, pœnitentes, et alii, quibus vetitum erat sacramentorum participationi interesse, a diacono dimittebantur hac voce, 'Si quis est catechumenus, exeat foras:' vel ut dicit Gregorius, lib. ii. Dialog. c. xxiii. 'Si quis non communicat, det locum:' et hæc dicebatur 'missa,' seu missio catechumenorum. Altera erat initiatorum, quum re divina peracta eos diaconus dimittebat dicens, 'Ite, missa est:' et hæc 'missa fidelium' vocabatur.—Isidorus, lib. vi. Originum, c. xix. 'Missa tempore sacrificii est, quando catechumeni foras mittuntur, clamante Levita, 'Si quis catechumenus remansit, exeat foras:' et inde missa.'—Subscribit Isidoro iisdem verbis Rabanus Maurus, lib. de Institut. Clericorum, c. xxxii., Florus Magister, et Remigius Antissiodorensis in fine expositionis missæ: 'Missa,' inquit, 'nihil aliud intelligitur, quam dimissio, id est, absolutio, quam celebratis omnibus tunc diaconus esse pronuntiat, quum populus a solemnibus observationibus dimittitur:' quæ verba ab Alcuino transcripserunt.—S. Gregorius in Libro Sacramentorum feria sexta Parasceves: 'Deinde communicat ipse et omnis clerus, et fiant missæ.'—Hugo Victorinus, lib. ii. de Eccles. Officiis, c. xli. 'Dicit diaconus, 'Ite, missa est, quasi revertimini ad propria.' Ab hac missione, id est, dimissione, missam dicunt appellari.'—Bernoldus Presbyter Constantiensis, in Expositione Ordinis Romani apud Cassandrum in Liturgiis, c. xxvii. 'Missa' ideo appellari dicimus, quia lecto evangelio foras mittuntur ex pronuntiatione diaconi,

takes a great deal of pains to confute these and all other false opinions, and establishes the true one with undeniable evidence from Alcimus Avitus, and all the ancient ritualists, Isidore, Rabanus Maurus, Florus Magister, Remigius Antissiodorensis, Alcuinus, Gregory's *Sacramentarium*, Hugo Victorinus, and Bernoldus, who all agree in this, that *missa* comes from 'the dismissal of the people,' and not from any other original. So that I think it needless to trouble my readers with any of these authorities, since the matter is now cleared beyond all contradiction, by Mabillon and Bona, two such eminent writers of the Roman communion.

SECT. V.—*In what sense Divine Service anciently called Sacrificium.*

Another general name of the ancient service, which in later ages has met with some abuse, is *sacrificium*, 'sacrifice;' a name borrowed from the Jewish carnal sacrifices, and applied to the spiritual sacrifices of Christians, viz. their prayers, and praises, and preaching, and devoting themselves entirely, body and soul, to the service of Christ, by the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Hence every part of divine worship had the name of 'sacrifice,' and not only the service of the altar. For they commonly call their evening hymns and prayers by the name of 'evening sacrifice.' Thus St. Jerome bids Læta accustom her daughter not only to the morning hymns, and daily hours of prayer, the third, the sixth, and the ninth, but also when night comes, and the lamps are lighted, then in like manner to render to God her evening sacrifice^e. And so St. Hilary, upon those words of the Psalmist, "Let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice," says, "The sacrifice of Christians is their prayers, recommended to God by stretching forth their hands to relieve the poor. For we," says he^f, "upon whom the ends

qui minime offerendo vel communicando non poterant interesse sacramentis divini mysterii.

^e Hieron. Epist. vii. ad Lætam. (Bened. fol. vol. i. p. 680.)

^f Hilar. in Psalm. cxl. (Veron. 1730. vol. i. p. 593. E 4.) Non enim sanguine, et holocaustis nos, in quos consummatio sæculorum devenit, sacrificamus Deo : sed, quod sacrificium vespertinum placitum sit, audiamus Dominum in evange-

of the world are come, do not sacrifice to God with blood or burnt-offerings : but the evening sacrifice which is pleasing to God, is that which Christ teaches in his gospel, ‘I was an hungry, and ye fed me ; thirsty, and ye gave me drink,’ &c. This is the evening sacrifice, that is, the sacrifice of the last times. In this we are to lift up our hands : for by such prayers, the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven is prepared for those that are blessed of God, from the foundation of the world.” In the same sense, Eusebius ^g calls the prayers of Christians the “rational sacrifices, that are offered without blood to God.” And Clemens Alexandrinus says ^h, “The sacrifices of Christians are their prayers and praises, and reading of the Scriptures, and psalms and hymns before meals, and at their meals, and at bed-time, and in the night.” And there are hundreds of passages in the ancients, both of public and private prayers, to the same purpose, besides what is said of the sacrifice of the eucharist, or communion-service, of which we

liis dicentem, Venite benedicti Patris mei, possidete præparatum vobis regnum a constitutione mundi. Esurivi enim, et dedistis mihi manducare ; sitivi, et dedistis mihi bibere : hospes eram, et suscepistis me ; infirmus, et visitastis me ; in carcere fui, et liberastis me. Et respondentibus illis, quod nunquam his officiis humanæ necessitatis eguisset, ait, Amen dico vobis, quamdiu fecistis uni ex his fratribus minimis, mihi fecistis. Hoc sacrificium vespertinum, id est, temporum novissimorum est. In hoc manus elevandæ sunt : quia istiusmodi orationibus, jam ab initio mundi, benedictis Dei regni cælestis præparata possessio est.

^g Euseb. de Laud. Constant. Orat. (c. xvi. p. 544, Amstelod. 1696.) *Τὰς ἀναίμους καὶ λογικὰς θυσίας τὰς δι’ ἐνχῶν.* — Id. de Vita Constant. lib. iv. c. xlv. (Aug. T. p. 589.) *Θυσίαις ἀναίμοις καὶ μυστικαῖς ἱερουργίαις τὸ θεῖον ἰλάσκοντο.*

^h Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. vii. (Oberthür, vol. vi. p. 448.) *Ἀντίκα θυσίαι μὲν αὐτῷ ἐνχαί τε καὶ αἶνοι, καὶ αἱ πρὸ τῆς ἐστίασεως ἐντεύξεις τῶν γραφῶν ψαλμοὶ δὲ καὶ ὕμνοι παρὰ τὴν ἐστίασιν, πρὸ τε τῆς κοίτης, ἀλλὰ καὶ νύκτωρ πάντων.* — Cassian. Institut. lib. iii. c. iii. (Atreb. 1628. p. 45.) De vespertinis sacrificiis quid dicendum est, quæ jugiter offerri etiam in Veteri Testamento et lege Mosaica sanciantur? etc.—Conc. Aurel. III. c. xxix. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 302.) De missis nullus laicorum ante discedat, quam dominica dicatur oratio : et si episcopus præsens fuerit, ejus benedictio expectetur. Sacrificia vero matutina missarum, sive vespertina, ne quis cum armis, pertinentibus ad bellorum usum, spectet, etc.—Martin. Braçar. c. lxiii. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 912.) Si quis presbyter, aut diaconus, vel quilibet clericus ecclesiæ deputatus, si intra civitatem fuerit, aut in quolibet loco, in quo ecclesia est ; et ad quotidianum psallendi sacrificium, matutinis vel vespertinis horis, ad ecclesiam non convenerit ; deponatur a clero.

shall have reason to say something more upon another occasion. Here it is sufficient to have hinted the grounds, upon which the ancients gave the general name of 'sacrifice' to all parts of divine service.

SECT. VI.—*And Sacramenta.*

Another name, though neither so ancient nor so common as the former, is that of *sacramenta*: which, in some authors, signifies, not what we now call 'sacraments,' but the order or manner of performing divine offices, and that as well the prayers and service in general, as the particular offices of administering baptism and the Lord's Supper. For the word *sacramentum*, answering to the Greek *μυστήριον*, is a word of large extent, denoting not only the proper sacraments, but all sacred ceremonies and usages of the Church, that have any thing of symbolical or spiritual significancy in them, representing something more to the understanding than appears to the outward senses; and in a more restrained, though not the strictest sense, it denotes the manner or method of performing divine offices in the Church, whether relating to the sacraments, properly so called, or any other parts of divine service, as the prayers, hymns, lessons, in morning or evening service. In this sense, it is observed by learned menⁱ, that the Book of divine Offices, composed by Gregory the Great, for the use of the Roman Church, bears the title of *Liber Sacramentorum*, 'The Book of Sacraments;'¹ that is, a book, or method, for performing divine offices in the Church. And Gelasius did the same thing before him, under the title of *Codex Sacramentarius*, lately published by Thomasius at Rome, 1680. And Gennadius says^k, "Musæus, a presbyter of Marseilles, com-

ⁱ Menard. Not. in Sacrament. Gregor. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 274.) Non assentior iis qui scribunt, titulum hujus libri esse 'τὸ Sacramentarium,' non vero 'Liber Sacramentorum.' Quum etiam contrarium pateat ex hoc Sacramentorum libro, in quo manifeste *sacramentarium* a libro *sacramentorum* distinguitur, etc. —Stillingfleet's Orig. Britann. p. 225.

^k Gennad. de Scriptor. c. lxxix. (Hieron. Bened. fol. vol. ii. p. 981.) Composuit *Sacramentorum* egregium, et non parvum *volumen*, per membra quidem pro opportunitate officiorum et temporum, pro lectionum textu, Psalmorumque serie et cantatione, discretum: sed supplicandi Deo, et contestandi beneficiorum ejus, soliditate sui consentaneum.—Id. ibid. c. lxxviii. de Voconio. Composuit etiam *Sacramentorum* egregium *Volumen*.

posed *Volumen Sacramentorum*, ‘a large book of sacraments,’ that is, divine offices, to direct what lessons, and psalms, and hymns, were to be used in the communion service, according to the seasons of the year, and what prayers and thanksgivings were to make up the service of the Church.” And it is the opinion of two very learned men, Menardus and Bishop Stillingfleet¹, that both St. Austin and St. Ambrose give the name of *Sacramenta* to the books of liturgic offices used in their time. And they observe, that the old missal, published by Illyricus, bears the name of *Ordo Sacramentorum*; which can mean nothing but the manner of performing divine offices in the administration of the eucharist, and other parts of public worship.

SECT. VII.—*And Cursus Ecclesiasticus.*

These offices are by other writers styled *cursus ecclesiasticus*, ‘the order or course of divine offices.’ For, under this title, Gregory Turonensis is said to have composed a book, *De Cursibus Ecclesiasticis*, for the use of the Gallican Church, which is now lost; but he himself mentions it in history^m. And Bishop Ussherⁿ cites an ancient manuscript out of the Cotton

¹ Menard. *ibid.* Aptissime hoc opus ‘Liber Sacramentorum’ dicitur, quia in eo officia missarum liturgica recte disposita continentur; quæ Sancti Patres olim ‘Sacramenta’ appellarunt. . . . S. Ambrosius, lib. iii. de Virginibus: (Paris. 1836. vol. iii. p. 244.) ‘An quidquam est indignius, quam oracula divina circumstrepere, ne audiantur, ne credantur, ne revelentur: circumsonare sacramenta confusis vocibus, ut impediatur oratio pro salute depromta omnium?’—S. Augustinus, Ep. lix. (Bened. 1679. vol. ii. p. 509.) ad Paulinum: ‘Ut preces accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione Sacramentorum, antequam illud quod est in Domini mensa, incipiat benedici.’—Et lib. de *Dono Perseverantiæ*. (Bened. vol. x. p. 839.) ‘Quod ergo in sacramentis fidelium dicitur, ut sursum cor habeamus ad Dominum, munus est Domini.’—Stillingfleet, *Orig. Brit.* p. 225.

^m Gregor. Turon. *Histor.* lib. x. (Bened. p. 537. C 8.) De *Cursibus Ecclesiasticis* unum librum condidi.

ⁿ Usser. de *Primord. Eccles.* p. 185. In anonymo MS. (in *Bibliotheca Cottoniana*) de ecclesiasticorum officiorum origine, 900 abhinc annis scripto libello, Germanum et Lupum ordinem cursus Gallorum (sive Gallicanam liturgiam) a Joanne Cassiano et Lirinensis cœnobii patribus acceptum, in Britanniam induxisse legimus: ‘Beatissimus Cassianus,’ inquit auctor, ‘qui Lirinensi monasterio beatum Honoratum habuit comparem, et post ipsum beatus Honoratus primus abba et sanctus Caesarius episcopus, qui fuit in Arelate, et beatus

Library, which says, “that Germanus and Lupus brought *Ordinem Cursus Gallorum*, ‘the Gallican Liturgy,’ into Britain with them.” And this was the liturgy of the British Churches for some ages, till, by degrees, the *Cursus Romanus* was brought in upon them. Bede says °, “In time of Pope Agatho, Joannes Abbas, the Roman precentor, was sent over to settle the Roman *cursus*, or psalmody for the whole year, according to the usage and way of St. Peter’s Church at Rome.” And the Council of Calchuth †, some time after Bede, speaks of the liturgy under the same title, ordering all Churches, at the canonical hours, reverently to perform their *cursus*. And Mabillon † cites the Lives of Walaricus and Senericus, where there is frequent mention of the *Cursus Gallicanus*.

SECT. VIII.—*The Names Λειτουργία, Ἱερουργία, Ἱερά, and Μυσταγωγία, most usual in the Greek Church.*

Among the Greek writers, we seldom meet with any of these names ; but they usually style all holy offices, and all parts of divine service, by the general name of *λειτουργία*, and *ἱερουργία*, ‘liturgy,’ and ‘sacred service.’ Though liturgy, in its extended sense, denotes any public office or ministration, as the apostle uses it (Phil. ii. 30, and 2 Cor. ix. 12), for the ministration of charity ; and ecclesiastical writers do the same, often applying it both to civil and sacred functions, as to the office of a magistrate or a bishop, as Casaubon † shows at large ; yet, in

Porcarius abba, qui in ipso monasterio fuit, ipsum cursum decantaverunt. Qui beatum Lupum et beatum Germanum monachos in eorum monasterio habuerunt : et ipsi sub normam regulæ ipsum cursum ibidem decantaverunt. Et postea in Lirinensi episcopatu cathedram summi honoris (pro reverentia sanctitatis eorum) sunt adepti : et postea in Britannii vel Scotiis predicaverunt, quæ vita beati Germani episcopi Antissiodorensis et vita beati Lupi adfirmat.

° Bed. lib. iv. c. xviii. (Giles, 1843. vol. iii. p. 80.) . . . accepit et præfatum Joannem Abbatem Britanniam perducendum, quatenus in monasterio suo cursum canendi annum, sicut ad Sanctum Petrum Romæ agebatur, edoceret ; egitque Abbas Joannes, ut jussionem acceperat Pontificis, et ordinem videlicet ritumque canendi ac legendi viva voce præfati monasterii cantores edocendo, etc.

† Conc. Calcut. c. vii. (Labbe, vol. vi. p. 1865.) Ut omnes ecclesiæ publicæ canonicis horis cursum suum cum reverentia habeant.

† Mabill. de Cursu Gallican. p. 420.

† Casaubon. Exercit. in Baron. xvi. num. xli. p. 471. (p. 536, Lond. 1614.)

a more limited sense, it is put to signify those sacred offices which make up the several parts of divine worship, as prayers, reading, preaching, and administration of the sacraments. But it is never used, as the Romanists would appropriate it, for the business of sacrificing only. The Council of Ephesus^s speaks both of evening and morning liturgies; which, doubtless, mean evening and morning prayers only. And so Casaubon observes^t, “that Justinian takes it for the office of reading the Scripture, as well as administering the eucharist, when he says of a certain monastery, that the divine liturgy was performed in it, as it was used to be in the churches, both by reading the Holy Scriptures, and receiving the holy communion.” And Antiochus^u applies the name of ‘liturgy,’ not only to morning prayer, but also to the service of their midnight assemblies; neither of which was, in his time, the ordinary hours of the communion service. So that Erasmus and others are governed more by prejudice than reason, who would have that passage of Acts (xiii. 2), *λειτουργοούντων αὐτῶν*, to be rendered, *sacri-ficantibus illis*; as if there were no divine service without sacrifice, in their notion of it; when yet the Vulgar translation renders it ‘ministering;’ and the old Syriac and Arabic, as Beza observes, have it ‘praying;’ which is agreeable to the notion of ‘liturgy’ for divine service. Yet, when the epithet of *mystica* was added to *liturgia*, then it commonly signified ‘the communion service.’ As when Theodoret says^x, “that the salutation of St. Paul (2 Cor. xiii. 14), ‘The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ,’ &c. is the beginning of the mystical liturgy,” he means the ‘communion office,’ where this form of salutation was always used. And so in the *Clementina*

^s Conc. Ephes. Epist. Synod. ad Imperator. ap. Casaubon. *ibid.* Ἐπιτελέσαι μὴ συγχωρήσαντες τὰς ἑσπερινὰς ἢ τὰς ἑωθινὰς λειτουργίας.

^t Casaubon. p. 536. Justinianus (Novel. vii. c. xi.) *ἱερὰν λειτουργίαν* describens, duas illius partes commemorat, recitationem scripturarum et administrationem sacrosanctæ cœnæ Domini: Ἐν οἷς, inquit, ἱερὰ γέγονε λειτουργία τῶν τε θείων ἀναγνωσκομένων γραφῶν, τῆς τε ἱερᾶς καὶ ἀπορρήτου μεταδομένης κοινωνίας.

^u Antioch. Hom. xix. (Bibl. Patr. Gr.-Lat. vol. i. p. 1056.) Ἐξέγειρον ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὰς νυκτερινὰς καὶ ἑωθινὰς λειτουργίας.

^x Theodoret. Ep. cxlvi. (Schulze, vol. iv. p. 1260.) Ἐν πάσαις ἐκκλησίαις τῆς μυστικῆς λειτουργίας προσίμουν.

Epitome^γ, the ‘sacred liturgy’ denotes the service of the altar, which came after the εὐχὴν τῶν ἱερῶν ὕμνων, ‘prayers used in psalmody,’ or the service of the catechumens. And it is Bona’s observation^z, out of Vincentius Riccardus^a, “that except the words ‘sacred,’ or ‘mystical,’ be added to the name ‘liturgy,’ it is never to be taken for the sacrifice of the altar, but for some other part of divine service:” though, I think, this is more than can be fairly proved. As, on the other hand, when the epithet of ‘mystical’ is added, it does not always, but only for the most part, as I said before, mean the ‘eucharistical service.’ For the service of baptism was ever esteemed a mystical service, as well as that of the eucharist. And the name *μυσταγωγία*, ‘communion of the sacred mysteries,’ is, upon that account, frequently given by St. Chrysostom^b, Theodoret^c, and others, to baptism, as well as the Lord’s Supper; as may be seen at large in Suicerus’s Collections upon that subject^d. It is certain the author, under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, uses the title of *mystagogia*, as well when he is describing the ceremonies and service of baptism, as the eucharist: and Cyril’s *Mystagogical Catechisms*

^γ Clement. Epit. de Gestis Petri. (num. clv. Cotelier. vol. i. p. 796.) Τοῦ πατριάρχου τὴν ἱεράν ἐκτελέσαντος λειτουργίαν.

^z Bona, Rer. Liturgic. lib. i. c. iii. n. iii. (Antverp. 1677. p. 336.) Observat vir eruditus Vincentius Riccardus in Comment. ad Proclum, de Traditione Missæ, quod quando patres vocem liturgiæ pro sacrificio usurpant, semper epitheton sacræ vel mysticæ adjungunt.

^a Riccard. Commentar. in Proclum de Tradit. Missæ.

^b Chrysostom. Hom. xxi. tom. i. ad Popul. Antioch. (Bened. 1837. vol. ii. p. 285.) ubi foëminam, quam a superbia dehortatur, ita adloquitur: ‘Αναμνησθῆς τῆς φωνῆς ἐκείνης, ἣν ἀφήκας μυσταγωγουμένη, Ἀποτάσσομαί σοι, Σατανᾶ, κ.τ.λ. — Id. Hom. i. in Acta. (vol. ix. p. 13. D 5.) Πολλὰ τῆς δωρεᾶς ταύτης ἀνάξια γίνεται· δεῖον γὰρ εὐφραίνεσθαι, καὶ χορεύειν, καὶ χαίρειν, καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι, ἐτέρου μυσταγωγουμένου.

^c Theodoret. in c. i. Cantici. (Schulze, vol. ii. p. 30.) Ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ μυσταγωγίᾳ, οἱ τελούμενοι μετὰ τὴν ἄρνησιν τοῦ τυράννου καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ὁμολογίαν, οἰοῦντι τινα σφραγιδα βασιλικὴν δέχονται τοῦ πνευματικοῦ μέρου τῷ χρίσμα.

^d Suicer. Thes. voce *μυσταγωγία*, (vol. ii. pp. 380. 384, ubi præter modo citata Chrysostomi et Theodoretii testimonia, illustrem locum ex Severiani Hom. v. de Creatione exhibet. Πῶς βαπτίζομεθα; ἐν ὀνόματι Πατρὸς, καὶ Υἱοῦ, καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος· ποία μείζων ἢ ἀναγέννησις, ἢ τῆς δημιουργίας, ἢ ἢ τῆς μυσταγωγίας; Ἐκεῖ ἀρχὴ ζωῆς εἰς θάνατον· ὧδε ἀρχὴ θάνατου εἰς ζωὴν.

are equally an exposition of the rites observed in administering baptism and confirmation, as those of the other sacrament; these being the two great mystical services of the Christian Church. The names *ἱερά*, *ἱερουργία*, and *ἑυσία*, are all words of the same importance: they most commonly signify the communion service, or the sacrifice of prayers at the altar. But sometimes they denote the offices of baptism, preaching, reading the Scripture, and psalmody; these being the spiritual sacrifices of Christians. It is certain the apostle calls 'preaching the Gospel' by the name of *ἱερουργία* (Rom. xv. 16), and 'the conversion of the Gentiles' thereby, 'the offering up or sacrificing' them to God. Upon which words, Chrysostom observes^e, "that the apostle does not call this service barely *λατρεία* but *λειτουργία* and *ἱερουργία*, 'sacrifice, or sacred service.' For this is my priesthood, to preach and publish the Gospel: this the sacrifice that I offer to God." And St. Basil^f gives the same names of *ἱερουργία* and *ἑυσία* to the duty of praise and thanksgiving: "I will offer unto thee the sacrifice of praise." And we have seen before (sect. v.) how the evening prayer is commonly styled *sacrificium vespertinum*, 'evening sacrifice,' by the Latin writers.

SECT. IX.—*Liturgy sometimes taken for set Forms of Prayer.*

It is further to be observed, that as the Latins, by the names *missa*, *cursus*, *ordo*, and *officium*, mean not only the divine worship itself, but also the books containing the method and prescriptions for the regular performance of it, which we usually call 'set forms of prayer;' so the Greeks sometimes understand the same thing, by the name of 'liturgy;' and that not only when they speak of the forms of administering the sacraments, but of any other parts of divine service. It is plain the author of the Constitutions^g takes the word in this

^e Chrysostom. Hom. xxix. in Roman. (Bened. 1718. vol. ix. p. 731. A 3.) Οὐχ ἀπλῶς λατρείαν λέγων, καθάπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ, ἀλλὰ λειτουργίαν καὶ ἱερουργίαν· αὕτη γάρ μοι ἱερωσύνη, τὸ κηρύττειν καὶ καταγγέλλειν· ταύτην προσφέρω τῇν θυσίαν.

^f Basil. in Psalm. cxv. (Bened. 1721. vol. i. p. 375. E.) Ἱερουργήσω σοι τῇν αἰνέσεως θυσίαν.

^g Constitut. lib. viii. c. vi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 463. B 4.) Ἡ θεία λειτουργία, ἐν ᾗ προσφώνησις ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηχομένων.

sense, when he applies it to the forms of prayer then made for the catechumens. And Casaubon observes ^h, “that all those forms of worship which go under the names of Peter, James, Andrew, Chrysostom, and Basil, bear the name of ‘liturgies,’ which the Latins call *ordo* and *officium*, and the modern Greeks, ἀκολουθία. These were sometimes, also, among the ancient Greek writers, termed εὐχῶν διατάξεις, ‘the order of prayers;’ which is the name that Nazianzen gives the liturgy of St. Basil ⁱ, composed by him by the direction of his bishop, whilst he was presbyter of Cæsarea; and those forms and orders of divine worship, collected by the author of the Constitutions, bear the same title, διατάξεις. In Chrysostom they are styled νόμοι, ‘rules or appointments of the Church;’ and the prayers particularly are distinguished into two sorts of forms, both by him ^k and the Council of Laodicea ^l; the one called εὐχαὶ κατηχουμένων, ‘the prayers of the catechumens,’ and the other, εὐχαὶ πιστῶν, ‘the prayers of the faithful or believers.’ But I shall say no more of liturgies here, considered as set forms or prescriptions of worship, because they will come to be discoursed of more fully hereafter, in their proper place.

SECT. X.—*Of Litanies: This at first a general Name for Prayers. How and when it came to be appropriated to certain particular Forms of Worship, called ‘Rogations.’*

There is one general name more, which the first writers use to denote all sorts of public prayers; but the middle ages

^h Casaubon. Exercit. xvi. in Baron. n. xli. p. 472. Ab hac ratione dictæ sunt λειτουργίαι, descriptiones quædam ordinis servandi in sacris celebrandis: ejusmodi sunt, quæ hodie circumferuntur sub titulis, partim veris, partim falsis, Petri, Jacobi, Andreae, Basilii, Chrysostomi, et similes. Latini vocant ‘ordinem agendi’ vel ‘officium.’ Græci aliquando ἀκολουθίαν, et Balsamon non semel.

ⁱ Nazian. Orat. xx. in Laud. Basil. p. 340. D.

^k Chrysostom. Hom. ii. in 2 Cor. (Bened. vol. x. p. 435.)

^l Conc. Laodic. c. xix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1500.) Περὶ τοῦ, δεῖν ἰδίᾳ πρῶτον μετὰ τὰς ὁμιλίας τῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ τῶν κατηχουμένων εὐχὴν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐξελεθῆναι τοὺς κατηχουμένους, τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ τὴν εὐχὴν γίνεσθαι καὶ τούτων προσελθόντων ὑπὸ χεῖρα, καὶ ὑποχωρησάντων, οὕτως τῶν πιστῶν τὰς εὐχὰς γίνεσθαι τρεῖς, κ. τ. λ.

have appropriated it to a particular form of worship; that is, ‘litanies:’ in Greek called *λιτανείαι*, and *λιταί*: in Latin, *supplicationes*, and *rogationes*. These words, in their original signification, are but another name for prayers in general, of whatever kind, that either were made publicly in the church, or by any private person. Eusebius, speaking of Constantine’s custom of making his solemn addresses to God in his tent, before he went out to battle, says^m, “He endeavoured to render God propitious to him by supplications and litanies, that he might obtain his favour, assistance, and direction, in his enterprises.” And again, he saysⁿ, “A little before his death, he spent some time in the house of prayer, making supplications and litanies to God.” In which places, ‘litany’ seems to be a general name, and not to intend any particular sort of prayers. So Chrysostom also uses the word ‘litany,’ when he says to his people^o, “To-morrow I shall go forth with you to make our litany,” that is, the public service. And again, speaking of the solemn form of words, *Pax vobis*, ‘Peace be with you,’ he says^p, “The bishop used it in all offices, when he first entered the church, when he made the prayers and litanies, and when he preached.” And Arcadius^q, in one of his laws made against heretics, about the same time, takes ‘litany’ in the same sense for ‘prayers in general,’ when he forbids heretics to hold profane assemblies in the city, either by night or by day, to make their litany. Where it is plain, his intent was, not to prohibit heretics from making any particular sort of prayers, but all prayers in general within the city, and to cut off all opportunities of meeting, either by

^m Euseb. Vit. Constantin. lib. ii. c. xiv. (Aug. T. 1746. p. 484.) Τὸν Θεὸν ἱκετηρίαις καὶ λιταῖς ἰλεούμενος, κ. τ. λ.

ⁿ Ibid. lib. iv. c. lxi. p. 598. Εὐκτηρίῳ ἐνδιατρίψας ὄκω, ἱκετηρίους εὐχάις τε καὶ λιτανείας ἀνέπεμπε τῷ Θεῷ.

^o Chrysostom. Hom. antequam iret in exilium. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 416. E 9.) Ἀὔριον εἰς λιτανεῖον ἐξελεύσομαι μεθ’ ὑμῶν.

^p Chrysostom. Hom. iii. in Coloss. (Bened. 1734. vol. xi. p. 347. D 2.) Ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις εἰρήνην, ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς, ἐν ταῖς λιταῖς, ἐν ταῖς προσήρῃσεσι καὶ ἕπαξ, καὶ δις, καὶ πολλάκις αὐτὴν δίδωσιν ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προεστὼς, Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν, ἐπιλέγων.

^q Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. v. de Hæreticis, leg. xxx. Interdicatur his omnibus, ad Litaniam faciendam intra civitatem noctu vel interdiu profanis coire conventibus.

night or by day, for that purpose: and so Gothofred understands him. For this law was made with a direct view to the Arian assemblies for psalmody in their night-stations, which had occasioned some tumults and murders in the city; as Socrates^r and Sozomen inform us. So that the morning hymns, and psalmody, and prayers, then came all under the general name of 'litaney,' and the Arians were forbidden in this sense to make any litanies within the city, by this law of Arcadius. What Hamon L'Estrange^s alleges out of St. Austin, Cyprian, and Tertullian, proves nothing, but that there were always prayers made in the Church, to implore God's mercy and favours; which no one ever denied: neither is the name 'litaney' used by any of them. It is more to the purpose what St. Basil says to the Church of Neocæsarea, where Gregory Thaumaturgus was bishop^t; that though, in Gregory's time, they had no litanies, yet afterward, before St. Basil's time, they had admitted the use of them. By which argument he defends the nocturnal prayers, and psalmody, and vigils, against those who objected that they were not used in St. Gregory's time. For neither were litanies used in his time; and yet now they were in use, and no one objected novelty against them. This shows that St. Basil takes 'litanies' for a peculiar sort of prayers lately set up in the Church. For it cannot be doubted but that they had prayers before, though not of this particular kind.

Some think that 'litanies,' in this new limited sense, were first introduced by Mamertus, bishop of Vienne, in France, about the year 450. But St. Basil's testimony proves them to be earlier in the East: and it is a mistake in those who assert Mamertus to be the first author of them in the West. For Sidonius Apollinaris, who lived in the time of Mamertus, and wrote some epistles to him, says expressly, that he was not the first inventor of them, but only of the Rogation fast-days before Ascension; to which he applied the use of these

^r Soerat. lib. vi. c. viii.—Sozom. lib. viii. c. viii.

^s L'Estrange's Alliance of Divine Offices, c. iv. p. 100.

^t Basil. Epist. lxxiii. ad Neocæsar. (Bened. 1839. vol. iii. p. 450.) 'Αλλ' οὐκ ἦν, φασι, ταῦτα ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Γρηγορίου· 'Αλλ' οὐδὲ αἱ λιτανεῖαι, ἅς ὑμεῖς νῦν ἐπιτηδεύετε.

litanies, which were in being long before, though not observed with such solemnity, nor fixed to any stated times, but only used as exigencies required, to deprecate any impending judgment. This he declares at large, in an epistle to Mamertus himself^u, styling him the author of the Rogation days; and showing both the reasons of the institution, and the manner of observing them, with ardent supplications and fastings, in imitation of the Ninevites, to avert the threatening judgments of fire, or earthquakes, or inundations, or hostile invasions. But that we may not think Mamertus was the first author of litanies, because he applied their use particularly to the Rogation days, he speaks more expressly in another epistle^x, where he says, “That Mamertus indeed first brought in the observation of the Rogation solemnities, which spread by his example; but supplications, or litanies, were in use before,

^u Sidon. lib. vii. ep. i. (Galland. vol. x. p. 518.) Rumor est, Gothos in Romanum solum castra movisse. Huic semper irruptioni nos, miseri Arverni, janua sumus. Namque odiis inimicorum hinc peculiaria fomenta subministramus, quia quod needum terminos suos ab oceano in Rhodanum Ligeris alveo limitaverunt, solam (sub ope Christi) moram de nostra tantum obice patiuntur. Circumjectarum vero spatia, tractumque regionum jam pridem regni minacis importuna devoravit impressio; sed animositati nostræ tam temerariæ tamque periculosæ non nos aut ambustam murorum faciem, aut putrem sudium cratem, aut propugnacula vigilum trita pectoribus confidimus opitulatura: solo tamen invectarum te auctore Rogationum palpamur auxilio, quibus inchoandis instituentisque populus Arvernus, etsi non effectu pari, adfectu certe non impari cœpit initiari, et ob hoc circumfusus needum dat terga terroribus. Non enim latet nostram sciscitationem, primis temporibus harumcœ supplicationum institutarum, civitas cœlitus tibi credita, per hujuscemodi prodigiorum terriçulamenta vacuabatur. Nam modo scenæ mœnium publicorum crebris terræ motibus concutiebantur: nunc ignes sæpe flammati caduceas culminum cristas superjecto favillarum monte tumulabant: nunc stupenda foro cubilia collocabat audacium pavenda mansuetudo cervorum: quum tu inter ista discessu primorum populariumque statu urbis exinanito, ad nova celer veterum Ninivitarum exempla decurristi, ne divinæ admonitioni tua quoque desperatio conviciaretur, et verè jam de Deo tu minime poteras absque peccato post virtutum experimenta diffidere, etc.

^x Ibid. lib. v. ep. xiv. Rogationum nobis solemnitatem primus Mamertus pater, et pontifex, reverentissimo exemplo, utilissimo experimento, invenit, instituit, inexit. Erant quidem prius (quod salva fidei pace sit dictum) vagæ, tepentes, infrequentesque, utque sic dixerim, oscitabundæ supplicationes, quæ sæpe interpellantium prandiorum obicibus hebetabantur, maxime aut imbres, aut serenitatem deprecaturæ. . . . In his autem, quas suprafatus summus sacerdos nobis et protulit pariter et contulit, jejunatur, oratur, psallitur, fietur.

when men had occasion to pray against excessive rains or droughts; though they were observed but in a cold and disorderly manner, without fasting, or full assemblies: but those which he instituted, were observed with fasting, and praying, and singing, and weeping." What Sidonius says here, proves that Mamertus was the author of the Rogation fast in France; but litanies were in use before. And if Savaro judge right of one of St. Austin's homilies ^y, the Rogation fast must have been observed long before in the African Churches. For, among his homilies *de Tempore*, there is one upon the vigil of the ascension, where he speaks of a fast observed for three days before Ascension day ^z, advising all men to keep those days with fasting, prayer, and psalmody. However, from the time of Mamertus, we are sure these Rogation days and litanies were celebrated with great solemnity in the Church, being frequently mentioned by Alcimus Avitus ^a, Cæsarius Arelatensis ^b, Eucherius Lugdunensis Junior ^c, and Gregory of Tours ^d, to name no later writers. The first Council of Orleans (an. 511) established them by a decree ^e, ordering the three days before Ascension to be kept a fast with abstinence, after the manner of Lent, and with 'Rogations or litanies;' and that, on these days, servants should rest from their labours. In the Spanish Churches, they deferred these Rogations to the

^y Savar. Not. in Sidon. lib. v. ep. xiv. Ex hoc loco notandum, ante adscensionem Domini ante Mamertum litanias fuisse, tot diebus, quot a Mamerto instituti sunt. D. Augustinus Serm. clxxiii. in vigilia Dominicæ adscensionis; quem consule.

^z Aug. Hom. clxxiii. de Tempore. (Bened. 1679. vol. v. app. p. 299. F 10.) Sine dubio peccatorum suorum vulnera diligit, qui in istis tribus diebus, jejunando, orando, et psallendo, medicamenta sibi spiritalia, non requirit.

^a Alcim. Avit. Homil. de Rogationibus. (Max. Bib. V. P. vol. ix. p. 592.)

^b Cæsar. Homil. xxxiii. Tribus diebus, quos regulariter in toto mundo celebrat ecclesia.

^c Eucher. Hom. de Litaniiis.

^d Gregor. Turon. lib. ii. c. xxxiv. (Bened. p. 89.) Rogationes, quas ante adscensionis Dominicæ triumphum celebramus.

^e Conc. Aurel. I. c. xxvii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1408.) Rogationes, id est, litanias ante adscensionem Domini, ab omnibus ecclesiis placuit celebrari; ita ut præmissum triduanum jejunium in Dominicæ adscensionis festivitate solvatur: per quod triduum servi et ancillæ ab omni opere relaxentur, quo magis plebs universa conveniat: quo triduo omnes abstineant, et quadragesimalibus cibis utantur.

week after Pentecost: for they kept to the old rule of the ancient Church, not to have any fast during the fifty days between Easter and Whitsuntide; therefore, as Walafridus Strabo observes of them^f, “they would not observe the Rogation fast in the time that the bridegroom was with them.” But, by an order of the Council of Gironne^g, these litanies and this fast were put off to the week after Whitsuntide. And they ordered a second litany to be used on the first day of November. The fifth Council of Toledo appointed another such litany and fast to be celebrated yearly for three days, commencing on the thirteenth day of December^h. The sixth Council of Toledo confirmed this decree about two years after (an. 638)ⁱ, and made it a general rule for all the Churches of Spain and Gallicia, and Gallia Narbonensis, which was at this time under the government of the Gothic king Chintillan. And in the seventeenth Council of Toledo (an. 694), under King Egicanes, a more general decree was made^k, “that

^f Strabo de Offic. Eccles. c. xxviii. (Max. Bib. V. P. vol. xv. p. 198.) *Hispani autem, propter hoc, quod scriptum, ‘Non possunt filii sponsi lugere, quamdiu cum illis est sponsus,’ infra quinquagesimam paschæ recusantes jejulare, litanias suas post Pentecosten posuerunt.*

^g Conc. Gerund. c. ii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1568.) *Ut litanie post Pentecosten a quinta feria usque in sabbatum celebrentur. So it is in the title of the Canon: and in the body of it. De litania, ut expleta solemnitate Pentecostes, [sequenti] septimana, a quinta feria usque in sabbatum, ‘per hoc triduum abstinentia celebretur.’—Id. c. iii. Item secundæ litanie faciendæ sunt Kalendis Novembris, ea tamen conditione servata, ut si iisdem diebus Dominica intercesserit, in alia hebdomada, secundum prioris abstinentiæ observantiam, a quinta feria incipiantur, et in sabbato [sabbati] vespere missa facta finiuntur. Quibus tamen diebus a carnibus et a vino abstinendum decrevimus. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1568.)*

^h Conc. Tolet. V. c. i. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1735.) *Ut a die Iduum Decembrium litanie triduo ubique [usque] annua successione peragantur, etc.*

ⁱ Conc. Tolet. VI. c. ii. (p. 1742. D 7.) *Universalis auctoritate censemus Concilii, ut hi dies litaniarum, qui in synodo præmissa sunt instituti, annuo recurso [anno recurso] omni observantione habeantur celeberrimi, etc.*

^k Conc. Tolet. XVII. c. vi. (Labbe, vol. vi. p. 1367.) *Quamquam priscorum patrum institutio, per totum annum, per singulorum mensium cursum, litaniarum vota decreverit persolvendum . . . decernimus, ut deinceps per totum annum, in cunctis duodecim mensibus, per universas Hispaniæ et Galliarum provincias, pro statu ecclesiæ Dei, pro incolumitate principis nostri, atque salvatione populi, et indulgentia totius peccati, et a cunctorum fidelium cordibus expulsionem diaboli, exomologeses votis gliscentibus celebrentur.*

such litanies should be used in every month throughout the year." And so, by degrees, these solemn supplications came to be used weekly, on Wednesdays and Fridays, the ancient stationary days, in all churches.

SECT. XI.—*Of the Distinction between greater and lesser Litanies.*

In the meantime, Gregory the Great instituted some such Rogations at Rome, and one, particularly, on the twenty-fifth day of April, which goes by the name of *litania septiformis*, because he ordered the Church to go in procession in seven distinct classes; first the clergy, then the laymen, next the monks, after them the virgins, then the married women, next the widows, and, last of all, the poor and the children. This is mentioned both by Gregory himself¹ and Walafrius Strabo^m, who give it the name of *litania major*; whence some have been led into a mistake, to think the Roman litanies were distinguished by the name of the 'greater litanies,' from those of Mamertus, which they call the 'less.' So Hamon L'Estrangeⁿ, and others, in their account of these things. But the French writers do not allow of this distinction. Cellotius says^o, "the

¹ Gregor. lib. xi. ep. ii. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1509.) Proinde fratres carissimi, contrito corde, et correctis operibus, crastina die primo diluculo ad septiformem litaniam juxta distributionem inferius designatam, devota mente cum lacrimis veniamus. . . . Litania clericorum exeat ab ecclesia beati Joannis Baptistæ: litania virorum, ab ecclesia beati martyris Marcelli: litania monachorum, ab ecclesia martyrum Joannis et Pauli: litania ancillarum Dei, ab ecclesia beatorum martyrum Cosmæ et Damiani: litania feminarum conjugatarum, ab ecclesia beati primi martyris Stephani: litania viduarum, ab ecclesia beati martyris Vitalis: litania pauperum et infantium, ab ecclesia beatæ martyris Cæciliæ.

^m Strabo, de Offic. Eccles. c. xxviii. (Max. Bibl. V. P. vol. xv. p. 197.) Litanias, id est, Rogationes publicas (quas majores vocamus) Romani una die denominata, id est, vii. Kal. Maii, annuatim facere solent: quas Gregorius Papa initio ordinationis suæ instituit, etc.

ⁿ L'Estrange, Alliance, c. iv. p. 100.

^o Cellot. Not. in Capitula Gualteri Aurelianensis. (Labbe, vol. viii. p. 649. C 6.) Litaniam majorem ordo Romanus nuncupat eam, quæ, auctore Gregorio Magno, vii. Kalendis Maii, celebratur ad festum S. Marci. Minorem vero illam, quæ per triduum Rogationum a Mamerto, Viennensi episcopo, instituta, 'apud nos usque hodie pro diversis calamitatibus devotissime recolitur,' ut ait idem ordo. Non adsentientibus nostris scriptoribus, qui priorem simpliciter Romanam nominant, et in Galliæ usu ægre retentam subindicant: ut in He-

‘Rogation,’ or *litania*, of Mamertus, was always dignified with the title of *litania major* by their old writers, as well as that of Gregory; and that Gregory’s litany was of little use among them.” It is certain the Council of Mentz^p, and the Capitulars of Charles the Great^q, which repeat the words of that council, applied the name of *litania major* to their own Rogations before ascension. And Cellotius says, “Gualterus Aurelianensis and Strabo both give it the same title.” But still he does not tell us what they mean by the *litania minor*, ‘the lesser litany,’ in contradistinction to the ‘greater.’ If the reader will take my conjecture, it is no more but the known form, *Kyrie, eleison*, as the Latins read it, from the Greek Κύριε ἐλέησον, ‘Lord, have mercy upon us,’ or, ‘Lord, have mercy upon them,’ if they were praying for others. As this was the constant response made by the people to each petition of their larger supplications for the catechumens and others (as we shall see hereafter); so it was used sometimes by itself, in all their offices, as a shorter form of supplication: and then it had the nature of a litany by itself, and was not a part of a larger prayer. This is evident from the order made in the Council of Vaison, for introducing the use of it into the French Churches^r: “Whereas,” say they, “it is a very useful and agreeable custom in the Roman Church, and all the pro-

rardo videre est, de ‘Litania Romana, vii. Kal. Maii, ut rememoretur.’ Ut videlicet ejus commemoratio fiat, quæ nisi studiose commendata, dilaberetur. Majorem autem litaniam non aliam habent, quam triduum Rogationum: et manifeste hanc nominat capitulare Caroli Magni ex Concilio Moguntino: ‘Placuit nobis, ut litania major observanda sit a cunctis Christianis, diebus tribus.’ Walafridus autem Strabo, utriusque, tum Romanæ, tum isti Gallicanæ, majoris nomen tribuit.

^p Conc. Mogunt. an. 813, c. xxxiii. (Labbe, vol. vii. p. 1249.) Placuit nobis, ut litania major observanda sit a cunctis Christianis diebus tribus, sicut legendo reperimus, et sicut sancti patres nostri instituerunt, non equitando, nec pretiosis vestibus induti, sed discalceati, cinere et cilicio induti, nisi infirmitas impedierit.

^q Carol. Capitular. lib. v. c. lxxxv.

^r Conc. Vasens. II. c. iii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1680.) Quia, tam in sede apostolica, quam etiam per totas Orientales atque Italiæ provincias, dulcis et nimium salutaris consuetudo est intromissa, ut ‘Kyrie, eleison’ frequentius cum grandi adfectu et compunctione dicatur; placuit etiam nobis, ut in omnibus ecclesiis nostris ista tam sancta consuetudo et ad matutinum, et ad missas, et ad vesperam Deo propitio intromittatur.

vinces of Italy and the East, to use the frequent repetition of the *Kyrie eleison*, ‘Lord, have mercy upon us,’ with great affection and contrition; we therefore decree, that the same holy custom be introduced into all our churches, both at morning and evening prayer, and in the communion service.” The Greeks usually said, ‘Lord, have mercy upon us,’ without adding the other part, ‘Christ, have mercy upon us.’ But the Latins used both clauses, and repeated them alternately, as we now do, first the minister, and then the people; whereas, by the Greeks, the supplication was made by the common voice of all together. This difference is noted by Gregory the Great^s; but it does not detract from our observation, but rather confirms it, that this was a short form of supplication used one way or other in all churches, and that as a part of all their daily offices, whence it borrowed the name of the ‘lesser litany,’ in opposition to the ‘greater litanies;’ which were distinct, complete, and solemn services, adapted to particular times, or extraordinary occasions. I must note further, that the ‘greater litanies’ are sometimes termed *exomologeses*, ‘confessions^t’; because fasting, and weeping, and mourning, and confession of sins, were usually joined with supplication to avert God’s wrath, and reconcile him to a sinful people.

SECT. XII.—*Of their Processions.*

Sometimes to these solemn supplications they added processions, which at first had nothing of harm or superstition in them: for they were only of the same nature with their processions at a funeral, when they carried a corpse with the solemnity of psalmody to its interment. They sometimes

^s Gregor. lib. vii. ep. lxiv. ad Joan. Syracusan. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1348.) ‘Kyrie, eleison,’ nos neque diximus, neque dicimus, sicut a Græcis dicitur: quia in Græcis simul omnes dicunt; apud nos autem a clericis dicitur, et a populo respondetur: et totidem vicibus etiam ‘Christe, eleison’ dicitur quod (al. quot) apud Græcos nullo modo dicitur.

^t Conc. Mogunt. c. xxxii. (Labbe, vol. vii. p. 1249.) Litanie Græco nomine appellantur, quæ Latine dicuntur ‘Rogationes.’ Inter litanias autem et exomologeses hoc differt; quod ‘exomologeses’ pro sola peccatorum confessione agantur: ‘litanie’ vero indicantur propter rogandum Deum, et impetrandum in aliquo misericordiam ejus. Sed nunc jam utrumque vocabulum sub una designatione habetur.

made their processions, and sometimes their litanies, as occasion required, in the open field. But here was no pomp of relics, nor exposing of the eucharist to adoration, in such solemnities; they only carried the cross, as they did also in some of their night processions for psalmody, as the badge of their profession, before them. Of this, indeed, there are some instances as early as Chrysostom: for it is noted in his Life, by Palladius^u, “that his enemies trampled under foot the sign of the cross, which the people carried on their shoulders, as they made their litanies in the field.” And in those vigils which he set up at Constantinople, in opposition to the Arians, the historians say^x, “they had silver crosses given them by the empress for this purpose.” And the laws of Justinian expressly provided^y, “that as these litanies should not be celebrated without the bishop or the clergy; so the crosses to be used in these solemnities should not be deposited in any places but the churches, nor be carried by any but such as were appointed.” And, because in these solemn processions, some were inclined to appear in pomp unsuitable to the occasion, with gay clothing, and on horseback; therefore both these things were particularly forbidden. Sidonius^z notes it as a great absurdity for men to appear *castorinati ad litanias*,

^u Pallad. Vit. Chrysostom. c. xv. (Bened. 1718. vol. xiii. p. 58. D 2.) Πορφύριος δὲ καὶ Οὐαλεντίνος ὁ Κόμης μετὰ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν ὀρθοδόξων ἐλεγάτου, τὸ φρικωδέστατον τοῦ σταυροῦ σημεῖον, ὃ ἀντὶ διδασκάλου ἐπ’ ὤμων φέροντες ἐπὶ γῆς ἀσπόρου ἐλιτάνευον, τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ποσὶ συμπατήσαντες.

^x Socrat. lib. vi. c. viii. (Cant. 322.) Ὡς γὰρ λαμπρότεροι οἱ τοῦ Ὁμοουσίου ἕμνοι ἐν ταῖς νυκτεριναῖς ἕμνολογίαις ἐδείκνυντο· ἐπινοήθητο γὰρ παρ’ αὐτοῦ σταυροὶ ἀργυροῖ, φέροντες φῶτα ἐκ τῶν κηρίνων λαμπάδων, τῆς βασιλίδος Εὐδοξίας παρεχούσης τὴν εἰς αὐτὰ δαπάνην· πλήθος ὄντες οἱ Ἀρειανίζοντες, καὶ ζηλοτυπία ληφθέντες, ἀμύνεσθαί τε καὶ συμπληγάδας ἐπεχείρουν ποιεῖν.—Sozom. lib. viii. c. viii. (p. 336.) Καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ σταυρῶν ἀργυρᾶ σημεῖα ὑπὸ κηροῖς ἡμμένοις προσηγοῦντο αὐτῶν, κ. τ. λ.

^y Justin. Novel. exxiii. c. xxxii. Πᾶσι τοῖς λαϊκοῖς ἀπαγορευόμεν λιτὰς ποιεῖν δίχα τῶν τόπων τῶν ὁσιωτάτων ἐπισκόπων, καὶ τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοὺς εὐλαβεστάτων κληρικῶν. . . ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τιμίους σταυροὺς, μεθ’ ὧν ἐν ταῖς λιταῖς ἐξέρχονται, μὴ ἀλλαχόσε πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἐν εὐαγέσι τόποις ἀποτίθεται.

^z Sidon. lib. v. ep. vii. ad Thaumastum. (Galland. vol. x. p. 506.) Libenter incedunt, armati ad epulas, albatu ad exequias, pelliti ad ecclesias, pullati ad nuptias, ‘castorinati ad litanias.’

‘dressed up in their rich beaver cloths, at a litany ;’ because sackcloth and ashes were more becoming such solemnities, which were intended for fasting, and mourning, and supplication, and humiliation, and confession of sins, after the example of the Ninevites, in their solemn addresses to God. And, for this reason, the Canons^a forbade any one to appear on horseback, or in rich apparel, at the Rogation solemnities, but rather discalceate in sackcloth and ashes, unless he had the excuse of infirmity to hinder him. For these Rogations were intended to implore God’s mercy in the most humble manner ; and, with the most ardent affections of soul, to beseech him to avert all sicknesses, and plagues, and tribulations ; to repel the evils of pestilence, war, hail, and drought ; to compose the temper of the air, so that it may be for the health of men’s bodies, and fertility of the earth ; that he would keep all the elements in due order and harmony, and grant men peaceable times ; as Eucherius relates the chief heads of them in his sermon upon this subject^b. Whereas, yet, we may observe, no prayers or intercessions were made to saints or angels, as in the modern litanies of the Romish Church, but to God only ; as shall be showed at large in the following chapters.

CHAPTER II.

THAT THE DEVOTIONS OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH WERE PAID
TO EVERY PERSON OF THE BLESSED TRINITY.

SECT. I.—*Proofs of the Worship of Christ, as the Son of God, or the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, in the first Century.*

HAVING thus distinguished the ambiguity of the names of the ancient worship, and settled the true meaning of them, our next inquiry must be into the object of the Christian worship,

^a Conc. Mogunt. c. xxxiii. See p. 98, note (p).—Vid. Burchard. lib. xiii. c. vii. ex Conc. Aurel. c. vi.—Quumque Dominus pestem misericorditer abstulisset, hi dies in consuetudinem annuæ celebritatis venerunt, ut per Galliarum provincias ante adscensionis diem celebrarentur.

^b Eucher. Hom. de Litaniis.

to see what persons they were to whom they paid their devotion. That which makes this inquiry necessary, which otherwise might have been omitted, is the prevalency of two contrary errors, too much reigning in these later ages; one of which asserts, that the Father alone was the sole object of true divine worship, and not the Son or Holy Ghost; and the other, that saints and angels had also a share in it. To show the falseness of both which pretences, I shall a little detain the reader with proofs and evidences of the contrary assertions. And, first, to show that Christ, as the Son of God, and the second Person of the ever blessed Trinity, was the object of divine worship in all ages, we will begin with the original of Christian worship, and carry the inquiry through the three first centuries. For the first age, the Scripture is sufficient evidence of the Christians' practice. For, not to insist on the precept of honouring the Son, as they honoured the Father; or the form of baptism, in which they are commanded to join the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in one act of worship; or the injunction to believe in the Son, as they believed in the Father; with many other acts of internal worship peculiar to God alone; I only argue from their example and practice. St. Stephen, the proto-martyr, when he was sealing his confession with his blood, breathed out his last in a prayer to Christ, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit;" and "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge" (Acts vii. 59). St. Paul professes he never baptized any but only in the name of Christ (1 Cor. i. 13). And his common forms of blessing were with invocation of the name of Christ: "Grace be to you and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ;" and, "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all:" as the solemn forms run almost in all his epistles, both in the beginning and the conclusion of them. Nay, so common was this practice, that among other titles of the believers, at their first rise and appearance in the world, they were distinguished by the character of "those that called on the name of Christ," (Acts ix. 14. 21; 1 Cor. i. 2; 2 Tim. ii. 22.) Some critics, I know, would have the phrase, *ἐπικαλούμενοι τὸ ὄνομα Χριστοῦ*, to be taken passively only for 'those who were named by the

name of Christ,' that is, Christians; but this criticism is of no weight: for they were called invocers, or worshippers of Christ, before the name Christian was known in the world. For this name was not used till some time after St. Paul's conversion, when, as St. Luke says expressly, (Acts xi. 26,) "the disciples were first called Christians in Antioch." But they were worshippers of him before; and, therefore, were distinguished by the character of the men that called upon his name. Many other such like evidences are obvious to any one that reads the New Testament: I only add that of the Revelation (v. 8), where the Church in heaven and earth together, is represented as offering both prayers and hymns to Christ: "When he had taken the book, the four beasts and four and twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints. And they sung a new song, saying, Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof. For thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation; and hast made us unto our God kings and priests: and we shall reign on the earth. And I beheld, and I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne, and the beasts and the elders; and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands; saying, with a loud voice, Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing. And every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I saying, Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb, for ever and ever."

SECT. II.—*Proofs of the same in the Second Century.*

We have here seen the model of the worship of Christ, as begun and settled in the practice of the Church in the first age. And we shall find it continued in the same manner in those that followed immediately after. For Pliny, who lived in the beginning of the second century, and, as a judge under

Trajan, took the confessions of some revolting Christians, says ^a, “ They declared to him, they were used to meet on a certain day before it was light ; and, among other parts of their worship, sing a hymn to Christ, as to their God.” Which is a plain indication of their worship of Christ on the Lord’s day. Not long after this, lived Polycarp ^b, who joins God the Father and the Son together in his prayers for grace and benediction upon men : “ The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ himself, the eternal High-Priest, the Son of God, build you up in faith and truth, and in all meekness, to live without anger, in patience, in long-suffering and forbearance, and give you a lot and part among the saints, and to us with you, and to all them that are under heaven, who shall believe in Jesus Christ our Lord, and in his Father, who raised him from the dead.” And so he begins his epistle, “ Mercy and peace from God Almighty, and from the Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied unto you.” And when he came to his martyrdom, he made a prayer to God at the stake, before he was burnt, concluding it with this doxology to the whole Trinity ^c : “ I praise thee, I bless thee, I glorify thee, for all things, together with the eternal and heavenly Jesus Christ,

^a Plin. lib. x. ep. xevii. (Gierg. vol. ii. p. 512). Adfirmabant, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem.

^b Polycarp. Epist. ad Philipp. n. xii. (Coteler. Patr. Apostol. vol. ii. p. 189.) Deus et Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi ; et ipse sempiternus pontifex, Dei Filius, Christus Jesus, ædificet vos in fide et veritate, et in omni mansuetudine, et sine iracundia, et in patientia, et longanimitate, et tolerantia, et castitate ; et det nobis sortem et partem inter sanctos suos, et nobis vobiscum, et omnibus qui sunt sub cælo, qui credituri sunt in Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, et in ipsius Patrem . . . Misericordia vobis et pax a Deo Omnipotente et Jesu Christo, Salvatore nostro, abundet.

^c Martyr. Polycarp. (Coteler. p. 199.) Περὶ πάντων αἰῶν σε, εὐλογῶ σε, δοξάζω σε, σὺν τῷ αἰωνίῳ καὶ ἐπουρανίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ἀγαπητῷ σου παιδί, μεθ’ οὗ σοὶ καὶ Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἢ δόξα, καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς μέλλοντας αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.— Eusebius (lib. iv. c. xv. ex Epist. Ecclesiæ Smyrnenensis) reads this with a little variation of the particles: Διὰ τοῦ αἰωνίου ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σου παιδός· δι’ οὗ σοὶ σὺν αὐτῷ ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἢ δόξα, κ. τ. λ. But this makes no alteration in the sense ; for still it concludes with a doxology to the three Divine Persons : “ By whom and with whom, unto Thee and the Holy Spirit, be glory for ever and ever. Amen.”

thy beloved Son, with whom unto thee, and the Holy Spirit, be glory both now and for ever, world without end. Amen.” When Polycarp was dead, the Church of Smyrna wrote a circular epistle to other Churches to give an account of his sufferings, wherein they relate this remarkable occurrence ^d, “that, as soon as he was dead, the Jews suggested to the heathen judge, that he should not suffer the Christians to take Polycarp’s body and bury it, lest they should leave their crucified Master, and begin to worship this other. Not considering,” says the epistle, “that we can never either forsake the worship of Christ, who suffered for the salvation of all those who are saved in the whole world, the just for the unjust; or worship any other. For we worship him as being the Son of God: but the martyrs we only love, as they deserve, for their great affection to their King and Master, and as being disciples and followers of their Lord, whose partners and fellow-disciples we desire to be.” This is an unanswerable testimony, to prove both the divine worship of Christ, as the true Son of God, and that no martyr or other saint was worshipped in those days. Not long after this, lived Justin Martyr, who, in his second Apology, to wipe off the charge of atheism, brought against them by the heathens, who objected to them, “that they had cast off the worship of God;” answers ^e, “that they worshipped and adored still the God of righteousness, and his

^d Smyrn. Eccles. Epist. ap. Euseb. lib. iv. c. xv. (Aug. T. 1746. p. 146. A 11.) (Cotelier. l. c. p. 200.) Μη, φησιν, ἀφέντες τὸν ἱσταυρωμένον, τοῦτον ἄρξωνται σέβεσθαι. . . ἀγνοοῦντες, ὅτι οὔτε τὸν Χριστὸν ποτε καταλιπεῖν δυνασόμεθα, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου τῶν σωζομένων σωτηρίας παθόντα, ἄμωμον ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτωλῶν, οὔτε ἕτερόν τινα σέβεσθαι τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ, Υἱὸν ὄντα τοῦ Θεοῦ, προσκυνοῦμεν· τοὺς δὲ μάρτυρας, ὡς μαθητὰς καὶ μιμητὰς τοῦ Κυρίου, ἀγαπῶμεν ἀξίως, ἕνεκα εὐνοίας ἀνυπερβλήτου τῆς εἰς τὸν ἴδιον βασιλεία καὶ διδάσκαλον· ὧν γένοιτο καὶ ἡμᾶς συγκοινωνοὺς τε καὶ συμμαθητὰς γενέσθαι.

^e Justin. Apol. (i. Bened. 1742. p. 47.) Καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν τῶν τοιούτων νομιζομένων θεῶν ἄθειο εἶναι, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ τοῦ ἀληθεστάτου, καὶ Πατρὸς δικαιοσύνης καὶ σωφροσύνης, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν, ἀνεπιμίκτου τε κακίας Θεοῦ· ἀλλ’ ἐκείνόν τε καὶ τὸν παρ’ αὐτοῦ Υἱὸν ἐλθόντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα, καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπομένων καὶ ἐξοριουμένων ἀγαθῶν ἀγγέλων στρατὸν, Πνεῦμά τε τὸ προφητικὸν σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν, λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τιμῶντες, καὶ παντὶ βουλομένῳ μαθεῖν, ὡς ἐδιδάχθημεν, ἀφθόνως παραδιδόντες.

Son (that came from him, and taught both them and the host of good angels who followed him, and were made like unto him), as also the Holy Spirit of prophecy. To these they paid a rational and true honour, as they always frankly owned to all such as were disposed to learn." Bellarmine ^f very fraudulently urges this place to prove the worship of angels: as if Justin had said, "that they worshipped the Father, the Son, the angels, and the Holy Spirit;" whereas he says nothing of the worship of angels; but that the angels were taught by the Son; and that the Son, together with the Father and Holy Spirit, were the object of Christian worship. Which he repeats again in his foresaid apology ^g, saying, in answer to the same objection, "that they could demonstrate, that as they worshipped God the Creator of all things, so, with equal reason, they worshipped Jesus Christ in the second place, and the Holy Spirit of prophecy in the third, knowing Jesus Christ to be the Son of the true God." For, whereas the heathens objected further, that it was madness in them, next to the immutable and true God, Maker of all things, to give the second place to a crucified man, he tells them, "they understood not the mystery of this practice." Which shows, that as they worshipped Christ, so they worshipped him as the true Son of God, and not as a creature: for he tells the emperors

^f Bellarmin. de Beatitud. Sanct. lib. i. c. xiii. (Ingolst. 1601. vol. ii. p. 882.) Argumentum quartum [ut videlicet probet auctor, cultum aliquem minorem divino, ut majorem civili et mere humano, sacris rebus, sanctis angelis, et hominibus deberi: *Grisch.*] sumitur ex confessione Patrum, qui a temporibus Apostolorum, usque ad nostra tempora floruerunt. Justinus (in Apol. ii.) loquens nomine omnium Christianorum, et fidem totius ecclesie explicans, 'Sed,' inquit, 'et illum (Deum Patrem) et ejus Filium, qui venit, nosque hæc docuit, et aliorum sequentium, similiumque honorum angelorum exercitus, et Spiritum propheticum colimus atque adoramus, verboque et re, seu veritate veneramur, idque omnibus, qui discere volunt, ut docti instituti que sumus, copiose tradimus.'

^g Justin. Apol. (i. p. 51. B.) Τὸν δημιουργὸν . . . καὶ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὄντως Θεοῦ μαθόντες, καὶ ἐν δευτέρᾳ χώρᾳ ἔχοντες, Πνεῦμά τε προφητικὸν ἐν τρίτῃ τάξει, ὅτι μετὰ λόγου τιμῶμεν ἀποδείξομεν. Ἐνταῦθα γὰρ μανίαν ἡμῶν καταφαίνονται, δευτέραν χώραν μετὰ τὸν ἄτρεπτον καὶ αἰεὶ ὄντα Θεόν, καὶ γεννήτορα τῶν ἀπάντων, ἀνθρώπων σταυρωθέντι διδόναι ἡμᾶς λέγοντες· ἀγνοοῦντες τὸ ἐν τούτῳ μυστήριον.— It. Dialog. cum Tryph. p. 302: B, Deum fortem et adorandum eum vocat. Δαβιδ . . . Θεὸν ἰσχυρὸν καὶ προσκυνητὸν, Χριστὸν ὄντα ἐδήλωσε.

a little after^h, “they held it unlawful to worship any but God alone.” Therefore, in their practice, they also showed their belief of his true divinity; since they worshipped him only upon this foundation and supposition, that he was truly God, and not a mere man; and to have done it upon any other supposition, had been gross idolatry, by their own confession. Which I wish were duly considered by those who now write against the divinity of Christ, and absurdly pretend that all the fathers of the three first ages were of their opinion. For this is only to make them guilty of the grossest idolatry, and involve them in a monstrous contradiction; whilst they pretended to worship none but God alone, and yet gave divine honour to one, whom (if our modern representers say true) they did not believe to be truly God by nature, but only a creature.

But to go on with the inquiry, as to what concerns the object of their worship in practice. Athenagoras answers the charge of atheism, after the same manner as Justin Martyr had done before himⁱ: “We are no atheists who worship the Creator of all things, and his Word that proceedeth from him.” Minucius Felix, to another objection, “that they worshipped a crucified man,” answers^k, “that they were mistaken in the charge; for he whom they worshipped, was God, and not a mere mortal man: miserable is he whose hope is only in man; for his help is at an end, when the life of man is extinct.” About this time, lived Lucian the heathen, who, in one of his Dialogues, takes notice of the Christian worship. For bringing in a Christian instructing a catechumen, he makes the

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^h Ibid. Apol. (i. p. 54.) Θεὸν μὲν μόνον προσκυνούμεν, ὑμῖν δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα χαίροντες ὑπηρετοῦμεν, βασιλεῖς καὶ ἀρχοντας ἀνθρώπων ὁμολογοῦντες.

ⁱ Athenag. Legat. pro Christianis. (Bibl. Patr. Gr.-Lat. vol. i. p. 76.) Οὐκ ἐσμὲν ἄθεοι, Θεὸν ἄγοντες τὸν ποιητὴν τοῦδε τοῦ παντός, καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ Λόγον. (See Paris edition, 1742. p. 286. D.)

^k Minuc. Felix, Dialog. (Oberthür, p. 590.) Quod religioni nostræ hominem noxium et crucem ejus adseribitis, longe de vicinia veritatis erratis, qui putatis, Deum credi aut miserisse noxium, aut potuisse terrenum. Næ ille miserabilis, cujus in homine mortali spes omnis innititur: totum enim ejus auxilium cum exstincto homine finitur.

catechumen ask this question¹, “By whom shall I swear?” And he that personates the Christian, answers, “By the God that reigns on high, the great, immortal, heavenly God, and the Son of the Father, and the Spirit proceeding from the Father, one in three, and three in one. Take these for your Jupiter, imagine this to be your God.” Which evidently shows, that Lucian had learnt this from the Christian institutions, “that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, were the object of their divine worship.” And he elsewhere objects to them the worship of their “crucified impostor^m,” as he blasphemously terms our blessed Lord. Not long after, Irenæus, speaking of the miracles which the Church wrought in his time, particularly in casting out devils, saysⁿ, “She did this, not by invocation of angels, nor by enchantments, nor by any other wicked piece of curiosity, but by directing her prayers, clean, and pure, and openly, to the God over all; and by invoking the name of Jesus Christ, she works miracles for the benefit of men, and not for their seduction.” And that this was so, appears further from some of the forms of prayer used then in church for the energumens in the public service; one of which is recorded by the author of the Constitutions^o, directed personally to Christ, under the title of the only begotten God, who binds the strong one, that is the devil: which prayer I need not repeat here, because the reader may find it at length hereafter in the service of the catechumens^p.

¹ Lucian. Philopatr. Bipont. vol. ix. p. 248.

Καὶ τίνα ἐπομόσομαί γε;
 Ὑψιμέδοντα Θεόν, μέγαν, ἄμβροτον, οὐρανίωνα,
 Υἱὸν Πατρὸς, Πνεῦμα ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον,
 Ἐν ἐκ τριῶν, καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς τρία,
 Ταῦτα νόμιζε Ζήνα, τόνδ' ἠγόω Θεόν.

^m Lucian. de Morte Peregrini. (Bipont. vol. viii. p. 280.) Ἐπειδὴν ἄπαξ παραβάντες, θεοὺς μὲν Ἑλληνικοὺς ἀπαρνήσωνται, τὸν δ' ἀνεσκολοπισμένον ἐκείνον σοφιστὴν αὐτῶν προσκυνῶσι, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐκείνου νόμους βιωσι.

ⁿ Iren. lib. ii. c. lvii. (Bened. 1734. vol. i. p. 166.) Nec invocationibus angelicis facit aliquid, nec incantationibus, nec reliqua prava curiositate; sed munde, et pure, et manifeste, orationes dirigens ad Dominum qui omnia fecit; et nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi invocans, virtutes ad utilitatem hominum, sed non ad seductionem, perficit.

^o Constitut. lib. viii. c. vii. tot.

^p Book xiv. chap. v. sect. vii.

About the same time with Irenæus, lived Theophilus, bishop of Antioch ; who, though he does not expressly mention the worship of Christ, yet he acknowledges him to be God of God^q, and says the world was made by him^r : “ for when the Father said, ‘ Let us make man in our own image,’ he spake this to no other but to his own Word, and his own Wisdom ; that is, the Son and Holy Spirit.” Whom he expressly styles by the name of “ Trinity in the Godhead^s ;” and says elsewhere^t, “ that God is to be worshipped, and nothing else beside him, who is the true God, the ordainer of kings ; who may be honoured but not worshipped, because they are only men, and not God.” From all which it is easy to infer, that Theophilus thought Christ the object of divine worship, as the living and true God ; and that it would be idolatry to give divine worship to Christ, upon any other supposition, than that he is true God as well as man.

In the same age, Clemens Alexandrinus is an illustrious witness of this practice. For, in his exhortation to the Gentiles^u, he styles him, “ the living God that was then worshipped and adored.” “ Believe,” says he, “ O man, in him who is both man and God : believe, O man, in him who suffered death, and yet is adored as the living God.” In the end of his *Pædagogus*, he himself addresses his prayers to the Son, jointly with the Father, in these words^v : “ Be merciful to thy

^q Theoph. ad Autolye. lib. ii. (Paris. 1742. ad cal. Just. p. 365. D.) Θεός οὖν ὁ Λόγος καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ πεφυκώς.

^r Ibid. lib. ii. (Paris. 1742. p. 362. C 5.) Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ’ εἰκόνα καὶ καθ’ ὁμοίωσιν· οὐκ ἄλλω δὲ τινι εἴρηκε, Ποιήσωμεν, ἀλλ’ ἢ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ Λόγῳ καὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ Σοφίᾳ.

^s Theoph. ad Autolye. lib. ii. Τύποι εἰσὶν τῆς Τριάδος τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Λόγου αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῆς Σοφίας αὐτοῦ.

^t Ibid. lib. i. (Paris. 1742. p. 344. D 2.) Τοιγαροῦν μᾶλλον τιμήσω τὸν βασιλεία, οὐ προσκυνῶν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ εὐχόμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ· Θεῷ δὲ τῷ ὄντως Θεῷ καὶ ἀληθεῖ προσκυνῶ, εἰδώς ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ γέγονεν· ἔρεῖς οὖν μοι, Διὰ τί οὐ προσκυνεῖς τὸν βασιλεία ; ὅτι οὐκ εἰς τὸ προσκυνεῖσθαι γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι τῷ νομίμῳ τιμῷ· Θεὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ ἄνθρωπος ὑπὸ Θεοῦ τεταγμένος, οὐκ εἰς τὸ προσκυνεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸ δικαίως κρίνειν.

^u Clemen. Cohort. ad Gent. (Oberthür, vol. i. p. 168.) Πίστευσον, ἄνθρωπε, ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ Θεῷ· πίστευσον, ἄνθρωπε, τῷ παθόντι, καὶ προσκυνουμένῳ Θεῷ ζῶντι.

^v Ibid. Pædag. lib. iii. c. xii. (Oberthür, vol. i. p. 643.) Ἰλαθι τοῖς σοῖς,

children, O Master, O Father, thou ruler of Israel; O Son and Father, who are both one, our Lord." And in the conclusion of the book, he has this doxology to the whole Trinity^w: "Let us give thanks to the only Father and Son, to the Son and the Father, to the Son our Teacher and Master, with the Holy Spirit; one in all respects; in whom are all things; by whom all things are one; by whom is eternal existence; whose members we are; whose is the glory and the ages; who is the perfect good, the perfect beauty, all wise and all just: to whom be glory, both now and for ever. Amen."

Contemporary with Clemens, was Athenogenes the martyr, who suffered about the year 196. St. Basil says^x, "He composed a sacred hymn, setting forth the glory of the Holy Ghost." From whence we may collect, that it did the same for Christ as the Son of God. The learned Doctor Cave^y, by a little mistake of what St. Basil says, supposes Athenogenes to have been the author of those two ancient hymns, called the

παιδαγωγέ, παιδίοις, Πατήρ, ήνίοχε 'Ισραήλ, Υιέ και Πατήρ, εν ἄμφω, Κύριε.

^w Ibid. p. 643. Εὐχαριστοῦντας αἰνεῖν, αἰνοῦντας εὐχαριστεῖν, τῷ μόνῳ Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ, Υἱῷ καὶ Πατρὶ, παιδαγωγῷ καὶ διδασκάλῳ Υἱῷ, σὺν καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι παντὰ τῷ ἐνὶ ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα ἐν δι' ὃν τὸ αἰεὶ οὐ μέλη πάντες· οὐ δόξα, αἰῶνες· πάντα τῷ ἀγαθῷ, πάντα τῷ καλῷ, πάντα τῷ σοφῷ· τῷ δικαίῳ τὰ πάντα ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ νῦν, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· Ἀμήν. —Vid. Stromat. lib. vii. c. vii. (Oberthür, vol. vi. p. 426.) Σέβειν δὲ δεῖν ἐγκελευόμεθα καὶ τιμᾶν τὸν αὐτὸν, καὶ Λόγον Σωτῆρά τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἡγεμόνα εἶναι πεισθέντες, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὸν Πατέρα, κ. τ. λ.

^x Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. c. xxix. (Bened. 1721. vol. iii. p. 62. B 5.) "Ὅστις μὲν ὁ πατήρ τῶν ῥημάτων ἐκείνων τῆς ἐπιλυχνίου εὐχαριστίας, εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἔχομεν· ὁ μὲν τοι λαὸς ἀρχαίαν ἀφήσει τὴν φωνήν, καὶ οὐδενὶ πρόποτε ἀσεβῆν ἐνομίθησαν οἱ λέγοντες· Αἰνοῦμεν Πατέρα, καὶ Υἱόν, καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ. Εἰ δὲ τις καὶ τὸν ὕμνον Ἀθηνογένους ἔγνω, ὃν ὡσπερ τι ἀλεξίτηριον, τοῖς συνοῦσιν αὐτῷ καταλέλοιπεν, ὁρμῶν ἤδη πρὸς τὴν διὰ πυρὸς τελείωσιν, οἶδε καὶ τὴν τῶν μαρτύρων γνώμην, ὅπως εἶχον περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος.

^y Cave seems to have altered this opinion; as may be inferred from the later editions of his work. Huic *nonnulli* ascribunt hymnum matutinum . . . et hymnum vespertinum . . . quos ad martyrium festinantem tanquam valedictionis munus discipulis suis reliquisse volunt, Basiliumque ejus rei testem adducere solent. De hymno matutino ne verbum habet Basilium. . . . Quisquis vero Basilii locum serio perpenderit, facile videbit Basilium hymnum vespertinum ab Athenogenis hymno aperte distinguere, etc. (Hist. Litt. Basil. 1741. vol. i. p. 94.)

Morning and Evening Hymns, which the reader will find related at length hereafter^z, under the titles of the Great Doxology, “Glory be to God on high,” &c., and the *Hymnus Lucernalis*. But it is plain, from St. Basil, that the hymn of Athenogenes was distinct from these. For he makes no mention of the Morning Hymn; and says expressly of the Evening Hymn, that he knew not who was the author of it. However, it was a hymn of ancient use in the Church, addressed immediately to Christ, and containing this Doxology to the whole Trinity, Ὑμνοῦμεν Πατέρα, καὶ Υἱὸν, καὶ Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ, “We laud the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit of God.” Which St. Basil urges, as we do here, as a distinct testimony from that of Athenogenes, and as a further instance of the Church’s ancient practice in giving divine honour and worship, not only to the Father, but to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

About the same time, suffered Andronicus the martyr: in the Acts of whose passion it is objected to him by the heathen judge^a, “that Christ, whom he invocated and worshipped, was a man that had suffered under the government of Pontius Pilate, and that the Acts of his passion were then extant.” Their worship of Christ was so well known to the heathens, that at every turn, we see, it was objected to them. And their answer was always the same, “that they worshipped him indeed; but not as a mere man, but God, the Son of God by nature, and of the same substance with the Father.” Which is the answer that Tertullian (who is the last writer of the second age) makes to this objection. For whereas it was objected^b, “that they were worshippers of a man, whom all the world knew to be a man, and the Jews had condemned as a man;” to this he answers^c, not by denying that they wor-

^z See chap. x. sect. ix. and chap. xi. sect. v.

^a Acta Andronici, ap. Baron. an. 290, n. xxvi. (Lucæ, vol. iii. p. 260.) Non scis, quem invocas Christum, hominem quemdam factum, sub custodia Pontii Pilati punitum; cujus exstant Acta passionis?

^b Tertul. Apol. c. xxi. (Oberthür, vol. i. p. 93.) (Paris, 1674, p. 19.) Sed et vulgus jam scit Christum, ut aliquem hominum, qualem Judei judicaverunt, quo facilius quis nos hominis cultores existimaverit.

^c Ibid. (p. 94.) Hunc ex Deo prolatum didicimus, et prolatione generatum, et ideo Filium Dei, et Deum dictum ex unitate substantiæ: nam et Deus Spiritus. . . . Ita de Spiritu Spiritus, et de Deo Deus, ut lumen de lumine

shipped him, but by explaining the reason and foundation of their worship, “because they knew him to be the true natural Son of God, by a spiritual generation, and therefore called God and the Son of God, because he was of one and the same essence, or substance. For God was a Spirit; and the Son was Spirit of Spirit, and God of God, as Light is of Light. In that manner he was begotten of God, so as to be God and the Son of God, and they were both one.” In another place, dissuading Christian women from marrying with unbelievers, among other arguments, he uses this ^d, “that in such a family, there could be no mention of God, no invocation of Christ, no cherishing of faith by their joint reading of the Scripture.” At the same time, he tells us ^e, “a Christian could pray to no other but the eternal, the living, and true God: he could not ask such things, as they were wont to ask in prayer, of any other but him, from whom he knew he could obtain them, and who alone was able to give them.” Now this had been absurd and ridiculous arguing to the heathens, had not Christians believed Christ to be the eternal, living, and true God. Their arguments might easily have been retorted, and charged with contradiction; and they would have stood self-condemned by their own practice, if, whilst they were arguing against the heathen idols upon this foot, that nothing was to be worshipped but the eternal, living, and true God, they themselves had worshipped one who fell short of that character. Therefore, we must conclude, that as it is plain, from the foregoing testimonies, that Christians did give divine worship to Christ in this age, so they did it only upon this supposition, that he was the eternal, living, and true God, as the eternal Son of the

accensum . . . ita et quod de Deo profectum est, Deus est, et Dei Filius, et unus ambo.

^d Tertul. ad Uxor. lib. ii. c. vi. (vol. ii. p. 72.) Quid maritus suus illi, vel marito quid illa cantabit? Audiatur sane, audiatur aliquid de scena, de taberna, de ganea; quæ Dei mentio? quæ Christi invocatio? ubi fomenta fidei de scripturarum interjectione?

^e Tertul. Apol. c. xxx. (Oberthür, vol. i. p. 109.) Nos pro salute imperatorum Deum invocamus æternum, Deum verum, Deum vivum quem et ipsi imperatores propitium sibi præter cæteros malunt. . . . Hæc ab alio orare non possum, quam a quo me scio consecuturum, quoniam et ipse est qui solus præstat; et ego sum cui impetrare debetur; etc.

eternal Father; and that however they differed, as far as it was necessary for a Father and Son to be distinct, yet they were but one Creator, and one God.

SECT. III.—*Proofs of the Worship of Christ in the Third Century.*

We are now come to the third century, where we have first an illustrious testimony for the worship of Christ, as God, in the Fragments of Caius, a Roman presbyter, preserved by Eusebius, out of his book called the Labyrinth, written against Artemon, one of the first that appeared against the divinity of our Saviour. Here, among many other things, showing the novelty of that heresy, he observes^f, “There were anciently many psalms and hymns composed by the brethren, and transcribed by the faithful, setting forth the praises of Christ, as the Word of God, and ascribing divinity to him.” And that such sorts of hymns were used in the service of the Church, we learn from another passage in the same Eusebius, taken out of the Council of Antioch against Paulus Samosatensis, the heretical bishop of Antioch, about the middle of this century. For there he^g is charged “as giving orders to forbid the use of such psalms or hymns as were used to be sung in the church to the honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, under pretence that they were only the novel compositions of late and modern authors: whilst, in the meantime, he suborned women, on the great day of the Lord’s Passion (or the Resurrection, for *Pascha* will signify both), to sing hymns composed to his own honour: where, among other things, he that would not allow Christ any other but an earthly original, was not ashamed to hear himself blasphemously extolled as an angel

^f Euseb. lib. v. c. xxviii. (Aug. T. p. 219. B 11.) Ψαλμοὶ δὲ ὅσοι καὶ ῥοδαὶ ἀδελφῶν, ἀπαρχῆς ὑπὸ πιστῶν γραφεῖσθαι, τὸν Λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν ὑμνοῦσι θεολογοῦντες.

^g Conc. Antioch. Epist. Synodic. ap. Euseb. lib. vii. c. xxx. (Aug. T. 1746. p. 316. C 7.) Ψαλμοὺς δὲ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν παύσας, ὡς δὴ νεωτέρους καὶ νεωτέρων ἀνδρῶν συγγράμματα· εἰς ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τῇ μεγάλῃ τοῦ πάσχα ἡμέρᾳ ψαλμῶδεῖν γυναῖκας παρασκευάζων, ὧν καὶ ἀκούσας ἄν τις φρίξειεν, κ. τ. λ.

come down from heaven ; which,” as those holy fathers observe, “was enough to make a hearer tremble.” And for this insolent attempt against the divinity and worship of Christ, that heretical bishop was anathematized and deposed.

A little before this time, Nepos, an Egyptian bishop, composed psalms and hymns for the use of the Church, which are commended by Dionysius^h, bishop of Alexandria, as a useful work for the edification of the brethren : and, probably, they might be some of those hymns which Paulus Samosatensis discarded as novel inventions of modern authors, though hymns of the like nature had been in use from the first foundation of the Church. Dionysius of Alexandria was one of those who opposed the practice of Paulus Samosatensis, by his letters, though he was not present in the council ; and he is commended by St. Basilⁱ, as one that always used this form of doxology ; “To God the Father, and the Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Holy Spirit, be glory and dominion, now and for ever, world without end. Amen.” But we have more pregnant testimonies from the works of Origen, in the beginning of this century. In his fifth book against Celsus, he tells us^j, “That they could not lawfully worship angels, but they might and did worship the Son of God. All prayers,” says he, “and supplications, and intercessions, and thanksgivings, are to be sent up to God the Lord of all, by the High-Priest who is above all angels, being the living Word and God. And we can also pray to the Word himself, and make intercessions to him, and give thanks, and make supplications to him, if we rightly understand how prayer is to be taken in propriety of speech,

^h Dionys. de Promiss. ap. Euseb. lib. vii. c. xxiv. (p. 307.) Ἐν ἄλλοις μὲν πολλοῖς ἀποδέχομαι καὶ ἀγαπῶ Νέπωτα, τῆς τε πίστεως καὶ τῆς φιλοπονίας καὶ τῆς ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς διατριβῆς· καὶ τῆς πολλῆς ψαλμωδίας, ἣ μέχρι νῦν πολλοὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν εὐθυμοῦνται.

ⁱ Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. c. xxix. (Bened. 1721. vol. iii. p. 60.) Τῷ Θεῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ Υἱῷ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, σὺν τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, δόξα καὶ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· Ἀμήν.

^j Origen. cont. Celsum, lib. v. (Cant. 1677. p. 283.) Πᾶσαν μὲν γὰρ δέησιν, καὶ προσευχὴν, καὶ ἔντευξιν, καὶ εὐχαριστίαν, ἀναπεμπτέον τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεῷ, διὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων ἀγγέλων ἀρχιερέως, ἐμψύχου Λόγου καὶ Θεοῦ· δεησόμεθα δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Λόγου, καὶ ἔντευξόμεθα αὐτῷ, καὶ εὐχαριστήσομεν, καὶ προσευξόμεθα δὲ, ἐὰν δυνώμεθα κατακοῦεν τῆς περὶ προσευχῆς κυριολεξίας καὶ καταχρήσεως· ἀγγέλους γὰρ καλεῖσαι . . . οὐκ εὐλογον.

or with some restriction.” He means, that “prayers, offered to the Son of God, considered as a Son, redound to the Father, as the fountain of the Deity:” as Bishop Bull^k judiciously explains, and vindicates this passage from the unjust exceptions which Huetius makes against it. As he does also another passage in the eighth book, where Origen more largely asserts the worship of Christ against the common objection renewed by Celsus, That the Christians worshipped one that had but lately appeared in the world. Celsus had thus formed the objection with all the art and force he was able: “If the Christians,” says he¹, “worshipped no other but one God, their

^k Bull. Defens. Fid. Nicen. sect. ii. c. ix. n. xv. (Oxf. 1827. vol. v. p. 334.) Multis in locis clare fatetur Origenes, ipsi (Filio) propter inenarrabili præstantia præcellentem divinitatem, quam cum Patre communem habet, eundem plane divinum cultum, quem Patri exhibemus, omnino deberi: hoc est, oportere nos mente et conceptione nostra (qua sola proprie Deum colimus) easdem divinæ naturæ perfectiones omnes Filio adscribere, quas Patri tribuimus. Sin Filium intueamur relate, qua Filius est, et ex Deo Patre trahit originem, tum rursus certum est, cultum et venerationem omnem, quem ipsi deferimus, ad Patrem redundare, in ipsumque, ut *πηγὴν θεότητος*, ultimo referri.

¹ Origen. cont. Celsum, lib. viii. (Cant. 1677. p. 385.) Celsi verba: Εἰ μὲν δὴ μηδένα ἄλλον ἰθεράπευον οὗτοι, πλὴν ἓνα Θεόν, ἣν ἂν τις αὐτοῖς ἴσως πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀτενῆς (al. ἀγενῆς) λόγος· νυνὶ δὲ τὸν ἑναγχος φανέντα τοῦτον ὑποθησκέουσι, καὶ ὕμῳ οὐδὲν πλημμελεῖν νομίζουσι περὶ τὸν Θεόν, εἰ καὶ ὑπηρέτης αὐτοῦ θεραπευθήσεται.—Responsio Origenis: Ἀσκέτον δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο, ὅτι, εἴπερ νενόηκει ὁ Κέλσος τὸ, Ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Πατήρ ἓν ἔσμεν· καὶ τὸ ἐν εὐχῇ εἰρημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ, Ὡς ἐγὼ καὶ σὺ ἓν ἔσμεν· οὐκ ἂν ᾤετο ἡμᾶς καὶ ἄλλον θεραπεύειν παρὰ τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεόν. Ὁ γὰρ Πατήρ, φησὶν, ἐν ἐμοί, κἀγὼ ἐν τῷ Πατρί. Εἰ δὲ τις ἐκ τούτων περισπασθήσεται, μὴ πη αὐτομολοῦμεν πρὸς τοὺς ἀναιροῦντας δύο εἶναι ὑποστάσεις, Πατέρα καὶ Υἱόν, ἐπιστησάτω τῷ, Ἦν δὲ πάντων τῶν πιστευσάντων ἡ καρδία καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ μία, ἵνα θεωρήσῃ τὸ, Ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Πατήρ ἓν ἔσμεν· ἓνα οὖν Θεόν, ὡς ἀποδεδώκαμεν, τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱόν θεραπεύομεν· καὶ μένει ἡμῖν ὁ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀτενῆς λόγος· καὶ οὐ τὸν ἑναγχός γε φανέντα, ὡς πρότερον οὐκ ὄντα, ὑπερθησκέομεν. Αὐτῷ γὰρ πειθόμεθα τῷ εἰπόντι, Πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι, ἐγὼ εἰμι· καὶ λέγοντι, Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἀλήθεια· καὶ οὐχ οὕτω τις ἡμῶν ἔστιν ἀνδράποδον, ὡς οἴεσθαι, ὅτι ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας οὐσία πρὸ τῶν χρόνων τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιφανείας οὐκ ἦν. Θρησκέομεν οὖν τὸν Πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν τῆν ἀλήθειαν (al. τῆς ἀληθείας) ὄντα δύο τῷ ὑποστάσει πράγματα, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὁμοιοίᾳ, καὶ τῇ συμφωνίᾳ, καὶ τῇ ταυτότητι τοῦ βουλήματος· ὡς τὸν ἑωρακότα τὸν Υἱὸν (ὄντα ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης, καὶ χαρακτῆρα τῆς ὑποστάσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ) ἑωρακέναι ἐν αὐτῷ, ὅτι εἰκόνι τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν Θεόν. Εἴτ' οἴεται, ἐκ τοῦ θρησκέειν ἡμᾶς μετὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, ἀκολουθεῖν (ἡμῖν) τὸ καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς οὐ μόνον τὸν Θεόν, ἀλλὰ

arguments might be of some weight and force against others : but they give immense honour and worship to this new upstart, who so lately made his appearance in the world, and yet think they commit no offence against God, though they give divine worship to his servant." To this Origen replies, not by dissembling, or denying, or diminishing, the worship of Christ, but by asserting it upon such grounds and principles, as show that Father and Son can be but one God ; and that to worship two persons under such relation and economy of real Father and Son, cannot be to worship two Gods. " If Celsus," says he, " had understood the meaning of this, ' I and the Father are one ;' or what the Son of God says in his prayer, ' As I and thou are one ;' he would never have imagined that we worship any but the God who is over all. For he saith, ' The Father is in me, and I in the Father.' But that no one may think that, in saying this, we run over to those who deny the Father and Son to be two hypostases, or persons," meaning the Sabellians, " let him consider that which is said, ' All they that believed, were of one heart and one soul,' that he may understand this, ' I and the Father are one.' We

καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας αὐτοῦ θεραπεύεσθαι. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐνόει τοὺς ἀληθῶς ὑπηρέτας τοῦ Θεοῦ μετὰ τὸν μονογενῆ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν Γαβριὴλ, καὶ τὸν Μιχαὴλ, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀγγέλους, καὶ ἀρχαγγέλους, καὶ τούτους ἔλεγε δεῖν θεραπεύεσθαι ἴσως ἂν τὸ περὶ τοῦ θεραπεύειν αὐτοῦ σημαίνοντον ἐκκαθάραντες, καὶ τῶν τοῦ θεραπεύοντος πράξεων, εἶπομεν ἂν εἰς τὸν τόπον, ὡς περὶ τηλικούτων διαλεγόμενοι, ἕπερ ἐχωροῦμεν περὶ αὐτῶν νοῆσαι νυνὶ δὲ ὑπηρέτας νομίζων τοὺς προσκυνουμένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἰθνηῶν δαίμονας, οὐχ ὑπάγει ἡμᾶς ἀκολουθίᾳ τῇ περὶ τοῦ θεραπεύειν τοὺς τοιοῦτους, οὓς ὑπηρέτας τοῦ πονηροῦ ὁ λόγος ἀποδείκνυσι, καὶ ἀρχοντας τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, ἀφιστάντος ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὓς ἂν δύνηται ὡς οὐχ ὑπηρέτας οὖν, οὓς οἱ λοιποὶ ἄνθρωποι σέβουσι, πάντα σέβειν, καὶ θεραπεύειν ἐκκλινομεν (οὐκ ἂν γὰρ ὑπηρέτας αὐτοὺς διδαχθέντες εἶναι τοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεοῦ, ἐλέγομεν εἶναι δαιμόνια) ἀλλὰ τὸν ἕνα Θεόν, καὶ τὸν ἕνα Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ Λόγον, καὶ εἰκόνα, ταῖς κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν ἡμῖν ἰκεσίαις καὶ ἀξιώσεσι σέβομεν, προσάγοντες τῷ Θεῷ τῶν ἄλλων τὰς εὐχὰς, διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ ἢ πρῶτον προσφέρομεν αὐτάς, ἀξιοῦντες αὐτὸν, ἰλασμόν ὄντα [περὶ] τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, προσαγαγεῖν ὡς ἀρχιερέα καὶ εὐχὰς, καὶ τὰς θυσίας, καὶ τὰς ἐντεῦξεις ἡμῶν τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεῷ περὶ τὸν Θεὸν οὖν ἢ πίστις ἡμῶν, διὰ τοῦ ταύτην βεβαιούοντος ἐν ἡμῖν Υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ· καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἡμῶν ἔχει δεῖξαι στάσιμ περὶ τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ Κέλσος· καὶ σέβομεν γε τὸν Πατέρα, θαυμάζοντες αὐτοῦ τὸν Υἱὸν, Λόγον, καὶ Σοφίαν, καὶ Ἀλήθειαν, καὶ Δικαιοσύνην, καὶ πάντα, ἕπερ εἶναι μεμαθήκαμεν τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸν γεννηθέντα ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιοῦτου Πατρός.

therefore worship one God, as I have showed, the Father and the Son; and our reasoning stands still in full force against others; neither do we give divine honour to an upstart being, as if he had no existence before. For we believe him, when he says, ‘Before Abraham was, I am;’ and again, ‘I am the Truth.’ Neither is any of us of so mean and servile an understanding, as to imagine that the substance of truth had not a being before the appearance of Christ in the flesh. Therefore we worship the Father of Truth, and the Son, who is the Truth, two things in personal subsistence, but one in agreement, and consent, and identity of will, ὄντα δύο τῆ ὑποστάσει πράγματα, ἐν δὲ τῆ ὁμοιοία, καὶ τῆ συμφωνία καὶ τῆ ταυτότητι τοῦ βουλήματος: so that whoever sees the Son, who is the brightness of the glory of God, and the express image of his person, sees God in him, as being the true image of God. Now Celsus imagines, that because, together with God, we worship his Son, it follows, upon our own principles, that we may not only worship God, but his ministers and servants. And, indeed, if he meant the true servants of God, after his only-begotten Son, such as Michael and Gabriel, and the rest of the angels and archangels, and stood up for the worship of these; perhaps, taking worship, and the acts of the worshippers, in a sound and qualified sense,” he means the common respect of love and honour, which is due to good angels, “we might say something proper upon this head. But now when he understands by the servants of God, only the devils whom the Gentiles worship, he does not oblige us, by any just consequence, to worship such as these, whom the Scripture assures us to be only servants of the wicked one, the prince of this world, and the author of the apostasy from God. We refuse to worship all such, as knowing them to be no servants of God: for had they been servants, we should not have called them devils; but we worship one God, and his only Son, and Word, and Image, with supplications and prayers to the utmost of our power, offering our prayers to God over all, by his only-begotten Son; to whom we first present them, beseeching him, who is the propitiation for our sins, as our high-priest, to offer our prayers, and sacrifices, and intercessions, to God the Lord of all things. Therefore

our faith relies only upon God, by his Son who confirms it in us. And, therefore, Celsus has no reason or colour for his charge of sedition, or departing from God upon the account of his Son: for we worship the Father, whilst we admire and adore the Son, who is his Word, and Wisdom, and Truth, and Righteousness, and whatever else we are taught to believe of the Son of God, begotten of such a Father."

I have recited this passage at length, not only because it is such a full proof of the matter of fact, that the Christians did give divine honour and worship to the Son; but also because it shows us upon what principle and foundation they did it; viz. as being the true Son of God, and one God with the Father. For though Huetius has excepted against some words in this passage, as derogatory to the Son; and the modern Arians have abused it to patronize their heresy; and the Romanists would fain draw it into a proof for the worship of angels; yet I dare be bold to say, there is not a tittle in it, when rightly understood, to countenance any of their suggestions; but as it is a solid proof of the matter of fact, so it is an illustrious evidence of Origen's belief, and clear explication of the Unity of the Godhead. For, excepting that sort of unity, which Origen and all Catholic writers reject as inconsistent with a real Trinity; that is, the unity of hypostases, or persons, which none but Sabellians and their followers maintain; he asserts all other kinds of unity, in opposition to Arians, who denied the unity of essence or nature, and made the Son to be of a different substance from the Father, as a created being; in opposition to the Marcionites, and such other heretics as maintained contrary principles, one good and another evil, in the Godhead; in opposition to the Tritheites, who brought in the proper doctrine of Three Gods, by denying the subordination and relation of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and asserting three co-ordinate and independent principles, and baptizing in the name of three such *ἀναρχοι, ἀναίτιοι, ἀγέννητοι* (as the Apostolical Canons call them)^m,

^m Can. Apostol. c. xlix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 36.) *Εἰ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου διάταξιν, μὴ βαπτίσῃ εἰς Πατέρα, καὶ Υἱὸν, καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, ἀλλὰ εἰς τρεῖς Ἀνάρχους, καὶ εἰς τρεῖς Υἱοὺς, ἢ εἰς τρεῖς Παρακλήτους, καθαρῆσθω.*

‘ three unoriginated and unbegotten principles, wholly independent of one another;’ in opposition to Hieracas and the Triformians, who absurdly divided the Trinity into three parts of one whole; and, finally, in opposition to all that swarm of heretics, who distinguished, with the Cerdonians, between the God of justice and the God of goodness, styling the one the God of the law and the prophets; and the other, the Father of Christ and God of the Gospel. Origen, I say, in opposition to all these, asserts every sort of unity, except the Jewish and Sabellian notion of unity, which confines the divine nature to one person. For, in saying first that the Son is the express and true image of God the Father, he asserts the identity of nature against Arius; and so could not believe him to be a creature of a different substance or nature, but as a true Son, of the same essence with his Father, and equal to him in all infinite and divine perfections. 2. In saying that he was a Son, deriving his original from the Father, and not another independent being, he maintains the unity of principle, and reserves to the Father the privilege of being the fountain of the Deity; and, consequently, opposes the heresy of the Tritheites, who maintain three co-ordinate and independent principles, and destroy the monarchy, and make three Creators, instead of one, by destroying the due subordination and relation of the Son to the Father. 3. In saying that the Father and Son are one in agreement, and consent, and identity of will, he asserts the unity of operation, creation, and government: which destroys the heresy of those who maintained contrary principles in the Godhead. 4. In saying that the Son was equal to the Father in all infinite perfections, he rejects the absurdity of those who dreamed of three parts in the divine nature. 5. In asserting Christ to be the Son of the Creator and God of the Old Testament, he maintains the unity of Providence; and refutes the heresy of those who maintained that the Creator and God of the Old Testament was a different God from the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. So that he maintains all sorts of Unity, except personal Unity, which cannot consist with a real Trinity in the Godhead. And, upon this foot, he answers the objection of Celsus, who charged

the Christians with polytheism for giving divine honour to Jesus Christ.

Having made this short and useful digression upon this celebrated passage of Origen, to vindicate it from the abuses of the modern Arians, I now return to the history of fact, to show that divine worship was given to Christ as the Son of God. And of this there is further evidence in Origen: for this is not the only place in which he is put to vindicate the worship of Christ from the charge of polytheism, which is frequently repeated by Celsus. In the third book, Celsus objects ⁿ, “that they worshipped one who was apprehended and put to death; in which respect, they were no better than the Getæ, who worshipped Zamolxis; and the Cilicians, Mopsus; and the Acarnanes, Amphiloehus; and the Thebans, Amphiaras; and the Lebadians, Trophonius.” In replying to which, Origen says, “they offered their prayers to Christ, as Mediator between God and men, who conferred the blessings of the Father upon men, and presented their prayers, as High-Priest, to the God over all.” Not long after, Celsus repeats the charge again ^o, “that they who ridiculed the heathens for worshipping Jupiter, whose sepulchre the Cretans could show, did themselves worship one that was laid in the grave.” In the seventh book, he renews the impeachment three times ^p; “bidding the Christians not be so ridiculous as to revile the heathen gods as idols, whilst they worshipped a god of their own more wretched than any idol, and not so much as an idol,

ⁿ Origen. cont. Celsum, lib. iii. (Cantab. 1677. p. 131.) Μετὰ ταῦτα παραπλησίον ἡμᾶς οἴεται πεποιηκέναι, τὸν (ὡς φησιν ὁ Κέλσος) ἀλόνητα καὶ ἀποθανόντα θρησκεύοντα, τοῖς Γέταις σέβουσι τὸν Ζάμολξιν, καὶ Κίλιξι τὸν Μόψον, καὶ Ἀκαρναῖσι τὸν Ἀμφίλοχον, καὶ Θηβαίοις τὸν Ἀμφιάρεον, καὶ Λεβηθίοις τὸν Τροφώνιον. . . . τιμὴν μετ’ εὐχῶν, ἃς προσάγομεν αὐτῷ· ὡς δὴ μεταξὺ ὄντος τῆς τοῦ ἀγεννήτου καὶ τῆς τῶν γεννητῶν πάντων φύσεως· καὶ φέροντος μὲν ἡμῖν τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς εὐεργεσίας, διακομίζοντος δ’ ἡμῶν τρόπον ἀρχιερέως τὰς εὐχὰς πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεόν.

^o Origen. cont. Celsum, lib. iii. (Cantab. 1677. p. 136.) Μετὰ ταῦτα λέγει περὶ ἡμῶν, ὅτι καταγελῶμεν τῶν προσκυνούντων τὸν Δία, ἐπεὶ τάφος αὐτοῦ ἐν Κρήτῃ δείκνυται καὶ οὐδὲν ἦττον σέβομεν τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου, κ. τ. λ.

^p Cels. lib. vii. p. 358. “Ἴνα μὴ παντάπασιν ἦτε καταγέλαστοι, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους, τοὺς δεικνυμένους θεοὺς, ὡς εἰδῶλα βλασφημοῦντες· τὸν δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς εἰδώλων ἀθλιώτερον, καὶ μηδὲ εἰδῶλον ἔτι, ἀλλ’ ὄντως νεκρὸν, σέβοντες.

for that he was truly dead.” “If they had a mind to innovate in worshipping a dead man^a, they might, with more reason (he thinks), have chosen Hercules, or Æsculapius, or Orpheus, or Anaxarchus, or Epictetus, or Sibylla, rather than have made a god of one who lived an infamous life, and died a miserable death. Yea, they might have chosen among their own prophets, Jonas under the gourd, or Daniel in the lions’ den, as more worthy of this honour.” “He whom they worshipped,” he cries again^r, “is no demon, but a dead man.” Thus from the charges of Celsus, and Origen’s replies, we may collect what worship was given to Christ as the Son of God, and also as Mediator between God and men.

It is further observable, that Origen, in his first book^s, speaking of the wise men who came to worship Christ, by the leading of a star, says, “They offered gifts to him suited to his different qualities, who was compounded, as one might say, of God and mortal man: they therefore presented him with gold, as a king; with myrrh, as a mortal man that should die; and with frankincense, as a God.” And Origen himself, in his other works, frequently speaks of his own prayers offered to

^a Ibid. pp. 367, 368. Πόσω δ’ ἦν ὑμῖν [al. ἡμῖν] ἄμεινον, ἐπειδὴ γε καινοτομησαί τι ἐπεθυμήσατε, περὶ ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν γενναίως ἀποθανόντων, καὶ θεῖον μῦθον δέξασθαι δυναμένων, σπουδάσαι; φέρε, εἰ μὴ ἤρσκεν Ἡρακλῆς, καὶ Ἀσκληπίδης, καὶ οἱ πάλοι δεδοξασμένοι, Ὀρφέα εἴχετε, ἄνδρα ὁμολογουμένως ὅσιω χρησάμενον πνεύματι, καὶ αὐτὸν βιαίως ἀποθανόντα· ἀλλ’ ἴσως ὑπ’ ἄλλων προείληπτο. Ἀνάξαρχον γοῦν, ὃς εἰς ὄλμον ἐμβληθεὶς, καὶ παρανομώτατα συντριβόμενος, εὖ μάλα κατεφρόνει τῆς κολάσεως, λέγων, Πτίσσε, πτίσσε τὸν Ἀναξάρχου θύλοκον, αὐτὸν γὰρ οὐ πτίσσεις· θεῖον τινὸς ὡς ἀληθῶς Πνεύματος ἢ φωνή· ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτῳ φθάσαντες τινες ἠκολούθησαν φυσικοὶ· οὐκοῦν Ἐπίκτητον; ὃς, τοῦ δεσπότητος στρεβλοῦντος αὐτοῦ τὸ σκέλος, ὑπομειδιῶν ἀνεκπλήκτως ἔλεγε, Κατάξεις· καὶ κατάξαντος, οὐκ ἔλεγον, εἶπεν, ὅτι κατάξεις; τί τοιούτων ὁ ὑμέτερος Θεὸς κολαζόμενος ἐφθίγγετο; ὑμεῖς δὲ κἂν Σίβυλλαν, ἧ χρῶνται τινες ὑμῶν, εἰκότως ἂν μάλλον προεστήσασθε ὡς τοῦ Θεοῦ παῖδα· νῦν δὲ παρεγγράφειν μὲν εἰς τὰ ἐκείνης πολλὰ καὶ βλάβημα εἰκῆ δύνασθαι τὸν δὲ βίῳ μὲν ἐπιρρήτοτάτῳ, θανάτῳ δὲ οἰκτίστῳ χρησάμενον, Θεὸν τίθεισθε· πόσω τοῦδε ἐπιτηδειότερος ἦν ὑμῖν Ἰωνᾶς ἐπὶ τῇ κολοκύντῃ, ἢ Δανιὴλ ὁ ἐκ τῶν θηρίων, ἢ οἱ τῶνδε ἔτι τερατωδέστεροι;

^r Ibid. p. 376, ap. Origen. Αὐτοὶ διελέγχονται σαφῶς οὐ Θεὸν, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ δαίμονα, ἀλλὰ νεκρὸν σίβοντες.

^s Cels. lib. i. p. 46. Φέροντες μὲν δῶρα, ἃ (ἴν’ οὕτως ὀνομάσω) συνθέτω τινὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπου θνητοῦ προσήνεγκαν σύμβολα μὲν, ὡς βασιλεῖ τὸν χρυσόν, ὡς δὲ τιθηζομένην τὴν σμύρναν, ὡς δὲ Θεῶν τὸν λιβανωτόν.

Christ. In one of his Homilies, he addresses him in these words ^t: “O Lord Jesus, grant that I may be found worthy to have some monument of me in thy tabernacle. I could wish to offer gold, or silver, or precious stones with the princes of the people: but because these things are above me, let me at least be thought worthy to have goat’s hair in the tabernacle of God, only that I may not in all things be found empty and unfruitful.” In another homily ^u, “We must pray to the Lord Jesus, and the Holy Spirit, that he would take away that mist and darkness, which is contracted by the filth of our sins, and dims the sight of our souls.” And again ^v, “I must pray to the Lord Jesus, that when I seek, he would grant me to find; and open to me when I knock.” And in another homily ^w, “Let us pray from our hearts to the Word of God, who is the only-begotten of the Father, that reveals him to whom he will, that he would vouchsafe to reveal these things unto us.” And he has many the like prayers in his other discourses ^x. But especially that passage in his comment on the Epistle to the Romans is most remarkable, where he proves

^t Origen. Hom. xiii. in Exod. xxv. (Bened. 1733. vol. ii. p. 176.) Domine Jesu, præsta mihi, ut aliquid monumenti habere merear in tabernaculo tuo. Ego optarem (si fieri posset) esse aliquid meum in illo auro, ex quo propitiatorium fabricatur, vel ex quo arca contegitur, vel ex quo candelabrum fit luminis et lucernæ. Aut si aurum non habeo, argentum saltem aliquid inveniar offerre, quod proficiat in columnas, vel in bases earum. Aut certe vel æris aliquid habere merear in tabernaculo, unde circuli fiant, et cetera, quæ sermo divinus describit. Utinam mihi esset possibile, unum esse ex principibus, et offerre gemmas ad ornamentum pontificis humeralis et logii. Sed quia hæc supra me sunt, certe vel pilos caprorum habere merear in tabernaculo Dei, tantum ne in omnibus jejunus et infœcundus inveniar.

^u Ibid. Hom. i. in Levitic. See note (j) p. 132. Ipse nobis Dominus, etc.

^v Ibid. Hom. v. in Levitic. (Bened. 1733. vol. ii. p. 209. D 9.) Dominum meum Jesum invocare me oportet; ut quærentem me faciat invenire, et pulsanti aperiat.

^w Origen. Hom. xxvi. in Numer. (vol. ii. p. 371. F 4.) Nos oremus ex corde Verbum Dei, qui est unigenitus ejus, et qui revelat Patrem quibus vult, ut et nobis hæc revelare dignetur.

^x Ibid. Hom. iii. in Ezech. (vol. iii. p. 366. F.) Præsta mihi, Christe, ut disrumpam cervicalia in animarum consuta luxuriam.—Id. Hom. xxxii. in Joan. p. 404, edit. Basil. (p. 260. K, edit. Paris.) Utinam, quum nunc veluti secundam et trigesimam stationem, in his quæ dicentur, ingredi conemur, nobis columna illa lucidæ nubis Jesu, quæ nos præcedat, quum opus erit, rursusque stet, quum oportebit, etc.

Christ to be God, from his being called upon in prayer^y: “The apostle,” he says, “in those words (1 Cor. i. 2), ‘With all that call on the name of the Lord Jesus Christ,’ declares him to be God, whose name was called upon. And if to call upon the name of the Lord, and to adore God, be one and the self-same thing; then as Christ is called upon, so is he to be adored; and as we offer to God the Father, first of all, prayers, so must we also to the Lord Jesus Christ; and as we offer supplications to the Father, so do we also to the Son; and as we offer thanksgiving to God, so do we offer thanksgivings to our Saviour. For the Holy Scripture teaches us that the same honour is to be given to both; that is to God the Father and the Son, when it says, ‘That they may honour the Son, as they honour the Father.’”

Not long after Origen, lived Novatian at Rome, and Cyprian at Carthage; who both speak of the prayers of the Church, as offered up to Christ, together with the Father. Novatian makes it an argument of his divinity^z, “that he is present in all places to them that call upon him; which belongs not to the nature of man, but God.” And he argues, further, from the Church’s praying to him as Mediator; “which kind of prayers would be of no use were he a mere man: and from our

^y Ibid. Comment. in Rom. x. lib. viii. (vol. iv. p. 624. B.) *Apostolus, in principio epistolæ, quam ad Corinthios scribit, ubi dicit, ‘Cum omnibus qui invocant nomen Domini Jesu Christi, in omni loco ipsorum et nostro,’ eum cujus nomen invocatur, Dominum Jesum Christum esse pronuntiat. Si ergo et Enos, et Moyses, et Aaron, et Samuel, ‘invocabant Dominum, et ipse exaudiebat eos,’ sine dubio Christum Jesum Dominum invocabant: et si invocare nomen Domini, et orare Deum, unum atque idem est, sicut invocatur Deus, invocandus est Christus; et sicut oratur Deus, ita orandus est et Christus; et sicut offerimus Deo Patri primo omnium orationes, ita et Domino Jesu Christo: et sicut offerimus postulationes Patri, ita offerimus postulationes et Filio; et sicut offerimus gratiarum actiones Deo, ita et gratias offerimus Salvatori. Unum namque utrique honorem deferendum, id est, Patri, et Filio, divinus edocet sermo, quum dicit, ‘Ut omnes honorificent Filium, sicut honorificent Patrem.’*

^z Novat. de Trinit. c. xiv. (Oberthür, vol. iv. p. 484.) *Si homo tantummodo Christus, quomodo adest ubique invocatus, quum hæc hominis natura non sit, sed Dei, ut adesse omni loco possit? Si homo tantummodo Christus, cur homo in orationibus mediator invocatur? quum invocatio hominis ad præstandam salutem inefficax judicetur. Si homo tantummodo Christus, cur spes in illum ponitur? quum spes in homine maledicta referatur.*

obligations to fix our hope on him, which would be a curse rather than a blessing, if he were not God, as well as man. For ‘cursed is the hope that is placed only in man.’” St. Cyprian, in like manner, speaks of his being worshipped in many places. In his book of the Advantage of Patience, he styles him^a, “the Lord God of Hosts, the God of the Christians;” and particularly tells us^b, “that God the Father has commanded his Son to be worshipped; and, in regard to that command, the apostle Paul says, ‘that God hath highly exalted him, and given him a name above every name; that, at the name of Jesus, every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth.’ And, in the Revelations, when St. John would have worshipped the angel, the angel opposed it, and said, ‘I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren: worship the Lord Jesus.’” So Cyprian reads it, *Jesum Dominum adora*. And he uses this as an argument to persuade men to patience, “that the Lord Jesus, who is worshipped in heaven, bears with many indignities on earth, and does not avenge himself till his second coming, in glory.” Again, in one of his epistles^c, he speaks “of their offering prayers to him as Mediator first, and then by him to God the Father; and that upon this double foundation, that he was their advocate and intercessor, and also the Lord and their God.” In another place, writing to Lucius, bishop of Rome, who had been a confessor for Christ, he tells him^d, “they would not cease, in their sacrifices and prayers,

^a Cyprian. de Bono Pat. (Oxon. 1682. p. 220.) (p. 151, Amstelod.) Dominus Deus virtutum prodibit et comminuet bellum. . . . Hic est Deus noster, id est, non omnium, sed fidelium et credentium Deus, qui quum in secundo adventu manifestus venerit, non silebit: nam quum in humilitate prius fuerit occultus, veniet in potestate manifestus.

^b Ibid. sub fin. p. 151. Qualis Dominus Jesus, et quanta patientia ejus, ut qui in cœlis adoratur, needum vindicetur in terris! Hujus patientiam, fratres dilectissimi, in persequutionibus et passionibus nostris cogitemus.

^c Cyprian. Ep. viii. al. xi. (Oxon. 1682. p. 25.) (p. 186, Amstelod. 1700.) Primo, ipsum Dominum rogare, tum deinde per ipsum Deo Patri satisfacere debemus. . . . habemus advocatum et deprecatores pro peccatis nostris Jesum Christum Dominum et Deum nostrum.

^d Ibid. Ep. lviii. al. lxi. (Oxon. p. 144.) Vicarias pro nobis ego et Collegæ et fraternitas omnis has ad vos litteras mittimus, frater carissime, et representantes vobis per epistolam gaudium nostrum, fida obsequia caritatis expromi-

to give thanks for him to God the Father, and their Lord Jesus Christ his Son, and also make supplications and prayers for him, that he, who was the author of all perfection, would keep and consummate in him the glorious crown of his confession." Not long after Cyprian, Arnobius wrote in vindication of the Christian worship; and here again he brings in the heathens forming their usual charge against the worship of Christ. "Our gods," say they^e, "are not displeased with you for worshipping the Almighty God; but that ye make a God of one that was born a man, and put to death by the punishment of the cross (an infamous punishment, only inflicted on vile men); and because ye believe him to be yet alive, and make daily supplications unto him." To this he answers, first, upon their own principles, "that admitting it were so, that Christ were only a man, yet he might, with more reason, deserve to be worshipped for his good deeds to mankind, than either their Bacchus, or Ceres, or Æsculapius, or Minerva, or Triptolemus, or Hercules; because there was no comparison between their actions and his for the benefit of the world." But, secondly, he answers more closely upon true Christian principles^f, "that the reason of their worshipping Christ was indeed their certain knowledge that he was the true God, whom they could not but worship and honour as the head of their body. And though an angry heathen would rave at his being called God, yet they must answer plainly that he was

mus; hic quoque in sacrificiis atque in orationibus nostris non cessantes Deo Patri, et Christo Filio ejus, Domino nostro, gratias agere, et orare pariter ac petere, ut qui perfectus est atque perficiens, custodiat et perficiat in vobis confessionis vestrae gloriosam coronam.

^e Arnob. cont. Gentes, lib. i. (Orell. 1816. vol. i. p. 23.) Sed non ideo Dii vobis infesti sunt, quod omnipotentem colatis Deum: sed quod hominem natum, et (quod personis infame est vilibus) crucis supplicio interemptum, et Deum fuisse contenditis, et superesse adhuc creditis, et quotidianis supplicationibus adoratis.

^f Arnob. cont. Gentes, lib. i. (Orell. Lips. 1816. vol. i. p. 28.) Quum Deus sit re certa, et sine ullius rei dubitationis ambiguo, inficiaturos arbitramini nos esse, quam maxime illum a nobis coli, et præsidem nostri corporis nuncupari? Ergone, inquiet aliquis furens, iratus, et percitus, Deus ille est Christus? Deus respondebimus, et interiorum potentiarum Deus: et quod magis infidos acerbissimis doloribus torqueat, rei maxime causa a summo rege ad nos missus.

God; and God, too, of the interior powers of the soul; that is, 'the searcher of the hearts and reins,' which is the peculiar property of God." The same objection is once more proposed and answered by Lactantius^g: "They are wont," says he, "to object to us his passion, by way of reproach, that we worship a man, and one that was put to a notorious death by men." In replying to which, after having largely set forth the reasons of his incarnation and sufferings, he at last answers that part of the objection which concerns their worshipping him, and pleads, that they worshipped him as one God with the Father. "For," says he^h, "when we speak of God the Father, and God the Son, we do not speak of divers natures, or separate the one from the other; for neither can he be a Father without a Son, nor the Son be divided from the Father; forasmuch as he cannot be called a Father without a Son, nor the Son be begotten without a Father. Seeing, therefore, a father makes a son, and a son makes a father, they have both one mind, and one spirit, and one substance: but the Father as the fountain and original; and the Son as the stream flowing from the fountain." A little after, he explains their unity by this similitudeⁱ; "When any one hath a son who is his dearly beloved, as long as he is in his father's house, and under his hand, although he allow him the name and power of lord, yet it is called but one house and one lord. So this world is one house of God; and both the Son and the Father, who unanimously

^g Lactant. lib. iv. c. xvi. (Paris. 1748. p. 315.) Venio nunc ad ipsam passionem, quæ velut opprobrium nobis objectari solet, quod et hominem, et ab hominibus insigni supplicio adfectum et exerciatum colamus, etc.

^h Ibid. c. xxix. (p. 351.) Quum dicimus Deum Patrem et Deum Filium, non diversum dicimus, nec utrumque secernimus: quia nec Pater a Filio potest, nec Filius a Patre secerni: siquidem nec Pater nuncupari sine Filio, nec Filius potest sine Patre generari. Quum igitur et Pater Filium faciat, et Filius Patrem, una utrique mens, unus spiritus, una substantia; sed ille quasi exuberans fons est, hic tamquam defluens ex eo rivus. Ille tamquam sol, hic tamquam radius ex sole porrectus, etc.

ⁱ Lactant. lib. iv. c. xxix. (Paris. 1748. p. 351.) Quum quis habet filium quem unice diligit, qui tamen sit in domo et in manu patris, licet ei nomen domini potestatemque concedat, civili tamen jure domus una et unus dominus nominatur. Sic hic mundus una Dei domus est: Filius ac Pater, qui unanimes incolunt mundum, Deus unus est: quia et unus tamquam duo, et duo tamquam unus.

dwell therein, are but one God : because the one is as two, and the two as one :” meaning two persons, and one God. Nothing can be plainer than these two things, from the words of Lactantius : first, that Christians gave divine worship to Christ ; secondly, that they gave him this worship, as one God with the Father. And there was no other way to avoid the charge of polytheism, which they objected to the heathens, and the heathens were so desirous to recharge and throw back upon them.

There is one thing more may be observed as very remarkable in this age, which was an age of great persecution ; that is, that the martyrs, who suffered in it, commonly directed their last prayers, as St. Stephen did, personally to Christ, in whose cause they laid down their lives, and into whose hands they resigned their spirit, commending their souls to him, as unto a faithful Creator and Redeemer. Thus Eusebius observes of a whole city in Phrygia, in the time of the Diocletian persecution, “ that being all met together in the church, men, women, and children, magistrates and people (for the city was entirely Christian), they were surprised by their enemies, and barbarously burnt all together in the church, as they were at their devotions, calling upon Christ, the God over all ^k,” τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸν Χριστὸν ἐπιβομῆτους. So in a former persecution in France, under Antoninus, Blandina, one of the martyrs, when she was put into a net, to be tossed by a wild bull, is said not to have been sensible of any pain, whilst “ she made her prayers to Christ,” διὰ τὴν ὁμιλίαν πρὸς τὸν Χριστόν^l. And Eusebius himself, who gives us these particular relations, makes a more general observation concerning the worship of Christ ^m, “ that the highest powers

^k Euseb. lib. viii. c. xi. (Aug. T. 1746. p. 342.) Ἡδὴ γοῦν ὕλην Χριστιανῶν πολίχνην αὐτανδρον ἀμφὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἐν κύκλῳ περιβαλόντες ὀπλίται, πῦρ τε ὑφάψαντες, κατέφλεξαν αὐτοὺς ἅμα νηπίοις καὶ γυναῖξι, τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸν Χριστὸν ἐπιβομῆτους.

^l Ibid. lib. v. c. i. (Cant. p. 209.) Εἰς γύργαθον βληθεῖσα, ταύρω παρεβλήθη καὶ ἰκανῶς ἀναβληθεῖσα πρὸς τοῦ ζώου, μηδὲ αἴσθησιν ἔτι τῶν συμβαινόντων ἔχουσα διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἐποχὴν τῶν πεπιστευμένων, καὶ ὁμιλίαν πρὸς Χριστόν, ἐτύθη καὶ αὐτή.

^m Ibid. lib. x. c. iv. (Cant. p. 468, 19.) Ὡστε μόνον τῶν ἐξ αἰῶνος Ἰησοῦν

on earth confessed and adored him, not as a common king, made by men, but as the true Son of the supreme God, as the true and very God : who had preserved his Church against all the opposition of so many fierce persecutions, there being nothing that was able to withstand the will of that Word, who was the universal King, and Prince of all things, and very God himselfⁿ.” We see, in the opinion of Eusebius, the ground of their worship was no other than his being the living and true God, and the great King of all the earth : which is the title that is given him in the Acts of St. Felix, an African bishop, who suffered in the Diocletian persecution^o : “ O Lord God of heaven and earth, Jesus Christ, I bow my neck to thee as a sacrifice, who livest to all eternity ; to whom belongs honour and power, for ever and ever. Amen.” And in the Acts of Thelica^p : “ I give thanks to the God of all kingdoms. Lord Jesus Christ, we serve thee : thou art our hope : thou art the hope of Christians : most holy God, most high God, God Almighty, we give thanks to thee for thy great name.” So again, in the Acts of Emeritus^q : “ I beseech thee, O Christ : I give thanks to thee : deliver me, O Christ. In thy name I suffer ; I suffer for a moment ; I suffer willingly : let me not be confounded, O Christ.” The curious reader may find many other prayers in the like terms in the Passions of Glycerius^r,

Χριστὸν τὸν ἡμῶν Σωτῆρα, καὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀνωτάτω, οὐχ οἷα κοινὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων βασιλεῖα γενόμενον ὁμολογεῖσθαι, ἀλλ’ οἷα τοῦ καθόλου Θεοῦ παῖδα γνήσιον καὶ ἀτόθιον προσκυνεῖσθαι

ⁿ Ibid. Τί γὰρ ἐμελλε τοῦ παμβασιλέως καὶ πανηγεμόνος καὶ αὐτοῦ Θεοῦ λόγον ἐστήσεσθαι τῷ νέματι ;

^o Acta Felic. ap. Baron. an. 302, n. cxxiv. Domine Deus cœli et terræ, Jesu Christe, tibi cervicem meam ad victimam flecto, qui permanes in æternum : cui est claritas et magnificentia in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

^p Acta Thelicæ, ap. Baron. an. 303, n. xli. (Lucæ, vol. iii. p. 349.) Gratias ago Deo regnorum. Domine Jesu Christe, tibi servimus. Tu es spes nostra : tu es spes Christianorum : Deus sanctissime, Deus altissime, Deus omnipotens, tibi laudes pro nomine tuo agimus.

^q Acta Emeriti, ap. Baron. an. 303, n. l. (Lucæ, vol. iii. p. 351.) Rogo Christe : tibi laudes : libera me, Christe. In nomine tuo patior, breviter patior, libenter patior : Christe, non confundar.

^r Acta Glycerii, ap. Baron. an. 301, n. xxviii. Sum Christianus servus Christi, qui solum verus Deus est : unus est mihi Dominus, unus rex. . . . stans ad Orientem partim quidem Christo agit gratias, etc.

Olympius^s, Ampelius^t, Euplius^u, Dativus^x, Saturninus^y, senior and junior, recorded in Baronius, which I need not here transcribe. I only add two further instances, out of Eusebius and St. Ambrose. Eusebius, speaking of the passion of Porphyrius, a Palestine martyr, and one of the scholars of Pamphilus, says^z, “When he was surrounded with flames, he called upon Jesus, the Son of God, to be his helper; and with those words he gave up the ghost.” And St. Ambrose^a tells us, Vitalis the martyr made this his last prayer: “O Lord Jesus Christ, my Saviour, and my God, command that my spirit may be received; for I desire to obtain the crown, which thy holy angel hath showed me.”

It were easy to add many other testimonies of the like nature; but these are abundantly sufficient to show, what was the practice of the Church in reference to the worship of Christ, during the three first ages, before Arianism appeared in the world, or any other of those difficult questions were raised, which afterwards perplexed men with unintelligible subtleties, occasioned by the restless endeavours and sophistry of the Arian party. The Christians of the three first ages, we see, in their disputes with the heathens, always, with a great deal of honest plainness and simplicity, freely owned that they worshipped Christ as their Creator and their God; not as a creature, but as the true and living God, equal to the Father in all divine perfections; as a genuine Son; who, as

^s Acta Olympii, ap. Baron. an. 259, n. xxx. Gloria tibi, Christe, qui nos dignatus es cum sanctis martyribus congregare.

^t Acta Ampelii, ap. Baron. an. 303, n. lii. (Lucæ, vol. iii. p. 351.) Christe, tibi laudes refero: exaudi Christe.

^u Acta Euplii, ap. Baron. an. 303, n. cxlviii. Gratias tibi, Christe: me custodi, qui propter te hæc patior. . . . Adoro Christum, detestor daemonia.

^x Acta Dativi, ap. Baron. an. 303, n. xlviii. O Christe Domine, non confundar.—N. xlv. Rogo, Christe, non confundar.

^y Acta Saturn. ap. Baron. an. 303, n. xlviii. (p. 350.) Rogo te, Christe, exaudi. Gratias tibi ago, Deus. Jube me decollari. Rogo, Christe, miserere. Fili Dei, subveni.

^z Euseb. de Martyr. Palestin. c. xi. (Aug. T. p. 379. E.) Μετὰ μίαν τε ἦν ἡμα καθαψαμένης αὐτοῦ τῆς φλογὸς ἀπὲρ ῥήξε φωνήν, τὸν Υἱὸν Θεοῦ Ἰησοῦν βοηθὸν ἐπιβοώμενος.

^a Ambros. Hortat. ad Virgin. (Paris. 1836. vol. iii. p. 307.) Domine Jesu Christe, Salvator meus, et Deus meus, jube suscipi spiritum meum; quia jam desidero ut accipiam coronam, quam Angelus tuus sanctus mihi ostendit.

a Son, could not be another God, but only one God with the Father. For they declared, that so long as he was owned to be a true Son, he could neither be a creature nor another God ; which would imply another co-ordinate and independent being, which was inconsistent with his being the Son of God. They declared, at the same time, that it was unlawful and idolatry to give divine worship to any creature, or any being, how excellent soever, that was not the living and true God, as we shall see more fully in the next chapter : and that is such a sensible and intelligible argument of their believing the Son to be the living and true God, as any one of the meanest capacity may understand : and it is such an argument of his divinity, as all the art and sophistry in the world cannot evade, without charging those holy men with the grossest idolatry and self-condemnation, and a flat contradiction of their principles in their practice, if they gave divine honour to one, whom they did not believe to be by nature the living and true God. And for this reason, I have insisted a little the longer upon this plain way of proving their belief of the divinity of our blessed Lord, from their constant and universal practice in giving divine worship to him as their God. And as to those distinctions between absolute, relative, and mediatorial worship ; or those of *latria*, *dulia*, and *hyperdulia* (hard words invented to solve the idolatry of later ages), whatever shelter modern idolaters may think to find in them, the ancients had no occasion to lay the stress of their cause upon any such subtleties and distinctions ; for they knew no distinction between *latria*, *dulia*, and *hyperdulia*, when they spake of religious worship, but plainly said all religious worship was solely due to God : and, though they distinguished between absolute, relative, and mediatorial worship, yet they gave all these to the Son ; worshipping him with mediatorial worship, as the only proper Mediator in both natures between God and man ; beseeching him, by his own merits, as their great High-Priest, to present their prayers to the Father ; and with relative worship, as the Son of God, whose honour redounds to the Father ; and with absolute worship as their Creator and Author of their being ; declaring it to be idolatry to give any such honour to any mere creature : so that either they believed Christ to be

the living and true God, or else it is impossible to understand men by their words or practice.

SECT. IV.—*Proofs of the Worship of the Holy Ghost.*

We are now to see whether they gave the same divine honour to the Holy Ghost. And for this, the reader only needs to look back into the former proofs; for many of the preceding allegations join the Son and Holy Ghost together. Polycarp's Doxology is to the whole Trinity^b: "To thee (the Father), with him (the Son), and the Holy Spirit, be glory, now and for ever. Amen." Justin Martyr declares also to the heathen^c, "that the object of their worship was the whole Trinity: we worship and adore the God of righteousness, and his Son, and the Holy Spirit of prophecy." And again he proves^d, "that Christians were no atheists, as the heathen objected, because they worshipped the Creator of all things, and his Son Jesus Christ in the second place, and the Holy Spirit of prophecy in the third place; only observing the natural order of the persons, not distinguishing them into one God and two creatures; for then it had been unlawful to worship them upon their principles, which denied divine worship to any thing that by nature was not God." We have heard Lucian^e before, representing the Christian worship as the worship of the great God of heaven, and the Son of the Father, and the Spirit proceeding from the Father, three of one, and one of three. Theophilus, bishop of Antioch^f, expressly mentions the Trinity under the title of the Father, his Word, and his Wisdom: and says further^g, "that it was his Word, and his Wisdom, to whom he said in the beginning, 'Let us make man:'" so that if the Holy Ghost was the Creator of man, there can be no dispute but that he was worshipped as his Creator together with the Father and Son. We have heard Clemens Alexandrinus concluding his *Pæda-*

^b Polycarp. Martyr. ap. Coteler. tom. ii. p. 199. See note (c) p. 104.

^c Justin. Apol. See note (e) p. 105.

^d Ibid. See note (g) p. 106.

^e Lucian. Philopatr. See note (l) p. 103.

^f Theophyl. ad Autolye. See note (s) p. 109.

^g Ibid. See note (r) p. 109.

gogus with this doxology^h, “To the Father, and the Son, with the Holy Spirit, be glory, now and for ever. Amen.” We have heard St. Basil testifying of Athenogenes the martyr, that he composed a hymn to the glory of the Holy Ghost; and that the Church, time out of mind, used that known doxology in her evening hymn at setting up lights; “We laud the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit of God;” which hymn was so ancient, that St. Basil professes he knew not who was the author of it. He testifies further in the same place, that Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, was always wont to use this form of doxology; “To God the Father, and the Son our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Holy Ghost, be glory and dominion, now and for ever. Amen.” We have heard Origen sayingⁱ, “That we are to pray to the Lord, to the Holy Spirit, that he would vouchsafe to take away that mist and darkness, which is contracted in our hearts by the defilement of sin, and dims the sight of our minds.” They that said such things as these, did certainly own and practise the religious adoration and worship of the Holy Ghost. And all this we have seen proved in the former allegations; to which we may here add that plain testimony of Origen upon the first chapter to the Romans, where he compares the practice of the heathens and Christians^k; “It is the property of those only to dishonour their bodies,” says he, “who serve

^h Clement. Pædag. See note (w) p. 110.

ⁱ Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. See note (x) p. 110.

^j Origen. Hom. i. in Levit. (Ben. 1733. vol. ii. p. 185. C 5.) Ipse nobis Dominus, ipse Sanctus Spiritus deprecandus est, ut omnem nebulam, omnemque caliginem, quæ, peccatorum sordibus concreta, visum cordis nostri obscurat, auferre dignetur.

^k Origen. in Rom. i. lib. i. (Bened. 1733. vol. iv. p. 474. E.) Eorum est, contumelia adficere corpora sua, qui deserviunt simulacris; et eorum, colere creaturam, qui dereliquerunt Creatorem. Nos autem, qui nullam creaturam, sed Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, colimus et adoramus, sicut non erramus in cultu, ita nec in actibus quidem et conversatione peccemus, neque imitemur eos, qui contumeliis adficiunt corpora sua in semetipsis: sed adspicientes quod dicit apostolus, ‘An nescitis, quia corpora nostra membra sunt Christi,’ et iterum, ‘Quia corpus vestrum templum est Spiritus Sancti;’ ut membra Christi et templum Spiritus Sancti corpora nostra in omni sanctitate et puritate servemus, quo non solum angelorum digna ingressibus fiant, verum etiam inhabitatione Spiritus Sancti, et mansione Patris et Filii.

idols; and of them only, to worship the creature who have forsaken the Creator. As for us who worship and adore no creature, but the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, as we do not err in our worship, so neither let us offend in our actions and conversation; but looking to what the apostle says, ‘ Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ;’ and, again, ‘ That your bodies are the temples of the Holy Ghost;’ let us keep our bodies in all holiness and purity, as members of Christ, and as temples of the Holy Spirit.” St. Basil, who wrote in defence of the worship of the Holy Ghost, cites another passage of Origen out of his Commentaries upon St. John, wherein he speaks of the worship of the whole Trinity in the celebration of baptism, saying¹, “ Baptism, by virtue of the invocations there made, is the fountain and spring of spiritual graces to every one that dedicates himself to the divine majesty of the adorable Trinity.” In which words Origen, by ‘ invocations,’ seems to refer to two things: first, the consecration of water to a mystical use, which was always performed by prayer (as I have showed at large in another place^m); and, secondly, the form of baptism, which was always administered in the name of the Holy Trinity; in like manner as bread and wine in the eucharist were consecrated by invocation of the three Divine Persons. Which is expressly said by St. Cyrilⁿ, “ That, before invocation of the adorable Trinity, it is common bread and wine; but after invocation, it is made the body and blood of Christ.” Where he uses the same expression about the consecration of the eucharist, as Origen does about baptism, saying, “ that it was done by invocation of the adorable Trinity.” And this

¹ Ibid. tom. vi. in Joan. ap. Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. c. xxix. (Bened. 1721. vol. iii. p. 61.) Τῷ ἐμπαρέχοντι ἑαυτὸν τῇ θεότητι τῆς προσκυνητῆς Τριάδος, διὰ τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν ἐπικλήσεων, χαρισμάτων ἀρχὴν ἔχει καὶ πηγὴν.

^m Book xi. chap. x. sect. i. ii.

ⁿ Cyril. Catech. Mystag. i. n. iv. vii. (Venet. 1763. p. 308.) ‘Ο ἄρτος καὶ ὁ οἶνος τῆς εὐχαριστίας πρὸ τῆς ἀγίας ἐπικλήσεως τῆς προσκυνητῆς Τριάδος ἄρτος ἦν καὶ οἶνος λιτός· ἐπικλήσεως δὲ γενομένης, ὁ μὲν ἄρτος γίνεται σῶμα Χριστοῦ, ὁ δὲ οἶνος αἷμα Χριστοῦ.— Id. Catech. iii. n. iii. ‘Ο ἄρτος τῆς εὐχαριστίας, μετὰ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ ἀγίου Πνεύματος, οὐκ ἔτι ἄρτος λιτός, ἀλλὰ σῶμα Χριστοῦ.

is what Justin Martyr means, when he says ^o, “that the minister, in consecrating the eucharist, sent up praise and glory to the Father of all, by the name of his Son and Holy Spirit.” Optatus, speaking of the sacrilege of the Donatists, says ^p, “they had broken down the altars, where God Almighty was wont to be invocated, and the Holy Ghost prayed to, that he might come down and sanctify the oblation.” Theophilus of Alexandria says, in like manner ^q, “that the bread and wine in the eucharist was consecrated by the invocation and descent of the Holy Ghost.” And we are told, that in the old Gallican liturgy, the oblation prayer was conceived in this form ^r; “Receive, O Holy Trinity, this oblation, which we offer unto thee, in memory of the passion, resurrection, and ascension.” And, probably, Origen might have respect to some such invocation of the Holy Trinity in the consecration of the waters of baptism. However, the form of administering baptism in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, was ever esteemed an act of adoration of the Trinity, both as a profession of faith in three Divine Persons, and as a dedication of the party to the service of the Holy Trinity, and as a solemn invocation of their benediction. The ancient author of The Recognitions, who lived before Origen, says expressly ^s, “that baptism was anciently given by invocation of the name

^o Justin. Apol. i. (Bened. 1742. p. 82. D 8.) *Αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ Πατρὶ τῶν ὄλων, διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου, ἀναπέμπει.*

^p Optat. lib. vi. (Paris. 1702. p. 90.) Quid enim tam sacrilegum quam altaria Dei . . . frangere, radere, remove? In quibus et vota populi, et membra Christi portata sunt: quo Deus omnipotens invocatus sit: quo postulatus descenderit Spiritus Sanctus.

^q Theoph. Alexandr. Epist. Paschal. i. (Bibl. Patr. tom. iii. p. 87.) (tom. v. p. 846, Lugd. 1677.) Quod adserens non recogitat, aquas in baptisate mysticas adventu Sancti Spiritus consecrari; panemque dominicum, quo Salvatoris corpus ostenditur, et quem frangimus in sanctificationem nostri; et sacrum calicem,—quæ in mensa ecclesiæ collocantur, et utique inanima sunt, per invocationem et adventum Sancti Spiritus sanctificari.

^r Microlog. de Observat. Ecclesiæ, c. xi. Suscipe, Sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem, quam tibi offerimus in memoriam passionis, resurrectionis, et ascensionis.

^s Clement. Recognit. lib. iii. c. lxxvii. (Biblioth. Patr. vol. ii. p. 264.) Baptizabitur unusquisque vestrum in aquis perennibus, nomine trinæ Beatitudinis invocato super se.

of the Blessed Trinity :” by which we can understand nothing but joining the Holy Ghost as God with the Father and the Son, in the same act of adoration, expressed either in the prayers or form of baptism. And hence the ancients were used to prove the Holy Ghost to be God ^t, because he was joined in the same divine worship with the Father and the Son in the administration of baptism. And that baptism was generally esteemed null and void, which was given to any person without mentioning the Holy Ghost, as well as Father and Son ; as I have fully showed in another place ^u.

It is further observable that, in Tertullian’s time, the worship of the Holy Ghost was so common in the Church, that Praxeas, and other Unitarians, were ready to charge the Catholics with Tritheism, or the worship of three Gods, upon this account. They boasted, that they were the only persons who truly worshipped one God, and preserved the divine monarchy entire ; whilst all other Christians, by worshipping three persons, introduced the worship of three Gods ^v : “ As if,” says Tertullian, “ the Unity absurdly collected, might not make a heresy ; and a Trinity rationally conceived, might not consist with Unity.” He there explains how these three are one God ^w ; “ By unity of original, by unity of substance,

^t Vid. Idaeium, lib. iii. cont. Varimundum. (Bibl. Patr. tom. iv. p. 300.) (Max. B. P. Lugd. 1677. vol. v. p. 745. G 5.) Ut in nomine Spiritus Sancti baptizetur, sicut in nomine Patris ac Filii, et Dominus in evangelio testis est, et Paulus paria pronuntiat, dicens : Dominus quidem, quum dicit, ‘Baptizate omnes gentes in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.’ Apostolus, quum, omnes nos Spiritu baptizatos insinuat, atque confirmat : ‘Etenim nos omnes,’ ait, ‘in uno Spiritu baptizati sumus, sive Judæi, sive Græci, sive servi, sive liberi, et omnes in uno Spiritu potati sumus.’ Et iterum : ‘In quo credentes signati estis in Spiritu Sancto promissionis, qui est pignus hæreditatis nostræ in redemptionem adoptionis,’ etc. In iis igitur testimoniis unitas Trinitatis ostenditur, dum quod Pater vocatur, vel etiam operatur, hoc Filius et Spiritus Sanctus nuncupentur, vel eadem operentur.—Basil. de Spirit. Sancto, c. xxix. (Bened. 1721. vol. iii. p. 64.) “Οτι ἐνῆγεν ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Πνεύματος, πρῶτον μὲν ἢ παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου τιμῆ, συμπαραλαμβάνοντες ἑαυτῶ καὶ τῷ Πατρὶ πρὸς τὸ βάπτισμα.

^u Book vi. chap. iii. sect. ii.

^v Tertul. cont. Prax. c. iii. (Oberthür, p. 239.) Duos et tres jam jaecitant a nobis prædicari, se vero unius Dei cultores præsumunt : quasi non et unitas, irrationaliter collecta, hæresin faciat : et Trinitas, rationaliter expensa, veritatem constituat.

^w Ibid. c. ii. (p. 236.) Tres sunt unius substantiæ, et unius status, et unius

condition, and power." And he adds ^x, "that as the Father was God, so the Son was God, and the Holy Ghost, God." And says in another place ^y, "that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, was a Trinity in one Godhead, or divine nature." So that it is plain, the difference then between the Praxean heretics and the Catholics was, that the Praxeans worshipped but one person as God: but the Catholics worshipped three persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, under the title and appellation of one God. And Erasmus was wonderfully mistaken, when he asserted, that the name, God, was never given to the Holy Ghost before the time of St. Hilary, in the middle of the fourth century; when it is so evident he had both the name and worship of God given him in the time of Tertullian; and in effect, by all Christians in former ages, whilst they joined him in all acts of divine worship and glorification with the Father and Son, as one God.

Cyprian expressly styles him God; when disputing against the validity of heretical baptism, he uses this argument ^z: "If a man can be baptized by heretics, he may obtain remission of sins: if he may obtain remission of sins, he may be sanctified, and be made the temple of God. I ask, of what God? If it be said the Creator; he cannot be his temple, who believes not in him. If Christ; neither can he be his temple, who believes not Christ to be God. If the Holy Ghost; seeing the three are one, how can the Holy Spirit be reconciled to him, who is an enemy to the Father or the Son?" As the Holy Ghost is here plainly styled God, so every true Christian is said to be the temple of the Holy Ghost, as God: and temples being for

potestatis: quia unus Deus, ex (quo tres) in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti deputantur.

^x Ibid. c. xiii. (p. 254.) Et Pater Deus, et Filius Deus, et Spiritus Deus, et Deus unusquisque.

^y Tertul. de Pudicit. c. xxi. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 233.) Trinitas unius Divinitatis, Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus.

^z Cyprian. Epist. lxxiii. ad Jubaian. (Oxon. p. 203.) (p. 309, Amstelod.) Si baptizari quis apud hæreticos potuit, utique et remissam peccatorum consequi potuit. Si peccatorum remissam consequutus est, et sanctificatus est, et templum Dei factus est. Quæro, Cujus Dei? si Creatoris; non potuit, qui in eum non credidit. Si Christi, nec hujus fieri potest templum, qui negat Deum placatum. Si Spiritus Sancti, quum tres unum sint, quomodo Spiritus Sanctus placatus ei esse potest, qui aut Patris aut Filii inimicus est?

the worship of God, it may be concluded that, according to Cyprian, the Holy Ghost was then worshipped in all his living temples, as God.

At the same time with Cyprian, lived those two shining lights of the Asiatic Church, Firmilian, bishop of Cæsarea, and Gregory, of Neocæsarea, from his power in working miracles surnamed Thaumaturgus. Of both these, St. Basil testifies ^a, “that in their prayers and books, they were always wont to use this doxology; ‘To God the Father, and his Son our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Holy Ghost, be glory and dominion, for ever and ever.’”

And this is the doxology that most commonly occurs in the author of the Constitutions, which, though I do not, with a late author, take for an inspired writing, nor for the genuine work of Clemens Romanus; yet I believe it to be a very good collection of the rituals and liturgy of the ancient Church, for the three first ages, and not infected with those pernicious principles of Arianism, which some would fain father upon him, who pervert his words, as they do the other ante-Nicene writers, from their proper meaning to a heretical sense. This author, I say, commonly uses that doxology which is so much commended by St. Basil, as expressing the true worship of the Holy Trinity; of which, I shall give a few instances out of his eighth book, which is a collection of the forms of prayer used in the ancient service. In the twelfth chapter of that book, the oblation prayer is thus concluded ^b; “We beseech thee to gather us into the kingdom of thy Christ, the God of the whole nature of things both visible and invisible, and our

^a Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. c. xxix. (Bened. fol. vol. iii. p. 60.) *Τῷ Θεῷ Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, σὺν τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, δόξα καὶ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν· ἔν τῶν τῶν Γρηγορίου, καὶ ὁ νῦν ἀντιλεγόμενος τρόπος τῆς δοξολογίας ἐστίν, ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου παραδόσεως τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πεφυλαγμένος . . . ταύτην καὶ Φιρμιλιανῷ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ μαρτυροῦσι τὴν πίστιν οἱ λόγοι οὗς κατέλιπε.*

^b Constitut. lib. viii. c. xii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 473.) *Παρακαλοῦμέν σε, ὅπως ἅπαντας ἡμᾶς διατηρήσας ἐν τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ, ἐπισυναγάγῃς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ Θεοῦ πάσης αἰσθητῆς καὶ νοητῆς φύσεως, τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν, ἀτρέπτους, ἀμέμπτους, ἀνεγκλήτους· ὅτι σοι πᾶσα δόξα, σέβας, καὶ εὐχαριστία· τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, καὶ νῦν, καὶ αἰεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀνελλειπέεις καὶ ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.*

King ; for to thee belong all glory, and worship, and thanksgiving, and honour, and adoration ; the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, now and for ever, throughout all ages, world without end.” In the thirteenth chapter, the prayer after consecration ends in the same manner ^c : “ by thy Christ, to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be glory, honour, and praise, doxology, and thanksgiving, for ever and ever.” In the same chapter, all the people sing this hymn to Christ ^d ; “ There is one Holy, one Lord Jesus Christ, blessed for ever : to the glory of God the Father : glory be to God on high, and on earth peace, good will towards men : Hosanna to the Son of David : blessed be God the Lord, who came in the name of the Lord, and was manifested unto us : Hosanna in the highest.” In the fourteenth chapter, after the communion, the deacon says ^e, *παραθώμεθα*, “ Let us commend ourselves to God, the only unbegotten God, and to his Christ.” Now, the *παραθέσεις*, or commendations, were one sort of prayers, as I shall show hereafter ^f. Then the bishop makes a thanksgiving in the fifteenth chapter, which he concludes in these words ^g : “ by Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be glory, honour, and adoration, now and for ever. Amen.” And in his invocation in the same chapter, he says ^h, “ To thee and thy Son Jesus, thy Christ, our Lord, and God,

^c Constitut. lib. viii. c. xiii. Διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, μεθ' οὗ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ, αἶνος, δοξολογία, εὐχαριστία, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.

^d Ibid. Εἷς ἅγιος, εἷς Κύριος, εἷς Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ Πατρὸς, εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν. Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία· Ὡσαννὰ τῷ Υἱῷ Δαβὶδ· εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου Θεοῦ, Κύριος, καὶ ἐπεφάνη ἡμῖν· Ὡσαννὰ ἐν ὑψίστοις.

^e Ibid. c. xiv. Ἐαυτοὺς τῷ Θεῷ, τῷ μόνῳ ἀγεννήτῳ Θεῷ, καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ αὐτοῦ παραθώμεθα.

^f Book xv. chap. iii. sect. xxix.

^g Constitut. Apostol. lib. viii. c. xv. (p. 485. D 7.) Πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐπισυνάγαγε εἰς τὴν τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείαν, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν μεθ' οὗ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ σέβας, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.

^h Constitut. Apostol. lib. viii. c. xv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 487. A 6.) Ὅτι σοι δόξα, αἶνος, μεγαλοπρέπεια, σέβας, προσκύνησις, καὶ τῷ σῷ παιδί Ἰησοῦ τῷ Χριστῷ σου, τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν καὶ Θεῷ καὶ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν.

and King, and to the Holy Ghost, be glory, praise, majesty, worship, and adoration, now and for ever, world without end. Amen.” There are many other such doxologies in other prayers throughout this bookⁱ, which I need not here repeat. For if these be not plain instances of the worship of the Holy Ghost, together with the Father and the Son, it is hard to say what words can express it.

SECT. V.—*In what Sense all Prayers are ordered to be directed to the Father.*

Now, then, by all this we may interpret the meaning of that African Canon, which orders all prayers at the altar to be directed to the Father^k. For that was not intended to exclude the worship of the Son and Holy Ghost, together with the Father; for the hymns and doxologies before mentioned, which were used at the altar, plainly show the contrary. But it was designed, that when the sacrifice of Christ was commemorated, he should be considered as the great Mediator, by whose sacrifice we apply to the Father, and have access, by his merits and intercession, to the throne of grace and mercy. And, therefore, all prayers at the altar are ordered to be directed to the Father in his name: which very application was a worship of the Son as Mediator, and an honour peculiar to him, and incommunicable to any creature. In other prayers, direct applications were made to the Son, as we have seen before in that of the Constitutions^l for the dispossessing of devils: and in these prayers at the altar, the glorification was in common to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Whence Fulgentius, who was an African bishop, and therefore may be presumed to understand the meaning of the African Canons, tells us^m, “that all worship and adoration of honour and sa-

ⁱ Vid. Constit. lib. viii. cc. xvi. xviii. xx. xxi. xxii. xxix. xxxvii. xxxviii. xxxix. xli.

^k Conc. Carth. III. c. xxiii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1170.) Ut nemo in precibus vel Patrem pro Filio, vel Filium pro Patre, nominet. Et quum altari adsistitur, semper ad Patrem dirigatur oratio.

^l Constit. lib. viii. c. vii. Ὁ τὸν ἰσχυρὸν δῆσας, καὶ πάντα τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ διαρπάσας, κ. τ. λ.

^m Fulgent. ad Monimum, lib. ii. c. v. (p. 328, edit. Basil. 1621, 8vo.) (Paris. 1671. p. 431.) Si qui Catholici fideles, hujus sacramenti nunc usque videbantur

crifice was equally given to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost ; that is, to the Holy Trinity, by the Catholic Church ; and that it was no prejudice to the Son or the Holy Ghost, that the minister at the altar directed the prayers to the person of the Father. For in the end of them, the names of the Son and Holy Spirit were always expressed ; and that showed that there was no difference in the Holy Trinity ; because when the words were only directed to the person of the Father, yet the whole Trinity was honoured by the faith of the true believer ; and whilst the intention of the sacrificer was more peculiarly fixed upon the Father, the sacrifice itself was, by one and the same act, offered to the whole Trinity." From all which it is evident to a demonstration, that the three Persons of the Holy Trinity were always the object of divine adoration, from the first foundation of the Christian Church ; and that the giving of divine honour to the Son and Holy Ghost, as God, was not the invention or addition of any later ages.

CHAPTER III.

THAT, IN THE ANCIENT CHURCH, RELIGIOUS WORSHIP WAS GIVEN TO NO CREATURE, SAINT, NOR ANGEL, BUT TO GOD ALONE.

SECT. I.—*This Position proved first from their general Declarations against giving Religious Worship to any Creature.*

It has been observed in the foregoing chapter, that the worship of Christ, in the primitive Church, was esteemed a good argument of his divinity ; because it was then an undoubted

ignari, deinceps scire debent, omne cujuslibet honorificentie et sacrificii salutaris obsequium et Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto, hoc est, sancte Trinitati, ab ecclesia Catholica pariter exhiberi. In cujus utique uno nomine, manifestum est, sanctum quoque baptisma celebrari. Neque enim prejudicium Filio vel Sancto Spiritui comparatur ; dum ad Patris personam precatio ab offerente dirigitur. Cujus consummatio, dum Filii et Spiritus Sancti complectitur nomen, ostendit nullum esse in Trinitate discrimen : quia dum ad solius Patris personam sermo dirigitur, bene credentis fide tota Trinitas honoratur : et quum ad Patrem litantis destinatur intentio, sacrificii munus omni Trinitati uno eodemque offertur litantis officio.

principle, that no creature, how excellent soever, was to be worshipped with religious worship, but only the living and true God. And an Arian or a Socinian can never answer or evade this argument from antiquity, so long as both these assertions stand good, That Christ was worshipped with religious worship; and, That nothing is to be worshipped with religious worship, but only the living and true God. The force of this argument has been much weakened, and indeed wholly enervated and destroyed, by the writers of the Romish Church, in whose mouths the argument signifies nothing to an Arian or Socinian, because their own practice, in giving religious worship to saints and angels, is a sufficient answer to it. For, upon supposition that saints and angels may be worshipped, the worship of Christ can be no argument of his divinity; no more than it is of the divinity of saints or angels, because they are worshipped in the Romish Church. But upon the principles of the primitive Church the argument is unanswerable. For at the same time that they asserted the worship of Christ they asserted likewise, that religious worship was not to be given to any creature, but to God alone. And, in this view, the argument for Christ's divinity was very rational and solid. As, therefore, we have seen the truth of the first position, That Christ was religiously worshipped in the primitive Church, made good from their undeniable assertions and practice; so now we will a little examine the truth of the second, That nothing is to be religiously worshipped but only the living and true God. Which position is designed to be handled here only as an illustration and confirmation of the argument for the divinity of Christ, drawn from the practice of the primitive Church in giving religious adoration to him. And the truth of this proposition I shall confirm briefly these three ways: 1. By showing, in general, that the ancients declare universally against giving religious worship or adoration to any creature or being, which, by nature, is not God. 2. That, in particular, they rejected the worship of saints and angels as idolatry, and unlawful. 3. That there is no mention made of it but in the practice either of heretics or heathens; whose idolatry is aggravated upon the account of this practice. In the first place, it is observable, that the ancients, in general,

declare against giving religious worship to any creature or being, which, by nature, is not God. It would fill a whole volume to cite all that is said by the ancients upon this head; therefore, I shall content myself to select a few plain passages, out of an infinite number that might be alleged to this purpose. Justin Martyr often tells the emperors, in his Apology^a, “that Christians could worship none but God alone: and that Christ had taught them so, in saying, ‘Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve, with all thy heart and with all thy strength; the Lord God that made thee:’ and, again, in saying, ‘Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s; and to God, the things that are God’s.’ Therefore, we worship God alone; but in all other things we cheerfully serve you.” In like manner, Theophilus, bishop of Antioch^b: “I will honour the king,” says he, “not by worshipping him, but praying for him. But I will worship God, the living and true God, knowing that by him the king is ordained. You will say, then, ‘Why do you not worship the king?’ Because he is not made to be worshipped, but to be honoured with lawful honour. For he is not a God, but a man. And as he will not suffer any other to assume the title of king but himself; so neither is it lawful to worship any other but God alone.” In another place, he says^c, “God’s

^a Justin. Apol. (i. Bened. 1742. p. 53. D 2.) ‘Ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸν Θεὸν μόνον δεῖ προσκυνεῖν, οὕτως ἔπεισεν εἰπὼν, Μεγίστη ἐντολή ἐστι, Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου προσκυνήσεις, καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις, κ. τ. λ.— p. 54. Θεὸν μόνον προσκυνοῦμεν ἡμῖν δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα χαίροντες ὑπηρετοῦμεν.

^b Theoph. ad Autolye. lib. i. (Bibl. Patr. Galland. vol. ii. p. 84.) Τιμήσω τὸν βασιλέα, οὐ προσκυνῶν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ εὐχόμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. Θεῷ δὲ τῷ ὄντως Θεῷ καὶ ἀληθεῖ προσκυνῶ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ γέγονεν. Ἐρεῖς οὖν μοι, Διὰ τί οὐ προσκυνεῖς τὸν βασιλέα; “Ὅτι οὐκ εἰς τὸ προσκυνεῖσθαι γέγονεν, ἀλλ’ εἰς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι τῇ νομίμῳ τιμῇ. Θεὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλ’ ἄνθρωπος ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τεταγμένος, οὐκ εἰς τὸ προσκυνεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸ δικαίως κρίνειν. Τρόπῳ γάρ τινι παρὰ Θεοῦ οἰκονομίαν πεπίστευται· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς, οὓς ἔχει ὑφ’ ἑαυτὸν τεταγμένους, οὐ βούλεται βασιλεῖς καλεῖσθαι. τὸ γὰρ βασιλεὺς αὐτοῦ ἐστιν ὄνομα· καὶ οὐκ ἄλλῃ ἐξὸν ἐστι τοῦτο καλεῖσθαι· οὕτως οὐδὲ προσκυνεῖσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἢ μόνῳ Θεῷ.

^c Theoph. ad Autolye. lib. ii. (Galland. vol. ii. p. 114.) Ὁ μὲν θεῖος νόμος οὐ μόνον κωλύει τὸ εἰδῶλοις προσκυνεῖν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς στοιχείοις, ἡλίῳ, σελήνῃ, ἢ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀστροῖς· ἀλλ’ οὔτε τῷ οὐρανῷ, οὔτε γῆ, οὔτε θαλάσῃ, ἢ πηγαῖς, ἢ ποταμοῖς θρησκεύειν, ἀλλ’ ἢ μόνῳ τῷ ὄντως Θεῷ,

laws forbid not only the worship of idols, but all other creatures, the sun, moon, and stars, heaven, earth, and sea: and command the worship of the true God alone, who is the Creator of all things.” After the same manner, Tertullian, speaking of the Christians’ prayers for the emperors, and the peace of the world, says ^d, “they asked these things of the living and true God; and they could ask them of no other but him, of whom they were sure to obtain them, because he alone was able to give them.” And he repeats the same in several other places of his writings ^e. This was the answer which the martyrs commonly gave to the persecuting judges, when they solicited them to worship other gods. When Fructuosus, a Spanish bishop and martyr, who suffered at Tarragona about the year 262, was commanded to sacrifice, he replied ^f, “I only worship one God, the Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things that are therein.” And so Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, answered Æmilian the prefect, as he himself tells us in an epistle recorded by Eusebius ^g, “I have publicly testified,” says he, “that I worship none but the true God alone: neither can I ever depart from this practice, or cease to be a Christian.” And when Æmilian urged him, further, to worship the gods of the empire together with his own God, his answer was still the same, “We worship him and no other.” There are

καὶ ποιητῆ τῶν ὄλων χρῆ λατρεύειν ἐν ὁσιότητι καρδίας καὶ εἰλικρινεῖ γνώμῃ.

^d Tertul. Apol. c. xxx. Nos pro salute imperatorum Deum invocamus æternum, Deum verum, Deum vivum. . . . Hæc ab alio orare non possum, quam a quo me scio consequuturum, quoniam et ipse est, qui solus præstat.

^e Ibid. Scopiac. c. iv. (Oberthür, vol. i. p. 272.) Præscribitur mihi, ne quem alium adorem, aut quo modo venerer, præter unicum illum, qui ita mandat.— Id. Apol. c. xvii. (vol. i. p. 38.) Quod colimus nos, Deus unus est; qui totam molem istam cum omni instrumento elementorum, corporum, spirituum, verbo quo jussit, ratione qua disposuit, virtute qua potuit, de nihilo expressit, etc.— Id. ad Scapul. c. ii. (vol. ii. p. 16.) Nos unum Deum colimus, quem omnes naturaliter nostis: ad cujus fulgura et tonitrua contremiscitis, ad cujus beneficia gaudetis.

^f Acta Fructuosi, ap. Baron. an. 262, n. lxii. (Lucæ, vol. iii. p. 126.) Ego unum Deum colo, qui fecit cælum, et terram, mare, et omnia quæ in eis sunt.

^g Dionys. Epist. ap. Euseb. lib. vii. c. xi. (Aug. T. 1746. p. 293.) Ἐναντικρυς διημαρτυράμην, ὅτι τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ὄντα μόνον, καὶ οὐδένα ἕτερον σέβων, οὐδ’ ἂν μεταθείμην, οὐδὲ παυσαίμην ποτὲ Χριστιανὸς ὢν . . . ἡμεῖς οὐδένα ἕτερον προσκυνοῦμεν.

many the like expressions in Irenæus^h, Clemens Alexandrinusⁱ, Origen^k, Cyprian^l, Lactantius^m, the author of the Recognitions, under the name of Clemens Romanusⁿ, Athen-

^h Iren. lib. v. c. xxii. (Bened. 1734. vol. i. p. 319.) Sic igitur manifeste ostendente Domino, quoniam Dominus verus, et unus Deus, qui a Lege declaratus fuerat (quem enim lex præconaverat Deum, hunc Christus ostendit Patrem, cui et servire soli oportet discipulos Christi) et per eas, quæ sunt in Lege, sententias, adversarium nostrum evacuante, (Lex autem Demiurgum laudare Deum, et ipsi soli servire jubet nobis) jam non oportet quærere alium Patrem, præter hunc, aut super hunc: quoniam ‘unus Deus, qui justificat circumcisionem ex fide, et præputium per fidem.’

ⁱ Clem. Stromat. vi. (Oberthür, vol. vi. p. 370.) Τοὺς “Ἑλληνας χρῆ διὰ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν ἐκμανθάνειν ἕνα μόνον σέβειν Θεόν, τὸν ὄντως ὄντα παντοκράτορα· ἔπειτα διὰ τοῦ ἀποστόλου διδάσκεισθαι τοῦτο, Ἡμῖν δὲ οὐδὲν εἰδῶλον ἐν κόσμῳ, κ. τ. λ.

^k Origen. cont. Cels. lib. i. (Cantab. 1677. p. 10.) Εἴπερ οὖν δεῖ πιστεύειν, ὡς ὁ Λόγος ἐδίδαξεν, ἐνὶ τινι τῶν αἰρέσεις εἰσηγησαμένων ἐν “Ἑλλησιν ἢ βαρβάροις· πῶς οὐχὶ μᾶλλον τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεῷ, καὶ τῷ διδάσκοντι τοῦτον μόνον δεῖν σέβειν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ, ἧτοι ὡς μὴ ὄντα, ἢ ὡς ὄντα μὲν, καὶ τιμῆς ἄξια, οὐ μὲν καὶ προσκυνήσεως καὶ σεβασμοῦ, παρορᾶν; — Id. lib. viii. p. 395. “Ἀπαγε δὴ τὴν τοῦ Κέλσου συμβουλίην, λέγοντος, Προσευκτέον εἶναι δαίμοσι καὶ οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸ ποσὸν ἀκουστέον αὐτῆς· μόνη γὰρ προσευκτέον τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεῷ, καὶ προσευκτέον γε τῷ μονογενεῖ, καὶ πρωτοτόκῳ πάσης κτίσεως, Λόγῳ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἀξιωτέον αὐτὸν ὡς ἀρχιερέα, τὴν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν φθάσασαν ἡμῶν εὐχὴν, ἀναφέρειν ἐπὶ τὸν Θεὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ Θεὸν ἡμῶν, καὶ Πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ Πατέρα τῶν βιούντων κατὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ.

^l Cyprian. Ep. lviii. (p. 257, Fell, Amstelod.) Sic et Daniel, quum compelleretur adorare idolum Bel, quem tunc populus et rex colebat, in adserendum Dei sui honorem plena fidei libertate prorupit, dicens, ‘Nihil colo ego, nisi Dominum Deum meum, qui condidit cælum et terram.’ — Id. ad Demetr. p. 187. Utique quando ea fiunt, quæ iram Dei indignantis ostendunt, non propter nos fiunt, a quibus Deus colitur; sed delictis vestris et meritis irrogantur, a quibus omnino nec quæritur nec timetur, nec relictis vanis superstitionibus religio vera cognoscitur; ut, qui Deus unus est, unus colatur ab omnibus et rogetur.

^m Lactant. lib. ii. c. i. (Paris. 1748. p. 113.) De summa rerum sæpenumero cogitans, admirari soleo majestatem Dei singularis, quæ continet regitque omnia, in tantam venisse oblivionem, ut quæ sola coli debeat, sola potissimum negligatur, etc. — Lib. iv. c. xiv. Docuit (Christus) quod Deus unus sit, eumque solum coli oportere.

ⁿ Recognit. lib. v. c. xvi. (Bib. Patr. Galland. vol. ii. p. 275. C.) Justum putant, non ea quæ pro mundi ministerio facta sunt, sed ipsorum et mundi totius Creatorem, debere venerari: gaudent enim etiam hæc, quum ille adoratur et colitur; nec libenter accipiunt, ut honor Creatoris creaturæ deferatur. Exceptus enim est Dei solius cultus, qui solus increatus est; omnia autem cetera factura ejus sunt.

agoras, Tatian, and others: which, because the learned reader may have recourse to himself, or read them collected together in one view, in that excellent book of Mr. Daillé^o against the idolatry of the Church of Rome, I shall here omit them, and proceed—

SECT. II. — *Secondly, From their denying the Worship of Saints and Angels in particular, and condemning it as Idolatry.*

To the second observation, which is, That the ancients not only, in general, reject the worship of any creature, but reject the worship of saints and angels in particular, as idolatry, and unlawful. And of this we cannot have a plainer proof than was given in the answer of the Church of Smyrna to the suggestion of the Jews, when, at the martyrdom of Polycarp, the Jews desired the heathen judge that he would not permit the Christians to carry off the body of Polycarp, lest they should leave their crucified Master, and begin to worship this man in his stead^p: “This suggestion,” says the answer, “proceeded purely from ignorance, that we could neither forsake Christ, nor worship any other. For we worship him, as being the Son of God: but the martyrs, as the disciples and followers of the Lord, we love with a due affection, for their great love of their own King and Master; with whom we desire to be partners and fellow-disciples.” A like answer was given at the martyrdom of Fructuosus, in Spain. For when the judge asked Eulogius, his deacon, “whether he would not worship Fructuosus?” as thinking, that he who refused to worship the heathen idols, might yet, perhaps, be inclined to worship a Christian martyr, to this Eulogius plainly replied^q, “I do not worship Fructuosus; but I worship him whom Fructuosus

^o Dall. de Objecto Cult. Relig. lib. i. cc. ii.—iv.

^p Martyr. Polycarp. ap. Euseb. lib. iv. c. xv. (Cantabr. p. 171.) Vid. supra c. ii. sect. ii. sub litt. (d). Τοῦτον μὲν Υἱὸν ὄντα τοῦ Θεοῦ προσκυνοῦμεν· τοὺς δὲ μάρτυρας, ὡς μαθητὰς τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ μιμητὰς, ἀγαπῶμεν ἀξίως, ἕνεκα ἐννοίας ἀνυπερβλήτου τῆς εἰς τὸν ἴδιον βασιλεία καὶ διδάσκαλον ὧν γένοιτο καὶ ἡμᾶς συγκοινωνοὺς τε καὶ συμμαθητὰς γενέσθαι.

^q Acta Fructuosi ap. Baron. an. 262, n. lxii. (Lucæ, vol. iii. p. 126.) Ego Fructuosum non colo, sed ipsum colo, quem et Fructuosus.

worships." We are beholden to Baronius himself for this testimony: and we cannot desire a clearer evidence, that, in those early times, the Christians did not worship the martyrs, but only the God of the martyrs, to whom the martyrs offered their own bodies in sacrifice, whilst they died for his name, and sealed their confession with their blood. Before this, Origen, in his answers to Celsus, positively denies that ever the Jews or Christians gave any religious worship to angels. He says^r, "They are ministering spirits, that bring the gifts of God to us; but there is no command in Scripture to worship or adore them. For all prayers, supplications, intercessions, and giving of thanks, are to be sent up to God by the great High-Priest, the living Word of God, who is superior to all angels." He says again^s, "Allowing what Celsus pleaded to be true, that the angels were God's heralds and heavenly messengers; yet still the heralds and messengers were not to be worshipped, but he whose heralds and messengers they were." He repeats this frequently in his eighth book, in several places^t, which, for brevity's sake, I here omit, only reciting one passage more, because it so handsomely meets

^r Origen. cont. Cels. lib. v. (Cantab. 1677. p. 233.) Ὁμολογουμένως μὲν γὰρ ἀγγέλους φασὲν λειτουργικὰ ὄντας πνεύματα, καὶ εἰς διακονίαν ἀποστελλόμενα διὰ τοὺς μέλλοντας κληρονομεῖν σωτηρίαν· ἀναβαίνειν μὲν προσάγοντας τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐντεύξεις, ἐν τοῖς καθαρωτάτοις τοῦ κόσμου χωρίοις ἐπουρανίοις, ἢ καὶ τοῖς τούτων καθαρωτέροις ὑπερουρανίοις· καταβαίνειν δ' αὐτὸ ἐκεῖθεν, φέροντας ἐκάστῳ κατ' ἀξίαν τῶν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ τι αὐτοῖς διακονεῖν τοῖς εὐεργετουμένοις προστασσομένων· τούτους δὲ ἀγγέλους ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου αὐτῶν μεμαθηκότες καλεῖν, εὐρίσκομεν αὐτούς, διὰ τὸ θεοῦ εἶναι, καὶ θεοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ποτὲ ὀνομαζομένους γραφαῖς· ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥστε προστάσσεσθαι ἡμῖν τοὺς διακονοῦντας, καὶ φέροντας ἡμῖν τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, σέβειν καὶ προσκυνεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ· πᾶσαν μὲν γὰρ δέησιν, καὶ προσευχῆν, καὶ ἔντευξιν, καὶ εὐχαριστίαν, ἀναπεμπτέον τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεῷ, διὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων ἀγγέλων ἀρχιερέως, ἐμψύχου Λόγου καὶ Θεοῦ.

^s Ibid. p. 239. Ἔστω καὶ κήρυκας αὐτοῦ εἶναι, καὶ ἀληθῶς οὐρανίους ἀγγέλους· πῶς οὖν οὐχὶ καὶ οὕτω τὸν κηρυσσόμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν Θεόν, καὶ τὸν ἀγγελλόμενον μόνον μᾶλλον προσκυνητέον, ἢ τοὺς κήρυκας καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ;

^t Ibid. lib. viii. p. 416. Κἂν ἴδωμεν δὲ μὴ δαίμονάς τινας, ἀγγέλους δὲ τεταγμένους ἐπὶ τῶν τῆς γῆς καρπῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν ζώων γενέσεως, εὐφημοῦμεν αὐτούς καὶ μακαρίζομεν, ἐγχειρισθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὰ χρήσιμα τῷ γένει ἡμῶν· οὐ μὴν τὴν ὀφειλομένην πρὸς Θεὸν τιμὴν τούτοις ἀπονέμεμεν· οὔτε γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς τοῦτο βούλεται, οὔτ' αὐτοῖ, οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐγχεχρισμένοι.

with that common pretence of the Romanists, that we are to worship angels, because they are the friends of God. "We must endeavour," says he^u, "to please God alone, who is above all things, and labour to have him propitious unto us; procuring his good-will with piety and all kind of virtue. And if Celsus will yet have us to procure the good-will of any others, after him that is God over all; let him consider, that as when the body is moved, the shadow follows its motion; so, in like manner, when we have God, who is over all, favourable unto us, it follows, that we shall have all his friends, both angels, and souls, and spirits, favourable unto us also. For they have a fellow-feeling with them that are thought worthy to find favour from God. Neither are they only favourable to such as are thus worthy; but they labour with them also that are willing to worship God over all, and are friendly to them, and sympathize with them, and pray with them, So that we may be bold to say, that when men, who with resolution propose unto themselves the best things, do pray unto God, many thousands of the sacred powers pray together with them, unspoken to, ἄκκλητοι, 'without any invocation.'" A like answer is given to the same pretence, by the author under the name of St. Ambrose. "Men are wont," says he^x, "when they are

^u Origen. lib. viii. p. 420. "Ἐνα τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεὸν ἡμῖν ἐξευμενιστέον, καὶ τοῦτον ἴλω ἐυκτέον, ἐξευμενιζόμενον εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ πάσῃ ἀρετῇ· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς βούλεται μετὰ τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐξευμενιζεσθαι Θεόν· κατανοήσάτω, ὅτι ὡσπερ τῷ κινουμένῳ σώματι ἀκολουθεῖ ἡ τῆς σκιᾶς αὐτοῦ κίνησις· τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τῷ ἐξευμενιζεσθαι τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεόν, ἔπεται εὐμενεῖς ἔχειν πάντα τοὺς ἐκείνου φίλους ἀγγέλους, καὶ ψυχὰς καὶ πνεύματα· συναίσθονται γὰρ τῶν ἀξίων τοῦ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ εὐμενισμοῦ· καὶ οὐ μόνον καὶ αὐτοὶ εὐμενεῖς τοῖς ἀξίοις γίνονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμπράττουσι τοῖς βουλομένοις τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεὸν θεραπεύειν, καὶ ἐξευμενιζοῦνται, καὶ συνεύχονται, καὶ συναξιοῦσιν· ὥστε τολμᾶν ἡμᾶς λέγειν, ὅτι ἀνθρώποις, μετὰ προαιρέσεως προτιθεμένοις τὰ κρείττονα, εὐχομένοις τῷ Θεῷ, μύρια ὕσαι ἄκκλητοι συνεύχονται δυνάμεις ἱεραί.

^x Ambros. in Rom. l. (tom. iii. p. 244. L 4, Paris. 1642.) Solent pudorem passi neglecti Dei misera ea uti excusatione, dicentes, Per istos posse ire ad Deum, sicut per comites pervenitur ad regem. Age, numquid tam demens est aliquis, aut salutis suae immemor, ut honorificentiam regis vindicet comiti, cum de hac re si qui etiam tractare fuerint inventi, jure ut rei majestatis damnentur? Et isti se non putant reos, qui honorem nominis Dei deferunt creaturae, et relicto Domino conservos adorant; quasi sit aliquid plus, quod reservetur Deo. Nam et ideo ad regem per tribunos aut comites itur, quia homo

ashamed of their neglecting of God, to use this miserable excuse; that by these they might go to God, as by officers we go to the king." To which he answers, "Is any man so mad, or so unmindful of his salvation, as to give the king's honour to an officer; when, if any shall be found but to treat of such a matter, they will be justly condemned as guilty of high treason? And yet these men think themselves not guilty, who give the honour of God's name to a creature; and, forsaking the Lord, adore their fellow-servants: as though there were any thing more that could be reserved to God. For, therefore, men go to the king by tribunes or officers; because the king is but a man, and knows not with whom he may entrust the affairs of the commonwealth. But to obtain the favour of God (from whom nothing is hid, for he knows the merits of all men), we have no need of an advocate or spokesman, but only a devout mind. For wheresoever such a one shall speak unto him, he will answer him." We have heard before, out of Irenæus^y, "that the Church, in his time, though she wrought many miracles for the benefit of men, yet did nothing by invocation of angels, but only by prayer to God and the Lord Jesus Christ." And that thus it continued to be in the time of Athanasius, appears plainly from his way of disputing with the Arians, when he proves the Unity of the Father and Son, from the Apostle's joining them together in prayer (1 Thess. iii. 11): "God himself, and our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, direct our way unto you." "No man," says he^z,

utique est rex, et nescit, quibus debeat rempublicam credere. Ad Deum autem, quem nihil utique latet, (omnium enim merita novit) promerendum, suffragatore non opus est, sed mente devota. Ubicumque enim talis loquutus fuerit ei, respondebit illi.

^y Iren. lib. ii. c. lvii. See note (n) p. 108.

^z Athan. Orat. iv. cont. Arian. (p. 561. C, Paris. 1698.) Οὐκ ἂν γοῦν εὐξαιτο τις λαβεῖν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων, ἢ παρὰ τινος τῶν ἄλλων κτισμάτων οὐδ' ἂν εἴποι τις, Δῶν σοι ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ἄγγελος, ἀλλὰ παρὰ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, διὰ τὴν ἐνότητα καὶ τὴν ἐνοειδῆ δόσιν. . . . Εἰ δὲ ὁ πατριάρχης Ἰακώβ, εὐλογῶν τοὺς ἐγγόνους Ἐφραΐμ καὶ Μανασσῆ, ἔλεγεν, Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τρέφων με ἐκ νεότητός μου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ ῥυθόμενός με ἐκ πάντων τῶν κακῶν, εὐλογῆσαι τὰ παιδία ταῦτα οὐ τῶν κτισθέντων καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἀγγέλων ὄντων ἕνα συνῆπτε τῷ κτίσαντι αὐτοὺς Θεῷ οὐδὲ ἀφείξ τὸν τρέφοντα αὐτὸν Θεόν, παρ' ἀγγέλου τὴν εὐλογίαν ἧται τοῖς ἐγγόνους ἀλλ' εἰρηκώς, Ὁ ῥυθόμενός με ἐκ πάντων τῶν κακῶν,

“ would pray to receive any thing from the Father and the angels, or from any other of the creatures ; neither would any man say, ‘ God and the angel give me this.’ ” And whereas the Arian might have said, that Jacob joined God and the angel together in prayer (Gen. xlviii. 16), Athanasius obviates this exception, by saying, “ He did not join one of the created angels, who are angels by nature, with God, who was their Creator ; neither did he, omitting God that fed him, desire a blessing from an angel upon his children : but in saying, ‘ The angel which redeemed me from all evil,’ he showed that it was not any of the created angels, but the Word of God, whom he joined with the Father, and prayed unto him.” There had been no force in this argument, had the Church used invocation of angels, in her prayers, in the time of Athanasius : the Arian might easily have replied, that his argument was refuted by experience in the Church’s daily practice. But that neither men nor angels were the object of religious adoration in his time, appears further from another discourse of his against the Arians, where he argues thus ^a: “ Peter the apostle did forbid Cornelius, when he would have worshipped him, saying, ‘ I myself am also a man.’ (Acts x. 26.) And the angel likewise did forbid John, when he would have worshipped him in the Revelations, saying, ‘ See thou do it not ; for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them who keep the sayings of this book : worship God.’ (Rev. xxii. 9.) Wherefore it belongs to God only to be worshipped. And this the angels very well know, that though they excel others in glory, yet they are all but creatures ; and not in the number of those that are to be worshipped, but of those that worship

ἔδειξε μὴ τῶν κτισθέντων τινὰ ἀγγέλων, ἀλλὰ τὸν Λόγον εἶναι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὃν τῷ πατρὶ συνάπτων ἤρχετο, δι’ οὗ ἐὰν θέλῃ, ῥύεται ὁ Θεός.

^a Athan. Orat. iii. cont. Arian. (Paris. 1698. vol. i. p. 491.) Πέτρος μὲν ὁ ἀπόστολος προσκυνῆσαι θέλοντα τὸν Κορνήλιον κωλύει, λέγων, “Οτι κἀγὼ ἄνθρωπός εἰμι. Ἄγγελος δὲ θέλοντα προσκυνῆσαι τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐν τῇ Ἀποκαλύψει, κωλύει, λέγων, “Ορα μὴ συνδουλός σου εἶμι, καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου, τῶν προφητῶν, καὶ τῶν τηρούντων τοὺς λόγους τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου τῷ Θεῷ προσκύνησον. Οὐκοῦν Θεοῦ ἐστι μόνου τὸ προσκυνεῖσθαι· καὶ τοῦτο ἴσασι καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι, ὅτι κἀν ἄλλων ταῖς δόξαις ὑπερέχουσιν ἀλλὰ κρίσματα πάντες εἰσὶ, καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶ τῶν προσκυνουμένων, ἀλλὰ τῶν προσκυνούντων τὸν δεσπότην.

the Lord." We cannot have clearer evidences than these either of the Church's doctrine or practice: both which are equally attested by St. Austin in his Book of True Religion: where he makes it a distinguishing character and property of true religion to worship no sort of creature, particularly neither angels, nor saints after death, but the sovereign majesty of God alone. "Let not our religion," says he^b, "consist in the worship of dead men; because, if they lived piously, they are not esteemed such as would desire that kind of honour; but would have him to be worshipped by us, by whose illumination they rejoice to have us partners with them in their merit. They are, therefore, to be honoured for imitation, not to be worshipped for religion." A little after, he says, "That which the highest angel worships, the same is to be worshipped by the meanest man. And this we are to believe, that the very greatest of angels, and most excellent ministers of God, would have us worship one God with them. And, therefore, we honour angels with love, not with religious service. Neither do we build temples to them: for they desire not to be so honoured by us; because they know, that we ourselves, when we are good, are the temples of the most high God. And therefore, it is well recorded, that the angel forbade the man to worship him, and bid him worship God, under whom he was his fellow-servant." (Rev. xxii. 9.)

It is true, indeed, the Manichees, about this time, began to charge the Catholics with worshipping their martyrs. Faustus objected to them, "that they had only exchanged the heathen idols for martyrs, whom they worshipped with the

^b Aug. de Vera Relig. c. lv. (Bened. 1679. vol. i. p. 786.) Non sit nobis religio cultus hominum mortuorum: quia si pie vixerunt, non sic habentur, ut tales quærant honores: sed illum a nobis coli volunt, quo illuminante lætantur meriti sui nos esse consortes. Honorandi sunt ergo propter imitationem, non adorandi propter religionem. . . . Quod colit summus angelus, id colendum est etiam ab homine ultimo. Hoc etiam ipsos optimos angelos et excellentissima Dei ministeria velle credamus, ut unum cum ipsis colamus Deum, cujus contemplatione beati sunt. Neque enim et nos videndo angelos beati sumus, sed videndo veritatem, qua etiam ipsos diligimus angelos et his congratulamur. . . . Honoramus eos caritate, non servitute. Nec eis templa construimus. Nolunt enim se hic honorari a nobis; quia nos ipsos, quum boni sumus, templa summi Dei esse noverunt. Recte itaque scribitur, hominem ab angelo prohibitum ne se adoraret, sed unum Deum sub quo ei esset et ille conservus.

same devotions, offering sacrifice of wine and meats to the ghosts and shades of dead men." Had this been a true charge, though it could not have affected the argument, as drawn from the practice of the Church in former ages, yet it would have proved the corruption of saint worship to have crept a little earlier into the Church than will now be allowed. But the truth of the matter is, it was a mere calumny of Faustus's own inventing; and St. Austin rejects it with the utmost scorn and indignation. Therefore, he says in answer to it^c, "that the Christian people did celebrate the memories of the martyrs with religious solemnity, both to excite themselves to their imitation, and to be partners in their merits, and to have the benefit of their prayers; yet so, as that we never offer any sacrifice to a martyr, but to the God of martyrs, although we erect altars in the memories of the martyrs:" meaning churches called by their names. "For what priest, standing at the altar, in the places where the holy bodies lie, ever said, 'We offer unto thee, Peter, or Paul, or Cyprian?' But whatever is offered, is offered unto God that crowned the martyrs, at the memories of those whom he crowned; that, by the very admonition of the places, our affection may rise higher, to quicken our love both toward them whom we may imitate, and toward him who enables us to imitate them. Therefore we

^c Aug. cont. Faust. lib. xx. c. xxi. (Antwerp. 1700. vol. viii. p. 246.) Populus Christianus memorias martyrum religiosa sollemnitate concelebrat, et ad excitandam imitationem, et ut meritis eorum consocietur, atque orationibus adjuvetur: ita tamen, ut nulli martyrum, sed ipsi Deo martyrum, quamvis in Memoriis (al. 'in memorias') martyrum constituamus altaria. Quis enim antistitum in locis sanctorum corporum adstans altari, aliquando dicit, 'Offerimus tibi, Petre, aut Paule, aut Cypriane:?' sed quod offertur, offertur Deo, qui martyres coronavit: ut ex ipsorum locorum admonitione major adfectus exurgat ad acuendam caritatem, et in illos quos imitari possumus, et in illum quo adjuvante possumus. Colimus ergo martyres eo cultu dilectionis et societatis, quo et in hac vita coluntur sancti homines Dei, quorum cor ad talem pro evangelica veritate passionem paratum esse sentimus. . . . At vero illo cultu, qui Græce 'latría' dicitur, Latine uno verbo dici non potest, quum sit quedam proprie divinitati debita servitus, nec colimus, nec colendum docemus, nisi unum Deum. Quum autem ad hunc cultum pertineat oblatio sacrificii, unde idololatria dicitur eorum, qui hoc etiam idolis exhibent: nullo modo tale aliquid offerimus, aut offerendum præcipimus, vel cuiquam martyri, vel cuiquam sancte animæ, vel cuiquam angelo: et quisquis in hunc errorem delabatur, corripitur per sanam doctrinam, sive ut corrigatur, sive ut caveatur.

worship the martyrs with that worship of love and society, wherewith we worship holy men of God in this life, whose heart we perceive to be prepared to suffer in like manner for the Gospel truth. But with that worship, which the Greeks call *λατρεία* and the Latins cannot express by one word, being a service proper to God, we neither worship, nor teach any one to worship, any other but God alone. And whereas the offering of sacrifice appertains to this kind of worship, whence it is called idolatry in those that give it to idols, we neither offer, nor teach any to offer, such worship, either to any martyr, or any holy soul, or any angel; but whoever falls into this error, is rebuked by sound doctrine, either to correct him, or condemn him, or to make him be avoided by others."

It is plain, from this answer of St. Austin's, that the charge of giving religious worship to saints and angels was false, and a mere calumny upon the Church in those days; and that the only persons then guilty of it, were such as were disowned and discarded by the Church. Which brings me to the third and last consideration proposed to confirm this position, That the ancient Church did not give religious worship either to saints or angels, because she condemned the practice both in heathens and heretics, and aggravated their idolatry upon this account.

SECT. III.—*Thirdly, From their charging the Practice of it upon Heretics and Heathens only.*

St. Austin, in another place, makes a severe remark upon all such as sought to angels, by prayer, for their assistance: he says they were distracted with strange curiosities and illusions. Take it in his own words, as he delivers it in a pious reflection upon his own happiness in escaping the snare at his own conversion, and a thankful acknowledgment of God's mercy in delivering him from such a delusion. "Whom," says he^d, "should I have found, that might reconcile me unto thee?"

^d Aug. Confess. lib. x. c. xlii. (Bened. 1679. vol. i. p. 193.) Quem invenirem qui me reconciliaret tibi? Ambendum mihi fuit ad angelos? Qua prece? Quibus sacramentis? Multi conantes ad te redire, neque per se ipsos valentes, sicut audio, tentaverunt hæc, et inciderunt in desiderium curiosarum visionum, et digni habiti sunt illusionibus.

Should I have gone unto the angels? With what prayer? With what sacraments? Many endeavouring to return unto thee, and not being able to do it by themselves, as I hear, have tried these things; and have fallen into the desire of curious visions, and were accounted worthy of illusions." St. Chrysostom has a more severe reflection on this sort of men: for he not only says ^e, "that no creature is to be worshipped by man, neither of things above, nor things below, whether man, or demons, or angels, or archangels, or any other supernatural powers, but only God the Lord of all: and that the apostle, in the second chapter of his Epistle to the Colossians, discourses against such as taught that man was to come to God by angels, and not by Christ, for that was too great for him ^f: but he adds, in pursuance of the same matter ^g, "that it was the devil which introduced this having recourse to angels, whilst he envied the honour of man. These be the enchantments of devils. Though it be an angel, though an archangel, though they be cherubims, endure it not. For neither will these powers themselves receive it, but reject it, when they see their Lord dishonoured. 'I have honoured thee,' saith God, 'and bid thee call upon me.' And dost thou then dishonour him?" Where we see plainly, that invocation of God, and invocation of angels, are opposed to one another; and as the one is made the character of true religion, so the other is said to be the doctrine of devils.

The persons here reflected on by Chrysostom, were probably the same as had been known in the Church, and condemned

^e Chrysostom. Hom. v. in Coloss. (Bened. 1734. vol. xi. p. 358. F 5.) "Οτι οὐ λίθοι, οὐ ζῶα, οὐ φυτὰ, οὐ στοιχεῖα, οὐ τὰ ἄνω, οὐ τὰ κάτω, οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, οὐ δαίμονες, οὐκ ἄγγελοι, οὐκ ἀρχάγγελοι, οὐχ ἑτέρα τις τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων ἐκείνων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως θεραπεύεσθαι ὀφείλει . . . ὅτι ὁ πάντων δεσπότης οὗτος Θεός ἐστιν, ὅτι θεραπεύειν αὐτὸν μόνον χρῆ."

^f Ibid. Hom. vii. in Coloss. (p. 372. A 5.) Ἦσαν τινες οἱ λέγοντες, οὐ δεῖ ἡμᾶς διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσάγεσθαι, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐκείνο γὰρ μεῖζόν ἐστιν, ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς.

^g Ibid. Hom. ix. in Coloss. (p. 394. F.) Ὁ διάβολος τὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐπεισήγαγε, βυσκαίνων ἡμῖν τῆς τιμῆς τῶν δαιμόνων τοιαῦται αἱ ἐπρωδαὶ κἂν ἄγγελος ἦ, κἂν ἀρχάγγελος, κἂν τὰ χερουβὶμ, μὴ ἀνέχον ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ αὐταὶ αἱ δυνάμεις καταδέξονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποσεύονται, ὅταν ἴδωσι τὸν δεσπότην ἀτιμαζόμενον. Ἐγὼ σε ἐτίμησά, φησι, καὶ εἶπον, ἐμὲ κάλει καὶ σὺ ἀτιμάζεις αὐτόν;

from the apostles' days as heretics, under the name of *angelici*, or 'angel-worshippers.' For so St. Austin^h describes them, calling them *angelici*, from their inclination to worship angels. And so Isidoreⁱ after him. Irenæus seems to insinuate that heretics were wont to invoke angels, when he opposes the Church's practice to them, telling them^k, "that many miracles were wrought in the Church, not by invocation of angels, but by prayer to God and the Lord Jesus Christ." And Tertullian says expressly of the followers of Simon Magus^l, "that they worshipped angels in the exercise of their magical art, which idolatry was condemned by St. Peter in their first founder." Now, there being such footsteps of angel worship in the practice of so many heretics; and it being a thing that some were fond of, because it had a show of humility in it, the Council of Laodicea, to prevent the growing malady, made a severe canon under the denunciation of *anathema*, to restrain it. "Christians," say they^m, "ought not to forsake the Church of God, and go aside, and hold conventicles, to invoke or call upon the names of angels; which things are forbidden. If any one, therefore, be found to exercise himself in this private idolatry, let him be accursed, because he hath forsaken our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and gone over to idolatry." The first publishers of this Canon in the Latin editions, changed the word *angelos* into *angulos*; 'corners' instead of 'angels;' but the Greek admits of no such corruption; and, therefore, the fraud is easily discovered; and nothing but the shame of seeing their practice so plainly condemned in this Canon, could have induced any men to have attempted such a childish corruption. Theodoret, in his Comment upon the Epistle to the

^h Aug. de Hæres. c. xxxix. *Angelici, in Angelorum cultum inclinati.*

ⁱ Isidor. Origin. lib. viii. c. v. *Angelici vocati, quia angelos colunt.*

^k Iren. See note (n) p. 108.

^l Tertul. de Præscript. c. xxxiii. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 471.) *Simonianæ autem magiæ disciplina Angelis serviens, utique et ipsa inter idololatrias deputabatur: et a Petro apostolo in ipso Simone damnabatur.*

^m Conc. Laodic. c. xxxv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1503.) "*Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ Χριστιανοὺς ἐγκαταλείπειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἀπίεσαι, καὶ ἀγγέλους ὀνομάζειν, καὶ συνάξεις ποιεῖν ἄπὸρ ἀπηγόρευται. Εἴ τις οὖν εὗρεθῆ ταύτη τῇ κεκρυμμένῃ εἰδωλολατρεία σχολάζων, ἔστω ἀνάθεμα, ὅτι ἐγκατέλιπε τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ εἰδωλολατρεία προσήλθεν.*"

Colossians, has occasion twice to mention this Canon; where he says ⁿ, “that because some, in the apostle’s days, commanded men to worship angels, therefore the apostle enjoined the contrary, that they should adorn their words and deeds with the commemoration of the Lord Christ, and send up thanksgiving to God and the Father by him, and not by the angels. And that the Synod of Laodicea, following this rule, and desiring to heal that old disease, made a law, that men should not pray to angels, nor forsake our Lord Jesus Christ.” And again ^o: “This vice continued in Phrygia and Pisidia for a long time: for which cause also the Synod, assembled in Laodicea, the chief city in Phrygia, made a law to prohibit praying to angels. But yet, even to this day, among them and their neighbours, there are oratories of St. Michael to be seen.” Cardinal Perron uses a great deal of art and sophistry to pervert the sense of the apostle and this Canon together, which the reader may find sufficiently exposed and refuted by the learned Daillé ^p, with the false glosses of Petavius and others, with which I shall not trouble this discourse. I only observe further, that as the Church condemned heretics as guilty of idolatry for worshipping of angels, so did she likewise for worshipping of their leaders and martyrs. Apollonius, who wrote against the Montanists, objects it to them, that they worshipped one Alexander, a martyr, among them ^q. And St. Austin reckons it among the errors of Simon Magus ^r,

ⁿ Theodoret. in Coloss. iii. 17. (Halkæ, vol. iii. p. 496.) Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκείνοι τοὺς ἀγγέλους σέβειν ἐκέλευον, αὐτὸς τὸ ἐναντίον παρεγγυᾷ, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰ ἔργα κοσμήσαι τῇ μνήμῃ τοῦ δεσπότου Χριστοῦ καὶ τῷ Θεῷ δὲ καὶ Πατρὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν δι’ αὐτοῦ, φησιν, ἀναπέμπετε, μὴ διὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων· τούτῳ ἐπομένῃ τῷ νόμῳ καὶ ἡ ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ σύνοδος, καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκείνο πάθος θεραπεῦσαι βουλομένη, ἐνομοθέτησε μὴ εὐχεσθαι ἀγγέλοις, μηδὲ καταλιμπάνειν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν.

^o Ibid. ii. 18. Ἐμεινε δὲ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ καὶ Πισιδίᾳ μεχρὶ πολλοῦ· οὗ δὴ χάριν καὶ συνελθοῦσα σύνοδος ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ τῆς Φρυγίας νόμῳ κεκώλυκε τὸ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις προσεύχεσθαι καὶ μέχρι δὲ τοῦ νῦν εὐκτέρια τοῦ ἁγίου Μιχαὴλ παρ’ ἐκείνοις καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἐκείνων ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν.

^p Dall. de Object. Cult. Religios. lib. iii. c. xxxi. pp. 528—535.

^q Apollon. ap. Euseb. lib. v. c. xviii. (Aug. T. 1746. p. 203.) Ἴνα δὲ μὴ περὶ πλείονων λέγωμεν, ἢ προφήτις ἡμῶν εἰπάτω τὰ κατὰ Ἀλέξανδρον, τὸν λέγοντα ἑαυτὸν μάρτυρα, ᾧ συνεστῆται· ᾧ προσκυνοῦσι καὶ αὐτῷ πολλοί.

^r Aug. de Hæres. c. i. (Bened. 1679. vol. viii. p. 6.) Jovem se credi volebat (Simon), Minervam vero meretricem quandam Selenen [*Helenen*], quam sibi

that he left his own image, and the image of his harlot, Selene, to his disciples, to be worshipped by them. They objected the same to the heathen, that they worshipped such gods as were only men, and dead men; as may be seen in all the apologies made by Minucius Felix^s, Tertullian^t, Clemens Alexandrinus^u, Arnobius^x, Cyprian^y, and the rest that wrote against

sociam scelerum fecerat: imaginesque et suam et ejusdem meretricis discipulis suis præbebat adorandas, quas et Romæ, tamquam deorum simulacra, auctoritate publica constituerat.

^s Minuc. Dialog. (Oberthür, p. 581.) (p. 88, Oxon. 1678, 8vo.) Saturnum principem hujus generis et examinis omnes scriptores vetustatis, Græci Romaniq[ue], hominem prodiderunt. Scit hoc Nepos, et Cassius in historia: et Thallus ac Diodorus hoc loquuntur. Is itaque Saturnus Creta profugus. . . . Homo igitur utique qui fugit; homo utique, qui latuit, et pater hominis, et natus ex homine. . . . Post mortem deos fingitis; et pejerante Proculo, deus Romulus: et Juba, Mauris volentibus, deus est; et divi, ceteri reges qui consecrantur, non ad fidem numinis, sed ad honorem emeritæ potestatis. Invitis denique hoc nomen adscribitur: optant in homine perseverare: fieri se deos metuunt; et, si jam senes, nolunt. . . . Manifestum est, homines illos fuisse, quos et natos legimus, et mortuos scimus. Quis ergo dubitat horum imagines consecratas vulgus orare, et publice colere; dum opinio et mens imperitorum artis concinnitate decipitur, auri fulgore præstringitur, argenti nitore et candore eboris hebetatur?

^t Tertul. Apol. c. x. (Oberth. vol. i. p. 78.) Appellamus et provocamus a vobis ad conscientiam vestram: illa nos judicet, illa nos damnet, si poterit negare omnes istos deos vestros homines fuisse.—Cap. xiii. p. 84. Digne imperatoribus defunctis honorem divinitatis dicatis, quibus et viventibus eum addicitis: accepto ferent dii vestri, immo gratulabuntur, quod pares cis fiant Domini sui.

^u Clement. Protrept. (Oberthür, vol. iv. p. 48.) Φιλόχορος δὲ, ἐν Τήνῃ Προσειδῶνά φησι τιμᾶσθαι ἰατρόν· Κρόνον δὲ ἐπικεῖσθαι Σικελίᾳ, καὶ ἐνταῦθα αὐτὸν τετάφθαι. . . . ἀνθρώπῳ τινὲ τῷ Διοσκούρῳ ἐπικήρῳ γενέσθην· εἴτῳ ἱκανὸς πιστώσασθαι Ὅμηρος τὸ λελεγμένον·

———— Τὸς δ' ἤδη κάτεχεν φυσίζοος αἶα,

Ἐν Λακεδαίμονι αἰθι, φίλῃ ἐνὶ πατρὶδι γαίῃ.

. . . Ἡρακλέα καὶ αὐτὸς Ὅμηρος θνητὸν οἶδεν ἀνθρωπον, κ. τ. λ.

^x Arnob. lib. i. (Orell. 1816. vol. i. p. 27.) Et tamen o isti! qui hominem nos colere morte functum ignominiosa ridetis: nonne Liberum et vos patrem membratim ab Titanis discerptum fanorum consecratione mactatis? Nonne Æsculapium medicaminum repertorem, post pœnas et supplicia fulminis, custodem nuncupavistis et præsidem sanitatis, valetudinis, et salutis? Nonne ipsum Herculem magnum sacrificiis, hostiis, et thure invitatis incenso, quem ipsi vos fertis vivum arsisse post pœnas, et concrematum in funestis busticetis? . . . Nonne ipsum Romulum patrem, senatorum manibus dilaceratum centum, et Quirinum esse Martium dicitis, et sacerdotibus et pulvinaribus honoratis, et in ædibus adoratis amplissimis, et post hæc omnia cœlum adscendisse juratis? etc.

^y Cyprian. de Idolor. Vanit. (Oxon. p. 11.) Deos non esse, quos colit vulgus,

them ; which had been a very weak argument, and easily retorted, had Christians worshipped their martyrs, whom they could not deny to be mortal men. The heathens further pretended, that their demons or gods whom they worshipped were good angels, and worshipped only as the ministers of the supreme God, and attendants of the court of heaven: notwithstanding which pretence, they charge them with idolatry, as giving the worship of God to the creature. He that would see this argument managed to just advantage, may consult the learned discourses of Mr. Daillé^z, and Bishop Stillingfleet^a, where he will find the pretences of the heathen, and the answers of the Christians, collected and set in their proper light. I shall only detain my reader with one citation out of St. Austin, as a specimen of all the rest, where he introduces the heathen making this apology for themselves ; “ We do not worship wicked devils,” say they, “ it is the angels you speak of, that we worship, the powers of the great God, the ministers of the great God.” To which St. Austin answers^b, “ I wish you would worship them ; for they would quickly teach you, that they are not to be worshipped. Hear the instruction of an angel. He taught a certain disciple of Christ, and showed him many miracles in the Revelations of St. John ; who, having seen a certain miracle in a vision, was astonished, and cast himself down at the feet of the angel. But the angel, who sought nothing but the glory of his Lord, said, ‘ Arise, what dost thou ? Worship God ; for I am thy fellow-servant,

hinc notum est. Reges olim fuerunt, qui ob regalem memoriam coli apud suos postmodum etiam in morte cœperunt, etc.

^z Dall. de Cultu Relig. lib. iii. c. xxv.

^a Stillingfleet’s Defence of the Discourse of Idolatry, part i. c. i.

^b Aug. in Psalm. xevi. (Bened. 1679. vol. iv. p. 1049. A 3.) Utinam ipsos colere velletis : facile ab ipsis disceretis non illos colere. Audite Angelum doctorem. Docbat quemdam discipulum Christi, et ostendebat illi multa miracula in Apocalypsi Johannis : ille autem, quodam sibi demonstrato miraculo visionis, expavit, et misit se ad pedes Angeli : et ille Angelus, qui non querebat nisi gloriam Domini sui, ‘ Surge, quid facis ?’ inquit, ‘ illum adora : nam et ego conservus tuus sum, et fratrum tuorum.’ Quid ergo, fratres mei ? Nemo dicat, ‘ Timeo, ne irascatur mihi Angelus, si non illum colo pro Deo meo. Tunc tibi irascitur, quando ipsum colere volueris : bonus est enim, et Deum amat. Quomodo demones irascuntur, si non colantur ; sic angeli indignantur, si pro Deo colantur.

and of thy brethren.' How is it then, my brethren? Let no one say, 'I fear lest the angel should be angry at me, if I do not worship him for my God.' He is then only angry at thee, when thou art inclined to worship him; for he is good, and loves God. And as the devils are angry if they be not worshipped, so the angels are highly displeased if they be worshipped instead of God." At last he concludes with this admonition to the pagans; "Let the pagans learn to adore God. They have a mind to adore angels. Let them imitate angels, and adore him whom the angels adore^c." And with these words I shall conclude this whole discourse of religious worship, knowing no better admonition that can be given to the angel-worshippers of the present age, than to advise them to imitate the angelical practice of the primitive Church, who had God, and only God, for the object of their adoration.

CHAPTER IV.

THAT ANCIENTLY DIVINE SERVICE WAS ALWAYS PERFORMED
IN THE VULGAR TONGUE, UNDERSTOOD BY THE PEOPLE.

SECT. I.—*This proved, First, from plain Testimonies of the
Ancients asserting it.*

HAVING thus considered the nature and object of Christian worship, I come now to speak of the circumstances and manner of performing divine service. And here it will be proper to examine in what language the ancients performed their worship, and to inquire into the use and original of what we commonly call 'liturgies,' or 'set forms of prayer;' and to take notice of the habits, and modes, and gestures, and different rites and ceremonies, observed without any breach of faith or Christian unity in different Churches; together with the solemn times of prayer and religious assemblies, whether weekly or daily, generally observed and set apart for the exercise of public devotion.

^c Aug. in Psalm. xvi. (Antverp. 1700. vol. iv. p. 787.) Discant pagani adorare Deum. Angelos volunt adorare: angelos imitentur, et illum adorent qui ab angelis adoratur.

As to the first of these, there is nothing more certain in history, than that the service of the ancient Church was always performed in the vulgar or common language of every country; that is, such as was either commonly spoken, or at least commonly understood. And so it continued for above a thousand years in the Church. And it is even monstrous to think that, in so inquisitive an age as the present is, there should be any men of learning to defend, or whole nations so tamely to submit to, the imposition and tyranny of the contrary practice; so absurd and unreasonable in itself; so prejudicial to devotion; so contrary to the use of speech, whose end is edification; so reproachful to human nature, as if men were asses indeed, as Thomas Aquinas once made the comparison; so derogatory to the Christian's birthright; so flatly contradictory to the apostle's reasoning; and so diametrically opposite to the universal practice of the Church for so many ages. But I shall not think myself obliged to dispute against it upon all these topics, nor to say all that might be said in a historical way against it. He that pleases, may see that done already in an excellent book^a of Bishop Ussher's, published by Mr. Wharton. I shall content myself to suggest a few things, agreeable to the design of treating matters succinctly, which will be sufficient to satisfy any candid reader as to the sense and practice of the primitive Church.

And first I observe, that the ancients declare unanimously, "that divine service was performed in the vulgar tongue of every nation." "The Grecians," says Origen^b, "use the Greek language in their prayers, and the Romans the Roman; and so every one in his own dialect prays to God, and gives thanks as he is able: and the God of all languages hears them that pray in all dialects, understanding their different languages, as well as if they all spake with one tongue." This he says

^a Usser. *Historia Dogmatica de Scripturis et Sacris Vernaculis cum Auctario* H. Wharton, Lond. 1690, 4to.

^b Origen. cont. Celsum, lib. viii. (Cantab. 1677. p. 402.) Ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες Ἑλληνικοῖς, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι Ῥωμαϊκοῖς, καὶ οὕτως ἕκαστος κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ διάλεκτον εὐχεται τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ὑμνεῖ αὐτὸν ὡς δύναται καὶ ὁ πάσης διαλέκτου Κύριος τῶν ἀπὸ πάσης διαλέκτου εὐχομένων ἀκούει, ὡς μᾶς (ἴν' οὕτως ὀνομάσω) φωνῆς, τῆς κατὰ τὰ σημαινόμενα, ἀκούων, δηλουμένης ἐκ τῶν ποικίλων διαλέκτων.

in answer to an objection of Celsus, who charged them with using of barbarous and unintelligible names and words in their prayers. Justin Martyr says ^c, “The Scriptures were first read in their assemblies to the people; and then the president made a discourse to them, exhorting them to observe and follow the good instructions they had heard out of the prophets and apostles;” which had been an absurd admonition, had not the lessons been read in a language which they understood. St. Jerome tells us ^d, “that at the funeral of the famous Lady Paula, the psalms were sung in Syriac, Greek, and Latin, because there were men of each language present at the solemnity.” And for the same reason, Cæsarius, bishop of Arles ^e, is said “to have appointed the people to sing the psalms and hymns, some in Greek, and some in Latin:” no doubt that the divine service might be understood by men of different languages then present in the assembly. Aurelius Cassiodore, writing upon those words of the psalmist, “She shall be brought unto the king in raiments of divers colours,” says ^f, “This variety signified diversity of tongues, wherewith every nation sang to God in the Church, according to the difference of their own country language.” And it being then the way of the Church, that all offices should be performed with the understanding and edification of the people, Justinian provided for this in one of his laws ^g, “obliging all bishops and

^c Justin. Apol. i. (Bened. 1742. p. 83. D.) Τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρᾳ πάντων, κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροῦς μεόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκειται, μέχρις ἐγγωρεῖ· εἶτα παυσαμένου τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος, προεστῶς διὰ λόγου τὴν νουθεσίαν καὶ πρόκλησιν τῆς τῶν καλῶν τούτων μιμήσεως ποιεῖται.

^d Hieron. Epitaph. Paulæ, Ep. xxvii. (Venet. 1766. vol. i. p. 723.) Græco, Latino, Syroque sermone psalmi in ordine personabant; non solum triduo, donec subter ecclesiam, et juxta specum Domini conderetur; sed per omnem hebdomadam, cunctis qui venerant, suum funus et proprias credentibus lacrymas.

^e Cyprian. Vit. Cæsar. Arlat. apud Surium, Aug. xxvii. vol. iv. p. 947. Compulit laicos et populares homines psalmos et hymnos promere, altaque et modulata voce, instar clericorum, alios Græce, alios Latine, prosas et antiphonas decantare, etc.

^f Cassiodor. in Psalm. xlv. al. xlv. Hæc varietas linguas multiplices significat: quia omnis gens secundum suam patriam in ecclesia psallit auctori.

^g Justinian. Novel. cxxxvii. c. vi. Κελεύομεν πάντας ἐπισκόπους τε καὶ

presbyters to repeat the prayers used in the communion and baptismal service, not in secret, but with an audible voice, so as the minds of the hearers might be raised to greater devotion, and stirred up to glorify the Lord God. For so the holy apostle directs in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, saying, 'If thou blessest only with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, say the holy Amen to God at the giving of thanks? for he knoweth not what thou sayest. For thou verily givest thanks well; but the other is not edified.'" It is plain by this, that Justinian thought all prayers which the people either could not hear, or could not understand, were equally blamed by the apostle, as not contributing to edification; and therefore, as he made a law against private muttering of prayers, which ought to be public, so he would, no doubt, have been as severe against praying in an unknown tongue, had there then been any occasion (as there was not) for the like prohibition in the liturgy of the Church; which may be collected from another of his laws, which was made upon occasion of a dispute, which in his time arose among the Jews. Some of them, who were superstitiously inclined, were for having the law read only in Hebrew, though not understood by the people. Others were for having it read in Greek, or any language which the people understood. The matter at last was brought before Justinian, and he determined in favour of the latter^h, "that it should be

πρεσβυτέρους, μὴ κατὰ τὸ σεσωπημένον, ἀλλὰ μετὰ φωνῆς τῷ πιστοτάτῳ λαῷ ἐξακουμένης τὴν θεῖαν προσκομιδὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγίῳ βαπτίσματι προσευχὴν ποιῆσθαι πρὸς τὸ κἀντεῦθεν τὰς τῶν ἀκούοντων ψυχὰς εἰς πλείονα κατάνυξιν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην Θεὸν διανίστασθαι δοξολογίαν· οὕτως γὰρ καὶ ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος διδάσκει, λέγων ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους πρώτῃ ἐπιστολῇ, Ἐπεὶ ἐὰν εὐλογήσῃς τῷ πνεύματι, ὁ ἀναπλῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἰδιώτου πῶς ἐρεῖ τὸ Ἄμην τῷ Θεῷ ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ; ἐπειδὴ τί λέγεις, οὐκ οἶδε· σὺ μὲν γὰρ καλῶς εὐχαριστεῖς, ἀλλ' ὁ ἕτερος οὐκ οἰκοδομεῖται.

^h Justin. Novel. cxlvi. Θεσπίζομεν, ἄδειαν εἶναι τοῖς βουλομένοις Ἑβραίοις, κατὰ τὰς συναγωγὰς τὰς αὐτῶν, καθ' ὃν Ἑβραῖοι ὅλως τόπον εἰσὶ, διὰ τῆς Ἑλληνίδος φωνῆς τὰς ἱεράς βίβλους ἀναγινώσκειν τοῖς συνιοῦσιν, ἢ καὶ τῆς πατρίου τυχὸν (τῆς Ἱταλῆς ταύτης φαμέν) ἢ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπλῶς τοῖς τόποις συµμεταβαλλομένης τῆς γλώττης, καὶ τῆς δι' αὐτῶν ἀναγνώσεως· ἐφ' ᾧ σαφῆ τε εἶναι τὰ λεγόμενα τοῖς συνιοῦσιν ἅπασιν ἐφεξῆς, καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ζῆν τε καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι, καὶ μὴ παρῥησίαν

read in Greek, or any other language which the place where they lived had made more useful and known to the people." Hitherto, therefore, we are assured, this corruption had made no attempt to gain admittance in the service of the Christian Church, since it was corrected by the civil magistrate, as soon as it was observed to be creeping into the Jewish synagogue.

SECT. II.—*Secondly, From the People's joining in Psalmody and Prayer, and making their Responses.*

Secondly, as a further evidence of this matter, we may observe, that all the people anciently were allowed to join in psalmody and prayers, and make their proper responses. The learned and unlearned, nay, even women, young virgins, and children, in those times, bare a part in the public service of the Church. St. Chrysostomⁱ, and the author of the Constitutions^k, speak of children praying with the rest of the congregation for the catechumens and the faithful also. And St. Jerome speaks of young virgins singing the psalter at morning and evening, at the third, and sixth, and ninth hours, and at midnight in their course, and says^l, "they were obliged to learn the Psalms and some portion of Scripture every day." St. Basil^m and many others (as we shall see

εἶναι τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐξηγηταῖς, μόνην τὴν Ἑβραΐδα παραλαμβάνουσι, κακουργεῖν ταύτην, ὡς ἂν θελήσαιεν τῇ τῶν πολλῶν ἀγνοίᾳ τὴν σφῶν αὐτῶν περικαλύπτουτες κακοῦθειαν.

ⁱ Chrysostom. Hom. lxxi. in Matth. (Bened. 1718. vol. vii. p. 699. E 6.) Ἡ τρίτη (δέησις) πάλιν, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ αὕτη τὰ παιδιά τοῦ δήμου προβάλλεται, τὸν Θεὸν ἐπὶ ἔλεον παρακαλοῦντα· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αὐτοὶ κατεγνώκαμεν ἑαυτῶν ἁμαρτήματα, ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν πολλὰ ἡμαρτηκότων, καὶ ἐκκληθῆναι ὀφειλόντων αὐτοὶ βοῶμεν· ὑπὲρ δὲ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν οἱ παῖδες, ὧν τῆς ἀπλόττος τοὺς ζηλωτὰς ἢ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν μένει.

^k Constitut. lib. viii. c. vi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 463. E 6.) Ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ δὲ τούτων, ὧν ὁ διάκονος προφωνεῖ, ὡς προείπομεν, λεγέτω ὁ λαὸς, Κύριε, ἐλέησον· καὶ πρὸ πάντων τὰ παιδιά.

^l Hieron. Epitaph. Paulæ, Ep. xvii. (Venet. 1766. vol. i. p. 712.) Mane, hora tertia, sexta, nona, vespere, noctis medio, per ordinem Psalterium cantabant. Nec licebat cuiquam sororum ignorare Psalmos, et non de Scripturis sanctis quotidie aliquid discere.

^m Basil. Epist. lxxiii. ad Neocæsar. (Bened. 1721. vol. iii. p. 311.) Ἐκ νυκτὸς ὀρθρίζει παρ' ἡμῶν ὁ λαὸς ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον τῆς προσευχῆς, καὶ ἐν πόνῳ, καὶ ἐν θλίψει, καὶ ἐν συνοχῇ δακρύων ἐξομολογούμενοι τῷ Θεῷ, τελευταῖον

hereafter, when we speak of psalmody) say, “ All the people sung the psalms alternately.” And Basilⁿ particularly takes notice of children performing this office in common with the rest of the people. And we shall meet with the people’s prayers and responses almost in every part of the liturgy, such as the Κύριε, ἐλέησον, “ Lord, have mercy,” subjoined to every petition of the deacon’s prayers; and in those mutual prayers of ministers and people, “ The Lord be with you: And with thy spirit. Lift up your hearts: We lift them up unto the Lord;” with abundance more that need not here be mentioned. All which suppose the service to be in the vulgar and known language: else it were absurd to think, that the people should know how and when to make their responses; or that children and young virgins should learn the Psalms and Scripture by heart, and join in psalmody and other parts of the service of the Church.

SECT. III.—*Thirdly, From the frequent Exhortations of the Fathers to the People to hear, and read, and pray with Understanding.*

Thirdly, there is nothing more common among the ancients, in their discourses to the people, than to admonish and exhort them both to hear, and read, and pray with understanding, attention, and fervency of spirit; which had been very incongruous admonitions, obliging them to impracticable rules, had the lessons and prayers been in an unknown tongue. St. Basil thus exhorts his people^o; “ Thou hast the Psalms; thou hast the prophets, the precepts of the Gospel, the preachings of the

ἀναστάντες τῶν προσευχῶν, εἰς τὴν ψαλμοῦδιαν καθίστανται· καὶ νῦν μὲν διχῶ διανεμηθέντες, ἀντιψάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις, ὁμοῦ μὲν τὴν μελέτην τῶν λογίων ἐντεῦθεν κρατύνοντες, κ. τ. λ.

ⁿ Ibid. Proœm. in Psalmes. (Bened. 1721. vol. i. p. 90. D 4.) Διὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἐναρμόνια ταῦτα μέλη τῶν ψαλμῶν ἡμῖν ἐπινενόηται, ἵνα οἱ παῖδες τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἣ καὶ ὄλως οἱ νεαροὶ τὸ ἦθος, τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν μελωδῶσι, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐκπαιδεύωνται. — Venet. Fortun. lib. ii. Poëmat. in Laudem Cleri Parisiaci :

Pontificis monitis clerus, plebs psallit, et infans.

^o Basil. Hom. in Psalm. xxviii. (Bened. 1721. vol. i. p. 125.) Ψαλμὸν ἔχεις, προφητείαν ἔχεις· εὐαγγελικὰ παραγγέλματα· τὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων κηρύγματα· ἢ γλῶσσα ψαλλέτω· ὁ νοῦς ἱερουνάτω τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν εἰρημένων, ἵνα ψάλλῃς τῷ πνεύματι, ψάλλῃς δὲ καὶ τῷ νοί.

apostles ; let thy tongue sing, and thy mind search the meaning of what is spoken, that thou mayest sing with the spirit, and sing with understanding also." In another homily, he tells them ^p, " that the divine oracles were God's gifts to the Church, to be read in every assembly, as the food which the Spirit afforded us for the nourishment of our souls." And in another place ^q, putting the question, " How a man prays with the spirit, whilst his understanding is unfruitful ;" he answers, " that this was spoken of those that prayed in a tongue unknown to the hearers. For the apostle says, ' If I pray in an unknown tongue, my spirit indeed prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful.' For when the words of the prayer are not known to them that are present, the understanding of him that prayeth is unfruitful, because his prayer is of no use or advantage : but when they that are present understand the prayer, which is of advantage to the hearers, then he that prays reaps the fruit of it, namely, the edification of those who receive benefit by it. And we are to conceive in like manner of all utterance of the words of God ; for it is written, ' If any be useful for edification in the faith.' " By all this it is evident, the Scriptures, and Psalms, and prayers, were read in a known tongue : for otherwise, it were in vain to exhort men to give diligence and attention to understand what they heard, if every thing was spoken in a language which they did not, or could not, understand.

^p Basil. Hom. in Psalm. lix. (Bened. 1721. vol. i. p. 190.) Τὰ ἡμέτερά ἐστι τὰ θεῖα λόγια, καὶ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὡς θεόπεμπτα δῶρα, καθ' ἕκαστον σύλλογον ὑπαναγινώσκειται, οἷόν τις τροφή ψυχῶν, χορηγουμένη διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος.

^q Basil. Regul. Brev. quæst. cclxxviii. (Bened. 1721. vol. ii. p. 513.) Πῶς τὸ πνεῦμά τινος προσεύχεται, ὃ δὲ νοῦς ἄκαρπός ἐστιν ; Τοῦτο περὶ τῶν ἐν γλώσση ἀγνοουμένη τοῖς ἀκούουσι τὰς προσευχὰς ἀναπεμπόντων ἐβρήθη. φησὶ γάρ, ' Ἐὰν προσεύχωμαι γλώσση, τὸ πνεῦμά μου προσεύχεται, ὃ δὲ νοῦς μου ἄκαρπός ἐστιν. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ἄγνωστα ᾖ τοῖς παροῦσι τὰ ῥήματα τῆς προσευχῆς, ἄκαρπός ἐστιν ὃ νοῦς τοῦ προσευχομένου, μηδένος ὠφελουμένου ὅταν δὲ οἱ παρόντες νοῶσι τὴν προσευχὴν ὠφελεῖν δυναμένην τοὺς ἀκούοντας, τότε ὃ προσευχόμενος καρπὸν ἔχει, τὴν τῶν ὠφελουμένων βελτίωσιν ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πάσης ἐκφωνήσεως τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ ῥημάτων γέγραπται γάρ, ' Ἄλλ' εἴ τις ἀγαθὸς πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν τῆς πίστεως.

SECT. IV.—*Fourthly, From the References made by the Fathers to the Prayers and Lessons in the Service of the Church.*

Fourthly, the fathers, in their sermons, frequently refer to the prayers of the Church, and to the lessons read before, as things the people were perfectly well acquainted with. They often argue from matters contained in the prayers, as Chrysostom does commonly from all parts of the liturgy: and their sermons, for the most part, were upon such portions of Scripture as had just been read before, as I shall show when I come to the office of preaching. Now this supposes, that both the prayers and lessons of Scripture were in a known tongue: else it were absurd for the preachers to appeal to their auditors as well acquainted with them, or draw arguments from thence, as motives grounded upon their own experience, if yet indeed they had no knowledge of them.

SECT. V.—*Fifthly, From the Scriptures being translated into all Languages, from the first Foundation of Churches.*

Fifthly, this is evident, from that pious care which the Church took to have the Bible translated into all languages; and, as soon as any nation was converted, that spake an uncommon tongue, immediately to procure a new version of the Scriptures into their language. Eusebius says^r, “They were translated into all languages, both of Greeks and barbarians throughout the world, and studied by all nations as the oracles of God.” Chrysostom assures us^s, “that the Syrians, the

^r Euseb. de Præparat. Evangelic. lib. xii. c. i. (Colon. 1688. vol. ii. p. 573. D 8.) Ἐνθεν παρ’ ἡμῶν, τοῖς μὲν ἄρτι εἰσαγομένοις, καὶ τὴν ἕξιν ἀτελείσιν, ὡς ἂν τὰς ψυχὰς νηπίους, ἀπλούστερον ἢ ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς ἀνάγνωσις παραδίδοται, μετὰ τοῦ δεῖν πιστεύειν ὡς Θεοῦ λόγους τοῖς ἐμφερομένοις παρακελεύεσθαι τοῖς δὲ τὴν ἕξιν προβεβηκόσι, καὶ πολιοῖς τὸ φρόνημα, ἐμβαθύνειν καὶ δοκιμάζειν τὸν νοῦν τῶν λεγομένων ἐπιτέτραπται. —Id. de Laud. Constant. c. xvii. (Aug. T. 1746. p. 706. A 12.) Καὶ τοσαύτην αὐτοῖς ἀρετὴν τε καὶ δύναμιν παρασχεῖν, ὡς καὶ γραφὰς συντάξαι, καὶ βιβλοὺς παραδοῦναι καὶ πάντας εἰς τοσοῦτο κρατῦναι, ὡς καθ’ ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης παντοῖα γλώσση βαρβάρων τε καὶ Ἑλλήνων μεταβαλλόμενας, παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι μελετᾶσθαι καὶ πιστεύεσθαι θεῖα εἶναι λόγια τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς καταβεβλημένα, κ. τ. λ.

^s Chrysostom. Hom. i. in Joan. al. ii. (Bened. 1718. vol. viii. p. 10. B 6.) Ἄλλὰ καὶ Σύροι, καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ Ἰνδοὶ, καὶ Πέρσαι, καὶ Αἰθιοπες, καὶ μύρια

Egyptians, the Indians, the Persians, the Ethiopians, and a multitude of other nations, translated them into their own tongues, whereby barbarians learned to be philosophers; and women and children, with the greatest ease, imbibed the doctrine of the Gospel." Theodoret says the same^t, "that every nation under heaven had the Scripture in their own tongue. The Hebrew books were not only translated into Greek, but into the Roman, Egyptian, Persian, Indian, Armenian, Scythian, and Sauromatic languages; and, in a word, into all tongues used by all nations in his time." The like is attested by St. Jerome^u, and St. Austin^x, and many others. Ulphilas is said, by all the historians^y, to have translated the whole Bible into the Gothic tongue. St. Jerome translated it into the Dalmatic^z, as he himself seems to intimate, when

ἕτερα ἔθνη, εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν μεταβαλόντες γλώτταν τὰ παρὰ τούτου (Ἰωάννου) δόγματα εἰσαχθέντα, ἔμαθον ἄνθρωποι βάρβαροι φιλοσοφεῖν. . . . τοσαύτην τοῖς ῥήμασιν ἐγκατέμιξεν ἐκκολίαν, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἀνδράσι συνειτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ νέοις ἅπαντα εἶναι τὰ λεγόμενα δῆλα.

^t Theodoret. de Curand. Græcor. Adfect. serm. v. (Halæ, vol. iv. p. 839.)

Ἡμεῖς δὲ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν καὶ προφητικῶν δογμάτων τὸ κράτος ἐναργῶς ἐπιδείκνυμεν· πᾶσα γὰρ ἡ ὑφήλιος τῶνδε τῶν λόγων ἀνάπλευσ' καὶ ἡ Ἑβραίων φωνὴ οὐ μόνον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλήνων μετεβλήθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ Αἰγυπτίων, καὶ Περσῶν, καὶ Ἰνδῶν, καὶ Ἀρμενίων, καὶ Σκυθῶν, καὶ Σαυροματῶν, καὶ συλλήβδην εἰπεῖν, εἰς πάσας τὰς γλώττας αἷς ἅπαντα τὰ ἔθνη κεχρημένα διατελεῖ.

^u Hieron. Præfat. in iv. Evangel. ad Damasum. Novum opus me facere cogis ex veteri: ut post exemplaria Scripturarum, toto orbe dispersa, quasi quidam arbiter sedeam, etc.—Ibid. Quum multarum gentium linguis Scriptura ante translata doceat falsa esse, quæ addita sunt.

^x Aug. Epist. xlvi. ad Vincent. (Bened. 1679. vol. ii. p. 240. D.) Clama et contende, quantum potes, etiam si apud Persas et Indos evangelium prædicetur, ubi quidem jam diu prædicatur, etc.—Ibid. (p. 246. F 5.) Neque enim sic potuit integritas atque notitia litterarum unius quamlibet illustris episcopi custodiri, quemadmodum scriptura canonica, tot linguarum litteris, et ordine, et successione celebrationis ecclesiasticæ custoditur, etc.

^y Soerat. lib. iv. c. xxxiii. (Aug. T. 1746. p. 216.) Τότε καὶ Οὐλφίλας, ὁ τῶν Γότθων ἐπίσκοπος, γράμματα ἐφεῦρε Γοθικά· καὶ τὰς θείας γραφὰς εἰς τὴν Γότθων μεταβαλὼν, τοὺς βαρβάρους μαθήσασθαι τὰ θεῖα λόγια παρεσκεύασεν. — Sozom. lib. vi. c. xxxvii. (p. 252. B 3.) Πρῶτον γραμμάτων εὐρετῆς αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο (Οὐλφίλας) καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν φωνὴν μετέφρασε τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους.

^z Hieron. Epist. cxxxiv. ad Sophronium. (Bened. Veron. vol. ii. p. 526.) Nec hoc dico, quod præcessores meos mordeam, aut quidquam de his arbitrer detrahendum; quorum translationem, diligentissime emendatam, olim meæ lingue hominibus dedi, etc.

he calls it his own tongue ; as Scaliger and most others understand him ; though Bishop Ussher^a thinks he meant the Latin rather, by his own tongue. St. Chrysostom^b sometimes mentions the Syriac translation ; and he is said, by the author of his life^c, to have procured, during his exile at Cucusus, in Armenia, a translation of the Psalms and New Testament for the use of the Armenian Churches. Not to mention that of Methodius, or Cyril, into the Slavonian tongue, or any others of later ages ; of which the curious reader may find exact accounts in Bishop Ussher^d, Bishop Walton^e, Dr. Mills^f, and Hottinger^g, and others upon this peculiar subject of the Scripture versions.

SECT. VI.—*Sixthly, From the Use of the Order of Interpreters in the Church.*

As to the ancient practice, it may be evidenced further, and confirmed from the use of interpreters in the Church, whose office, as has been showed in another place^h, out of Epiphaniusⁱ and other writers, was to render one language into another, as there was occasion, both in reading the Scriptures, and in the homilies that were made to the people. For it happened sometimes, that there were men of different languages in the same Church ; as in the Churches of Syria and Palestine, some understood Syriac only, and others Greek ; and in the African Churches, some spake Latin, and others Punic ; in which cases, whatever was said in one language

^a Usser. de Sacr. Vernac. p. 220.

^b Chrysost. Hom. iii. in 2 Cor. [Bened. vol. x. pp. 441—454. Does Bingham allude to the passage quoted (s) in page 165 ?]

^c Gregor. Alex. Vit. Chrysostom. n. lix. tom. viii. edit. Savil. p. 236. Εἶρε κατὰ χάριν Θεοῦ τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπισταμένους τὴν Ἑλληνίδα γλῶσσαν, καὶ παρεσκεύασεν αὐτοὺς μεταφράσαι τὴν νέαν διαθήκην καὶ τὸ ψαλτήριον τῆ ἰδίᾳ αὐτῶν διαλέκτῳ, ὅπως γινῶσιν λάβωσι τῆς θείας γραφῆς †.

^d Usser. de Script. Vernac. p. 220.

^e Walton, Proleg. c. v. pp. 34, 35.

^f Millii Proleg. in Nov. Testam.

^g Hotting. de Translat. Biblior. Heidelb. 1660.

^h Book iii. c. xiii. sect. iv.

ⁱ Epiphani. Exposit. Fid. n. xxi. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 1104. C.) Ἐρμηνευταὶ γλώσσης εἰς γλῶσσαν, ἧ ἐν ταῖς ἀναγνώσειν ἧ ἐν ταῖς προσομιλίαις.

was immediately rendered into the other by the interpreter for the benefit of the people. In confirmation of which custom, to what has been said before, I shall here add the observation of Theodoret^j upon the practice of Chrysostom, “ who, by the help of such an interpreter, often preached to the Arian Goths in Constantinople ; whom, by that means, he reduced to the Catholic faith.”

SECT. VII.—*Seventhly, From the Custom of having Bibles laid in the Churches for the People to read in Private.*

Another custom, observed in the ancient Church, was to have Bibles in the vulgar tongue laid in a convenient part of the church, for the people at their leisure to employ themselves, as they were piously inclined, in reading of the Scriptures before or after the times of divine service. Of which custom, those verses of Paulinus^k, which he wrote upon the wall of the *secretarium* of the Church of Nola, are an infallible proof, which were in these words :

Si quem sancta tenet meditandi in lege voluntas ;
Hic poterit residens sacris intendere libris :

“ If any one is piously disposed to meditate in God’s law, here he may sit, and employ himself in reading the holy books.” Thus Constantine himself, as is observed by Eusebius^l, was wont to employ himself in the church ; partly, by joining in the public prayers with the people ; and, partly, by taking the books of the divine oracles into his hands, and exercising his mind in contemplation of them. And, probably, for this reason, he ordered Eusebius to prepare fifty copies of the Bible for the use of the church in Constantinople^m, as his

^j Theodoret. lib. v. c. xxx. (Aug. T. 1746. p. 204.) Αὐτός τε γὰρ τὰ πλείιστα ἐκείσε φοιτῶν διελέγετο, ἐρμηνευτῇ χρώμενος τῷ ἑκατέραν γλῶσσαν ἐπισταμένῳ τινί· καὶ τοὺς λέγειν ἐπισταμένους τοῦτο παρεσκευάζε δρᾶν ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔνδον ἐν τῇ πόλει διετέλει ποιῶν, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ἐξηπατημένων ἐζώρει, τῶν ἀποστολικῶν κηρυγμάτων ἐπιδεικνὺς τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

^k Paulin. Epist. xii. ad Sever.

^l Euseb. Vit. Constant. lib. iv. c. xvii. (Aug. T. p. 573.) Μετὰ χεῖρας γέτοι λαμβάνων τὰς βίβλους, τῇ τῶν θεοπνεύστων λογίων θεωρίᾳ προσανείχε τὸν νοῦν· εἰτ’ εὐχὰς ἐνθέσμιους σὺν τοῖς τὸν βασιλεῖον οἶκον πληροῦσιν ἀπεδίδου.

^m Euseb. lib. iv. c. xxxvi. (p. 584. A 3.) Πρέπον κατεφάνη, τὸ δηλῶσαι τῇ σῇ συνέσει, ὅπως ἂν πεντήκοντα σωμάτια ἐν διφθέραις ἐγκατασκευάσεις,

letter to Eusebius witnesses: for it is observed and spoken to his praise by Eusebius, in another placeⁿ, “that, by his means, innumerable multitudes, both of men and women, exchanged the food of their bodies for that of their souls; that rational food which was so agreeable to rational minds; and which they obtained by reading the Holy Scriptures.” This must necessarily relate either to their reading the Scriptures by the help and benefit of his copies in the church; or else will argue that they were encouraged by him to read them at home in their private houses; which had been denied them under pain of banishment or death before, in the preceding reigns of the persecuting princes.

SECT. VIII.—*Eighthly, From the general Allowance granted to all Men to have, and read, the Scriptures in their Mother-Tongue. Which Privilege was never infringed by any but the Heathen Persecutors.*

And this leads us to another plain evidence of the primitive practice: which was the privilege and encouragement all Christians had to read the Scriptures at home, for the exercise of themselves and families in private devotion, and better preparation for the public. None ever denied them this privilege, but those persecuting tyrants, who intended to destroy the name and faith of Christians, together with their Bibles, out of the world: for which reason they made the strictest search after them, and used all imaginable art and force to make them deliver them up to be burnt: which they who did, were branded by the infamous name of *traditores*, ‘traitors,’ and betrayers of their religion. A certain argument, that then private Christians had the use of the Scriptures; else they could not have been impeached for delivering them up to the enemy. It cannot be pleaded here that the

εὐανάγνωστά τε καὶ πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν εὐμετακόμιστα, ὑπὸ τεχνιτῶν καλλιγράφων καὶ ἀκριβῶς τὴν τέχνην ἐπισταμένων, γραφῆναι κελεύσειας.—Vid. eadem Epist. Constant. verba ap. Theodoret. lib. i. c. xv. et ap. Socrat. lib. i. c. ix.

ⁿ Euseb. Orat. de Laudibus Constant. c. xvii. (p. 705. A 9.) *Τίς γύναια καὶ μύρια πλήθη ἀνδρῶν ἀναπέπεικε, λογικὰς τροφὰς ψυχᾶς λογικαῖς καταλλήλους, δι’ ἐνθέων ἀναγνωσμάτων ἀντικαταλλάξασθαι τῶν τοῦ σώματος τροφῶν;*

Scriptures were then only in the hands of the bishops, and readers, and others of the clergy: for Baronius himself has published the Acts of several martyrs, where not only private men, but women, confess to the inquisitors that they had the Holy Scriptures in their houses with them. I will give a single instance out of the Acts of Agape, and Irene, and their companions°. Where the grand inquisitor asks this question of Irene, “Who advised you to keep those parchments and Scriptures to this time?” To which Irene answered, “God Almighty, who has commanded us to love him unto the death; for which cause we durst not betray him; but had rather be burnt alive, or suffer any other things that may befall us, than treacherously deliver up those writings.” It is plain from this, that private Christians, both men and women, then enjoyed the Scripture as their birthright, and none pretended to ravish them from them, but only the persecuting heathen. The fathers of the Church were so far from doing this, that, on the contrary, they used all manner of arguments to induce men to read and study them; exhorting them not only to hear them with attention in the church, but to read them privately, at home with their wives and families; commending those that studied them, and reproving those that neglected them; making large encomiums upon the use and excellency of them, and requiring men to peruse them privately, as the best preparation for the public service and instruction; answering all objections and pretences that men could make to the contrary: as that they were ignorant and unlearned, and that the Scriptures were difficult and hard to be understood: that they were only for the use of monks and religious, and not for secular men, and men of business; assuring them that the Scriptures were for the use of all men, and that it was the neglect of them that was the cause of all ignorance, heresies, errors, and irreligion. These were the general topics, upon which the fathers then

° *Acta Agapes et Sociarum*, ap. Baron. an. ccciv. n. xlvi. (Lucæ, 1738. vol. iii. p. 388.) *Quisnam tibi auctor fuit, ut membranas istas atque Scripturas in hodiernum usque diem custodires? Irene inquit: Deus omnipotens, qui jussit nos ad mortem usque ipsum diligere: qua de causa non ausæ sumus eum prodere; sed maluimus aut viventes comburi, aut, quæcumque alia nobis acciderint, perpeti, quam talia scripta prodere.*

pressed the common people to read the Scriptures, which are diametrically opposite to the arguments used, in later ages, to dissuade and deter men from the use of them. A man cannot look into the fathers, but he will see such arguments every where running through their writings. So that it is needless here to insist upon them: the reader that pleases may see them collected together, from first to last, by Bishop Ussher and Mr. Wharton. I shall only relate one passage of Chrysostom, out of his famous sermons upon Lazarus, where he at once proposes the several arguments, and answers the several objections I have now mentioned. “For this reason,” says he^p, “we often acquaint you, many days before-

^p Chrysostom. Hom. iii. in Lazar. (Benedict. 1718. vol. i. p. 737. A 3.)
 Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῶν μελλόντων ῥηθήσεται πολλάκις ὑμῖν προλέγομεν πρὸ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν, ἵνα ἐν ταῖς μεταξὺ ταύταις ἡμέραις τὸ βιβλίον λαβόντες, καὶ τὴν περικοπήν ἅπασαν ἐπιόντες, καὶ καταμαθόντες τί μὲν εἴρηται, τί δὲ ὑπολέλειπται, εὐμαθεστέραν ὑμῶν ποιήσητε τὴν διάνοιαν πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόασιν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ῥηθησομένων· καὶ τοῦτο αἰεὶ παρακαλῶ καὶ παρακαλῶν οὐ παύσομαι, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἐνταῦθα τοῖς λεγομένοις προσέχητε, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἴκοι γινόμενοι, τῇ τῶν θείων γραφῶν ἀναγνώσει συνεχῶς ἐνδιατρίβητε· τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς ἰδίᾳ συγγινομένοις ἡμῖν οὐ διέλιπον αἰεὶ παρεγγυῶν· μὴ γάρ μοι λεγέτω τις τὰ ψυχρὰ ῥήματα ἐκεῖνα, καὶ πολλῆς καταγνώσεως ἄξια, ὅτι δικαστηρίῳ προσήλωμαι, τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράττω πράγματα, τέχνην μετέρχομαι, γυναικὰ ἔχω, παιδία τρέφω, οἰκίας προϊστάμαι, ἀνὴρ εἰμι βιωτικός· οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὸν γραφὰς ἀναγινώσκειν, ἀλλ’ ἐκείνων τῶν ἀποταξομένων, τῶν τὰς κορυφὰς τῶν ὀρέων κατειληφόντων, τῶν τοῦτον τὸν βίον ἐχόντων διηνεκῶς· τί λέγεις, ἄνθρωπε; οὐκ ἔστι σὸν ἔργον γραφαῖς προσέχειν, ἐπειδὴ μυρίαὶ περιέλεκτῃ φροντίσει; σὸν μὲν οὖν μᾶλλον ἔστιν, ἢ ἐκείνων· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἐκεῖνοι χρῆζουσι τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν θείων γραφῶν βοήθειας, ὡς οἱ ἐν μέσῳ στρεφόμενοι πραγμάτων πολλῶν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ μοναχοὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπαλλαγέντες θορύβων, καὶ τὰς καλύβας ἐν ἐρημίᾳ πηξάμενοι, καὶ πρὸς οὐδένα κοινὸν οὐδὲν ἔχοντες, ἀλλ’ ἐμφιλοσοφοῦντες μετὰ ἀδείας τῇ τῆς ἰσυχίας ἐκείνης γαλήνῃ, καθάπερ ἐν λιμένι καθήμενοι, πολλῆς τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἀπολαύουσιν· ἡμεῖς δὲ, οἱ καθάπερ ἐν μέσῳ πελάγει σαλεύοντες, καὶ μυρίων ἀμαρτημάτων ἀνάγκας ἔχοντες, συνεχοῦς καὶ διηνεκοῦς αἰεὶ δεόμεθα τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν παρακλήσεως· ἐκεῖνοι πόρρω τῆς μάχης κάθηται, διόπερ οὐδὲ πολλὰ δέχονται τραύματα· σὺ δὲ διηνεκῶς ἐπὶ τῆς παρατάξεως ἔστηκας, καὶ συνεχεῖς δέχῃ τὰς πληγὰς, διὸ καὶ πλείονων σοι δεῖ τῶν φαρμάκων· καὶ γὰρ γυνὴ παροξύνει, καὶ υἱὸς λυπεῖ, καὶ οἰκέτης εἰς ὀργὴν ἐμβάλλει, καὶ ἐχθρὸς ἐπιβουλεύει, καὶ φίλος βασκαίνει, καὶ γείτων ἐπηρεάζει, καὶ συστρατιώτης ὑποσκελίζει, πολλάκις καὶ δικαστῆς ἀπειλεῖ, καὶ πενία λυπεῖ, καὶ ἀποβολὴ τῶν οἰκείων πένθος ἐργάζεται, καὶ εὐημερία φυσᾷ, καὶ δυσπραγία συστέλλει· καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ὀργῆς, πολλὰ δὲ φροντίδων, πολλὰ δὲ ἀθυμίας καὶ λύπης, πολλὰ δὲ κενοδοξίας καὶ ἀπονοίας ἀφορμαὶ καὶ ἀνάγκαι πάντοθεν

hand, with the subject of our discourse : that, taking the Bible into your hands in the meantime, and running over the whole passage, you may have your minds better prepared to hear what is to be spoken. And this is the thing I have always advised, and shall still continue to exhort you to, that you should not only hear what is said in this place, but spend your time at home continually in reading the Holy Scriptures. And here let no one use those frigid and vain excuses, I am a man engaged in the business of the law, I am taken up with civil affairs, I am a tradesman, I have a wife, and children to breed up, I have the care of a family, I am a secular man: it belongs not to me to read the Scriptures, but to those who have bid adieu to the world, and are retired into the mountains, and have nothing else to do but to exercise themselves in such a way of living. What sayest thou, O man? Is it not thy business to read the Scriptures, because thou art distracted with a multitude of other cares? Yes, certainly, it belongs to thee more than them. For they have not so much need of the help of the Holy Scriptures as you have, who are tossed in the waves of the multiplicity of business.” Then enumerating what sins and temptations secular men are exposed to, he infers, “ that they have perpetual need of divine remedies, as well to cure the wounds they have already received, as to ward off those they are in danger of receiving : to quench the darts of the devil, whilst they are at a distance, and drive them away by continual reading of the Holy Scriptures. For it is impossible that a man should attain salvation without perpetual exercise in reading spiritual things. But some again will say, ‘ What if we cannot understand the things that are contained therein?’ Why,” says he ^q, “ even in that case, though

ἡμᾶς περιστοιχιζονται, καὶ μύρια πανταχόθεν τὰ βέλη φέρεται διὰ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν πανοπλίας χρεῖα διηνεκῶς. . . . Καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτά ἐστι τὰ πολιορκούντα τὴν ἡμετέραν ψυχὴν καὶ δεῖ τῶν θείων φαρμάκων ἡμῖν, ἵνα καὶ τὰ γινόμενα ἔλκη θεραπεύωμεν, καὶ τὰ μηδέπω μὲν γινόμενα, μέλλοντα δὲ γίνεσθαι, προαναστέλλωμεν, πόρρωθεν τοῦ διαβόλου τὰ βέλη κατασβεννύντες καὶ ἀποκρούμενοι διὰ τῆς συνεχοῦς τῶν θείων γραφῶν ἀναγνώσεως οὐ γάρ ἐστιν, οὐκ ἔστι τινὰ σωθῆναι μὴ συνεχῶς ἀναγνώσεως ἀπολαύοντα πνευματικῆς.

^q Chrysostom. Hom. iii. in Lazar. (Bened. vol. i. p. 739. B 11.) *Τὶ οὖν, ἂν μὴ εἰδῶμεν τὰ ἐγκείμενα; φησί· μάλιστα μὲν κἂν μὴ εἰδῶς τὰ ἐγκείμενα·*

you do not understand every thing that is contained therein, yet, by reading, you shall obtain much sanctification. For it is impossible that you should be equally ignorant of all things in those books. For the grace of the Spirit so ordered it,

ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀναγνώσεως πολὺς ὁ ἁγιασμὸς γίνεται ἄλλως δὲ ἀδύνατον πάντα ἐπίσης ἀγνοεῖν διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἢ τοῦ Πνεύματος ψκονόμησε χάρις τελώνας, καὶ ἀλειῖς, καὶ σκηνοποιούς, καὶ ποιμένας, καὶ αἰπόλους, καὶ ιδιώτας, καὶ ἀγραμμάτους, ταῦτα συνθεῖναι τὰ βιβλία, ἵνα μηδεὶς τῶν ιδιωτῶν εἰς ταύτην ἔχῃ καταφεύγειν τὴν πρόφασιν, ἵνα πᾶσιν εὐσύνοπτα ἢ τὰ λεγόμενα ἵνα καὶ ὁ χειροτέχνης, καὶ οἰκέτης, καὶ ἡ χήρα γυνὴ, καὶ ὁ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀμαθέστατος, κερδάνῃ τε καὶ ὠφελῆθῃ παρὰ τῆς ἀκροάσεως· οὐ γὰρ πρὸς κενοδοξίαν, καθάπερ οἱ ἔξωθεν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν τῶν ἀκούοντων ταῦτα πάντα συνέθηκαν οἱ παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν καταξιωθέντες τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος χάριτος· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔξωθεν φιλόσοφοι, καὶ συγγραφεῖς, οὐ τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον ζητοῦντες, ἀλλ' ὅπως αὐτοὶ θυμασθεῖεν μόνον σκοποῦντες, εἶ τι καὶ χρήσιμον εἶπον, καὶ τοῦτο, καθάπερ ἐν ζόφῳ τινί, τῇ τῆς συνθήκης ἀσαφείᾳ κατέκρυψαν· οἱ δὲ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ προφήται τούναντιον ἅπαν ἐποίησαν· σαφῆ γὰρ καὶ δῆλα τὰ παρ' ἐαυτῶν κατέστησαν ἅπασιν, ἅτε κοινοὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὄντες διδάσκαλοι, ἵνα ἕκαστος καὶ δι' ἐαυτοῦ μαθάνειν δύνῃται ἐκ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως μόνῃς τὰ λεγόμενα· καὶ τοῦτο προαναφωνῶν ὁ προφήτης ἔλεγεν, Ἔσονται πάντες διδακτοὶ Θεοῦ· καὶ οὐ μὴ εἴπῃ ἕκαστος τῷ πλησίον αὐτοῦ, Γνωθὶ τὸν Κύριον, ὅτι πάντες εἰδήσουσί με ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου αὐτῶν. Καὶ ὁ Παῦλος φησὶ· Κάγῳ, ἀδελφοί, ἦλθον πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οὐ καθ' ὑπεροχὴν λόγον, ἢ σοφίας, καταγγέλλων ὑμῖν τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ· καὶ πάλιν· Ὁ λόγος μου καὶ τὸ κήρυγμά μου οὐκ ἐν πειθοῖς ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀποδείξει πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως· καὶ πάλιν· Δαλοῦμεν γὰρ σοφίαν, φησὶν, οὐ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, οὐδὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου τῶν καταργουμένων· τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι δῆλα τὰ τῶν εὐαγγελίων ἅπαντα; τίς δὲ ἀκούων, ὅτι μακάριοι οἱ πρᾶεῖς, μακάριοι οἱ ἐλεήμονες, μακάριοι οἱ καθυροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, διδασκάλου δεήσεται, ὡς τι μαθεῖν τῶν λεγομένων; ἀλλὰ τὰ τῶν σημείων, καὶ θαυμάτων, καὶ ἱστοριῶν οὐχὶ καὶ τῷ τυχόντι γνώριμα, καὶ σαφῆ; σκῆψις ταῦτα καὶ πρόφασις καὶ νωθείας παρακαλύμματα· οὐ νοεῖς τὰ ἐγκείμενα; πῶς γὰρ δυνήσῃ νοῆσαι ποτε, μηδὲ ἀπλῶς ἐγκύψαι βουλόμενος; λάβε μετὰ χεῖρας τὸ βιβλίον· ἀνάγνωθι τὴν ἱστορίαν ἅπασαν· καὶ τὰ γνώριμα κατασχών, τὰ ἀσαφῆ πολλάκις ἐπελθε· κἂν μὴ δυνηθῆς τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως εὐρεῖν τὸ λεγόμενον, βᾶδισον πρὸς τὸν σοφώτερον, ἔλθε πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον, ἀνακοίνωσαι περὶ τῶν εἰρημένων, πολλὴν ἐπίδειξαι τὴν σπουδὴν· κἂν ἴδῃ σε ὁ Θεὸς τοσαύτην κεχρημένον τῇ προθυμίᾳ, οὐ περιόψεται σου τὴν ἀγρυπνίαν καὶ τὴν φροντίδα· ἀλλὰ κἂν ἄνθρωπος μὴ διδάξῃ τὸ ζητούμενον, αὐτὸς ἀποκαλύψει πάντως· ἀναμνήσθητι τοῦ ἐννοῦχου τῆς βασιλίδος Λιθῶπων, ὃς ἄνθρωπος βάρβαρος ὢν, μυρίαὶς συνεχόμενος φροντίσι, καὶ πανταχόθεν πολλοῖς περιεκυλούμενος πράγμασι, οὐκ εἰδὼς ἅπερ ἀνεγίνωσκεν, ὅμως ἀνεγίνωσκεν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀχήματος καθήμενος· εἰ δὲ ἐν ὁδῷ τοσαύτην σπουδὴν ἐπεδείκνυτο, ἐννόησον τίς οἴκοι διατρίβων· εἰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ὁδοπορίας οὐκ ἠνείχστο χωρὶς ἀναγνώσεως μένειν, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ καθήμενος· εἰ μηδὲν

that they should originally be composed and written by publicans, and fishers, and tent-makers, and shepherds, and private and illiterate men, that none of the most ignorant and unlearned might have this excuse of difficulty to fly to; that the things there spoken might be easy to be looked into by all men; that the handicraftsman, the servant, the widow, the most illiterate and unlearned among men, might reap benefit and advantage by hearing them read. The apostles and prophets," he says, "wrote not like the philosophers of the Gentiles, in obscure terms, but made things plain to the understandings of all men, as being the common teachers of the world, that every man by himself might learn, by reading alone, the things that were spoken. To whom are not all things in the Gospel manifest and plain? Who is there, that, hearing those sayings, 'Blessed are the meek; blessed are the merciful; blessed are the pure in heart,' and the like, would desire a teacher, to understand the meaning of them? Moreover, the signs, and miracles, and histories, are they not all intelligible and plain to any ordinary reader? This, therefore, is only a pretence, and excuse, and cloak for idleness. Thou dost not understand the things contained in the Scripture? How shouldst thou understand them, when thou wilt not so much as look into them? Take the book into thy hands, read the whole history, and remember those things that are intelligible and easy; and those things that are more obscure and dark read over and over again: and if thou canst not, by frequent reading, dive into

εἰδὼς ὧν ἀνεγίνωσκεν, οὐκ ἀφίστατο τῆς ἀναγνώσεως, πολλῶ μᾶλλον μετὰ τὸ μαθεῖν ὅτι γὰρ ἄπερ ἀνεγίνωσκεν οὐκ ᾔδει, ἄκουσον, τί φησιν αὐτῷ ὁ Φίλιππος· Ἄραγε γινώσκεις ἢ ἀναγινώσκεις; κἀκεῖνος ταῦτα ἀκούσας οὐκ ἠρυθρίασεν, οὐδὲ ὑσχύνθη, ἀλλ' ὠμολόγησε τὴν ἄγνοιαν, καὶ φησι, Πῶς γὰρ ἂν δυναίμην, ἐὰν μὴ τις ὀδηγήσῃ με; ἐπεὶ οὖν οὐδέπω τὸν ὀδηγοῦντα ἔχων, οὕτως ἀνεγίνωσκε, διὰ τοῦτο ταχέως ἐπελάβετο τοῦ χειραγωγοῦντος· εἶδεν αὐτοῦ τὴν προθυμίαν ὁ Θεὸς, ἀπεδέξατο τὴν σπουδὴν, καὶ ἐπεμφεν αὐτῷ διδάσκαλον εὐθέως· ἀλλ' οὐ πάρεστιν ὁ Φίλιππος νῦν. Ἄλλὰ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ κινήσαν τὸν Φίλιππον πάρεστι· μὴ καταφρονῶμεν τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν, ἀγαπητοί· ταῦτα πάντα ἐγράφη δι' ἡμᾶς πρὸς νοουσιαν ἡμῶν, εἰς οὓς τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων κατήνησε· μεγάλη ἀσφάλεια πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀμαρτάνειν, τῶν γραφῶν ἢ ἀνάγνωσις· μέγας κρημνὸς καὶ βάραθρον βαθὺ, τῶν γραφῶν ἢ ἄγνοια· μεγάλη προδοσία σωτηρίας, τὸ μηδὲν ἀπὸ τῶν θείων εἶδεναι νόμων· τοῦτο καὶ αἰρέσεις ἔτεκε· τοῦτο καὶ βίον διεφθαρμένον εἰσηγάγε· τοῦτο τὰ ἄνω κάτω πεποίηκεν.

the meaning of what is said, go to a wiser person, betake thyself to a teacher, and confer with him about any such passage; show thy diligence and desire to be informed. And when God sees thy willingness and readiness of mind, he will not despise thy vigilance and care. But though man inform thee not in the things about which thou makest inquiry, he himself will certainly reveal it unto thee. Remember the eunuch of the Ethiopian queen, who, though he was a barbarian, and immersed in a multitude of cares and business, and understood not what he read, yet he read for all that, sitting in his chariot. And if he showed so great diligence by the way, consider how he behaved himself at home. If he would not omit reading in the time of a journey, much less would he omit it, when he sat quietly in his own house. If, when he understood nothing of it, he still continued to read; much more would he do it, when he came to understand it. Wherefore, because he read when he had no guide, he quickly found a guide. God knew the willingness of his mind, and accepted his diligence, and presently sent him a teacher. But Philip, you will say, does not now stand by us. No: but the Spirit that moved Philip is still by us. Let us not neglect our own salvation, beloved. These things were written for our salvation, upon whom the ends of the world are come. The reading of the Scriptures is our great guard against sin. Our ignorance of them is a dangerous precipice, and a deep gulf! It is an absolute betraying of our salvation, to know nothing of the divine law. It is this that has brought forth so many heresies; this that has brought so much corruption into our lives: this that has turned all things into confusion."

One would think St. Chrysostom had foreseen all the little pleas and sophistry of the Romish Church, and was here disputing and inveighing against them. So apposite is every word to refute their trifling pretences; that ignorance is the mother of devotion; that the Scriptures are obscure; that there is need of an infallible guide on earth, besides the Spirit, to understand them; that the promiscuous use of them is the cause of all errors and heresies: that laymen and secular men are not fit to be entrusted with them; each of which positions is as plainly combated by St. Chrysostom, as if he had been

directly disputing against the insufferable tyranny and frivolous pleas of the present Church of Rome. And his whole discourse, with some hundreds of the like passages that might be alleged out of him and other writers, do irrefragably show, that it was as much the care and concern of the primitive Church to have the service of God and the Scriptures to be understood by all, as now it is the concern of the Roman Church to have them concealed from their knowledge, and locked up in a language which the unlearned do not understand.

SECT. IX.—*Ninthly, From the Liberty granted to Children and Catechumens to join in the public Prayers, and read the Scriptures.*

For it is very observable, further, that in the primitive Church, not only men and women, but children, were encouraged, and trained up from their infancy, to the reading of the Holy Scriptures: and the catechumens were not only admitted to some of the prayers of the Church peculiarly appropriated to their condition, but also obliged to learn the Scriptures, as part of their discipline and instruction. Of their obligation to learn the Scriptures we have treated before^r, in speaking of the method for training them up for baptism: and of their admission to certain prayers of the Church, we shall see more hereafter in that part of the worship, called^s, ‘the service of the catechumens.’ All, then, that is further here to be showed is, that children were trained up to the use of the Holy Scriptures. And of this we have undoubted evidence from many eminent instances of their practice. Eusebius^t remarks of the great care of Leonides the martyr, and father of Origen, in the education of his son, “that he made him learn the Scriptures, before he set him to the study of the liberal arts and polite learning.” And Socrates^u makes the like observa-

^r Book x. chap. i. sect. vi.

^s Book xiv. chap. v.

^t Euseb. lib. vi. c. ii. (Aug. T. p. 224. B 10.) Οὐ μετρίως καὶ περὶ ταύτας (γραφάς) ἐπεπόνητο, τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ πρὸς τῇ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων παιδείᾳ, καὶ τούτων οὐ κατὰ πάρεργον τὴν φροντίδα πεποιημένον· ἐξ ἄπαντος γοῦν αὐτὸν, πρὸς τῆς τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μαθημάτων μελέτης, ἐνήγε τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐνασκεισθαι παιδεύμασιν· ἐκμαθήσεις καὶ ἀπαγγελίας ἡμέρας ἐκάστης αὐτὸν εἰσπραττόμενος.

^u Socrat. lib. ii. c. ix. (p. 74. D 6.) Τίς δὲ οὗτος (Εὐσέβιος ἐπικληθεῖς

tion upon the education of Eusebius, surnamed Emisenus, who was born of noble parentage at Edessa, a city of Osrhoene, in Mesopotamia, “that he was first taught the Holy Scriptures from his infancy, and then human learning.” And Sozomen, in relating the same story, says ^v this was done *κατὰ πάτριον ἔθος*, “according to the custom of the country;” which shows that it was no singular instance, but a general practice, to bring children up, from their infancy, to the use of the Holy Scriptures. Gregory Nyssen notes it in the Life of his sister Macrina ^w, “that the first part of her instruction, in her infancy, was to be taught the easy portions of Scripture, that were most suitable to her age.” And he says also ^x, “She did the same for her younger brother, Peter, taking him from his mother’s breasts, and instructing him in the Scriptures, that he might have no time to spend upon vain studies.” It is noted by Sozomen ^y and Palladius, of Marcus the hermit, that he was so expert in the Scriptures, when he was but a youth, that he could repeat all the Old and New Testament without book. And it is observable, that as there were many catechetic schools, in those times, for explaining the Scriptures to the catechumens; so there were also schools appointed in many Churches to instruct the youth in the knowledge of the Scriptures. When Gregory, the apostle of the Armenians,

Ἐμισηνός) ἦν, διδάσκει Γεώργιος ὁ Λαοδικείας, ὃς τότε παρῆν ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ φησὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ εἰς αὐτὸν πεπονημένῳ βιβλίῳ, ὡς εἶη Εὐσέβιος ἐκ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν τῆς ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ Ἐδέσης καταγόμενος· ἐκ νέας τε ἡλικίας τὰ ἱερά μαθῶν γράμματα . . . εἶτα τὰ Ἑλλήνων παιδευθεὶς παρὰ τῷ τηρικαῦτα τῇ Ἐδέσῃ ἐπιδημήσαντι παιδευτῆϊ.

^v Sozom. lib. iii. c. vi. (p. 92.) Ἐκ νέου δὲ κατὰ πάτριον ἔθος τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἐκμαθῶν λόγους, κ. τ. λ.

^w Gregor. Nyssen. Vit. Macrin. (Paris. 1638. vol. ii. p. 179. B 10.) Ὅσα τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς εὐληπτότερα ταῖς πρώταις ἡλικίαις δοκεῖ, ταῦτα ἦν τῇ παιδί τὰ μαθήματα.

^x Ibid. (p. 185. D.) Αὐτὸν παρὰ τὴν πρώτην γένεσιν μετασχόντα, εὐθὺς ἀποσπάσασα τῆς τιθηνουμένης, δι’ ἐαυτῆς ἀνατρέπει τε καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑψηλοτέραν ἤγαγε παιδευσιν, τοῖς ἱεροῖς τῶν μαθημάτων ἐκ νηπίων αὐτὸν ἐνασκήσασα, ὡς μὴ δοῦναι τῇ ψυχῇ σχολήν, πρὸς τι τῶν ματαίων ἐπικλιθῆναι.

^y Sozom. lib. vi. c. xxix. (p. 238. C 6.) Φασὶ δὲ Μάρκον μὴν, καὶ ἐν τῷ νέῳ τῆς ἡλικίας, εἰς ἄγαν πρῶτον καὶ σώφρονα, καὶ μνήμονα ἱερῶν γραφῶν γενέσθαι. — Pallad. Histor. Lausiaca. c. xxi. Μάρκος δὲ οὗτος νεώτερος ὢν παλαιῶν καὶ καινῶν γραφῶν ἀπεστήθισεν.

first converted that nation, it is said in his Life^z, “that he set up schools in every city, and masters over them, by the king’s command, to teach the Armenian children to read the Bible.” And Theodoret relates a remarkable story of Protogenes the scribe^a, “that when Valens, the Arian emperor, banished him to Antinoe, in Thebais, in the utmost parts of Egypt, he, finding the greatest part of the city to be heathens, set up a charity school among them, and taught them the Holy Scriptures; dictating to them, in writing short-hand, David’s Psalms, and making them learn such doctrines of the apostolical writings as were proper for them to understand; by which means, he brought many, both of the children and parents, over to the Christian faith.” And it has been observed before^b, “that by the canons of some councils, such sort of charity schools were appointed to be set up in cathedrals and other churches, where, no doubt, according to the custom of those days, children were taught to read the Scriptures^c.” These rules were renewed in several councils under Charles the Great and the following princes. Particularly in the second Council of Chalons^d, an. 813, it was appointed, “that according to the

^z Acta Gregorii, ap. Symeon. Metaphrast. Sept. xxx. cit. ab Usserio.

^a Theodoret. lib. iv. c. xviii. (Aug. T. p. 149. A 11.) Πρωτογένης δὲ ὁ ἀξιάγαστος, τὰ εὐνομίον γράμματα πεπαιδευμένος, καὶ γράφειν εἰς τάχος ἡσκημένος, τόπον εὐρῶν ἐπιτήδειον, καὶ τοῦτον διδασκαλεῖον καὶ παιδευτήριον ἀποφήνας, μειρακίων κατέστη διδάσκαλος, καὶ κατὰ ταυτὸν γράφειν τε εἰς τάχος ἐδίδασκε, καὶ τὰ θεῖα ἐξεπαίδευσε λόγια· Δαυϊτικὰς τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὑπηγόρευσε μελωδίας, καὶ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς διδασκαλίας ἐκμανθάνειν τὰ πρόσφορα παρεσκεύαζεν, κ. τ. λ.

^b See (vol. ii. p. 487) Book viii. chap. vii. sect. xii.

^c Conc. VI. General. c. iv. (Labbe, vol. vi. p. 1204.) Si quis ex presbyteris voluerit nepotem suum aut aliquem consanguinem ad scholas mittere in ecclesiis sanctorum, aut in cenobiis, quæ nobis ad regendum commissa sunt, licentiam id faciendi concedimus.—Can. v. Presbyteri per villas et vicos scholas habeant. Et si quislibet fidelium suos parvulos ad discendas litteras eis commendare vult, eos non renuant suscipere et docere, sed cum summa caritate eos doceant, attendentes illud quod scriptum est: ‘Qui autem docti fuerint, fulgebunt quasi splendor firmamenti: et qui ad justitiam erudiunt multos, fulgebunt quasi stellæ in perpetuas æternitates.’

^d Conc. Cabillon. II. c. iii. (Labbe, vol. vii. p. 1272.) Oportet, ut sicut dominus imperator Carolus, vir singularis mansuetudinis, fortitudinis, prudentiæ, justitiæ, et temperantiæ præcepit, episcopi scholas instituunt, in quibus et litteras solertia disciplinæ, et sacræ Scripturæ documenta discantur, et tales ibi erudiantur, quibus merito dicatur a Domino; ‘Vos estis sal terræ,’ etc.

order of Charles the emperor, bishops should set up schools to teach both grammar and the knowledge of the Scriptures." And in the Council of Toul, or Savonieres, in Lorraine, the decree was renewed^e, "that schools of the Holy Scripture, and human learning, should be erected;" forasmuch, as by the care of the religious emperors in former days, by this means both ecclesiastical knowledge and human learning had made a considerable progress in the world. And Mr. Wharton^f will furnish the inquisitive reader with many other rules and canons made about the same time, to promote and encourage the learning of the Scriptures.

SECT. X.—*Lastly, From the Form and Tenour of the Ordination of Readers in the Church.*

I only observe one thing more, that the very form and tenour of the ordination of readers anciently did manifestly imply, that the service of the ancient Church was always performed in a known tongue. For they were sometimes ordained with prayer to God for his Holy Spirit, to qualify them to read his word to the instruction and edification of the people. The form of their ordination in the book of the Constitutions, prays^g, "that God would give the reader wisdom, as he did to Esdras, to read his laws to the people." Now, it is well known how Esdras read the law to them, by causing them to

^e Conc. Tull. ad Saponar. c. x. *ibid.* (Labbe, vol. viii. p. 692.) Ut scholæ sanctarum Scripturarum, et humanæ quoque literaturæ, unde annis præcedentibus, per religiosorum imperatorum studium magna illuminatio ecclesiæ et eruditionis utilitas processit, deprecandi sunt pii principes nostri, et omnes fratres et cœpiscopi nostri instantissime commonendi, ut ubicumque omnipotens Deus idoneos ad docendum, id est, fideliter et veraciter intelligentes donare dignetur, constituentur undique scholæ publicæ. Scilicet ut utriusque eruditionis, et divinæ scilicet et humanæ, in ecclesia Dei fructus valeat accrescere: quia, quod nimis dolendum est, et perniciosum maxime, divinæ Scripturæ verax et fidelis intelligentia jam ita dilabitur, ut vix ejus extrema vestigia reperiantur. Et ideo ingenti cura et studio remedium procurandum est.

^f Wharton, Auctar. ad Usser. Hist. Dogmat. c. iv. p. 346.

^g Constitut. lib. viii. c. xxii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 491.) Ὁ σοφίσας Ἐσδραν τὸν θεράποντά σου ἐπὶ τὸ ἀναγινώσκειν τοὺς νόμους σου τῷ λαῷ σου· καὶ νῦν παρακαλούμενος ὑφ' ἡμῶν σόφισον τὸν δοῦλόν σου, καὶ δὸς αὐτῷ, ἔργον ἀκατάγνωστον διανύσαντα τὸ ἐγχειρισθὲν αὐτῷ, ἄξιον ἀναδειχθῆναι μείζονος βαθμοῦ, διὰ Χριστοῦ.

understand the reading (Neh. viii. 7, 8): "They read in the book in the law of God distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading." And if all readers read as Esdras did, they certainly either read, or interpreted the reading, in a known tongue. For he rendered that which was written in the Hebrew tongue, into the Chaldee or Syriac; which was, after the captivity, the common language of the people. Cyprian, twice or thrice, speaks of the ordination and office of readers; and he plainly intimates, that the people understood what they read out of the gospel to them. In one place, speaking of Celerinus the confessor, whom he had ordained a reader, he says ^h, "it was very fitting he should read the gospel, who had so courageously and faithfully observed it; and that the same tongue which had confessed the Lord, should be daily heard to repeat what the Lord hath spoken: since there was nothing wherein a confessor could more advantage his brethren, than to have them hear the gospel read by the mouth of such a confessor and reader, whose faith was so brave an example." In another epistle speaking of Aurelius the confessor, whom he also ordained a reader, he says ⁱ, "there was nothing more agreeable than that that voice, which had so gloriously confessed the Lord, should sound forth in reading the lessons of the Lord: and after those lofty words, whereby he proclaimed the martyrdom of Christ, he should read the gospel of Christ, which makes martyrs." The gospel was then so read, that the hearers might reap advantage by it, whilst they understood the doctrines and precepts that were read to them out of it. And such was the advantage which some hearers, in those days, reaped from the benefit of having

^h Cyprian. Ep. xxxiv. al. xxxix. (Oxon. 1682. p. 68.) (p. 224, Amstelod. 1700.) Plebi universæ, pro honoris sui claritate conspicuus, legat præcepta et evangelium Domini, quæ fortiter et fideliter sequitur. Vox Dominum confessa in his quotidie, quæ Dominus loquutus est, audiatur. Nihil est, in quo magis confessor fratribus prosit, quam ut dum evangelica lectio de ore ejus auditur, lectoris fidem, quisquis audierit, imitetur.

ⁱ Cyprian. Ep. xxxviii. al. xxxiii. (Oxon. 1682. p. 65.) (p. 222, edit. cit.) Nihil magis congruit voci, quæ Dominum gloriosa prædicatione confessa est, quam celebrandis divinis lectionibus personare: post verba sublimia, quæ Christi martyrium proluquuta sunt, evangelium Christi legere, unde martyres fiunt.

the Scriptures read in their own tongue, that it is very remarkable what is related of one or two of them, that being men of good memories, they got the Scriptures by heart, without any knowledge of letters, only by hearing them constantly read in the church or elsewhere. St. Austin^j remarks this of St. Antony, the famous Egyptian monk, that, without being able to read himself, he made such a proficiency in the knowledge of the Scriptures, as both by hearing them read to be able to repeat them, and by his own prudent meditation to understand them. And Gregory the Great^k gives a like instance in one Servulus, a poor man at Rome, who, though he knew not a letter in a book, yet, purchasing a Bible, and entertaining religious men, he prevailed with them to read it continually to him, by which means he perfectly learned the Holy Scriptures. It is a yet more astonishing instance, which Eusebius^l gives in one of the martyrs of Palestine, a blind man, called John, who had so happy a memory, that he could repeat any part of the Bible as readily as others could read it. And he sometimes supplied the office of a reader in the church: and he did this to so great perfection, that Eusebius says, “when he first heard him, he was perfectly amazed, and

^j Aug. de Doctrina Christiana in Prologo. (Bened. 1680. vol. iii. p. 3. B 3.) Sine ulla scientia litterarum, Scripturas divinas et memoriter audiendo tenuisse, et prudenter cogitando intellexisse, prædicatur.

^k Gregor. Hom. xv. in Evangelia. (Paris. 1705. vol. i. p. 1491.) Nequaquam litteras noverat, sed Scripture sacre sibimet codices emerat, et religiosos quosque in hospitalitate suscipiens, hos coram se legere sine intermissione faciebat. Factumque est, ut quantum ad mensuram propriam, plene sacram Scripturam disceret; quum, sicut dixi, litteras funditus ignoraret.

^l Euseb. de Martyr. Palæstin. c. xiii. (Aug. T. 1746. p. 384. A 5.) “Ολας βίβλους τῶν θείων γραφῶν οὐκ ἐν πλαξὶ λιθίναϊς . . . ἀλλ’ ἐν πλαξίν ὡς ἀληθῶς καρδίας σαρκίναϊς, ψυχῇ τε διανγεί καὶ καθαρωτάτῃ διανοίᾳ ὁμματι καταγεγραμμένον ὡς προφέρειν γε ὅτε καὶ βούλοιο διὰ στόματος ὡσπερ ἀπὸ τινος λόγων Θεσαυροῦ, τοτὲ μὲν νομικὴν καὶ προφητικὴν γραφὴν, τοτὲ δὲ ἱστορικὴν, εὐαγγελικὴν τε, ἄλλοτε καὶ ἀποστολικὴν καταπλαγῆναί ποτε αὐτὸς ὁμολογῶ, πρῶτον τὸν ἄνδρα Θεασάμενος μέσον ἱκανοῦ πλήθους ἐκκλησίας ἐστῶτα, καὶ τινὰ μέρη θείας γραφῆς διεξιόντα ἕως μὲν γὰρ φωνῆς αὐτὸ μόνον ἐπακροῦσθαί μοι παρῆν, ἀναγινώσκειν οἷα δὴ ἔθος ἐν ταῖς συνόδοις, τινὰ ἠγούμην ὡς δὲ ἄγχιστα γενόμενος τὸ πραττόμενον συνείδον, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀπαντας ὑγίεσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐν κύκλῳ περιεστῶτας τοῦτον δὲ μόνοις τοῖς τῆς διανοίας χρώμενον, καὶ ἀτεχνῶς οἷά τινα προφήτην ἀποφθεγγόμενον.

thought he had heard one reading out of a book, till he came a little more curiously to examine him, and found that he did it only by the eyes of his understanding, having the Scriptures written not in books or tables of stone, but in the fleshly tables of his heart." These, and such like examples, of which there are many^m in ancient story, are enough to raise in a man another sort of astonishment than that which Eusebius speaks of: I mean, it would amaze a man to think that there should be a Church in the world, pretending to the height of purity and devotion, which yet runs counter to this indisputable practice of the ancient Church, whose public readers never once pretended to read any part of Scripture in an unknown tongue: that being as much against the design of their ordination as it is against the design of Scripture itself; for the one was written, and the other ordained to read what was written, for men's learning and instruction. Yea, the very form of ordaining readers, as it stands still in the Roman pontifical, shows as much; for it is much ancients than the corruption that is now crept into their service, and only stands there as a monument of their reproach, who oblige their readers to act directly contrary to the design of their office, and the very instructions that are given them in their ordination; for there the bishop still, in conferring the order of readers, uses this formⁿ; "Study to pronounce the word of God, that is, the sacred lessons, distinctly and plainly, to the understanding and edification of the faithful, without any error or falsehood; that ye may teach your hearers both by word and example." This was a very proper form of exhortation to be given to readers at their ordination, while the ancient custom continued of reading in a known tongue; but now it is no

^m Soerat. lib. vii. c. xxii. Τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα ἀπὸ στήθους ἀπήγγειλεν. (Theodosius Junior.)—Pallad. Vit. Chrysostom. c. xvii. (Bened. p. xiii. p. 62. C 3.) 'Ο δ' ἕτερος Ἀμμώνιος σὺν δυσὶν ἀδελφοῖς καὶ ἐνὶ ἐπισκόπῳ, οἱ καὶ κλοιοφορήσαντες ἐπὶ Οὐάλεντος, ἐξωρίσθησαν, ὡς πᾶσα ἐπιγινώσκει ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρεια, ἐξηκοντούτης τοσοῦτοι ὄντες ἐν γνώσει, ὡς μηδὲν αὐτοὺς διαφεύγειν τῶν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀπορουμένων.

ⁿ Pontifical. Roman. c. de Ordinatio. Lectorum. Studete verba Dei, videlicet lectiones sacras, distincte et aperte, ad intelligentiam et ædificationem fidelium, absque omni mendacio falsitatis, prodere . . . quatenus auditores vestros verbo pariter et exemplo docere possitis.

better than mockery to tell men they are obliged, by the vow of their ordination, to read the Scriptures to the understanding, and instruction, and edification of the people; and at the same time tie up their mouths, that they shall not read a word that may be understood, but it must all be in an unknown tongue. This monstrous contradiction in their own practice, one would think, might bring men to see their error, and (what some in their communion^o have been so long pleading for) oblige them to return to the useful and edifying practice of the primitive Church.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE ORIGINAL AND USE OF LITURGIES, IN STATED AND SET FORMS OF PRAYER, IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

SECT. I.—*Every Bishop at Liberty, in the first Ages, to order the Form of Divine Service in his own Church.*

THE next inquiry is concerning the ancient manner of performing divine service: whether they did it by stated liturgies, which we usually call set forms of prayer, or by unlimited liberty of prophesying and extempore conceptions? The question about set forms of worship has more disturbed the present Church than any other: and yet, after all, there can be no public prayer, but it will be a set form, at least to the congregation. For though we suppose the minister to pray extempore, and vary the method, the form, and the phrase, every time he prays; yet, to make it common prayer to a congregation, it will be a form to them, though a new form every time, in spite of all contradiction. And I have often wondered that discerning men should not observe this, before they charged all forms of prayer as void of the spirit, or a stinting of the spirit; since, if they were so, extemporary forms would be as much stinting the spirit of the congregation as any other: and, perhaps, in some measure, more so, since

^o Vid. Frederic. Turius Ceriolanus de Libris Sacris in vernaculam linguam convertendis.

in stated forms, which every one knows beforehand, men may be supposed to make them their own hearty prayers by preceding meditation ; whereas, in extemporary forms, every man must wait till he hears what is said, and then join in that form, or else not pray at all, but only privately by himself, not in any public or common prayer jointly, with the rest of the congregation. For which reason, I shall not here inquire simply, whether the public worship of the ancients was by a form or no ; since it is impossible there should be any public worship of a congregation, as a congregation joining in common prayer to God, without having a common form dictated to them some way or other for all to join in : but the question shall only be, whether they used stated forms of worship, or new extempore forms in every Church assembly ? And here we must distinguish first, between divine forms, and forms of human institution. 2. Between ordinary and extraordinary occasions. 3. Between the times of extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, and the times when those miraculous gifts abated. Now, there is no doubt to be made, but that the forms of divine institution were always used in the Church without any variation. As the form of baptism, the Lord's Prayer, the singing of David's psalms, the forms of benediction, such as, "The Lord be with you ;" "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ," &c. The constant use of the form of baptism has been demonstrated already^a : the use of the Lord's Prayer, and the rest, shall be showed hereafter^b. As to forms of human institution, they were added by the bishops and governors of the Church, according to their wisdom and discretion ; and this, with relation to the ordinary service : for still they were at liberty to compose new forms for extraordinary emergencies and occasions. And whilst the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit continued, there is little doubt to be made, but that prayers and hymns, immediately dictated by the Spirit, made up a part of the ordinary service ; still retaining such forms as were antecedently of divine appointment. When the extraordinary Spirit of prophecy ceased, then the rulers of

^a Book xi. chap. iii. vol. iii. p. 426.

^b Book xiii. chap. vii.

the Church supplied this want by proper forms of their own composition, according to Christian prudence and discretion. And this seems to have been the true original of liturgies, or stated forms of divine service. But why then have we none of these liturgies remaining entire and perfect to this day? I answer, there may be several reasons assigned for this: one is, that the bishops, at first, made every one their own liturgy for the private use, as we may call it, of their own particular Churches: and therefore the use of them not extending further than the precincts of their own dioceses, there was little knowledge of them beyond the bounds of those churches, and not much care to preserve them but only for the use of such Churches, for which they were particularly designed. That every bishop had at first this power and privilege to compose and order the form of divine service for his own Church, I have showed in another place^c, where I had occasion to discourse of the independency of bishops, and their absolute power in their own Church; where, among other things, I observed, that as they had the privilege to word their own creeds, so they had the privilege to frame their own liturgy; which privilege they retained for several ages; as may be confirmed by this further and most certain observation, that when any new episcopal Church was taken and erected out of another, the new erected Church was not obliged to follow the model and prescriptions of the old Church, but might frame to herself a form of divine service, agreeable to her own circumstances and condition; of which Sozomen gives a clear evidence in the instance of Maiuma, a city raised from a village in Palestine, and once belonging to the diocese of Gaza^d; “for as soon as it was erected into a distinct episcopal see, it was no longer obliged to observe precisely the rules and forms of the Church of Gaza; but had,” as he particularly remarks, “a calendar for the festivals of its own martyrs, and commemorations of their own bishops and presbyters that had lived among them:” which is the same thing as to say, they

^c Book ii. chap. vi. sect. ii. vol. i. p. 111.

^d Sozom. lib. v. c. iii. (Aug. T. 1746. p. 169. B 10.) Ἐκατέρα ἰδίᾳ ἐπίσκοπον καὶ κληῖρον ἔχει, καὶ πανηγύρεις μαρτύρων, καὶ μνείας τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς γενομένων ἱερέων.

had a liturgy and service of their own, independent of the Church out of which they were taken.

SECT. II.—*In after Ages, the Churches of a whole Province, by Consent, conformed to the Liturgy of the Metropolitan.*

In after ages, bishops agreed, by consent, to conform their liturgy to the model of the metropolitical Church of the province to which they belonged. And then it was enacted into a law by several councils, that the same order and uniformity should be observed in all Churches. The rudiments of this discipline were first laid in the French Churches; for, in the Council of Agde ^e, a canon was made about the year 506, “that one and the same order should be equally observed in all churches of the province in all parts of divine service.” And, in the Council of Epone, it is more expressly said ^f, “that in celebrating divine offices, the provincial bishop should observe the same order as was observed by the metropolitan.” And before these, the Council of Vannes, in Brittany, in the province of Tours, made a like order for that whole province ^g, “that one and the same custom in celebrating divine service, and the same order of psalmody, should be kept in all churches; that as they held one faith and confession of the holy Trinity, so they should keep to one rule of divine offices, lest if they varied in their observations, that variation should be interpreted as a disagreement in some point or other.” And the same rule was made and concerted in the Spanish Churches; for in the Council of Gironde (an. 517), a like decree was made for the whole province of Tarragona or Catalonia ^h, “that the same

^e Conc. Agath. c. xxx. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1388.) Quia convenit, ordinem ecclesie ab omnibus equaliter custodiri, studendum est, ut sicut ubique fit, et post antiphonas collectiones per ordinem ab episcopis vel presbyteris dicantur, et hymni matutini vel vespertini diebus omnibus decantentur, et in conclusione matutinarum vel vespertinarum missarum, post hymnos capitella de psalmis dicantur, et plebs collecta oratione ad vesperam ab episcopo cum benedictione dimittatur.

^f Conc. Epao. c. xxvii. (Ibid. p. 1579.) Ad celebranda divina officia ordinem, quem metropolitani tenent, provinciales eorum observare debebunt.

^g Conc. Venet. c. xv. (Ibid. p. 1057.) Rectum duximus, ut vel intra provinciam nostram sacrorum ordo et psallendi una sit consuetudo: et sicut unam cum Trinitatis confessione fidem tenemus, unam et officiorum regulam teneamus: ne variata observatione in aliquo devotio nostra discrepare credatur.

^h Conc. Gerund. c. i. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1568.) Ut institutio missarum, sicut

order of mass, and custom in psalmody, and other ministrations, should be observed in all churches of the province, as was observed in the metropolitical church." The fourth Council of Toledo enlarged the order for uniformity in all the churches of Spain and Galiciaⁱ, obliging all priests to perform divine offices in the same manner, that there might be no diversity among them, and that such difference might neither offend the weak, nor look like a schism in the Church to ignorant and carnal men; therefore they had appointed, "that one order should be observed in praying and singing, and the same method be kept in the morning and evening service, because they were all of the same faith, and the same kingdom." And the first Council of Braga has four or five canons to the same purpose^j, appointing the same order of psalmody, and lessons,

in metropolitana ecclesia agitur, ita in Dei nomine in omni Tarraconensi provincia, tam ipsius missæ ordo, quam psallendi, vel ministrandi consuetudo servetur.

ⁱ Conc. Toletan. IV. c. ii. (Ibid. vol. v. p. 1704.) Post rectæ fidei confessionem, quæ in sancta Dei ecclesia prædicatur, placuit, ut omnes sacerdotes, qui Catholicæ fidei unitatem complectimur, nihil ultra diversum aut dissonum in ecclesiasticis sacramentis agamus, ne quælibet nostra diversitas apud ignotos seu carnales schismatis errorem videatur ostendere, et multis existat in scandalum varietas ecclesiarum. Unus igitur ordo orandi atque psallendi nobis per omnem Hispaniam atque Galliciam conservetur, unus modus in missarum solemnitatibus, unus in vespertinis matutinisque officiis, nec diversa sit ultra in nobis ecclesiastica consuetudo; qui in una fide continemur et regno: hoc enim et antiqui canones decreverunt, ut unaquæque provincia et psallendi et ministrandi parem consuetudinem teneat.

^j Conc. Bracar. I. c. xix.—xxiii. (Labbe, Conc. II. c. i.—v. tom. v. p. 840.) C. xix. Placuit omnibus communi consensu, ut unus atque idem psallendi ordo in matutinis vel vespertinis officiis teneatur; et non diversæ ac privatæ, neque monasteriorum consuetudines cum ecclesiastica regula sint permixtæ.—Can. xx. Item placuit, ut per solemniū dierum vigiliis vel missas, omnes easdem et non diversas lectiones in ecclesia legant.—Can. xxi. Item placuit, ut non aliter episcopi, et aliter presbyteri populum, sed uno modo salutent, dicentes, Dominus sit vobiscum: sicut in libro Ruth legitur: et ut respondeatur a populo, Et cum spiritu tuo; sicut et ab ipsis apostolis traditum omnis retinet oriens, et non sicut Priscilliana pravitas permutavit.—Can. xxii. Item placuit, ut eodem ordine missæ celebrentur ab omnibus, quomodo Profuturus, quondam hujus metropolitane ecclesie episcopus, ab ipsa apostolicæ sedis auctoritate suscepit scriptum.—Can. xxiii. Item placuit, ut nullus cum baptizandi ordinem prætermittat, quem et antea tenuit metropolitana Bracarensis ecclesia, et pro amputanda aliquorum dubietate, prædictus Profuturus episcopus scriptum sibi et directum a sede beatissimi apostoli Petri suscepit.

and salutations, and the same forms of celebrating baptism and the eucharist, to be observed in all churches; so that though every bishop, at first, had liberty to frame a liturgy for the use of his own Church; yet, in process of time, they agreed by consent to take the liturgy of the metropolitanical Church as a standard for the whole province. And when the Roman empire began to be cantonized and divided into different kingdoms, then came in the use of national liturgies, whose use was commensurate to the bounds and limits of their respective nations and kingdoms.

SECT. III.—*Why none of the ancient Liturgies are now remaining perfect and entire, as they were in their first Original.*

If it be inquired, Why then none of the ancient liturgies are now remaining, as they were at first composed for the use of particular Churches? I answer, several reasons may be assigned for this. 1. The very liberty which every bishop had to frame the liturgy of his own Church, was one reason, why none of these are now remaining perfect and entire, as they were at first composed for the use of such a particular Church. For the design of them being only for the use of such a particular Church, there was no great reason to be very solicitous, either to communicate and diffuse the knowledge of them to other Churches, or to preserve them entire to posterity, who were not precisely tied up to the use of them, but might frame others at their own discretion. 2. It is not improbable but that, as a late learned French writer has observed^k, “the ancient liturgies were for some ages only certain forms of worship committed to memory, and known by practice rather than committed to writing, which is the only certain way of preserv-

^k Renaudot. Collect. Liturgiarum Oriental. dissert. i. (p. 9, tom. i. Paris. 1715.) Orientales eandem disciplinam habentes, quæ reliquis Christianis communis erat, illam similiter in oriente propagaverunt et posteris transmiserunt, neque tamen statim illam perscripsisse videntur. Ut ita statuimus, facis insigne præ ceteris Basilii Magni testimonium, qui multa, quæ ad nos sola traditione pervenerunt, enumerans, adjungit: ‘Verba sacræ invocationis in consecratione panis et calicis, quis sanctorum nobis scripto tradidit?’ . . . Unde si non certo, saltem verisimiliter omnino concluditur, ante Basilii tempora liturgias Græcas litteris non fuisse consignatas.

ing such sort of monuments to late posterity.” This seems very probable, because, in the persecutions under Diocletian and his associates, though a strict inquiry was made after the books of Scripture, and other things belonging to the Church, which were often delivered up by the *traditores* to be burnt, yet we never read of any ritual books, or books of divine service, delivered up among them; which is an argument, that their forms of worship and administration of the sacraments were not then generally committed to writing, or, at least, not compiled in books distinct from the Psalms or other books of Scripture: otherwise, it is very probable that, as the Scriptures, with other utensils and treasures of the Church, were often found by the heathens, or betrayed by apostatizing Christians, and delivered up to be burnt, so we should have heard something of their books of divine worship undergoing the same fate, since they who were so curious in inquiring after the cups, and lamps, and torches, and vestments, and other utensils and vessels of the Church (as in some of their calendars and breviates we find they were), would hardly have omitted their books of worship, as being more proper objects of their spite and malice, had they found any such in the Christian churches. Mr. Daillé¹ argues well upon this foot against the use of images in the ancient Church, because no such thing was ever found or betrayed to the heathen in the times of their most furious inquisition after any thing that related to the Christian Church or religion. And I think the argument will hold as well against having their liturgies compiled into books and volumes, since it is scarce possible that such things, in difficult times, should have wholly escaped the notice and fury of their enemies. We are not hence to conclude (as some weak men perhaps would be inclined to do), that, therefore, they had no liturgies or set forms of divine worship in these persecuting ages of the Church: because there are undeniable evidences to the contrary, as we shall see by and by. But we are only to conclude, that they did not so generally compile them in books as in after ages, but used them by memory, and made them familiar to the people by

¹ Dallæus de Cultu Relig. lib. i. c. xxv. tot. præcipue autem, p. 201, seqq.

known and constant practice, as many now use forms of prayer at this day without committing them to writing. 3. And this is another reason why none of those ancient liturgies are come to our hands perfect and entire, but only in scattered fragments, as the fathers had occasion to mention them incidentally in their writings. Nor need we wonder at this, since even those liturgies, which were most certainly compiled in books in the following ages, are now, in a great measure, lost also by the injuries of time, as the old Gallican, Spanish, African, and Roman liturgies, of which there is nothing but fragments and dismembered parcels now remaining; which is a third reason why none of those ancient liturgies are extant to this day. 4. The fourth and last reason, is the interpolations and additions made to the ancient liturgies in future ages: for though those ancient liturgies, which go under the name of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil, might originally have something of their composition in them, yet so many additions and alterations have been made in them by the Greek Church in following ages, that it is not easy to discern, after they have passed through so many hands, and so much new modelling, what was the genuine composition of the first authors; and, therefore, I have made little use of them in this work, but rather chosen to collect the fragments of the ancient liturgy from the scattered remains in the genuine writings of the fathers; joining with them such forms as we find in the ancient book, called the Apostolical Constitutions; which, though it be not so ancient as the title pretends, nor of so venerable authority as Mr. Whiston contends for, who would have it to be truly apostolical, yet it is owned to be a good collection of the liturgy and rituals of the Church in the third and fourth centuries, and less corrupted than any other liturgy that bears the name of an ancient writer: the true reason of which was, because it never being of that esteem as to be used as a standing liturgy in any church, the book came down to us with less alterations than other liturgies, which were new modelled, according to the different taste and sentiments of the ages they passed through; as all things of this kind are commonly revised and altered by several hands when they are in constant use and practice: for proof of which, we need go no further than the example of

our own liturgy, which has received many reviews, alterations, and additions, from the time it was first compiled in the days of King Edward. Upon this score, those liturgies which bear the names of ancient authors are not to be depended on as the genuine, unmixed liturgies of those authors, having undergone so many alterations, interpolations, and additions, by passing through various hands in succeeding ages. Forasmuch, therefore, as we have now no ancient liturgies perfect and entire, as they were first composed, we must take our accounts and estimate of them from other fountains: and, by the providence of God, there is so much of them remaining in the genuine writings of the ancient fathers, as both to show us in general that the Church made use of stated forms of worship; and also, what was the particular order and method of her worship in the most considerable parts of her sacred service and devotions. We will, therefore, first give some account of the use of liturgies and sacred rites in general, and then proceed to explain in order the several parts of the ancient service, in the same natural method as we find it was performed at several times, either in the daily or weekly assemblies for that purpose.

SECT. IV.—*What Forms were used in the Apostles' Days.*

Where of the Ancient Forms used in the Jewish Worship, and of the new Forms introduced into the Christian Service.

As to the use of liturgies in general, I shall begin with the apostolical times, and carry the history through the four first ages. The apostolical practice may be considered in a double respect; first, in their compliance with the stated forms settled among the Jews; and secondly, in the new forms introduced into the Christian service. As to the former, there seems to be nothing more uncontested among learned men than that the Jews had set forms of worship in all parts of divine service; and that the apostles freely used these in all instances in which they thought it necessary or becoming to join with them. Their ordinary service was of two sorts; the service of the temple, and the service of the synagogue. These differed in many respects; but both agreed in this, that the public prayers in both were offered up in a certain constant form of words.

For their private prayers, which every man made particularly by himself, which were like those silent prayers we shall hereafter meet with in the Christian Church^m, a late learned writer tells usⁿ, “they had no public forms to pray by, nor any public ministers to officiate to them herein; but all prayed in private conceptions: but their public prayers were directed by public forms, both in the service of the temple and the synagogue.” The temple service is very accurately described by Dr. Lightfoot, as it stood in the time of our Saviour. The sum of his description is this^o: first, before the offering of the sacrifice, the president called upon them to go to prayers, which they began with this form: “Thou hast loved us, O Lord our God, with an everlasting love; with great and abundant compassion hast thou had mercy on us, O our Father, our King, for our fathers’ sake, who trusted in thee, and thou taughtest them statutes of life. So be gracious to us also, O our Father; O most merciful Father; O thou compassionate One, pity us; and put into our hearts to know, understand, obey, learn, teach, observe, do, and perform all the words of the doctrine of thy law in love; and enlighten our eyes by thy law, and cause our hearts to cleave to thy commandments, and unite our hearts to love and to fear thy name,” &c. After this prayer, they rehearsed the ten commandments; and after the ten commandments they said over their phylacteries, in Hebrew called *tephillin*, which contained four portions of the law, written in four parchments; the first out of Exod. xiii., from ver. 3 to 10; the second out of Exod. xiii., from ver. 11 to 16; the third out of Deut. vi., from ver. 4 to 9: the fourth out of Deut. xi., from ver. 13 to 21. After this prayer and rehearsal of the decalogue and of their phylacteries, at the time of offering incense, they had three or four prayers more; the first of which was in this form, referring to their phylacteries: “Truth and stability, and firm and sure, and upright and faithful, and beloved, and lovely and delightful, and fair, and terrible, and glorious, and ordered and acceptable, and good and beautiful is this word for us, for ever and ever. The

^m See Book xv. chap. i. vol. v. p. 1.

ⁿ Prideaux, Connexion of Scripture History, part. i. chap. vi. p. 382.

^o Lightfoot, Temple Service, chap. ix. sect. iv. 8vo. edit. vol. ix. p. 112.

Truth of the everlasting God our King, the Rock of Jacob, the Shield of our salvation, for ever and ever. He is sure, and his name sure, and his throne settled, and his kingdom and truth established for evermore," &c.

The second prayer was in this form: "Be pleased, O Lord our God, with thy people Israel, and with their prayer, and restore the service to the oracle of thy house, and accept the burnt-offering of Israel, and their prayer, in love and complacency, and let the service of thy people Israel be continually well-pleasing unto thee." And they concluded thus: "We praise thee, who art the Lord our God, and the God of our fathers, the God of all flesh, our Creator, and the God of all creatures. Glory and praise be to thy great and holy name, because thou hast preserved and kept us; so preserve and keep us, and bring back our captivity to the courts of thy holiness," &c.

A third prayer ran thus: "Appoint peace, goodness, and blessing, grace, mercy, and compassion for us, and for all Israel, thy people. Bless us, O our Father, even all of us as one man, with the light of thy countenance; for in the light of thy countenance, thou, O Lord our God, hast given us the law of life, and loving-mercy, and righteousness, and blessing, and compassion, and life, and peace: let it please thee to bless thy people, Israel, at all times. Let us, and all thy people, the house of Israel, be remembered, and written before thee, in the Book of Life, with blessing and peace," &c.

A fourth prayer was used on the Sabbath as a blessing, by the course that went out of their service, upon those that came in to do the service of the following week, in these words: "He that caused his name to dwell in this house, cause love, and brotherhood, and peace, and friendship to dwell among you."

After these things, the priests lifted up their hands, and blessed the people, in that form of words, which is in Numb. vi. 24: "The Lord bless thee, and keep thee; the Lord make his face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee: the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace." To which the people answered, "Blessed be the Lord God, the God of Israel, from everlasting to everlasting."

After this blessing, the meat-offering and the drink-offering were offered, and then began the singing of psalms, and the music. The constant and ordinary psalms which they sung, were these :

On the first day of the week, Psalm xxiv. : “ The earth is the Lord’s, and the fulness thereof,” &c.

On the second day, Psalm xlvi. : “ Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised in the city of God,” &c.

On the third day, Psalm lxxxii. : “ God standeth in the congregation of the mighty, and judgeth among gods,” &c.

On the fourth day, Psalm xciv. ; “ O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth,” &c.

On the fifth day, Psalm lxxx. : “ Sing aloud unto God our strength ; make a joyful noise unto the God of Jacob.”

On the sixth day, Psalm xciii. : “ The Lord reigneth ; he is clothed with majesty.”

On the Sabbath day, they sang Psalm xcii., which bears the title of “ A psalm, or song, for the Sabbath day,” both in the Hebrew Bibles, and the translation of the Septuagint.

These were the known, and constant, and fixed psalms for the several days of the week throughout the year^p. But, upon some certain days, they had additional psalms and hymns. For, on the Sabbath, as there was an additional sacrifice appointed (Numb. xxviii. 9) ; so, at the time of this additional sacrifice, the Levites sang the song of Moses (Deut. xxxii.), “ Hear, O heavens, and I will speak ;” which they divided into six Sabbaths for the morning service : and at the evening service, they sang that other song of Moses (Exod. xv.) : “ I will sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously : the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea,” &c. By which custom of singing the songs of Moses upon the Sabbath, Dr. Lightfoot observes^q, “ that that passage in Rev. xv. 3, may be illustrated, where the saints are said ‘ to sing the song of Moses, the servant of God :’ because they were now come to their everlasting Sabbath, having gotten the victory over the beast, and over his image, and over his mark, and over the number of his name, and having the harps of God in their

^p Lightfoot, Temple Service, chap. vii.

^q Ibid.

hands." Which allusion to the Sabbath service, in the time of St. John, is a good argument for the antiquity of the practice.

Besides this, there was an additional sacrifice appointed on the first day of the year, called the 'Feast of Trumpets,' (Num. xxix. 1); and, at this time, they sang Psalm lxxxi.: "Sing aloud unto God, our strength," &c. And, at the evening service of the day, Psalm xxix.: "The voice of the Lord shaketh the wilderness," &c.

Also at the Passover, besides many other forms, they were used to sing the hymn called the 'Egyptian Hallel,' because it was sung in remembrance of their delivery out of Egypt: which consisted of Psalms exiii. exiv. exv. exvi. exvii. and exviii. And this, as some observe^r, was sung also at the beginning of every month, and on the Feast of Dedication, and the Feast of Weeks, and the Feast of Tabernacles. And the latter part of it is generally supposed to be the hymn which our Saviour sung with his disciples, at the conclusion of his last Supper.

This is the sum of the Jewish temple service, as it stood in our Saviour's time, with which, notwithstanding its stated forms, both he and his disciples complied, whenever they had occasion, upon any such solemnities, to frequent the temple.

The service of the synagogue was something different from that of the temple. For here were no sacrifices, but only these three things: 1. Prayers; 2. Reading of the Scriptures; 3. Preaching and expounding upon them. Their public prayers, like those of the temple, were all by stated forms. Among these the most ancient and solemn were those which are called *Shemoneh Eshreh*, that is, 'the eighteen prayers,' which are said to have been appointed by Ezra and the great synagogue, from the time of the captivity. These have been lately translated and published by Dr. Prideaux, in his *Connexion of Scripture History*^s; which, because it is a work that deserves to be in every one's hands, I shall not here transcribe, but refer the reader thither for the knowledge of them. Only, whereas he observes rightly, "That another

^r Othon. Lexicon. Rabbin. p. 236.

^s Part i. book vi. p. 375, (in edit. Germ. Dresdens. pp. 474—478.)

prayer, called the ‘nineteenth,’ was added a little before the destruction of Jerusalem, against the Christians, who are therein meant under the names of ‘apostates’ and ‘heretics.’” I shall confirm his observation from a passage in Epiphanius, who tells us †, “that the Jews, in their synagogues, were used to pray against the Christians, in this form: Ἐπικατάρῃσαι ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς Ναζωραίους, ‘O God, curse the Nazarenes.’” And the same thing is intimated by Justin Martyr, who says †, “Immediately after our Saviour’s resurrection, the Jews sent forth their chosen emissaries to all the synagogues in the world, to tell them, that there was a certain impious, lawless sect risen up under one Jesus, a Galilean impostor, whom they had crucified; but his disciples came by night, and stole him away out of the grave, and deceived men by saying, ‘He was risen from the dead, and ascended into heaven.’” And he adds, “that after their city was demolished, they repented not, but even dared καταρᾶσθαι αὐτοῦ, ‘to curse him, and all that believed on him.’” Which plainly refers to this additional prayer, inserted into their liturgy against the Christians. But, excepting this prayer, which was of later date, all the other seem to have been in use in the time of our Saviour and his apostles. And as we are sure they frequented the synagogues, so there is no doubt to be made, but that they joined in these usual forms of prayer, which were one part of the synagogue service.

The other parts of the service were the reading of the law and the prophets, and expounding of them to the people. Which was also done by a certain rule and order. For the five Books of Moses were divided into as many sections or

† Epiph. Hæres. xxix. Nazaræor. n. ex. p. 124. C.

‡ Justin. cum Tryphon. (Bened. 1742. p. 202. B 7.) Οὐ μόνον οὐ μετενοήσατε, μαθόντες αὐτὸν ἀναστάντα ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἀλλ’ ὡς προεῖπον, ἄνδρας χειροτονήσαντες ἐκλεκτοὺς, εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπέμψατε κηρύσσοντας, ὅτι αἵρεσίς τις ἄθεος καὶ ἄνομος ἐγήγερται ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ τινος Γαλιλαίου πλάνου· ὃν σταυρωσάντων ἡμῶν, οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ κλέψαντες αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ μνήματος νυκτὸς, ὁπόθεν κατετίθη ἀφηλωθεὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ, πλαγῶσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους λέγοντες, ἐγηγέρθη αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνεληλυθέναι . . . καὶ ἀλούσης ὑμῶν τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τῆς γῆς ἐρημωθείσης, οὐ μετανοεῖτε, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταρᾶσθαι αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς αὐτὸν πάντων τολμᾶτε.

lessons as there are weeks in the year; one of which was read every Sabbath, and half of the same every Monday and Thursday, which were their days of assembly for the synagogue service. At these our Saviour was usually present; and sometimes assisted and officiated in reading, according to custom, as a member of the synagogue, as is expressly said of him (Luke iv. 16); and at other times taught in their synagogues (Mark i. 39; Luke iv. 15. 44); which is also noted of St. Paul (Acts xiii. 15; and xvi. 13; and xvii. 2; and xviii. 4), that it was his manner, on the Sabbath days, to go into the synagogues, where prayer was wont to be made; and there, after the reading of the law and the prophets, to preach to the people, and dispute or reason with them. So that, notwithstanding the public service of the synagogue was all performed by order and form, yet this was no reason to the apostles to refrain from it, as a thing simply sinful or unlawful; but they complied with it for some time, probably to gain upon the Jews the better, and make them lay aside their prejudices against the Christian doctrine.

But besides their compliance with the stated forms of the Jewish liturgy and worship, they had some forms of their own in constant use among themselves. Among which we may safely venture to reckon: 1. The Lord's Prayer, as a form appointed by Christ to be used by all his disciples; of which the primitive Christians never made any dispute, as we shall see more fully hereafter. 2. The form of baptism, constantly used without any variation, as has been showed in a former book ^v. 3. The forms of professing their faith in baptism, or the forms of sound words settled in every Church. 4. The forms of renouncing Satan, and covenanting with Christ in baptism. 5. The forms of Scripture hymns and psalms, and glorifications of God. To which the ancients seem to add, sixthly, the forms of benediction, such as, "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ," &c. And, lastly, the repetition of the history of Christ's institution of the Last Supper, as a necessary part of consecration, which, together with the use of the Lord's Prayer in the celebration of the eucharist, is generally thought to descend from apostolical practice. These things

^v Book xi. c. iii.

are sufficient to show, that even the apostles themselves, notwithstanding the extraordinary gift of inspired prayer, whether in matter, or method, or words, or languages, sometimes confined themselves to forms, without any reflection on their gifts, or stinting of the Spirit, or want of edification in their hearers. If these things be rightly considered, some of them at least will evince, that the use of well chosen and well appointed forms, are no ways disagreeable to apostolical practice, since the apostles themselves both complied with the forms in use in the Jewish temple and synagogue, and used some others of Christian institution. I now proceed to carry this inquiry through the three or four following ages of the Church.

And here, first, we may add what Josephus says of the Essenes ^w, “That they were used to rise before the sun was up, and offer unto God, *πατρίους τινὰς εὐχὰς*, ‘certain prayers, according to the custom of their forefathers,’ or such as they had received from them.” And what Philo says of the Therapeutæ of Alexandria, the ascetics, whether Jews or Christians, that lived there in this time ^x, “that the president among them, after he had made a sermon, first began to sing a hymn to the praise of God, either such as he had composed himself, or one taken out of the ancient prophets, in the close of which they all, both men and women, joined in concert with him.” Again, in their vigils ^y, “they divided themselves into two

^w Joseph. de Bello Jud. lib. ii. c. xii. (Havercamp, vol. ii. p. 161, at bottom.)

Πρὸς γε μὴν τὸ θεῖον ἰδίως εὐσεβεῖς· πρὶν γὰρ ἀνασχεῖν τὸν ἥλιον, οὐδὲν φθέγγονται τῶν βεβήλων· πατρίους δὲ τινὰς εἰς αὐτὸν εὐχὰς ὥσπερ ἰκετεύοντες ἀνατεῖλαι.

^x Philo de Vita Contemplativa. (Mangey, vol. ii. p. 484.) . . . ἔπειτα ὁ πρόεδρος ἀναστὰς, ὕμνον ᾄδει πεποιημένον εἰς τὸν Θεόν, ἢ καινὸν αὐτὸς πεποιηκώς, ἢ ἀρχαῖόν τινα τῶν πάλαι ποιητῶν . . . ὁπότε τὰ ἀκροτελεύθια καὶ ἐφύμνια ᾄδεν δέοι, τότε ἐξηχοῦσι πάντες τε καὶ πᾶσαι.

^y Ibid. (p. 484. l. 33.) Ἀνίστανται πάντες ἀθρόοι, καὶ κατὰ μέσον τὸ συμπόσιον δύο γίνονται τὸ πρῶτον χοροὶ, ὁ μὲν ἀνδρῶν, ὁ δὲ γυναικῶν ἡγεμῶν δὲ καὶ ἔξαρχος αἰρεῖται καθ’ ἕτερον ἐντιμότητός τε καὶ ἐμμελέστατος· εἶτα ᾄδουσι πεποιημένους εἰς τὸν Θεὸν ὕμνους πολλοῖς μέτροις καὶ μέλεσι, τῇ μὲν συνηχοῦντες· τῇ δὲ καὶ ἀντιφώνους ἀρμονίαις ἐπιχειρονομοῦντες καὶ ἐπαρχοῦμενοι, καὶ ἐπιθειάζοντες· τοτὲ μὲν τὰ προσοδικά, τοτὲ δὲ τὰ στάσιμα, στροφάς τε τὰς ἐν χρεῖα καὶ ἀντιστροφάς ποιούμενοι· εἶτα ὅταν ἑκάτερος τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἐστιαθῇ, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς βακχείαις ἀκράτου σπάσαντες τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς ἀναμίγνυνται, καὶ γίνονται

choirs, the one of men, the other of women, each of which had their precentor; and so they sang hymns to the glory of God, composed in divers sorts of metre, sometime one side singing, and sometimes the other, in imitation of the children of Israel, under the conduct of Moses and Miriam, their precentors, at the Red Sea." This was so much a resemblance of the ancient Christian way of psalmody, that Eusebius^z, who transcribes a great many things out of this curious tract of Philo, was clearly of opinion, "that it was a description of the worship of such Jews as had embraced the Christian religion." In which opinion he is followed not only by St. Jerome^a, but by many learned writers of this last age also. I shall not need to determine this question, whether they were Jews or Christians: it is sufficient to our present purpose, that their way of worshipping God by certain forms of praise, and those of human composition, was the same; or so much alike, that it was not easy to distinguish the one from the other.

SECT. V.—*What Evidence there is of the Use of set Forms in the second Century.*

In the beginning of the second century, lived Pliny, a Roman proconsul in Bithynia, who giving Trajan the Emperor an account of the Christian way of worship, which he had from the mouth of some apostates, says^b, "they were used to meet on a certain day, before it was light, and sing a hymn alternately to Christ, as God: binding themselves, by an oath or sacrament, (not to any wicked thing, but) that they would

χορός ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, μίμημα τοῦ πάλαι συστάτος κατὰ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν, ἕνεκα θαυματουργηθέντων ἐκεῖ τὸ γὰρ πέλαγος προστάζει Θεοῦ τοῖς μὲν σωτηρίας αἰτίου, τοῖς δὲ πανολεθρίας ἐγίνετο.

^z Euseb. lib. ii. c. xvii. (Aug. T. 1746. p. 60.) "Οτι δὲ τοὺς πρώτους κήρυκας τῆς κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον διδασκαλίας, τὰ τε ἀρχῆθεν πρὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔθη παραδεδομένα καταλαβὼν ὁ Φίλων ταῦτ' ἔγραφε, παντὶ τῷ δῆλον.

^a Hieron. de Scriptor. c. xi. de Philone. (Venet. 1766. vol. ii. p. 349.) Exstat hujus de vita nostrorum liber unus, id est, de apostolicis viris, quem et inscripsit *περὶ θεωρητικοῦ ἱκετῶν*, quod cœlestia contemplantur, et semper Deum orient.

^b Plin. lib. x. ep. xvii. (Gierig, vol. ii. p. 514.) Quod essent soliti, stato die, ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem: sequē sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati negarent.

not steal, nor rob, nor commit adultery, nor break their faith, nor withhold the pledge." The words *carmen dicere*, which Pliny uses, will signify, 'a solemn form of prayer,' as well as 'praises,' as Vossius^c, and Brissonius^d have observed out of the Roman writers: and then it will denote, that their whole divine service was by a stated form. However, in the most restrained sense, it implies, that they used certain forms, in some part of their service, in their alternate hymnody, which could not otherwise be performed, but by composition and prescription. And that makes it probable, that the rest of their service was then of the same nature and order.

In the beginning of the same century, Ignatius is said, by the ancient historians^e, to have brought in the way of alternate singing into the Church of Antioch; that is, hymns sung alternately to the praise of the Holy Trinity. For they speak not only of the alternate singing of David's Psalms, as intro-

^c Voss. Comment. in loc. p. 97. (p. 59. A, in Opuse. tom. iv. edit. Amstelod. 1688, fol.) Dixerunt carmen, atque id Christo. Carmen fuerit, etiamsi non caneretur. Nam carmen vocarunt Romani, quidquid conceptis verbis diceretur.

^d Brisson. de Formulis, p. 97, edit. Francof. 1592, 4to. In ea votorum nuncupatione, quæ a censoribus lustrum condentibus fiebat, invenio ante Scipionis ætatem solemnè carmine Deos oratos, ut populi Rom. res meliores amplioresque facerent. . . . Valer. Max. lib. iv. 'Africanus quum censor lustrum conderet, in quo solito sacrificio scriba ex publicis tabulis solemnè ei precatationis carmen præiret, quo dii immortales, ut populi Rom. res meliores facerent, rogabantur.'—Ibid. p. 64. Solemnè fuisse aliquod carmen precatationis, quod in concionibus, quæ ad populum habebantur, magistratus præfari consueverant, Livius, lib. xxxix. docet his verbis; 'Ad hæc officia dimissis magistratibus, consules in rostra adscenderunt; et in concione advocata, cum solemnè carmen precatationis, quod præfari, priusquam populum alloquantur, magistratus solent, peregisset, consul ita cœpit,' etc.

^e Soerat. lib. vi. c. viii. (Cant. 1720. p. 322.) Λεκτέον δὲ καὶ ὅθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν ἡ κατὰ τοὺς ἀντιφώνους ὕμνους ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ συνήθεια . . . Ἰγνάτιος Ἀντιοχείας τῆς Συρίας, τρίτος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Πέτρου ἐπίσκοπος, ὃς καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῖς συνδέτριψεν, ὀπτασίαν εἶδεν ἀγγέλων, διὰ τῶν ἀντιφώνων ὕμνων τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα ὑμνοῦντων, καὶ τὸν τρόπον τοῦ ὁράματος τῇ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρέδωκεν.—Histor. Tripartit. lib. x. c. ix. Dicendum est, unde sumserit initium, ut in ecclesia antiphonæ decantentur. Ignatius Antiochiæ Syriæ tertius post apostolum Petrum episcopus, qui etiam cum ipsis vixerat apostolis, vidit angelorum visionem, quomodo per antiphonas sanctæ Trinitati dicerent hymnos. Isque modum visionis Antiochenæ tradidit ecclesiæ. Et ex hac ad cunctas transit ecclesias.

duced by Ignatius, but of hymns composed by him to set forth the divinity of Christ: which appears to have been a very ancient practice, not only from what has been already observed out of the account given by Pliny, but from what is said by that ancient author in Eusebius, who wrote against the heresy of Artemon, in the latter end of the second century; where, among other arguments which he brings for the Church's constant belief of our Saviour's divinity, he urges this for one^f, "that from the beginning, there were psalms and hymns composed by the brethren, and written by the faithful, setting forth the praises of Christ, as the Word of God, and declaring the divinity of his person." Among these hymns, we may reckon those of Ignatius, composed for the service of the Church of Antioch; which, probably, might continue in use till Paulo Samosatensis removed them out of the Church, and introduced others in their room: as the fathers of the Council of Antioch, mentioned in Eusebius^g, object against him.

It is not improbable, likewise, but that Ignatius, as he made hymns, so might compose a whole form of prayers for the use of his own Church, as was customary for bishops to do in those days. To which custom he seems to refer in his Epistle to the Magnesians^h, when he bids them "do nothing without the bishops and the presbyters; nor attempt any thing seemingly agreeable to their private fancies: but when they met together, to have one prayer and supplication." Which not only forbids them to break out and divide into schisms and separate assemblies, but also to conform to the order of prayers agreed upon by the bishop and presbytery of the Church.

^f Euseb. lib. v. c. xxviii. (Cant. p. 252.) Ψαλμοὶ δὲ ὅσοι καὶ ψόδαι ἀδελφῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ πιστῶν γραφεῖσαι, τὸν Λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν ἡμῶσι θεολογοῦντες.

^g Euseb. lib. vii. c. xxx. (Cant. p. 362. l.) Ψαλμοὺς δὲ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν παύσας, ὡς δὴ νεωτέρους καὶ νεωτέρων ἀνδρῶν συγγράμματα εἰς ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ τοῦ πάσχα ἡμέρᾳ ψαλμῶδῆν γυναικας παρασκευάζων, ὧν καὶ ἀκούσας ἄν τις φρίζειεν.

^h Ignat. Epist. ad Magnes. n. vii. "Ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μηδὲν πράσσετε. Μηδὲ πειράσσητε εὐλογόν τι φαίνεσθαι ἴδια ἡμῖν. Ἄλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μία προσευχή, κ. τ. λ. (Hefele, Tubing. 1842. p. 137.)

Not long after Ignatius, we meet with the collateral evidence of Lucian the heathen, who had some knowledge of the Christian service. For in one of his dialogues, describing his coming into a religious assembly, he saysⁱ, “he there heard that prayer which began with the Father, and ended with the hymn of many names.” It is more than probable, that by the prayer beginning with the Father, he means the Lord’s prayer, which was of known and general use in the eucharistical service: but it is not so clear what he means by the hymn of many names, that came after it. Bishop Wetenhall^j takes it for the lesser, or common, doxology, “Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost:” Dr. Smith^k and others, for the great doxology, “Glory be to God on high;” which I think more probable: though it is not necessary, in our present inquiry, to determine what hymn it was: it being sufficient to our purpose, that he speaks of some prayers and hymns then of such common and vulgar use in the Christian worship, as that they were known to the very heathens.

Justin Martyr’s authority is commonly alleged on both sides, both for and against liturgies. The defenders of prescribed forms urge his mentioning *κοινὰς εὐχὰς*, ‘common prayers^l.’ The opposers, with great vehemence, argue for extempore prayer, because, he says^m, “the bishop offered prayers and thanksgiving *ὅση δύναμις*, ‘with all his might and power.’” Now, to speak freely, I think there is no de-

ⁱ Lucian. Philopatr. (Bipont. vol. ix. p. 265.) *Τὴν εὐχὴν ἀπὸ πατρὸς ἀρξάμενος, καὶ τὴν πολυώνυμον ῥῶδῃν εἰς τέλος ἐπιθείς.*

^j Wetenhall’s Gift of Singing, chap. xi. p. 273.

^k Smith’s Account of the Greek Church, p. 226. [Not. Falsa mihi videtur allegatio. Latina editio, quæ mihi ad manus est, habet tantum paginas 165. Integrum libellum semel atque iterum percurri: locum autem, ad quem provocat auctor, nusquam inveni. *Grischor.*]—Comber (Origin of Liturgies, chap. ii. p. 30) pro *trisagio* accipit.

^l Justin. Apol. i. (Paris. 1742. p. 82.) *Ἡμεῖς δὲ μετὰ τὸ οὕτως λοῦσαι τὸν πεπεισμένον, ἐπὶ τοὺς λεγομένους ἀδελφοὺς ἀγομεν, ἔνθα συνηγμένοι εἰσὶ, κοινὰς εὐχὰς ποιησόμενοι ὑπὲρ τε ἑαυτῶν καὶ τοῦ φωτισθέντος, καὶ ἄλλων πανταχοῦ πάντων ἐυτόνων, κ. τ. λ.*

^m Ibid. *Ἐπειτα ἀνιστάμεθα κοινῇ πάντες, καὶ εὐχὰς πέμπομεν.*—P. 83. D. *Καὶ, ὡς πρόεφημεν, παυσαμένων ἡμῶν τῆς εὐχῆς, ἄρτος προσφέρεται καὶ οἶνος, καὶ ὕδωρ· καὶ ὁ προεστὼς εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ ἀναπέμπει, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων τὸ ἀμήν.*

monstration in either of these expressions : for they are both ambiguous. Common prayer does not always imply, that the minister prayed by a prescribed form : for inspired prayer was doubtless common prayer, when offered in a public congregation : and though it was then a form prescribed to the people, yet it was not so to the minister ; but conceived by immediate inspiration. Therefore we cannot argue barely from the mentioning of common prayer, that the minister prayed by a prescribed form, unless it be added, as usually it is in Chrysostom, “that the congregation prayed *μᾶ φωνῇ*, ‘with one voice,’ joining vocally in the whole prayer, or alternately, by way of responses, with the minister.” For that implies, that the people understood, beforehand, the words of their common prayers, before they were uttered by the minister. On the other hand, there is no solidity in the arguments brought against liturgies, from Justin’s saying, “that the bishop prayed and gave thanks, *ὅση δύναμις*, ‘with all his ability or power.’” For this may not at all relate to the invention of words, but to the ardency and intenseness of devotion, which may be in the use of prescribed forms as well as those of immediate conception. And so it is plain the very same phrase is used by Nazianzenⁿ, when he exhorts the Christians to sing *ὅση δύναμις*, ‘with all their might,’ that triumphal hymn upon the death of Julian, which the children of Israel sang when the Egyptians were drowned in the Red Sea. Which was not an extempore hymn, but a form composed by Moses, and appointed to be sung alternately by the congregation of Israel. (Exod. xv.) So that after all the pains that has been taken by some late writers to draw an argument against liturgies, out of this passage of Justin, there is no reason for such a conclusion. And yet this is the only passage that is brought against them. But it is more material to consider, that Justin lived among the Jews, who certainly used set forms

ⁿ Nazianz. Orat. iii. cont. Jul. (Paris. 1630. vol. i. p. 54. B 8.) Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεκαθήραμεν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ χοροῦ τὸ πλήρωμα φέρε, ὅση δύναμις, ἀγνισάμενοι καὶ σώματα καὶ ψυχάς· καὶ μίαν ἀναλαβόντες φωνήν, ἐνὶ συναρμοσθέντες πνεύματι, τὴν ἐπινίκιον ᾄδωμεν ἐκείνην φθόγῃ, ἣν ποτε ᾄσειεν ὁ Ἰσραὴλ ἐπὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ κατακαλυφθεῖσιν, ἐξαρχούσης Μαρίας, καὶ ἀνακρουομένης τὸ τύμπανον.

of prayer, one of which he condemns, as I have showed before, as an execration inserted against the Christians; but says nothing against the other; which yet, doubtless, he would have done, had he believed the use of liturgies to have been only a piece of Jewish superstition, unbecoming the spirit of a Christian. But he too well understood the practice of our Saviour and his apostles, in complying with the forms of the Jewish service, to put any such mark or brand of infamy upon them. And, therefore, this is of more weight with me, to persuade that Justin believed the known forms, both of the Jewish and Christian service, to be lawful, than any ambiguous expressions are to persuade the contrary.

Not long after Justin, lived Irenæus, bishop of Lyons in France. And he takes notice of a certain form used in the Christian worship, so well known to the Valentinian heretics, that they made use of it as an argument to prove their own fabulous doctrine of the *Æones*; for, said they, “You yourselves of the Church, in your thanksgivings, say, ‘for ages of ages,’ or *æones of æones*; thereby intimating the *æones* which we contend for.” This plainly refers to some form of thanksgiving, then of known use in the Church. Dr. Comber and some others take it for the *Gloria Patri*, because it ends as that in Irenæus did, with the words, “world without end, Amen.” But I rather conceive, with Dr. Grabe ^p, that it was the conclusion of the great thanksgiving in the eucharist; where the glorification of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, ends with the words εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ‘world

^o Iren. lib. i. c. iii. (Bened. 1734. vol. i. p. 14.) Καὶ τὸν Παῦλον φανερώ-
τατα λέγουσι τοὺς Αἰῶνας ὀνομάζειν πολλακίς, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν
τετηρηκέσθαι οὕτως εἰπόντα, εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τῶν αἰώνων· τοῦ αἰῶνος·
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμᾶς, ἐπὶ τῆς εὐχαριστίας λέγοντας, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων,
ἐκείνους τοὺς αἰῶνας σημαίνειν.

^p Grabe, Not. in loc. Irenæi. Non inepte notat Feuard. per ‘eucharistias’
hic intelligi preces atque laudes, in celebratione sacramenti eucharistiæ fundi
solitas. . . . Harum enim clausulam jam primo ecclesiæ ævo fuisse, ‘per omnia
sæcula sæculorum’ probare contendit ex liturgiis Jacobi, Clementis, etc.
Atqui has quidem vel suppositas, vel interpolatas esse satis constat: attamen
haud vane augurari licet, illos, qui in omnibus istis liturgiis exprimuntur,
quique jam olim ubique inter sacra mysteria usitati fuere, ritus ex apostolica
traditione fluxisse. Id saltem ex hoc Valentinianorum argumento liquet, se-
cunda post Christum natum ætate dictam formulam in usu fuisse.

without end ;' to which the people always answered, ' Amen ;' as appears from the form remaining in the Constitutions^q ; of which more in its proper place.

About the same time lived Clemens of Alexandria, who, speaking of the Church, says^r, " It was the congregation of those who prostrated themselves in prayers, having, as it were, *φωνὴν τὴν κοινὴν*, ' one common voice ;'" which implies, that their prayers were such as that they could join vocally in them, either by repeating the whole, or at least by alternate responses. He also mentions a form of prayer, used over the penitents by the Valentinians, in imposition of hands, in the close of which were these words^s, " that they may obtain angelical absolution." Not to mention that common form of doxology, which he uses at the end of his *Pædagogus*^t, " To whom be glory, both now and for ever, world without end. Amen."

Next after him, Tertullian often tells us, " that they used the Lord's Prayer as a form enjoined by divine command ;" of which I shall say more in a following chapter^u. He also says^v, " that the form of baptism was appointed and prescribed by Christ to be always ' in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.'" And not only so, but to this the Church added several other ceremonies and observations, which were not enjoined expressly in so many words by Christ : as the form of renouncing the devil^w, and

^q Constitut. Apostol. lib. viii. c. xii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 483.) Ubi clausula orationis ante oblationem sic habet: "Οτι σοι πᾶσα δόξα, σέβας, καὶ εὐχαριστία· τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀνελλειπέεις καὶ ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς λεγέτω, Ἀμήν.

^r Clement. Alexand. Strom. vii. c. vi. (p. 848, edit. Oxon.) Τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἀνακειμένων, μίαν ὡσπερ ἔχον φωνὴν τὴν κοινὴν, καὶ μίαν γνώμην.

^s Ibid. Epit. (p. 974, Oxon.) Διὸ καὶ ἐν τῇ χειροθεσίᾳ λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τέλους, εἰς λύτρωσιν ἀγγελικὴν.

^t P. 115. (p. 311, edit. Oxon.) Ὡς ἡ δόξα καὶ νῦν, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· Ἀμήν.

^u Chap. vii.

^v Tertul. de Bapt. c. xiii. (vol. ii. p. 52.) Lex tinguendi imposita est, et forma præscripta. 'Ite,' inquit, 'doceate nationes, tinguentes eas in nomen Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.'

^w Ibid. de Coron. Milit. c. iii. (Oberthür, vol. i. p. 206.) Quamdiu per hanc

his pomp, and his angels; the trine immersion; the interrogatories and responses, which were made in a certain form to the articles of the creed; the giving of milk and honey to the newly baptized; the obligation to abstain from bathing for a whole week after: all which observations were only of ecclesiastical institution and prescription. So again their receiving the eucharist in their morning assemblies^x before day, which Christ instituted after supper; their annual oblations and commemorations for the dead; their avoiding fasting, and refusing to pray kneeling on the Lord's day and the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost; their signing themselves with the sign of the cross upon all occasions; and their appointing of occasional fasts^y; together with the fast of Lent and

lineam serram recipiobimus, habentes observationem inveteratam, quæ preveniendo statum fecit? Hanc si nulla Scriptura determinavit, certe consuetudo corroboravit, quæ sine dubio de traditione manavit. Quomodo enim usurpari quid potest, si traditum prius non est? Etiam in traditionis obtentu exigenda est, inquis, auctoritas scripta. Ergo quæramus, an et traditio nisi scripta non debeat recipi. Plane negabimus recipendam, si nulla exempla præjudicent aliarum observationum, quas sine ullius Scripturæ instrumento, solius traditionis titulo, exinde consuetudinis patrocinio vindicamus. Denique, ut a baptisate ingrediari, aquam adituri, ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius in ecclesia sub antistitis manu contestamur nos renuntiare diabolo, et pompæ, et angelis ejus. Dehinc ter mergitamur, amplius aliquid respondententes, quam Dominus in Evangelio determinavit. Inde suscepti, lactis et mellis concordiam prægustamus: exque ea die, lavaero quotidiano per totam hebdomadam abstinemus.

^x *Ibid.* Eucharistiæ sacramentum, et in tempore victus, et omnibus mandatum a Domino, etiam antelucanis cœtibus, nec de aliorum manu quam presidentium sumimus. Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis, annua die facimus. Die Dominico jejunium nefas ducimus, vel geniculis adorare. Eadem immunitate a die Paschæ in Pentecosten usque gaudemus. Calicis aut panis etiam nostri aliquid decuti in terram anxie patimur. Ad omnem progressum atque promotum, ad omnem aditum et exitum, ad vestitum et calceatum, ad lavacra, ad mensas, ad lumina, ad cubilia, ad sedilia, quæcumque nos conversatio exercet, frontem [crucis] signaculo terimus. Harum et aliarum ejusmodi disciplinarum si legem expostules Scripturarum, nullam invenies: traditio tibi prætendetur auctrix, consuetudo confirmatrix, et fides observatrix.

^y *Tertul. de Jejun. c. xiii. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 177.)* Præscribitis constituta esse solemnia huic fidei, Scripturis vel traditione majorum, nihilque observationis amplius adjiciendum, ob illicitum innovationis. State in isto gradu, si potestis. Ecce enim convenio vos et præter Pascha jejunantes, citra illos dies, quibus ablatas est sponsus, et stationum semijejunia interponentes, et vos interdum pane et aqua victitantes, ut cuique visum est: denique respondetis hæc ex arbitrio agenda, non ex imperio. Movistis igitur gradum excedendo

stationary days; none of which were of express divine command, but were instituted by the Church; with many other observations of the like nature, for the edification of her children, as her rules of discipline, and psalmody, and singing a particular psalm at the eucharist, which is mentioned by our author^z. Again he intimates^a, that in all their assemblies they had not only sermons and prayers, but also the Scriptures read, and psalms sung to the glory of God; which must be allowed to be forms of praise and glorification. Nor would it be material to suggest, that Tertullian, when he wrote this, was a Montanist; for both the Church and heretics commonly agreed in singing of David's psalms, and even vied in hymns of their own composition and prescription. Tertullian, indeed, does not expressly say, that their prayers, like their psalms, were offered in a certain form of words; but he says what may incline a man reasonably to believe it. For, as a proof of the Christians' loyalty, he says^b, "they met together, and as if they were drawn up in battle, did jointly set upon God with their prayers, which violence was acceptable to him. They prayed for the emperors, for their officers and powers, for the state of the world, for the peace of their government, and for the continuance of their empire." And again he says, "they prayed constantly for all the emperors, that they might have a long life and quiet reign; that their family might be safe, their armies valiant, their senate faithful, their people virtuous,

traditionem, quum quæ non sint constituta, obitis. Quale est autem, ut tuo arbitrio permittas, quod imperio Dei non das? plus humanæ licebit voluntati, quam divinæ potestati? . . . Bene autem, quod et episcopi universæ plebi mandare jejunia adsolent; non dico de industria stipium conferendarum, ut vestrae capturæ est; sed interdum et ex aliqua sollicitudinis ecclesiasticæ causa, etc.

^z *Ibid.* Vide quam bonum, et quam jucundum habitare fratres in unum: hoc tu psallere non facile nosti, nisi quo tempore cum compluribus cœnas.

^a *Ibid.* de Anima, c. ix. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 340.) Jam vero prout Scripturæ leguntur, aut psalmi canuntur, aut adlocutiones proferuntur, aut petitiones delegantur; ita inde materiæ visionibus subministrantur.

^b *Tertul.* Apol. c. xxxix. (Oberthür, vol. i. p. 117.) Coimus . . . ad Deum, quasi manu facta preceationibus ambiamus. Hæc vis Deo grata est. Oramus etiam pro imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum, et potestatibus, pro statu sæculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis. . . . Precantes sumus semper pro omnibus imperatoribus, vitam illis prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum, quæcumque hominis et Cæsaris vota sunt.

and that the whole world might be in peace." Now these, as we shall see hereafter, were known parts of the Church's liturgy; and if they had not been of constant use, they had been but poor arguments of the Christians' loyalty, for which Tertullian here produces them. In another place, he expressly mentions the same doxology, as Irenæus does before him; for, speaking against Christians frequenting the Roman theatres, he asks them ^c, "with what face they could go from the church of God into the church of the devil? And with that mouth, wherewith they had said 'Amen' at the consecration or reception of the eucharist, give testimony to a gladiator? or say 'World without end,' to any besides God and Christ; or to any besides Christ their God." I do not take this, with some learned men, to mean that common form of doxology, "Glory be to the Father," &c. at the end of the Psalms: but the conclusion of the consecration prayer in the communion service, which, as I noted before, always ended with those words, εἰς αἰῶνας, 'world without end:' to which the people subjoined their 'Amen.' And then it is an evident proof, that the African Churches had a certain form of prayer for consecrating the eucharist, the known words of which Tertullian could allege to the people, as an argument to dissuade them from frequenting the heathen theatres. He also intimates, that they sang psalms and hymns alternately in private ^d: for to dissuade Christian women from marrying heathen husbands, he uses this argument ^e; "What will such a husband sing to his wife, or the wife to her husband? But if they married Christian husbands, then they would sing psalms and hymns between themselves, and mutually provoke one another, and strive who should make the sweetest melody to their God."

^c Ibid. de Spectac. c. xxv. (Oberthür, vol. i. p. 29.) Quale est enim de ecclesia Dei, in diaboli ecclesiam tendere? de cœlo (quod aiunt) in cœnum? illas manus quas ad Dominum extuleris, postmodum laudando histrionem fatigare? ex ore, quo Amen in sanctum protuleris, gladiatori testimonium reddere ἀπ' αἰῶνος εἰς αἰῶνας alii omnino dicere, nisi Deo Christo? [Deo et Christo.]

^d Tertul. ad Uxor. lib. ii. c. vi. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 72.) Quid maritus suus illi, vel marito quid illa cantabit?

^e Ibid. c. ix. (p. 75.) Sonant inter duos psalmi et hymni, et mutuo provocant quis melius Deo suo cantet.

And there is no doubt to be made, but that this private psalmody was an imitation of the public psalmody of the Church. So when he says^f, “that at their feasts of charity, after the communion was ended, in the close of all, when they had washed their hands, and brought in lights, every one was excited either to sing something out of Scripture, or some hymn of his own composing;” this as plainly argues, that they made use of forms in this part of their private devotions; for the Psalms of Scripture are undoubtedly forms: and hymns of private composition are no less so, unless we will suppose every one that sings, has words suggested to him by immediate inspiration; which still will be a form to the congregation that hears it, though not to the person who is so extraordinarily inspired by the Holy Ghost.

But there is one expression in Tertullian, which the opposers of liturgies lay great stress upon, because, he says^g, “the Christians prayed for the emperor, *sine monitore, quia de pectore*, ‘without any monitor, because they prayed from their heart;’” which they expound, praying extempore. But if this be interpreted rigidly, it will prove much more than the objectors design: for if they prayed simply without any monitor, then it will exclude even the minister’s dictating to them his own conceptions; because these will be an admonition or direction to the people; and so all public prayer must cease, and all devotion be resolved into the private prayers of the people; which is such an absurdity as neither Tertullian ever thought of, nor the objectors themselves will allow. Whatever, therefore, be meant by this phrase, ‘praying from the heart without a monitor,’ it cannot mean, that the people’s prayers were simply their own conceptions. Among the many interpretations which are put upon these words by learned men (which may be seen in Dr. Faulkner^h

^f Ibid. Apol. c. xxxix. (vol. i. p. 120.) Post aquam manualement et lumina, ut quisque de Scripturis sanctis, vel de proprio ingenio potest, provocatur in medium Deo canere: hinc probatur, quomodo biberit.

^g Ibid. c. xxx. (p. 110.) Illuc sursum suspicientes Christiani manibus expansis, quia innocuis; capite nudo, quia non erubescimus; denique sine monitore, quia de pectore oramus. . . . pro omnibus imperatoribus, etc.

^h Faulkner, Libert. Eccles. book i. chap. iv. sect. ii. — Comber, Origin of Liturgies, chap. ii. p. 47.

or Dr. Comber), I take these two to be the most natural; either first, that they prayed *memoriter*, saying their prayers by heart, and needing no prompter, as the heathens did; which is the sense that Rigaltiusⁱ and Bishop Fell^j put upon it; in which sense it is an argument for liturgies, and not against them. Or, secondly, that they prayed sincerely from the heart, and freely out of the loyalty of their own heart without compulsion, as Hamon L'Estrange and Dr. Comber^k interpret it; which seems to be the truest sense: for the heathens were neither sincere, nor hearty, nor zealous in their prayers for the emperor; but the Christians offered their prayers with all those due qualifications, as became the character of truly pious votaries and loyal subjects. The sense of this dark passage being thus cleared, it remains no argument against liturgies, unless a man will say, there can be no such thing as sincerity and heartiness in a form of prayer; which would be to condemn the whole Catholic Church in the time of Tertullian, from whose testimonies it is evident, that forms were generally used in most parts of divine service.

I have nothing further to add in this century, but only one or two small observations out of the Acts of St. Perpetua and Felicitas, two African martyrs, who suffered in the latter end of this age. There it is remarked of Perpetua^l, "that seeming in a vision to receive the eucharist into her hands and eat it, all that stood round her, said, 'Amen:'" alluding to the custom of saying 'Amen' at the reception of it from the hands of the minister in the church. There is a like allusion to the use of the *trisagion*, 'Holy, holy, holy^m,' which the angels use

ⁱ Rigalt. in Tertul. Apol. c. xxx. Apud ethnicos monitor præibat preces, ac de scripto quidem, ne quid verborum præteriretur, aut præposterum diceretur; rursusque alius custos erat, qui attenderet; alius qui faveri linguis juberet.—Plin. c. ii. lib. xxxviii.

^j Fell. Not. in Cyprian. de Orat. Domin. (Oxon. p. 152.) (p. 107, Amstelod.) Nihil in Christiana pietate precum formulis antiquis. Sacerdos verbis conceptis præibat, plebs invicem respondebat, idque sine monitore, quod gentilibus solemne, 'quia,' ut ait Tertullianus (Apol. c. xxx.), 'de pectore orabant,' id est, preces memoriter tenebant.

^k L'Estrange, Smectymniomastix, p. 5.—Comber, of Liturgies, p. 49.

^l Passio Perpetuæ. (Galland. vol. ii. p. 175.) Ego accepi junctis manibus, et manducavi: et universi circumstantes dixerunt, Amen.

^m Ibid. (Galland. vol. ii. p. 177.) Introivimus et audivimus vocem unitam, Hagios, Hagios, Hagios, sine cessatione.

in heaven. And a further intimation of the solemn custom of giving the peace, and the kiss of peace in the communion: for it is saidⁿ, “that Perpetua and her brother Saturus saluted one another with a kiss before they suffered, that they might consummate their martyrdom by the solemn rites of giving the peace.”

SECT. VI.—*What Evidence there is for the Use of set Forms in the third Century.*

In the beginning of the third century, about the year 220, lived Hippolytus the martyr, and bishop of Adana, or Portus Romanus in Arabia. Among other learned works, he wrote a book, called *Ἀποστολικὴ Παράδοσις περὶ Χαραρισμάτων*, ‘the Apostolical Tradition concerning Ecclesiastical Offices;’ which, according to the general opinion of the most learned critics, Dr. Bernard, Dr. Gale, and others^o, is no other than the eighth book of those called the Apostolical Constitutions; which they think were compiled and published at Rome by this author. And if so, there can be no question what his opinion was about the use of forms in divine service; for that book is nothing else but a collection of such forms as either were in use, or made in imitation of those that were then in use, in the Church. I will not allege any of them here, because I do it in every part of this work: and it would be very needless and superfluous here to repeat them.

Besides this, Hippolytus wrote a book of odes or hymns upon several parts of Scripture, some of which, most probably, were of use in the public service. For in another treatise of the Consummation of the World and Antichrist^p, he commends the use of doxologies, and psalms, and spiritual odes; and makes it one of the signs of the reign of antichrist, that liturgy shall

ⁿ Ibid. Ante jam osculati invicem, et martyrium per solemnia pacis consummarent.

^o Vid. Cave, *Histor. Litterar.* (Basil. 1641. vol. ii. p. 107.) *Περὶ χαρισμάτων.*] Opus aliunde incognitum. Suspicio partem fuisse ἀποστολικῶν διατάξεων, quas Hippolytus ex Oriente Romam attulit, quæ etiam nunc exstant.

^p Hippolyt. de Consum. Mund. (Hamburg. 1716. append. p. 21, at bottom.) *Λειτουργία σβεσθήσεται ψαλμοὶ παυσθήσεται ἀνάγνωσις τῶν γραφῶν οὐκ εἰσακουσθήσεται.*—Id. (p. 28, at top.) *Τὸ στόμα ὑμῶν πρὸς δοξολογίαν, καὶ αἶνον, καὶ ψαλμοὺς, καὶ ψῆδὰς πνευματικὰς ἠντρίπισα λαλεῖν, καὶ μελετᾶν διὰ παντὸς τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν, κ. τ. λ.*

be extinguished, psalmody shall cease, and reading of the Scriptures shall not be heard. It is true indeed, some learned men, Bishop Ussher^q, Combefis, and Du Pin, reject this as a spurious tract, composed by some modern Greeks; but as learned critics, Labbe^r and Bishop Bull^s, have undertaken to defend it,

^q Usser. Biblioth. Theol. See Cave, Histor. Litter. (Basil. 1741. vol. i. p. 108.) Genuinum Hippolyti opus non esse, pluribus probare nititur Rever. Usserius in Biblioth. Theol. MS., argumenta sua his demum verbis claudens: 'Apparet igitur tum ex ipso Græcæ dictionis genere, tum ex rei veritate, atque pondere libelli istius, auctorem hominem illiteratum fuisse atque indoctum.'—Combef. Auctar. Biblioth. Patr. p. 51.—Du Pin, Biblioth. (Paris. 1693. vol. i. p. 112.) Il est fort incertain, si c'est le traité de l' Anti-Christ qui est attribué presentement à Hippolite, etc.

^r Labb. de Scriptor. Eccles. p. 471. Scio hæreticorum proceres, Jo. Juellum, Robertum Cocum, Isaacum Casaubonum, similesque heterodoxos, orationem illam (de Consummatione Mundi) conatos arguere falsi.—1. Quia incipit ἐπειδὴ γάρ. Novum crimen, superi! atque inauditum!—2. Quod somnia narret. Quæ? At esto, id ita sit: an quoties aberrat aliquis et varia sectatur, ejus continuo repudianda et abdicanda ratio?—3. Quia existimat, Joannem evangelistam minime mortuum. At idem dixerunt alii, quorum tamen opera indubitata sunt et inconcussa. Certe de antichristo et resurrectione scripsisse, testis est mox laudatus Hieronymus, c. lxi. Catalogi.

^s Bull. Defens. Fid. Nic. sect. iii. c. viii. sect. iv. (Bull's Works, Oxford, 1827, vol. v. p. 596.) Sunt tamen viri quidam docti inter Neotericos, qui hoc Hippolyti opus abjudicant satis fidenter; sed rationibus inducti, meo quidem judicio, levissimis; immo quæ, si accuratius expendantur, contra ipsos militent. Primo ipsis displicet Græcæ dictionis genus, quodque liber incipiat ab ἐπειδὴ γάρ. Quam objectionem merito ita irrisit Philippus Labbeus: 'Novum crimen, superi, atque inauditum!' Sane præterquam quod eruditi in hoc litterarum genere probe norunt, ab omnibus Græcis scriptoribus ecclesiasticis perpolitum Græcæ dictionis genus frustra requiri, Photius, qui indubitata Hippolyti scripta legerat, de ejus phrasi expresse monuit (Cod. cxxi.) quod πρὸς τὸν Ἀττικὸν οὐκ ἐπιστρέφεται λόγον, 'ad sermonem Atticum non tendat.' Et alibi (nempe Cod. ccii.) rursus de Hippolyti dicendi genere loquutus ait: Τοὺς Ἀττικοὺς ὄντι μάλα Ξεσμοὺς δυσωπεῖται. 'Atticas revera leges valde repudiat.' Præterea id offendit hos censors, quod in eo opere multæ reperiantur de natalibus et vita Antichristi inanes conjecturæ; v. g. Antichristum non hominem, sed dæmonem fore, humana figura præditum. Sed quis nescit, illorum temporum scriptores multa perabsurda de Antichristo, ut de re obscura, tradidisse? Ac de Hippolyto diserte testatur Photius Codice proxime citato, quod in interpretatione Danielis, ubi de Antichristo etiam agit, πολλὰ ἀρχαιοτρόπως, καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὸ ὑστερον διηκριβωμένον, καταλέγει, 'multa veteri more, non, ut postea fuere accuratius excussa, recenseat.' Quin et de hoc ipso Hippolyti opere, quod De Antichristo inseribitur, ibidem, ut audivimus, monet, in ipso esse τὸ τῶν νοημάτων ἀπλούστερόν τε καὶ ἀρχαιοτρόπον, 'sensuum simplicitatem majorem' (ubi τὸ ἀπλοῦν, quod a Græcis fieri solet, τῷ ἀκριβεῖ opponitur) 'et vetustatem.' Antichristum vero malo spiritu conceptum fore, receptior fuit

and answer all the arguments that are produced against it. I will not enter into this debate, but only say, that as there is nothing in this passage now alleged, dissonant to the sense of Hippolytus's other works, we may be allowed to cite it in this cause, till some clearer evidence can be produced against it. Hippolytus wrote also a book, called *Canon Paschalis*, which Scaliger^t and Gothofred^u take to be a calendar, showing what

doctorum in veteri ecclesia opinio. Hinc id ipsum pro indubio et rato tradidit ille vere θαυμάσιος Martinus, apud Severum Sulpicium, dialog. ii. c. xvi. Et auctor Tractatus de Antichristo apud Augustinum de Antichristi Conceptione sic scribit: 'Diabolus simul in uterum matris ejus introibit, et totam eam replebit, totam circumdabit, totam tenebit, et totam interius exteriusque possidebit.' Quid? quod ipse Irenæus (cujus auditor Hippolytus fuisse perhibetur) eandem sententiam tradidit. Nam de Antichristo hæc refert, (lib. v. c. xxv.) 'Ille enim omnem suscipiens diaboli virtutem, veniet non quasi rex justus, nec quasi in subjectione Dei legitimus; sed impius, et injustus, et sine lege, quasi apostata, et iniquus et homicida, quasi latro, diabolicam apostasiam in se recapitulans.' Hæc itaque librum istum Hippolyti genuinum esse, non parum confirmant. Denique objiciunt, scriptorem illum adfirmare, animas hominum a sæculis fuisse; quod fuit Origenis figmentum. Sed hinc etiam non leve argumentum arripio, quo probem, Hippolytum esse revera libri auctorem. Quippe Originem aliquando Hippolyti auditorem fuisse, constat ex Hieronymo, qui ait ipsum . . . Hippolytum fuisse Clementis Alexandrini discipulum. Clemens autem ille decreto Platonis, de animæ præexistentiâ, favisse deprehenditur, Strom. lib. i. et clarius, lib. iii., uti etiam ab Huetio observatum est. Ab hoc itaque Clemente et Hippolytus et Origenes, uterque ejus discipulus (quamquam Hippolytus in ea schola senior fuit) dogma illud hauserunt. Ut verbo igitur dicam; omnia in libro de Antichristo ita Hippolyto conveniant, ut, etiamsi titulus non moneret, facile per se nasutiores possent odorari, ipsum ab Hippolyto revera profectum esse.

^t Scaliger, de Emendat. Tempor. lib. vii. (p. 726, Genev. 1629, folio.) Hæc omnia, quæ inclusa sunt in cellulis aræ Laterculi, sunt lectiones ex utroque testamento, quarum usus erat eo tempore in ecclesia. Sed quædam earum statæ sunt ex orbe hebdomadam, et eidem diei hebdomadis hærent, aliquando fortassis eidem diei mensis: quædam vaga pro ratione termini. Ut ecce, γένεσις Χριστοῦ quotannis ex primo Matthæi ἐν προδιανυκτερεύσει, sive παραμοναῖς natalis Christi legebatur mense Pharmuthi, quo tempore quidem natum Dominum putabant, ut scribit Clemens Alexandrinus.

^u Gothofred. Not. in Cod. Theod. lib. xv. tit. v. de Spectaculis, leg. v. p. 356. In genere notum jam aliunde vel ex Ambrosio et Augustino, lectiones ex utroque testamento solemnes in ecclesia olim fuisse, et quidem statas, ex orbe, ac nominatim ex Novo Testamento, quæ ἀποστολο-εὐάγγελια postea dicta, et εὐαγγελιστάρια: ejus rei luculentum testimonium in Hippolyti episcopi 'Paschali' occurrit, ubi lectiones hujusmodi designantur in cellulis aræ Laterculi; ut ecce, γένεσις Χριστοῦ, quotannis ex primo Matthæi, ἐν προδιανυκτερεύσει, sive παραμοναῖς natalis Christi legebatur xi. Pharmuthi, quo tempore quidam

lessons were to be read on several festivals ; as the first of St. Matthew, called Γένεσις, the generation of Christ, on the vigil of Christ's nativity ; and the Πάθος, or the history of his sufferings out of the gospel of St. Matthew, on the day of his crucifixion. And it is certain, from many passages in St. Chrysostom, St. Austin, and others, that such calendars were used in the Church, as shall be showed in another place ^v, when I come to speak of the ancient method of reading the Holy Scriptures by a certain rule and order in divine service. But because Ægidius Bucherius, who has since republished this Paschal Cycle, and Dr. Cave ^w, give another interpretation of it, I will lay no greater stress upon it than it will bear, contenting myself in so critical a point to have suggested the sense of learned men, and leave the matter to the further disquisition of the curious reader ; having otherwise given sufficient evidence, that the Church, in the time of Hippolytus, used stated forms of prayer and praises in her public service.

Not long after Hippolytus, lived Origen, who was one of his scholars, and took some of his opinions from him. Now this writer, in his Homilies upon Jeremy, expressly mentions one of the prayers of constant use in the Church. “ We frequently say in our prayers,” says he ^x, “ ‘ Grant us, O Almighty God, grant us a part with thy prophets ; grant us a part with the apostles of thy Christ ; grant that we may be found at the feet of thy only-begotten Son ; ’ ” which is a testimony so clear, that the Centuriators ^y made no scruple to conclude hence, “ that forms of prayer were undoubtedly used in the Church in the time of Origen.” He elsewhere says ^z, “ The

natum Dominum putabant, ut scribit Clemens Alexandrinus. Ita πάθος Χριστοῦ, die passionis Dominicæ, id est, ex quorundam sententia, xxx. Matthæi, aliaque quæ in eo canone videre est, et Scaliger explicavit.

^v Book xiv. chap. iii. sect. iii.

^w Vid. Cave, Histor. Litter. vol. ii. p. 47.

^x Origen. Hom. xi. in Jerem. (Bened. 1733. vol. iii. p. 217.) Τὴν μερίδα ἡμῶν μετὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων δὸς, etc.

^y Centur. Magdeb. cent. iii. c. vi. p. 94. D 2. Formulas quasdam precationum absque dubio habuerunt. Origenes enim ad eas, quas Collectas hodie vocant, adludere videtur, ‘ ubi (inquit) frequenter in oratione dicimus, Da Omnipotens, ’ etc.

^z Origen. cont. Cels. lib. vi. (Cantab. 1677. p. 302.) Διαβεβαιούμεθα δὲ ἡμεῖς, καὶ τῇ πείρᾳ παραλαβόντες, ὅτι οἱ κατὰ Χριστιανισμὸν διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τὸν

Christians used the ordered or prescribed prayers, as became them, continually, night and day, whereby they were preserved against the power of magic and the devil." For Celsus, in his spiteful way, had advanced an egregious calumny against the Christians, pretending that he had seen in the hands of some of their presbyters certain barbarous books, containing the names of the devils and their impostors; hereby insinuating, that the prayers which the Christian presbyters had in their books, were only magical enchantments: which calumny Origen not only rejects with scorn, appealing to the experience of the world, which knew it to be a fiction; but also tells his adversary further, "that the prayers which they used by order and appointment, were such as rendered them invincible and proof against all the force of magic and power of the devils." Now, considering that the objection of Celsus lay against the service-books of the Christian presbyters, it is reasonable to conclude, that Origen's answer relates to the same; for Origen does not deny that they had any such books, but only says, "their prayers, which they were ordered to use, were of a different nature from what the adversary had represented them."

To this we may add what Origen says in his Comments upon Job ^a, "that by ancient custom of the Church, the book of Job was always read in Lent, and particularly in Passion Week, as most properly adapted to that occasion." The reader may find this passage at length hereafter ^b: and therefore it is sufficient to hint in this place, that the Scriptures, in his time, were methodized and brought under rule, being read by some certain order and prescription.

Not long after Origen, St. Cyprian testifies not only that the Lord's Prayer was used as a form, and as a spiritual form, most acceptable to God, as we shall see hereafter; but also

ἐπὶ πᾶσι θεραπεύοντες θεόν, καὶ βιοῦντες κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτοῦ, ταῖς προσταχθείσαις τε εὐχαῖς συνεχέστερον καὶ δεόντως νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας χρώμενοι, οὔτε μαγεία, οὔτε δαιμονίους εἰσὶν ἄλωτοι.

^a Origen. in Job. (lib. i. p. 366, edit. Basil.) (p. 227, edit. Paris. 1604.) Nos illud pro certo afirmamus, experti, quod, qui ritu Christiano per Jesum colunt Deum, universorum Dominum, vivuntque juxta ejus evangelium, solemnibus precibus utentes noctu et interdium, nec magis nec demonibus sint expugnabiles †.

^b Book xiv. chap. iii. sect. iii.

mentions several other forms of common and noted use in divine service. As in the administration of baptism, every one was to renounce the devil and the world in a certain form of words^c, then vulgarly known in the Church, which Cyprian more than once has occasion to mention. They were likewise to make profession of the several articles of the Christian faith in a certain form of words; which every Church had for that purpose, and for this particular use, collected into a creed. Cyprian^d often specifies both the interrogatories and the answers that were made upon this occasion; and, he assures us^e, “they were so precise to a form, that the Novatians themselves used the very same words in their questions and responses, as the Catholics did: they observed the same rule as the Church did: they baptized with the same creed; they asked the party, ‘Whether he believed in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost? Whether he believed in the remission of sins, and eternal life, by the holy Church?’” which were the first and last words in the Creed. So they kept close to the same form of words, though they differed about the sense of them in some particulars relating to remission of sins, and the Church; which is so clear an argument for the observation of a form in baptism, that I see not what can reasonably be replied to it.

^c Cyprian. de Lapsis. (Oxon. 1682. p. 125.) (p. 39, Amstelod.) Stare illie potuit Dei servus, et loqui, et renuntiare Christo, qui jam diabolo renuntiaret et sæculo?—It. Epist. vii. al. xiii. ad Rogat. (Oxon. 1682. p. 37.) (p. 190, edit. Amstelod.) Sæculo renuntiaveramus, quum baptizati sumus.

^d Ibid. Epist. lxx. ad Episc. Numid. (Oxon. 1682. p. 190.) (p. 301, edit. Amstelod.) Sed et ipsa interrogatio, quæ fit in baptismo, testis est veritatis. Nam quum dicimus; ‘Credis in vitam æternam, et remissionem peccatorum per sanctam ecclesiam?’ intelligimus remissionem peccatorum non nisi in ecclesia dari.

^e Ibid. Epist. lxxix. al. lxxvi. ad Magnum. (Oxon. 1682. p. 183.) (p. 296, edit. Fell, Amstelod.) Quod si aliquis opponit, ut dicat, eandem Novatianum legem tenere, quam Catholica ecclesia teneat, eodem symbolo quo et nos, baptizare; eundem nosse Deum Patrem, eundem Filium Christum, eundem Spiritum Sanctum, ac propter hoc usurpare eum potestatem baptizandi posse, quod videatur in interrogatione baptismi a nobis non discrepare; sciat, quisquis hoc opponendum putat; primum, non esse unam nobis et schismaticis symboli legem; neque eandem interrogationem. Nam quum dicunt, ‘Credis remissionem peccatorum et vitam æternam per sanctam ecclesiam?’ mentiuntur in interrogatione, quando non habeant ecclesiam.

Then, again, for the prayers in the administration of the Eucharist, nothing can be more evident, than that the people bare a part in them. I will not insist on those expressions of his^f, that “they had public and common prayer,” because they are capable of an evasion; but what he says of the people’s answering to the priest, is not to be evaded. For, persuading the people to use diligence and attention in their prayers, he puts them in mind of a usual form of speech, which the whole Church used to raise their souls to a spiritual and heavenly temper. “The priest,” says he^g, “before prayer prepares the hearts of the brethren, by premising a preface, and saying, ‘Lift up your hearts;’ that whilst the people answer, ‘We lift them up unto the Lord,’ they may be admonished, at that time, to think of nothing but the Lord only.” What Cyprian says here of this preface coming before the prayer, is not so to be understood, as if it came before all the prayers of the Church, but immediately before the prayer of consecration in the communion service: for, as we shall see hereafter, there came before this both the prayers for the catechumens and penitents, and the prayers for the faithful, or the whole state of Christ’s Church; but when the solemn prayer of the oblation was to be made, then it was that the priest called upon the people in this form, “Lift up your hearts.” And they answered, “We lift them up unto the Lord.” The priest went on again, and said, “Let us give thanks to our Lord God;” and the people answered, “It is just and right so to do.” Then followed the eucharistical or consecration prayer, and the Lord’s Prayer; and after that the salutation, *Pax vobis*, “Peace be with you.” To which the people answered, “And with thy spirit.” After which they gave one another, mutually, the kiss of peace, and then proceeded to receive the holy sacrament. This was the form and order of the commu-

^f Cyprian. de Orat. Domin. (Oxon. 1682. p. 141.) (p. 100, Amstelod. 1700.) Publica est nobis et communis oratio.—It. Epist. viii. al. xi. ad Cler. p. 26. (p. 187, edit. Amstelod.) Oratione communi et concordii prece pro omnibus jussit orare.

^g Ibid. de Orat. Dominic. (Oxon. 1682. p. 152.) (p. 107, edit. Amstelod.) Sacerdos ante orationem, præfatione præmissa, parat fratrum mentes dicendo, ‘Sursum corda;’ ut, dum respondet plebs, ‘Habemus ad Dominum,’ admonetur, nihil aliud se quam Dominum cogitare debere.

nion service in St. Austin's time, in the African Church. And it is very probable it might be much the same in the time of Cyprian: but Cyprian had no occasion to mention any other part of the prayers, but only that which related to his particular subject; which one is sufficient to prove, that stated forms of prayer were then allowed in the public service of the Church of Carthage, and probably in the rest of the African Churches.

At the same time with Cyprian, lived Firmilian, bishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia; who, having occasion to speak of a certain woman, an impostor, who pretended to the spirit of prophecy, he says ^h, "She took upon her to consecrate the eucharist with the venerable invocation, and ceremony of predication, then commonly used in the Church:" he means the commemoration of God's great blessings bestowed upon man, and the repetition of the history of the first institution of the Lord's Supper, which by the ancients is called *ἀνάμνησις*, and 'solita prædicatio,' a thing seldom or never omitted in the consecration of the eucharist. He adds also, that the same impostor baptized many, using the common and appointed interrogatories, that she might not seem to vary in any thing from the rule of the Church. She made them answer to every article of the Creed, the *Creed*, as he calls it, "of the Holy Trinity." She put the usual questions to them prescribed by the Church; that is, "Whether they renounced the devil, his angels, his pomp, and his service?" and, "whether they made a covenant with Christ?" And she did every thing, *ad imaginem veritatis*, according to the exact method and form that was observed in the Church. Now, though all this was done by the devil, speaking in an impostor, yet, being done according to

^h Firmil. Epist. lxxv. ad Cyprian. (Oxon. 1682. p. 223.) (p. 323, Amstelod.) Atqui illa mulier, quæ prius per præstigias et fallacias demonis, multa ad deceptionem fidelium moliebatur, inter cetera, quibus plurimos deceperat, etiam hoc frequenter ausa est; ut et invocatione non contemptibili sanctificare se panem et eucharistiam facere simularet, et sacrificium Domino [non] sine sacramento solite prædicationis offerret; baptizaret quoque multos usitata et legitima verba interrogationis usurpans, ut nil discrepare ab ecclesiastica regula videretur. . . . Numquid et hoc Stephanus, et qui illi consentiunt, comprobant? Maxime cui nec symbolum Trinitatis, nec interrogatio legitima et ecclesiastica defuit? Potest credi aut remissio peccatorum data, aut lavacri salutis regeneratio rite perfecta, ubi omnia, quamvis ad imaginem veritatis, tamen per dæmonem gesta sunt?

the exact rules of the Church, it argues, that the Church, at that time, had a stated rule and order for administering both the sacraments ; and that the forms were so well known, that this woman could imitate them so exactly, as in nothing to vary from the usual solemnities, either of prayers or other ceremonies then observed in the Church. And if we consider, that the administration of the two sacraments was then the most considerable part of the Church's service, this is as clear an evidence as we can desire, to prove that prescribed forms were now in use in the Asiatic Churches.

Gregory Thaumaturgus, bishop of Neocæsarea, in Pontus, was contemporary with Firmilian, and he was a man famous for working miracles by the Spirit, whence he had the name of Thaumaturgus, "the wonder-maker." There is no doubt but that he prayed also by the Spirit, yet he prayed by a form ; which shows, that praying by a form, and praying by the Spirit, are not inconsistent. As he was the founder of his Church (finding but seventeen Christians when he came thither, and leaving but seventeen heathens when he was taken from it), so he left them a liturgy, or form of divine service, which they were so tenacious of, that, as St. Basil testifies of themⁱ, "they would not suffer one ceremony, or one word, or one mystical form, to be added to those which he had left among them." He settled the way of singing psalms, not alternately, but by the common voice of the people all joining together. And the clergy of Neocæsarea were such admirers of this rule, that when St. Basil had introduced the alternate way into his own church, they were offended at it, and objected against him, that it was not so in the days of Gregory the Great. Upon which, St. Basil was forced to write an apologetical epistle to them in vindication of his practice, wherein he shows, that the way of alternate song was now conformable to the practice of all the Eastern Churches, except that of Neocæsarea ; and that however tenacious that Church had formerly been of the ways and forms of Gregory, yet in one particular they had now made an alteration : for, in the days of Gregory,

ⁱ Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. c. xxix. (Bened. fol. vol. iii. p. 63.) Οὐ πρᾶξιν τινα, οὐ λόγον, οὐ τύπον τινὰ μυστικόν, παρὰ ὃν ἐκείνοις κατέλιπε, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσέθηκαν.

they^j had none of that particular form of prayers, called litanies, which now, in St. Basil's time, they had admitted into their service, and were very zealous in the use of it, notwithstanding that it was neither of St. Gregory's composition, nor used at all in his days. As this shows that the use of litanies was brought into the Church of Neocæsarea, some years after the time of St. Gregory; so it as evidently proves that their other forms were instituted by him, and derived their original from his composition, who was the first founder of the Church.

Not long after this, we find a complaint made by the Council of Antioch (an. 270), against Paulus Samosatensis, the heretical bishop of that place, that he had forbidden the use of such^k psalms or hymns as were used to be sung in the church to the honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, under pretence that they were only the novel compositions of late and modern authors. I have already produced this passage more at length^l, to prove the worship of our Saviour; and here it serves to prove, that they worshipped him by certain forms of praise, which the bishop cast out of the Church, upon the pretence of novelty: which was but a mere pretence; for such forms of praise had been in use in the Church, ἀπαρχῆς, 'from the beginning,' as the ancient writer against the heresy of Artemon, in Eusebius^m, words it. And about the same time, Nepos, an Egyptian bishop, composed hymns of the like nature for the service of the Church, for which he is commended by Dionysiusⁿ, bishop of Alexandria, who also himself used a certain form of doxology to the whole Trinity,

^j Basil. Epist. lxxiii. ad Neocæs. (vol. iii. p. 311.) 'Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἦν, φασί, ταῦτα ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Γρηγορίου· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ αἱ λιτανεῖαι, ἃς ὑμεῖς νῦν ἐπιτηδεύετε, κ. τ. λ.

^k Conc. Antioch. apud Euseb. lib. vii. c. xxx. (Aug. T. p. 316.) Ψαλμοὺς δὲ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν παύσας, ὡς δὲ νεωτέρους καὶ νεωτέρων ἀνδρῶν συγγράμματα.

^l Chap. ii. sect. iii.

^m Euseb. lib. v. c. xxviii. (Cant. p. 225, 20.) Ψαλμοὶ δὲ ὅσοι καὶ ῥῆδαι ἀδελφῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ὑπὸ πιστῶν γραφεῖσθαι, τὸν Λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν ὑμνοῦσι θεολογοῦντες.

ⁿ Dionys. Epist. ap. Euseb. lib. vii. c. xxiv. (Cant. p. 350, 12.) Ἐν ἄλλοις μὲν πολλοῖς ἀποδέχομαι καὶ ἀγαπῶ Νέπωτα, τῆς τε πίστεως καὶ τῆς φιλοπονίας, καὶ τῆς ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς διατριβῆς· καὶ τῆς πολλῆς ψαλμωδίας, ἧ μέχρι νῦν πολλοὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν εὐθυμοῦνται.

as is reported by St. Basil; who also tells us, in the same place °, “that Athenogenes, the Martyr, composed hymns to the glory of the Holy Ghost;” and adds, “that the hymn, called *Hymnus Lucernalis*, ‘the hymn to be sung at lighting of candles in the evening service,’ containing a glorification of the Holy Trinity, was of ancient use in the Church; so ancient, that he knew not who was the author of it.” But I have already alleged these more at large^p in vindicating the worship of our Saviour, and therefore content myself barely to hint them, as accustomed forms of praise, in this place.

I shall only note one thing more in this century, out of the epistle of Cornelius, bishop of Rome, to Fabian, bishop of Antioch, recorded by Eusebius; which is, “that it was customary, in those days, for the minister to use a form of words at the delivery of the bread and wine in the eucharist, saying, ‘The body of Christ, or the blood of Christ,’ to which the people always answered, ‘Amen.’” For Cornelius, speaking of the wickedness of Novatian, says^q, “When he delivered the eucharist to the people, he obliged them, instead of saying ‘Amen’ at the naming of it, to swear by the body and blood of Christ that they would not desert his party, nor return to

° Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. c. xxix. (Ben. vol. iii. p. 60.) ‘Ο Ἀλεξανδρεὺς Διονύσιος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ πρὸς τὸν ὁμῶνυμον ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιστολῇ . . . τούτοις, φησί, πᾶσιν ἀκολούθως καὶ ἡμεῖς, καὶ δὴ [καὶ] παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν πρεσβυτέρων τύπον καὶ κανόνα παρειληφότες, ὁμοφώνως [τε] αὐτοῖς προσευχαριστοῦντες· καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν ὑμῖν ἐπιστέλλοντες, καταπαύσομεν· τῷ δὲ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ, καὶ Υἱῷ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, σὺν τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, δόξα καὶ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· Ἀμήν.— (Id. p. 62. B 3.) Ἔδοξε τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν, μὴ σιωπῆ τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἐσπερινοῦ φωτὸς δέχεσθαι, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς φανέντος εὐχαριστεῖν· καὶ ὅς τις μὲν ὁ πατὴρ τῶν ῥημάτων ἐκείνων τῆς ἐπιλυχνίου εὐχαριστίας, εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἔχομεν, κ. τ. λ. Εἰ δέ τις καὶ τὸν ὕμνον Ἀθηνογένους ἔγνω, κ. τ. λ.

^p Chap. ii. sect. ii.

^q Cornel. Epist. ad Fabian. ap. Euseb. lib. vi. c. xliii. (Cant. p. 315, 3.) Ποιήσας γὰρ τὰς προσφορὰς, καὶ διανέμων ἐκάστῳ τὸ μέρος, καὶ ἐπιδιδούς τοῦτο ὁμνύειν ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐλογεῖν τοὺς ταλαιπώρους ἀνθρώπους ἀναγκάζει, κατέχων ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶ τὰς τοῦ λαβόντος, καὶ μὴ ἀφείς ἔστ’ ἂν ὁμνύοντες εἴπωσι ταῦτα· τοῖς γὰρ ἐκείνου χρήσομαι λόγοις· ὁμοσόν μοι κατὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μηδέ ποτέ με καταλιπεῖν καὶ ἐπιστρέψαι πρὸς Κορνήλιον· καὶ ὁ ἄθλιος ἀνθρώπος οὐ πρότερον γεύεται, εἰ μὴ πρότερον αὐτῷ καταράσασαιτο· καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν λαμβάνοντα τὸν ἄρτον ἐκείνον, τὸ ἀμήν, οὐκέτι ἀνήξω πρὸς Κορνήλιον λέγει.

Cornelius." Which custom of saying "Amen," in answer to the minister, when he named the body or blood of Christ, is both an ancient and universal practice. For Tertullian^r, as has been showed already, mentions it long before; and we find it frequently in the writers of the next age, St. Ambrose, St. Cyril, St. Austin, St. Jerome, and the author of the Constitutions, of which I shall have occasion to speak more in another place.

SECT. VII.—*Evidence of the Use of set Forms in the fourth Century.*

In the beginning of the fourth century, Arnobius, apologizing for the Christian devotions, tells the heathens^s, "they might know that they worshipped the supreme God, and called upon him for what they desired, by the sound of their voice, which they used in prayer." He says^t, "they all prostrated themselves before him, adoring him with joint supplications." And he gives us the general heads of their prayers, which are very agreeable to the ancient forms of the Church, viz.^u "That God would grant peace and pardon to all men, to the magistrates, to the armies, and to the emperors; to their friends, and to their enemies; to those that were alive, and those that were set at liberty from the bonds of the body." Which petitions are so conformable to the method and order of the ancient Liturgies, that one might have imagined them to be offered by a form, though Arnobius had said nothing of their joint prayers, or vocal consent in their devotions.

Lactantius and Eusebius wrote after the great persecution under Diocletian and his associates was over; and they both take notice of forms of prayer, appointed by the first Christian emperors for their soldiers to use, in imitation of those of the

^r Tertul. de Spec. c. xxv.

^s Arnob. lib. i. (Orell. Lips. 1816. vol. i. p. 17.) Summum invocare nos Deum, et ab eo quod postulamus orare, vel auribus potuit scire, vel ipsius vocis sono, qua utimur in precibus, noscitare.

^t Arnob. lib. i. (Orell. 1816. vol. i. p. 18.) Huic omnes ex more prosternimur, hunc collatis precibus adoramus.

^u Ibid. lib. iv. (vol. i. p. 163.) Nam nostra quidem scripta cur ignibus meruerunt dari? cur immaniter conventicula dirui? in quibus summus oratur Deus, pax cunctis et venia postulatur magistratibus, exercitibus, regibus, familiaribus, inimicis, adhuc vitam degentibus, et resolutis corporum vincione.

Church. Lactantius says expressly, that “ when Licinius was about to join battle with Maximinus, Maximinus made a vow to Jupiter, that if he got the victory, he would utterly extinguish and blot out the very name of Christians. Upon which, the night after, an angel of God came and stood by Licinius as he lay at rest, bidding him rise quickly, and pray to the most high God with all his army, promising him victory if he did so. As soon as he heard this, he thought with himself that he arose and stood with the angel who gave him this warning, and who then taught him after what manner, and in what words, they should pray ; therefore awaking out of sleep, he ordered a notary to be brought to him, to whom he dictated the prayer in these very words, as he had heard them^v: ‘ O thou most high God, we beseech thee. O holy God, we beseech thee. We commend all the justice of our cause to thee : we commend our safety unto thee : we commend our empire unto thee. By thee we live ; by thee we are victorious and happy. O most high and holy God, hear our prayers. We stretch forth our arms unto thee. Hear us, O most high and holy God.’ These words were written in many books, and sent by the generals and tribunes, that they might teach them to their soldiers. When the day of battle came, the soldiers laid aside their shields, and put off their helmets, and lifting up their hands to heaven, said the prayer after the emperor, their generals repeating it before them ; and this they did so loudly, that the adverse army, ready to be sacrificed, heard the echo of their prayer. Which, when they had repeated three times, they were inspired with courage, and resuming their arms, though they were but a few, they without any loss gained

^v Lactant. de Mort. Persecut. c. xlvi. (Paris. 1748. vol. ii. p. 242.) *Discusso somno, notarium jussit asciri, et sicut audierat, hæc verba dictavit. ‘ Summe Deus, te rogamus : sancte Deus, te rogamus. Omnem justitiam tibi commendamus ; salutem nostram tibi commendamus ; imperium nostrum tibi commendamus. Per te vivimus, per te victores et felices existimus. Summe sancte Deus, preces nostras exaudi. Brachia nostra ad te tendimus. Exaudi, sancte summe Deus.’ Scribuntur hæc in libellis pluribus, et per præpositos tribunosque mittuntur, ut suos quisque milites doceat. . . . Erat jam utraque acies in conspectu. Liciniani scuta deponunt, galeas resolvunt, ad cælum manus tendunt, præeuntibus præpositis, et post imperatorem precem dicunt : audit acies peritura precantium murmur. Illi oratione ter dicta, virtute jam pleni, etc.*

a complete victory over their enemies ; whom the most high God," says our author, "delivered up to be slaughtered, as if they had come not to engage in battle, but as men devoted to death, and destined to destruction."

It is not many years since this little golden tract of Lactantius came to light, and therefore, probably, this testimony may not very often have fallen under the observation of every ordinary reader. But as there is no dispute to be made of the truth of the relation upon the authority of Lactantius, so it is an illustrious evidence both of the opinion of Lactantius, and the general sense of Christians, that they did not think forms of prayer unlawful, because they were written in a book, nor the repetition of them any offence ; for this prayer was thrice repeated. If it should be said, that this prayer was dictated immediately by an angel, the same and more may be said of the Lord's Prayer, that it was dictated by Christ himself, and the Psalms were written, as forms of prayer and praise, by an inspired penman ; and yet there are those, who for no other reason, but because they are forms, despise the use of them, when inserted into any liturgy of the Church.

Parallel to this testimony of Lactantius is that other relation of Eusebius concerning Constantine, that^w "he ordered all his soldiers, as many of them as were heathens, to go forth into the field on the Lord's day, and there, with hands and hearts lift up to heaven, to offer up to God *μεμελετημένην εὐχὴν*, a certain prayer, which they had learned and premeditated before." The prayer was to be said in the Latin tongue, which was the regular language, and in this express form of words^x : "We acknowledge thee to be the only God ; we profess thee to be our King ; we call upon thee as our Helper.

^w Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. iv. c. xix. (Cant. p. 636, 4.) Τοῖς δὲ μήπω τοῦ θείου λόγου μετασχοῦσιν, ἐν δευτέρῳ νόμῳ διεκελεύετο, τὰς κυριακάς ἡμέρας ἐν προαστείοις ἐπὶ καθαροῦ προΐεναι πεδίου κἀνταῦθα μεμελετημένην εὐχὴν ἐξ ἐνὸς συνθήματος ὁμοῦ τοὺς πάντας ἀναπέμπειν Θεῷ.

^x Ibid. c. xx. Σὲ μόνον οἶδαμεν Θεόν· σὲ βασιλέα γνωρίζομεν· σὲ βοηθὸν ἀνακαλούμεθα· παρὰ σοῦ τὰς νίκας ἠγάμεθα· διὰ σοῦ κρείττους τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατέστημεν· σοὶ τὴν τῶν ὑπαρξόντων ἀγαθῶν χάριν γνωρίζομεν· σὲ καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐλπίζομεν· σοῦ πάντες ἰκέται γινόμεθα· τὸν ἡμέτερον βασιλέα Κωνσταντῖνον, παῖδάς τε αὐτοῦ θεοφιλεῖς, ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἡμῖν βίου, σῶσον καὶ νικητὴν φυλάττεσθαι ποτνιώμεθα.

It is from thee we have our victories ; by thee, we are superior to our enemies. We give thee thanks for the by-past favours and benefits we have already received ; and we hope in thee for those that are to come. We are all humble supplicants unto thee, beseeching thee to preserve Constantine, our king, with all his pious children, and grant him long to reign over us, with safety and victory." This was the prayer which he enjoined the heathens in his army to use every Lord's day.

As for those that were Christians, he commanded them to follow his own example, and attend the prayers of the Church on the Lord's day, setting them a pattern in his own practice. He ordered his own palace after the manner of a church, first taking the Bible into his hands, and reading and meditating therein, and then repeating the prescribed prayers^y with all his royal family. Which shows, that forms of prayer were then generally used in the Church, since Constantine used the prescribed prayers in his own family, and thereby made it to resemble the Church.

Eusebius highly extols and applauds Constantine for all this ; which argues that Eusebius himself was no enemy to prescribed forms. And, indeed, we are beholden to his history both for the knowledge of this of Constantine, and many other forms, which had been lost, had it not been for his care and diligence in preserving them ; of which any reader may be sensible, that considers how many things have already been alleged out of his treasury, especially the account which he gives of the Essenes, and their way of worship, out of Philo Judæus : for as it is evident that they worshipped God by certain forms, so it is as evident that Eusebius took them for Christians, and their worship for the way of worship settled by the first Christians at Alexandria^z. It may not be improper also to observe, that Eusebius, in one of his letters recorded

^y Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. iv. c. xvii. (Aug. T. p. 573.) Ὁς ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐκκλησίας θεοῦ τρόπον διέθετο, σπουδῇ ἐξάρχων αὐτὸς τῶν ἔνδον ἐκκλησιαζομένων μετὰ χεῖρας γέτοι λαμβάνων τὰς βιβλους, τῇ τῶν θεοπνεύστων λογίων θεωρίᾳ προσανῆχε τὸν νοῦν· εἴτ' εὐχὰς ἐνθέστους σὺν τοῖς τὸν βασιλεῖον οἶκον πληροῦσιν ἀπεδίδου.

^z Ibid. lib. ii. c. xvii. tot.

by Socrates, expressly says^a, “ that in the Church of Cæsarea, where he was bishop, they always had a creed in a certain form of words (which he there repeats), whereby their catechumens were to be instructed, and their answers in baptism to be made in the words of it ; and that thus it was that he himself had been there both catechized and baptized.” And if his Church allowed a form in baptism, there is reason to believe, from what has been said, that she was not averse to it in other parts of divine service. Moreover, from the time of the Council of Nice, we are well assured that the Creed, composed in that council, was used in most of the Eastern churches as a precise form, by which all catechumens were to make their responses in baptism (as I have proved elsewhere^b upon another occasion), though it was not presently admitted as a form to be repeated, as now it is, in the ordinary service of the Church ; but its being allowed as a form in baptism, is an argument that the Church had then no exception against forms, since she enjoined them in the administration of her sacraments, which are the most considerable part of divine service.

Athanasius, as well as Eusebius, was a member of the Council of Nice ; and there are plain footsteps of a liturgy in his writings. In one place he declares, that when he said^c, “ Let us pray for the safety of the most religious Emperor Constantius, all the people immediately, with one voice, answered, ‘ Christ, help Constantius ; ’ ” which is exactly agreeable to the ancient way of praying for kings and others in the prayer for the whole state of Christ’s Church, where the people were used to answer to every petition, Κύριε, ἐλέησον, or σῶσον, ‘ Lord

^a Socrat. lib. i. c. viii. (Cant. 1720, p. 23.) Τὸ μὲν οὖν παρ’ ἡμῶν γράμμα, ἐπὶ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου ἡμῶν βασιλέως ἀναγνωσθέν, εὖ τε ἔχει καὶ δοκίμως ἀποφανθέν, τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον· καθὼς παρελάβομεν παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ ἐν τῇ κατηχήσει, καὶ ὅτε τὸ λουτρόν ἐλαμβάνομεν, καὶ καθὼς ἀπὸ τῶν θείων γραφῶν μεμαθήκαμεν, καὶ ὡς ἐν τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ ἐπιστεῦσαμεν τε καὶ ἐδιδάσκομεν, οὕτω καὶ νῦν πιστεύοντες, τὴν ἡμετέραν πίστιν ὑμῖν προσαναφέρομεν· ἔστι δὲ αὕτη· Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα Θεόν, κ. τ. λ.

^b Book x. chap. iv. sect. xvii. See vol. iii. p. 369.

^c Athan. Apol. ad Constant. (Paris. 1698. vol. i. p. 301.) Μόνον γὰρ ἔλεγον, Εὐζόμεθα περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου Αὐγούστου Κωνσταντίου καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐθὺς μιᾷ φωνῇ ἔβόα, Χριστὲ, βοήθει Κωνσταντίῳ.

have mercy upon them,' or ' Lord save and help them,' as will be showed in its proper place.

Again, speaking of the communion service, he says^d, " the people offered up their prayers with one voice, and without any manner of disagreement; and that, in that great multitude, there was but one voice, when they unanimously answered, ' Amen.' " It is evident also, that, in his time, psalmody was in great request at Alexandria; for Sozomen takes notice^e, " that it was by the advantage of this practice that Athanasius, when he was beset in the church by his enemies, escaped their hands, whilst he got out secretly in the company of those that were singing psalms." St. Austin also speaks of it, and tells us^f, " that Athanasius made some regulation in the way of singing, and brought in the custom of plain song, ordering the readers of the psalms to pronounce their words with so little inflection or variation of the tone, that it looked more like reading than singing." It is further observable, out of Ruffinus^g, and the other historians who relate the story of

^d Ibid. p. 683. (p. 305. A.) Πῶς ἦν βέλτιον, κατὰ μέρος καὶ διηρημένως τὸν λαὸν μετ' ἐπικινδύνου συνοχηῆς, ἢ ὄντος ἤδη τόπου τοῦ δυναμένου δέξασθαι πάντας, ἐν αὐτῷ συνελθεῖν, καὶ μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μετὰ συμφωνίας τῶν λαῶν γενέσθαι τὴν φωνήν; . . . τί. ἂν τοσοῦτων λαῶν συνελθόντων μία γίνεται φωνή, λεγόντων τῷ Θεῷ, ' Ἀμήν;

^e Sozom. lib. iii. c. vi. (Cant. 1720. p. 100.) Ἦδη τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν καταλαβόντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, εὐχὴν ἀποτελέσας, πρότερον ψαλμὸν ῥηθῆναι παρεκελεύσατο συμφῶνον δὲ τῆς ψαλμωδίας γενομένης, οἱ στρατιῶται τέως ἡσύχαζον, ὡς οὐκ εὐκαιρον ὄν ἐπιθέσθαι τότε· ἐν τούτῳ δὲ διαδὸς ὑπὸ τοῦς ψάλλοντας, ἔλαθεν ἐξελθὼν, καὶ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνήχθη. — Soerat. lib. ii. c. xi. (Cant. p. 89, line 27.) Προστάξας διακόνῳ κηρύξαι εὐχὴν, αὐθις ψαλμὸν λέγεσθαι παρεσκεύασε· συμφωνίας δὲ ἐκ τῆς ψαλμωδίας γενομένης, διὰ μιᾶς τῶν πωλῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάντες ἐξήεσαν· τούτου γινόμενου, οἱ στρατιῶται ἀπόμαχοι ἔμενον· ὁ δὲ Ἀθανάσιος ἐν μέσοις τοῖς ψαλμωδοῦσιν ἀβλαβῆς διεσώζετο. — Theodoret. lib. ii. c. xiii. (Aug. T. 1748. p. 78. E.) Ἐγὼ δὲ . . . καθεσθεις ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου προέτρεπον, τὸν μὲν διάκονον ἀναγινώσκειν ψαλμὸν, τοὺς δὲ λαοὺς ὑπακούειν, ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ, κ. τ. λ.

^f Aug. Confess. lib. x. c. xxxiii. (Bened. 1679. vol. i. p. 137.) Tutius mihi videtur, quod de Alexandrino episcopo Athanasio sæpe mihi dictum commemini, qui tam modico flexu vocis faciebat sonare lectorem psalmi, ut pronuntianti vicinior esset quam canenti.

^g Ruffin. lib. i. c. xiv. Tempore, quo apud Alexandriam Petri martyris diem Alexander episcopus agebat, quum, post expleta solemnia, conventuros ad convivium suum clericos exspectaret in loco mari vicino, videt eminus puerorum supra oram maris ludum, imitantium, ut fieri solet, episcopum atque

Athanasius baptizing the catechumens whilst he was but a youth; that the questions and answers, and all other ceremonies of baptism, were then performed by such a certain rule and order in the Church, that Athanasius was able to imitate them exactly, and omit nothing that was used to be done, but observed every rite to a tittle; as Alexander, the bishop, found upon inquiry, when he came more strictly to examine them. And this shows, that not only in the time of Athanasius, but in the days of Alexander, his predecessor, such sort of forms were of constant use in the Church. Athanasius himself, also, not only mentions their psalmody, but tells us, that it was so ordered, the people might bear a part in it. For though the antiphonal way of singing verse for verse, by way of alternate song, was not yet brought into the Church in repeating David's Psalms; yet it was usual sometimes for the people to join in the close of a verse, and repeat it together with the reader. And this was called *ὑπηχῆν* and *ὑπακούειν*, 'to come into the concert at the close.' Whence Athanasius, speaking of that great assault made upon his Church, mentioned before by Socrates and Sozomen, says^h, "he commanded the deacon to read a psalm, to which the people did *ὑπακούειν*," that is, not barely *hearken*, as the unskilful translator renders it, but repeat in the close these words, "For his mercy endureth for ever." Of which way of singing I shall say more hereafter in its proper place, book xiv. chap. i. sect. xii. Here I shall note

ea, quæ in ecclesiis geri mos est. Sed quum intentius diutine pueros inspecaret, videt ab his geri quædam etiam secretiora et mystica. Pertubatus illico vocari ad se clericos jubet, atque eis, quid eminus ipse videret, ostendit. Tum abire eos, et comprehensos ad se perducere omnes pueros imperat. Quumque adessent, quis eis ludus, et quid egissent, vel quomodo, percunctatur. Illi, ut talis habet ætas, pavidi, negare primo, deinde rem gestam per ordinem pandunt, et baptizatos a se esse quosdam catechumenos confitentur per Athanasium, qui ludi illius pucrilis episcopus fuerat simulatus. Tum ille diligenter inquirens ab his, qui baptizati dicebantur, quid interrogati fuerint, quidve responderint, simul et ab eo, qui interrogaverat. Ubi videt secundum religionis nostræ ritum cuncta constare, conlocutus cum concilio clericorum, statuisset traditur, illis, quibus integris interrogationibus et respensionibus aqua fuerat infusa, iterari baptismum non debere, sed adimpleri ea, quæ a sacerdotibus mos est.

^h Athan. Apol. ad Constant. p. 717. (p. 334, Paris. 1698.) Προέτρεπον τὸν μὲν διάκονον, κ. τ. λ.—See note (e) p. 227, from Theodoret.

further, that Athanasius, describing the great barbarities and indignities which the Arians showed to the matrons and virgins in the very church, mentions one virgin^l whom they despitefully used, having her Psalter in her hand; which, no doubt, she had to join in singing David's Psalms, according to the custom of the Church. And the book *De Interpretatione Psalmorum*, is nothing else but a direction how to use the psalms as forms of prayers and praises upon all particular occasions: where, among other things, he observes^j, "that the Psalm lxii. or lxiii. 'O God, my God, early will I seek thee,' was always a psalm to be used at morning prayer." And the author of the Book of Virginit^k, among his works, says the same; which is also mentioned by St. Chrysostom, and some others, about this time; of whom we shall have occasion to speak more particularly, in considering the order and method of morning service^l.

Athanasius lived forty-six years bishop of Alexandria, and continued in being till the year 371. During which interval we have the concurrent testimony of Juvencus and Pachomius, and all the Egyptian monasteries; of Flavian, bishop of Antioch; Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem; Hilary, bishop of Poitiers; Optatus, Epiphanius, Gregory Nazianzen, Ephraem Syrus, St. Basil, and Apollinaris, the supposed author of the books under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, together with the Council of Laodicea. And not long after, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Austin, and St. Chrysostom, with several African councils, all within the fourth age in which Athanasius lived.

Juvencus flourished under Constantine in Spain; and, being a poet, turned the History of the Gospel into verse; and St. Jerome adds, that "he wrote a book in the same way, giving

ⁱ Ibid. Epist. ad Orthodox. (p. 114.) Ἐν οἷς μίαν παρθένον φιλολογοῦσαν, καὶ τὸ ψαλτήριον ἔτι κατέχουσαν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ, μαστιχθῆναι πεποίηκε δημοσίᾳ.

^j Ibid. de Interpret. Psalm. ad Marcellin. (vol. i. p. 995. E.) . . . ἔχων δὲ τὸν Θεόν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὀρθρίζων ψάλλει τὸν ἐξηκοστὸν δεύτερον.

^k Ibid. de Virgin. (tom. ii. p. 122. Paris. 1698.) Πρὸς ὄρθρον δὲ τὸν ψαλμὸν τοῦτον λέγετε· Ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ Θεός μου, πρὸς σε ὀρθρίζω· εἰδίψησέ σε ἡ ψυχὴ μου.

^l See chap. i. sect. i. and ii.

an account of the order of the sacraments of the Church^m." Now if we consider, what has been observed beforeⁿ, that, in the ecclesiastical style, *Ordo Sacramentorum* commonly denotes a book of divine offices, it is most probable that this work of Juvencus was no other but the offices or forms of divine service turned into verse.

Pachomius, about the year 340, brought the Egyptian monks into communities, and settled them under rules; one of which was, to meet twice a day, and sing a certain number of psalms, with prayers intermixed, as may be seen in the accounts which Cassian^o, Palladius^p, and St. Jerome^q, give of them. Now it must be owned, that whatever their prayers were, their psalmody was matter of form, whether sung singly or alternately; and though they did not repeat the usual doxology, "Glory be to the Father," as was usual in the Western Church at the end of every psalm, yet they did it, at other times, at the end of their *antiphonæ*; as Cassian^r, an eye-witness of their service, informs us.

^m Hieron. de Scriptur. Eccles. c. lxxxiv. (Venet. 1766. vol. ii. p. 923.) Juvencus, nobilissimi generis, Hispanus presbyter, quatuor Evangelia hexametris versibus pene ad verbum transferens, quatuor libros composuit, et nonnulla eodem metro ad Sacramentorum ordinem pertinentia. Floruit sub Constantino principe.

ⁿ Book xiii. chap. i. sect. vi.

^o Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. c. v. (Atrebat. 1628. p. 23.) Quumque sedentibus cunctis . . . et in psallentis verba omni cordis intentione defixis, xi. psalmos, orationum interjectione distinctos, contiguus versibus parili pronuntiatione cantasset, duodecimum sub Alleluia responsione consummans, ab universorum oculis repente subtractus est.

^p Pallad. Histor. Lausiæ. c. xxxviii. Ἐτύπωσε δὲ διὰ πάσης τῆς ἡμέρας ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς εὐχὰς δώδεκα, καὶ ἐν τῷ λυχνικῷ δώδεκα, καὶ ἐν ταῖς παννυχίσι δώδεκα, καὶ ἐννάτην ὕραν τρεῖς ὅτε δὲ δοκεῖ τὸ πλήθος ἐσθίειν, ἐκάστῳ τάγματι καθ' ἐκάστην εὐχὴν ψαλμὸν προᾶδεισθαι ἐτύπωσεν.

^q Hieron. Epist. xxii. ad Eustoch. c. xv. (Venet. 1766. vol. i. p. 119.) Post horam nonam in commune concurrunt: psalmi resonant: Scripturæ recitantes ex more: et completis orationibus, cunctisque residentibus, medius, quem Patrem vocant, incipit disputare.

^r Cassian. lib. ii. c. viii. (Lips. 1733, p. 20.) Illud etiam, quod in hac provincia vidimus, ut uno cantante in clausula psalmi omnes adstantes concinant cum clamore, 'Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto,' nusquam per omnem Orientem audivimus, sed cum omnium silentio ab eo qui cantat, finito psalmo orationem succedere.

About the year 350, lived Flavian, first a presbyter, and then bishop of Antioch. Whilst he was presbyter, it happened that Leontius, the Arian bishop, made an alteration in the common doxology, “Glory be to the Father,” &c. to make it favour his heresy. Upon this, Flavian and Diodorus withdrew from his communion, and assembled with the people at the monuments of the martyrs; where, dividing the people into parts, they taught them to sing the Psalms of David^s alternately; which custom beginning first at Antioch, was from thence propagated all the world over. After this manner Theodoret relates the story; where it is easy to observe, 1. That the form of glorification was an ancient thing, and only Leontius made an innovation in it. 2. That the singing of David’s Psalms was ancient too, which are forms both of prayers and praises; and Flavian was not the author of that service, but only of the alternate way of singing them. And whereas it is said by Socrates, that Ignatius had introduced the antiphonal way of singing before, that is not to be understood of David’s Psalms, but of other hymns composed to the glory of the Holy Trinity; which, as we have seen before, were always in use in the Christian Church. And Theodoret adds, 3. That this way of singing was so taking to the people of Antioch, that they all deserted Leontius, and he was forced to beg of Flavian, that he would bring back this (*λειτουργίαν*) ‘liturgy’ or service into the churches.

About the same time lived Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, who, in his Catechetical Discourses to the newly baptized, takes notice of many forms that had been of ancient use in the Church. In his first Catechism, he tells them the meaning of the ceremonies used in baptism^t: “Ye were first brought in,”

^s Theodoret. lib. ii. c. xxiv. (Aug. T. p. 95. C 5.) Οὗτοι πρῶτοι διχῆ διελόντες τοὺς τῶν ψαλλόντων χορούς.

^t Cyril. Catech. Mystag. i. sect. ii. (Venet. 1763. p. 306.) Εἰσήειτε πρῶτον εἰς τὸν προαύλιον τοῦ βαπτιστηρίου οἶκον, καὶ πρὸς τὰς δυσμὰς ἐστῶτες ἠκούσατε καὶ προσεγάττεσθε ἐκτείνειν τὴν χεῖρα, καὶ ὡς παρόντι ἀπετάττεσθε τῷ Σατανᾷ.—Id. p. 307. C. Ἐπειδὴ τοῦ φαινομένου σκότους τύπος αἱ δυσμαί· ἐκείνος δὲ σκότος τυγχάνων, ἐν σκότῳ ἔχει καὶ τὸ κράτος· τοῦτου χάριν συμβολικῶς πρὸς δυσμὰς ἀποβλέποντες, ἀποτάσσεσθε τῷ σκοτεινῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ ζοφερῷ ἄρχοντι· τί οὖν ὑμῶν ἕκαστος ἐστὼς ἔλεγεν; Ἀποτάσσομαί σοι, Σατανᾷ, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις σου, καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πομπῇ σου, καὶ πάσῃ τῇ λατρείᾳ σου.

says he, "into the ante-room of the baptistery, and placed towards the west, in a standing posture; and then commanded to renounce Satan, by stretching out your hands against him, as if he had been present." A little after he explains the meaning of their doing this toward the west. "The west," says he, "is the place of darkness, and Satan is darkness, and his strength is in darkness. For this reason ye symbolically look toward the west, when ye renounce that prince of darkness and horror. For what did every one of you then say, standing? 'I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy works, and all thy pomp, and all thy worship and service.'" "After this," he tells them^u, "they turned from the west to the east, which is the region of light and place of paradise; and then were commanded to say, 'I believe in the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and in one baptism of repentance.'" In his second discourse, he reminds them of their unction in the baptistery^w, and their repeated confession of the Holy Trinity, and their trine immersion. In his third discourse^x, he treats of the second unction with the holy chrism, which was then used in confirmation, immediately after they were come out of the waters of baptism. In his fifth discourse^y, he treats of the ceremonies used in the communion service, where, first, he speaks of the deacon's bringing water to the bishop and presbyters to wash their hands, in token of men's obligation to

^u Ibid. n. ix. p. 309. "Ότε οὖν τῷ Σατανᾷ ἀποτάττη, πᾶσαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντως διαθήκην λύσας, τὰς παλαιὰς πρὸς τὸν ἄδην συνθήκας, ἀνοίγεται σοι ὁ παράδεισος τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὃν ἐφύτευσε κατὰ ἀνατολὰς, ὅθεν διὰ τὴν παράβασιν ἐξόριστος γέγονεν ὁ ἡμέτερος προπάτωρ· καὶ τούτου σύμβολον τὸ στραφῆναί σε ἀπὸ δυσμῶν πρὸς ἀνατολήν τοῦ φωτός τὸ χωρίον· τότε σοι ἐλέγετο εἰπεῖν, Πιστεύω εἰς τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ εἰς τὸν Υἱὸν, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, καὶ εἰς ἓν βάπτισμα μετανοίας.

^w Cyril. Catech. Myst. ii. n. iii. (p. 312.) Εἶτα ἀποδυθέντες, ἐλαίφ ἠλείψετε ἐπορκιστῶ, ἀπ' ἄκρων τριχῶν κορυφῆς ἕως τῶν κάτω.—Num. iv. Καὶ ἠρωτᾶτο ἕκαστος, εἰ πιστεύει εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος· καὶ ὡμολογήσατε τὴν σωτήριον ὁμολογίαν, καὶ κατεδύετε τρίτον εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ πάλιν ἀνεδύετε.

^x Ibid. iii. n. ii. (p. 316. D.) Ὑμεῖς δὲ μύρω ἐχρίσθητε, κοινωνοὶ καὶ μέτοχοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενόμενοι.—Conf. n. iii. tot.

^y Ibid. v. n. ii. (p. 325.) Ἐωράκατε τὸν διάκονον τὸν νίψασθαι διδόντα τῷ ἱερεῖ, καὶ τοῖς κυκλοῦσι τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ πρεσβυτέροις· σύμβολόν ἐστι τοῦ δεῖν ἡμᾶς καθαρεῖν πάντων ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ ἀνομιμάτων τὸ νίψασθαι.

purify themselves from sin. "Then the deacon cries out^z, 'Embrace and salute one another with a holy kiss.' After this, the priest cries out^a, 'Lift up your hearts;' and ye answer, 'We lift them up unto the Lord.' He says again, 'Let us give thanks to the Lord;' and ye answer, 'It is meet and just so to do.' After this, we make mention of heaven,

^z Ibid. n. ii. (p. 326) *Εἶτα βοᾷ ὁ διάκονος, Ἐλάβετε, καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀσπάζεσθε.*

^a Ibid. n. iii. (p. 326.) *Μετὰ τοῦτο βοᾷ ὁ ἱερεὺς, Ἄνω τὰς καρδίας . . . εἶτα ἀποκρίνεσθε, Ἐχομεν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον.—Num. iv. Εἶτα ὁ ἱερεὺς λέγει, Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ . . . εἶτα λέγετε, Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον.—Num. v. (p. 327.) Μετὰ ταῦτα μνημονεύομεν οὐρανοῦ, καὶ γῆς, καὶ θαλάσσης, ἡλίου, καὶ σελήνης, ἄστρον, καὶ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως λογικῆς τε καὶ ἀλόγου, ὄρατῆς τε καὶ ἀοράτου, ἀγγέλων, ἀρχαγγέλων, δυνάμεων, κυριοτήτων, ἀρχῶν, ἐξουσιῶν, θρόνων, τῶν Χερουβὶμ τῶν τὸ πρόσωπον δυνάμει καλυπτόντων, λέγοντες τὸ τοῦ Δαβὶδ, Μεγαλύνετε τὸν Κύριον σὺν ἐμοί μνημονεύομεν νῦν καὶ τῶν Χερουβὶμ, ἃ ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἐθέασατο Ἡσαΐας παρεστηκότα κύκλῳ τῷ θρόνῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ταῖς μὲν δυοὶ πτέρυξι κατακαλύπτοντα τὸ πρόσωπον, ταῖς δὲ δυοὶ τοὺς πόδας, καὶ ταῖς δυοὶ πετόμενα, καὶ λέγοντα, Ἅγιος, Ἅγιος, Ἅγιος, Κύριος Σαβαώθ· διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ τὴν παραδοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν Σεραφίμ θεολογίαν ταύτην λέγομεν, ὅπως κοινῶν τῆς ἡμψιδίας ταῖς ὑπερκοσμίους γενώμεθα στρατιαῖς· ἵνα ἁγιάσαντες ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τῶν πνευματικῶν τούτων ἕμνων παρακαλῶμεν τὸν φιλάνθρωπον Θεόν, τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἐξαποστεῖλαι ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα, ἵνα ποιήσῃ, τὸν μὲν ἄρτον, σῶμα Χριστοῦ· τὸν δὲ οἶνον, αἷμα Χριστοῦ.—Num. vi. (p. 327.) Εἶτα μετὰ τὸ ἀπαρτισθῆναι τὴν πνευματικὴν θυσίαν, τὴν ἀναίρακτον λατρίαν ἐπὶ τῆς θυσίας ἐκείνης τοῦ ἰλασμοῦ, παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν Θεὸν ὑπὲρ κοινῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης, ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου εὐσταθείας, ὑπὲρ βασιλείων, ὑπὲρ στρατιωτῶν, καὶ συμμάχων, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἀσθενείαις, ὑπὲρ τῶν καταπονουμένων, καὶ ἀπαξιαπλῶς, ὑπὲρ πάντων βοηθείας δεομένων· δεόμεθ' ἡμεῖς, καὶ ταύτην προσφέρομέν σοι τὴν θυσίαν· εἶτα μνημονεύομεν καὶ τῶν προκεκοιμημένων, πρῶτον πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν, ἀποστόλων, μαρτύρων, ὅπως ὁ Θεὸς εὐχαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ πρεσβείαις προσδέξῃται ἡμῶν τὴν δέησιν· εἶτα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν προκεκοιμημένων ἁγίων πατέρων, καὶ ἐπισκόπων, καὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν προκεκοιμημένων.—Num. viii. Εἶτα μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν εὐχὴν λέγομεν ἐκείνην, ἣν ὁ Σωτὴρ παρέδωκε τοῖς οἰκείοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς, μετὰ καθαρᾶς συνειδήσεως Πατέρα ἐπιγραφόμενοι τὸν Θεόν, καὶ λέγοντες, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, κ. τ. λ.—Num. xvi. Μετὰ ταῦτα λέγει ὁ ἱερεὺς, Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις . . . εἶτα ὑμεῖς λέγετε, Εἰς ἅγιος, εἰς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.—Num. xvii. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀκούετε τοῦ ψάλλοντος μετὰ μέλους θεοῦ, προτρεπομένου ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων, καὶ λέγοντος, Γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι χρηστός ὁ Κύριος.—Num. xviii. Δέχου σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐπιλέγων τὸ Ἄμην.—Num. xix. Προσέρχου καὶ τῷ ποτηρίῳ τοῦ αἵματος . . . λέγων τὸ Ἄμην . . . εἶτα ἀναμείνας τὴν εὐχὴν, εὐχαρίστει τῷ Θεῷ καταξιώσαντί σε τῶν τηλικούτων μυστηρίων. (Paris. p. 546.)*

and earth, and sea, the sun, moon, and stars, and the whole creation, rational and irrational, visible and invisible, angels and archangels, dignities, dominions, principalities and powers, thrones and cherubims, and with them we sing the seraphical hymn, ‘ Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth.’ After which, we beseech the merciful God, that he would send forth his Spirit upon the elements, and make the bread the body of Christ, and the wine the blood of Christ. Then, after this spiritual and unbloody sacrifice and service is performed, we beseech God for the common peace of the Church, for the tranquillity of the world, for kings, and their armies and allies, for the sick and afflicted; and, in a word, for all that want assistance, saying, ‘ We beseech thee for them, and offer this sacrifice unto thee.’ Then we make mention of those that are fallen asleep; first, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs; that God, through their prayers and intercessions, may receive our prayers; and after, we pray for our holy fathers and bishops, and all that are departed this life before us. Then we say that prayer which our Saviour gave to his disciples, calling God by the name of Father, and saying, ‘ Our Father, which art in heaven;’ after which the priest says, ‘ Holy things for those that are holy;’ and the people answer, ‘ There is one holy, one Lord Jesus Christ.’ Then one is appointed to sing those words of Psalm xxxiii.; ‘ Oh, taste and see that the Lord is gracious,’ as an excitement to receive the communion; and every one communicates, saying, ‘ Amen’ twice, when first he receives the body of Christ into his hand, and afterward the cup of his blood. Finally, when all have communicated, he tells them they are to wait for prayer again, and give God thanks for making them partakers of so great mysteries.”

Now, one must be blind that cannot see the plain footsteps and forms of a stated liturgy in all this; and, therefore, I shall make no other descant upon them, but only this, that, undoubtedly, before St. Cyril wrote those lectures, there was a prescribed liturgy, and offices in form for the administration both of baptism and the eucharist in the Church of Jerusalem, and those handed down from their forefathers, though it be not possible to trace every thing precisely to its first original.

Contemporary with Cyril was Hilary, bishop of Poitiers ; of whom St. Jerome says ^b, “ that he wrote a book of hymns and mysteries, which most probably were the forms of the holy offices then used in the Church.” It is certain his hymns, together with those of St. Ambrose, were afterwards in great request in the Church : and when some excepted against them, as only of human composition, the fourth Council of Toledo ordered them ^c to be retained in the Church’s service, together with the hymns, “ Glory be to the Father,” and, “ Glory be to God on high ;” threatening excommunication to any who, in the Churches of Spain and Gallicia, should reject them. Hilary himself plainly intimates, that both the prayers and hymns were such as all the people, with an audible voice, might join in them ^d. “ Let every profane hearer,” says he, “ be terrified with the words of our confession ; ‘ let us fight against the devil and his weapons with the sound of our prayers, and let the victory of our war be proclaimed with the voice of exultation.’ Let him that stands without the church hear the voice of the people praying ; let him perceive the glorious sound of our hymns, and hear the responses of our devout confession in the offices of the divine sacraments.” He that can make out all this from the people’s silent consent in heart only to the minister’s prayer, without any vocal joining in forms of prayer and praises, may make any thing out of any thing ; and it were not worth while to produce any

^b Hieron. de Scriptoribus. (Venet. vol. ii. p. 933.) cxi. Et liber hymnorum et mysteriorum alius.

^c Conc. Tolet. IV. c. xiii. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1709.) Quia nonnulli hymni humano studio in laudem Dei atque apostolorum et martyrum triumphos compositi esse noscuntur, sicut hi, quos beatissimi doctores Hilarius atque Ambrosius ediderunt, quos tamen quidam specialiter reprobant, pro eo quod de scripturis sanctorum canonum, vel apostolica traditione non existunt. . . . Sicut igitur orationes, ita et hymnos in laudem Dei compositos, nullus vestrum ulterius improbet, sed pari modo in Gallicia Hispaniaque celebret : excommunicatione plectendi, qui hymnos rejicere fuerint ausi.

^d Hilar. in Psalm. lxxv. (Veron. 1730. vol. i. p. 196. C 4.) Terrendus est confessionis nostræ sermone omnis profanus auditor : et adversum diabolum armaque ejus orationum nostrarum sonitu certandum est, et belli nostri victoria exultationis voce monstranda est. Audiat orantis populi consistens quis extra ecclesiam vocem ; spectet celebres hymnorum sonitus ; et inter divinarum quoque sacramentorum officia responsionem devotæ confessionis accipiat.

manner of evidence for such a man's conviction. I only note further, out of Hilary^e, "that these prayers and hymns were both for morning and evening service. The Church had her outgoings both morning and evening to praise God. She began the day with prayers, and ended the day with hymns to God."

Chronologers are not exactly agreed about the time of the Council of Laodicea. Labbe and others place it before the Council of Nice, about the year 319; Bishop Beveridge, about the year 365: but, on all hands, it is agreed to be within this century. Now here are several canons, which plainly show the use of prescribed forms in the service of the Church. The seventh canon orders^f, "that such as returned from the heresies of the Novatians, the Photinians, and the Quartadecimani, should first learn the creeds of the Church, and be anointed with the holy chrism, before they were admitted to the communion of the holy mysteries;" which implies, that the creeds were then in a certain form, since they were obliged to learn them. The fifteenth canon orders^g, "that none should sing in the church except the canonical singers, who went up into the *ambo*, or 'reading desk,' and sang from a book, ἀπὸ διφθέρας." The seventeenth^h canon forbids the continuing of psalms one after another, and orders a lesson to be read after every psalm. The eighteenthⁱ orders the same liturgy of prayers to be used at the *nones*, that is, three o'clock in the afternoon, and at evening service. The nineteenth^k

^e Hilar. in Psalm. lx. p. 190. E. Progressus ecclesie in matutinorum et vespertinorum hymnorum delectationes maximum misericordie Dei signum est. Dies in orationibus Dei inchoatur, dies hymnis Dei clauditur, etc.

^f Labbe, vol. i. p. 1497. Περὶ τοῦ, τοὺς ἐκ τῶν αἰρέσεων, τοῦτ' ἔστι, Ναυατιανῶν, ἢ τοι Φωτεινιανῶν, ἢ Τεσσαρεσκαίδεκατιτῶν ἐπιστρεφόμενους . . . ἐκμανθάνοντας τὰ τῆς πίστεως σύμβολα, χρισθέντας τε τῷ ἁγίῳ χρισματι, οὕτω κοινωνεῖν τῶν μυστηρίων τῶν ἁγίων.

^g Περὶ τοῦ, μὴ δεῖν πλέον τῶν κανονικῶν ψαλτῶν τῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄμβωνα ἀναβαινόντων, καὶ ἀπὸ διφθέρας ψαλλόντων, ἑτέρους τινὰς ψάλλειν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ.

^h Περὶ τοῦ, μὴ δεῖν ἐπισυνάπτειν ἐν ταῖς συνάξεσι τοὺς ψαλμοὺς, ἀλλὰ διὰ μέσου καθ' ἕκαστον ψαλμὸν γίνεσθαι ἀνάγνωσιν.

ⁱ Περὶ τοῦ, τὴν αὐτὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν εὐχῶν πάντοτε καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐννάγαις, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑσπέραις ὀφείλειν γίνεσθαι.

^k Labbe, vol. i. p. 1500. Περὶ τοῦ, δεῖν ἰδίᾳ πρῶτον μετὰ τὰς ὀμιλίας

orders the method of divine service, that after the bishop's sermon should follow the prayers for the catechumens; and after they were gone, the prayers for the penitents; and when they had been under the bishop's hand, and were retired, then the three prayers for the faithful or communicants; the first whereof were to be in silence, the second and third, by way of bidding prayer and audible invocation. Then the presbyters were to give the kiss of peace to the bishop, and laymen to one another: after which, the holy oblation was to be made; those only of the clergy communicating within the rails of the altar. This canon plainly describes the order and method of the ancient service, as it was performed in that age; and though the several forms of prayer here mentioned are not set down, yet we are sure they were in use at that time; and, therefore, a brief reference, such as was suitable to the compass of a short canon, is made to them; as shall be showed more at large in another place¹. The twenty-second canon orders^m, that the subdeacon shall not wear the *orarium*, which was a 'scarf' or 'tippet' belonging to the deacons, by which they were used to give the signal or directions to the people in the performance of the several parts of divine service. The forty-sixth canonⁿ orders those that are to be baptized, to learn the creed; and on the Thursdays before Easter, to rehearse it to the bishop or presbyters. The forty-seventh canon^o appoints those that were baptized in sickness, afterwards to learn the creed also; which implies, that the creed

τῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ τῶν κατηχουμένων εὐχὴν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν τοὺς κατηχουμένους, τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ τὴν εὐχὴν γίνεσθαι καὶ τούτων προσελθόντων ὑπὸ χεῖρα, καὶ ὑποχωρησάντων, οὕτως τῶν πιστῶν τὰς εὐχὰς γίνεσθαι τρεῖς· μίαν μὲν τὴν πρώτην διὰ σιωπῆς, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην διὰ προσφωνήσεως πληροῦσθαι, εἴθ' οὕτως τὴν εἰρήνην διδοσθαι. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ πρεσβυτέρους δοῦναι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τὴν εἰρήνην, τότε λαϊκοὺς τὴν εἰρήνην διδόναι καὶ οὕτω τὴν ἁγίαν προσφορὰν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, καὶ μόνοις ἐξὸν εἶναι τοῖς ἱερατικοῖς εἰσεῖναι εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, καὶ κοινωνεῖν.

¹ Book xv. chap. i. (vol. v. p. 1.)

^m "Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ὑπὲρ τὴν ὥραριον φορεῖν.

ⁿ "Ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς φωτιζομένους τὴν πίστιν ἐκμανθάνειν, καὶ τῇ πέμπτῃ ἑβδομάδος ἀπαγγέλλειν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἢ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις.

^o "Ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ἐν νόσῳ παραλαμβάνοντας τὸ φῶτισμα, καὶ εἶτα ἀναστάντας, ἐκμανθάνειν τὴν πίστιν.

was then in a certain form of words. The fifty-ninth canon ^p orders, that no psalms composed by private men should be sung in the church; which argues, that hymns composed by private men were only to be discarded, but others were allowed that were authentic. And this is full proof, that forms of divine service were in use at the time of this council.

About the year 368, Epiphanius was made bishop of Salamis or Constantia, in Cyprus; and that he approved forms of prayer, appears from the frequent testimony he gives to the book called the Apostolical Constitutions; the eighth book of which is nothing but a collection of such forms. Cotelerius ^q has compared the several places in the Constitutions with those that Epiphanius alleges out of them, and showed them to be the same in substance: particularly he observes, that Epiphanius, in one place, gives the Constitutions this character ^r, “that they contain all canonical order, and nothing contrary to the faith, or confession, or the administration and rules of the Church;” which no man could say, that did not approve of the several forms of worship contained therein. And, therefore, when Epiphanius says, in another place ^s, “that the Church observed her morning hymns and prayers, and her evening psalms and prayers,” it is reasonable to suppose that all these were according to prescribed forms; as it is certain, at least, the psalms and hymns were. But there is one place in Epiphanius’s epistle to John, bishop of Jerusalem, which evidently proves that the communion service was then performed by a prescribed office and form. For Epiphanius having been accused to John, as if he had reflected on him in his prayers, saying thus, “Lord, grant that John may believe aright;” to clear himself of the accusation, he denies that

^p “Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικοὺς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

^q Coteler. Testimonia Veter. prefixa Constitut. Apost. tom. i. Patr. Apostol. pp. 189, 190.

^r Epiphanius. Hæres. lxx. n. x. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 822.) Εἰς τοῦτο δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ Ἀύδιανοὶ παραφέρουσι τὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων διάταξιν, οὖσαν μὲν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐν ἀμφιλέκτῳ ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀδόκιμον. Πᾶσα γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ κανονικῇ τάξει ἐμφέρεται, καὶ οὐδὲν παρακεχαραγμένον τῆς πίστεως.

^s Epiphanius. Exposit. Fid. n. xxiii. (Colon. 1682. tom. i. p. 1106.) Ἐωθινὸι τε ὕμνοι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ διηνεκεῖς γίνονται, καὶ προσευχαὶ ἐωθιναὶ, λυχνικοὶ τε ἅμα ψαλμοὶ, καὶ προσευχαί.

ever he prayed so for him in public (though he did so privately in his heart) : and for the truth of this, he appeals to the words of the communion offices then in public use^t. “When we offer up prayers in the communion office,” says he, “we use these words for all bishops, and for you also ; ‘Keep him who preacheth the truth :’ or, certainly, thus ; ‘Lord, grant our requests, and keep him that he may preach the word of truth,’ as the occasion of the words requires, and as the order of the office for prayer directs.” To understand which aright, we are to consider, that anciently, in the communion service, there were two prayers where bishops were prayed for ; one in the prayer for the whole state of Christ’s Church before the oblation ; and the other, in the prayer immediately after the oblation, when all states of men were again solemnly commemorated and recommended to God ; as we shall see hereafter. Now, in reference to these two prayers, Epiphanius says, “They prayed either thus or thus, as the occasion of the words required, and the order of the office directed.” Which is a manifest reference to the two prayers in which these words were contained, and as plain an argument for prescribed forms as can be required. And, indeed, the word *consequentia*, which in Greek, no doubt, was ἀκολουθία, shows as much : for that always signified ‘a stated form,’ or ‘prescribed order of prayers.’ Of which the reader may find examples enough in Suicerus’s *Thesaurus*, or Meursius’s Glossary, which need not here be inserted.

Optatus, bishop of Milevis, was contemporary with Epiphanius ; and he has a great many plain references to the forms then used in the public service. He tells the Dona-

^t Epiphan. Epist. ad Joan. Hierosolym. (Colon. 1682. vol. ii. p. 313.) Illud quoque audiens admiratus sum, quod quidam, qui solent ultro citroque portare rumusculos, et his, quæ audierunt, semper addere, ut tristitias et rixas inter fratres concitent, te quoque turbaverunt, et dixerunt, quod in oratione, quando offerimus sacrificia Deo, soleamus pro te dicere, ‘Domine, præsta Joanni, ut recte credat.’ Noli nos in tantum putare rusticos, ut hoc tam aperte dicere potuerimus. Quamquam enim hoc in corde meo semper orem, tamen, ut simpliciter fatear, numquam in alienas aures protuli, ne te viderer parvi pendere, dilectissime. Quando autem complemus orationem secundum ritum mysteriorum, et pro omnibus, et pro te quoque dicimus, Custodi illum, qui prædicet veritatem : vel certe ita : Tu præsta, Domine, et custodi, ut ille verbum prædicet veritatis ; sicut occasio sermonis se tulerit, et habuerit oratio consequentiam.

tists^u, “that, by confining the Church to their own party, they had frustrated the intent of the Holy Spirit, which had presigned that the name of God should be praised with psalms and hymns, over all the earth, ‘from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof;’ and that, in effect, they had defrauded God of his praise: for if they only were the true Church that was to praise him, the rest of the world, ‘from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof,’ must be silent: they had shut the mouth of Christian nations, and imposed silence upon all people, however desirous to praise God at the proper seasons.” Which manifestly implies, that psalmody was then a part of the people’s devotions all the world over, and that the Donatists were injurious to God, whose principles tended to defraud him of it. Again, he speaks of the prayer for the whole Church in time of the oblation, as a form so firmly established by law, that the Donatists themselves would not venture to make any alteration in it. “Who doubts,” says he^x, “but that you continue to use that settled form of words in the celebration of the sacrament, and never omit to say, ‘that you offer for that one Church, which is diffused over all the world?’” He says the same of the use of the Lord’s Prayer in the communion service, that the Donatists continued to use it as well as the Catholics: for he observes^y, “that though they gave imposition of hands, and absolution, to sinners, in such a haughty and supercilious manner, as if they themselves had had no sin; yet, not long after, when they turned to the altar, they could not omit the

^u Optat. lib. ii. (Paris. 1702. p. 30.) *Fraudatis aures Dei. Si vos soli laudatis, totus tacebit orbis, qui est ab ortu solis usque ad occasum. Clausistis ora omnium Christianarum gentium: indixistis silentium populis universis, Deum per momenta laudare cupientibus.*

^x Ibid. (p. 39.) *Quis dubitet vos illud legitimum in sacramentorum mysterio præterire non posse? Afferre vos Deo dicitis pro una ecclesia quæ sit in toto terrarum orbe diffusa.*

^y Optat. lib. ii. (Paris. 1702. p. 44.) *‘Quum vultis donare peccata, vestram profitemini innocentiam: et remissionem peccatorum sic datis, quasi nullum habeatis ipsi peccatum. Non est ista presumptio, sed deceptio: nec veritas, sed mendacium. Etenim inter vicina momenta, dum manus imponitis et delicta donatis, mox ad altare conversi, Dominicam Orationem prætermittere non potestis. Et utique dicitis, ‘Pater noster, qui es in cœlis, dimitte nobis debita et peccata nostra.’*

Lord's Prayer, wherein they said, 'Forgive us our trespasses and sins.'" "The Lord's Prayer," he says^z, "was of one and the same use with them both." He says also^a, "the common form of salutation, established by law, was likewise retained by the Donatists: for they could not omit saying, 'Peace be with you;' they retained the name, when they had lost the substance." He says further^b, "that the Catholics and Donatists used the same interrogatories in baptism: they asked the catechumen whether he renounced the devil? and whether he believed in God? And he answered, 'I renounce, I believe.' Only the Donatists did one thing amiss, in repeating these things over again, and rebaptizing those whom the Catholics had baptized before." He seems also to hint something of the ancient form of exorcizing catechumens before baptism, when he tells the Donatists^c, "that, by rebaptizing Catholics, who were already baptized, and in whom God dwelt, they said in effect to God, 'Go out, thou cursed one.'" For this was the phrase then used in exorcism, which was a prayer, as St. Cyril calls it^d, for expelling Satan out of the catechumen: and these words of Optatus seem plainly to be taken out of the prayers of exorcism then commonly used in the Church. There is one thing more very observable in Optatus: he says^e, "A rumour

^z Ibid. lib. iii. (p. 66.) *Oratio Dominica apud nos et apud vos una est.*

^a Ibid. (p. 66.) *Persuasionibus vestris divisa sunt corpora et nomina pietatis: et non potuistis prætermittere quod legitimum est. Utique dixistis, 'Pax vobiscum;' cum Deus contra, 'Pax, et ubi pax?' hoc est dicere, Quid salutas, de quo non habes? Quid nominas, quod exterminasti? Salutas de pace, qui non amas pacem.*

^b Ibid. lib. v. (p. 83.) *Quocumque interrogante, qui credidit, Deo credidit: Et post illius unum Credo, tu exigis alterum Credo.—It. Interrogemus gentilem, an renuntiet diabolo et credat Deo, etc. Et dicat, Renuntio et credo.*

^c Ibid. lib. iv. (p. 75.) *Quum Deo unusquisque plenus sit, de quo fur diabolus aliquid involare contendit, vos rebaptizando exorcizatis hominem fidelem, et dicitis Deo habitanti, 'Maledicte, exi foras.'*

^d Cyril. Catech. xvi. n. xix. (Venet. 1763. p. 254. C.) *Πολλάκις ὁ δαίμων, ὁ σιδηρείοις δεσμοῖς ὑπὸ πολλῶν μὴ κρατούμενος, λόγοις εὐχῆς ἐκρατήθη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ δύναμιν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.*

^e Optat. lib. iii. (Paris. 1702. p. 69.) *Dicebatur illo tempore, venturos esse Paulum et Macarium, qui interessent sacrificio, ut quum altaria solemniter aptarentur, proferrent illi imaginem, quam primum in altari ponerent, et sic sacrificium offerretur. Hoc quum acciperent aures, percussi sunt et animi, et uniuersusque lingua in hæc verba commota est, ut omnis qui hæc audierat,*

was once spread in Afric, that the emperor's officers were to come and make strange alterations in the Church, by placing images upon the altar in the time of divine service. Which flying report put the people into great consternation and confusion. But they were presently quieted again, when they saw those officers come, and no such alterations made by them, but the ancient purity, and solemn custom, and usual rites, were still observed; and nothing was either changed, or added, or diminished, in the divine sacrifice." Which shows, that the public service was then in a certain form, and not left to every man's liberty to make alterations in it, or lengthen or shorten it, by adding or diminishing at his pleasure.

About the year 370, St. Basil was made bishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia; but, before he was bishop, he lived a presbyter in the same Church, under Eusebius, his predecessor in the see. During which time, as Nazianzen assures us^f, among other services done for that Church, he composed forms of prayer, and orders of decency for the communion service; which, by the consent and authority of his bishop Eusebius, were used in the church. We are not bound to assert, that any of the liturgies which now go under his name are exactly the same with that. It is certain they have received many additions and alterations; and in many things differ from one another: and some things are alleged by ancient writers out of St. Basil's genuine liturgy, which a learned man assures us are not to be found, at present, in any of these^g: as that prayer, which is cited by Petrus Diaconus, who lived about the year 520, in whose time St. Basil's liturgy was used almost all the East over. For he

dicret, 'Qui inde gustat, de sacro gustat.' Et recte dictum erat, si talem famam similis veritas sequeretur. At ubi ventum est a supradictis, nihil tale visum esse ex eo, quod fuerat paullo ante mentita fama: nihil viderunt oculi Christiani, quod horrerent: nihil probavit adspectus ex iis, quibus perturbatus erat auditus. Visa est puritas, et ritu solito solemnitas consuetudo perspecta est; quum viderent divinis sacrificiis, nec mutatum quidquam, nec additum, nec ablatum.

^f Nazianz. Orat. xx. in Laud. Basil. (Paris. 1630. vol. i. p. 340.) *Εὐχῶν διατάξεις καὶ εὐκοσμίας τοῦ βήματος.*

^g Cave, Hist. Litter. (Basil. 1641. vol. i. p. 241.) (p. 136, edit. Genev. 1693.) Hæc quidem liturgia, prout exstat hodie, plurimum est interpolata, variis additamentis pro sæculi, quo facta sunt, genio et conditione aucta: adeoque ejus exemplaria, quo vetustiora, eo breviora et castiora reperiuntur.

says^h, “among other things, they then prayed thus, according to St. Basil’s liturgy: ‘Grant us, Lord, thy defence and protection: we beseech thee, make the evil to become good; and keep those that are good, in their goodness; for all things are possible unto thee, and no one can contradict thee: when thou pleasest, thou canst save; and there is no one that can resist thy will.’” Some fancy these words are to be found in the present copies; but whether that be so or not, we may be pretty well assured they were in the original liturgy of St. Basil, whence the author cites them. And that is an argument that St. Basil composed a liturgy, which was then of general use in the East, and known to the Africans also. Proclus, bishop of Constantinople, was within half an age of St. Basil’s time; and he gives this account of his composing a liturgyⁱ: “St. Basil, seeing men’s sloth and degeneracy made them weary of a long liturgy, thought there was nothing unnecessary or tedious in that of St. James, which was used before; yet, to prevent the weariness of priests and people, he delivered a shorter form.” And it is also cited under St. Basil’s name, by Leontius^k and the Council of Trullo^l. So that though many things be inserted into the present copies of St. Basil’s

^h Petr. Diacon. de Incarnat. (Galland. vol. x. p. 230.) Basilius Cæsariensis in oratione sacri altaris, quam pene universus frequentat oriens, inter cetera, ‘Dona, Domine,’ inquit, ‘virtutem ac tutamentum; malos, quæsumus, bonos facito; bonos in bonitate conserva: omnia enim potes; et non est qui contradicat tibi: quum enim volueris salvas, et nullus resistit voluntati tuæ.’

ⁱ Proclus de Tradit. Divin. Liturgie, cited by Comber, of Liturgies, p. 169. (tom. vi. Bibl. Patr. Max. p. 617, edit. Lugd. 1627.) Basilius magnus, quum hominum, liturgiæ prolixitatem fastidientium, oscitantiam et propensionem prospiceret, non, quod longam et prolixam eam (Jacobi liturgiam) esse arbitraretur; sed ut tam audientium, quam una orantium, commode consuleret, eorumque socordiam, ex longioris temporis mora promanantem, castigaret, penitusque tolleret, redactam in compendium ecclesiæ recitandam exhibuit.

^k Leont. cont. Nestor. lib. iii. Bibl. Patr. tom. iv. part. ii. p. 1006. [in edit. cit. habentur tres libri Leontii, a p. 674—706, sed locum non invenio.—Grischov.]

^l Conc. Trull. c. xxxii. (Labbe, vol. vi. p. 1158.) Καὶ γὰρ καὶ Ἰάκωβος, ὁ κατὰ σάρκα Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἀδελφός, ὃς τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἐκκλησίας πρῶτως τὸν θρόνον ἐπιστεύθη· καὶ Βασίλειος, ὁ τῆς Καισαρέων ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, οὗ τὸ κλέος κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην διέδραμεν, ἐγγράφως τὴν μυστικὴν ἡμῶν ἱερουργίαν παραδεδώκοτες, οὕτω τελειοῦν ἐν τῇ θείᾳ λειτουργίᾳ ἐξ ὕδατος τε καὶ οἴνου τὸ ἱερὸν ποτήριον ἐκδεδώκασι.

liturgy, and others wanting in them; yet these are no arguments against the original composition, of which there is such clear evidence in the ancient writers.

But St. Basil not only composed a form for the communion service, but often speaks of other forms as generally used upon other occasions. In his sixty-third Epistle^m, he gives a large account of the people's joining in alternate psalmody and prayers; and of their repeating the psalm of confession, that is, the fifty-first psalm, at morning prayer. And he there also speaks of the Liturgy of Gregory Thaumaturgus with approbation; and of the Litanies which the Church of Neocæsarea had admitted since the time of Gregoryⁿ. In his two hundred and forty-first epistle, he mentions several particulars of the usual prayer for the whole state of the Church; telling his friend whom he writes to^o, "that he must needs remember them in the deacon's bidding prayer, for all that were gone to travel; for the soldiers; for all that profess the name of Christ," &c. Which, as I shall show hereafter^p, were the usual forms of supplication in the prayers for all states of men in the Church. In his sixty-eighth epistle, he mentions other forms, which were as evidently parts of the ancient liturgies^q, "We pray that the rest of our days may continue in peace; we desire that our death may also be in peace." We have heard him before speak of the hymns of Athenogenes^r, and the evening hymn to the Holy Trinity. And we shall hear him hereafter speaking of particular psalms, appointed for particular hours of canonical prayer^s. All which are such

^m Basil. c. lxxiii. Ἐκ νυκτός γάρ, κ. τ. λ. See note (m) p. 162.

ⁿ See note (j) p. 219.

^o Basil. Ep. cexli. (Bened. 1721. vol. iii. p. 244. C 4.) Μέμνησαι γὰρ πάντως τῶν κληρονομιῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, πιστὸς ὢν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι ὅτι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἀποδημίαις ἀδελφῶν δεόμεθα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ταῖς στρατίαις ἐξεταζομένων, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν παρήρησιαζομένων διὰ τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τοὺς πνευματικοὺς καρποὺς ἐπιδεικνυμένων, ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὰς εὐχὰς ποιούμεθα.

^p Book xv. chap. i. sect. iii.

^q Basil. Ep. lxxviii. (Bened. 1721. vol. iii. p. 191. C 3.) Ἐν εἰρήνῃ μένειν τὰς λειπομένας ἡμῶν ἡμέρας, εὐχόμεθα ἐν εἰρήνῃ δὲ γενέσθαι τὴν κοίμησιν ἡμῶν αἰτούμεν.

^r Book xiii. chap. ii. sect. ii.

^s Basil. Regul. Major. quæst. xxxvii. pp. 585—587.

manifest indications of the use of stated forms, as nothing but prejudice can incline a man to except against them.

Gregory Nazianzen was St. Basil's dear friend; and of him it were enough to say, that he commends his friends for making forms of prayer for the use of the Church, as we have heard already. But he also says ^t, "his own father consecrated the eucharist with the solemn words, that were wont to be used upon that occasion." And, speaking of Julian the apostate, he says ^u, "He admired the Church for her forms of worship, which were anciently delivered and still preserved among them: and, therefore, he intended that his heathen priests should imitate the Christians, and have a form of prayers in parts ^v, that is, prayers so composed as that the people might make their responses." Which is also taken notice of by Sozomen, who says ^w, "that Julian, admiring the order of Christian worship, appointed that the heathen temples should be adorned after the same manner, with prayers upon set days and hours." Nazianzen also mentions the usual form of renouncing the devil in baptism, and the solemn covenant or compact made with Christ, which he says ^x, "they did, καὶ τοῖς σχήμασι καὶ τοῖς ῥήμασι, 'both by words and gestures:'" that is, renouncing the devil, with their faces to the west, and then turning about to the east, by which they signified their turning to Christ, the Sun of Righteousness. Both which words and gestures were evidently matter of form and ecclesiastical prescription. As was also the form of professing their faith, the triple immersion, and many other such rites and observances, which we meet with in Nazianzen, and all other ecclesiastical writers almost, that have any occasion to speak of the ancient manner of administering baptism.

^t Nazianz. Orat. xix. (Paris. 1630. vol. i. p. 305. B 10.) *Εἶτα ἐπειπὼν τὰ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ῥήματα οὕτως, ὡς συνηθές, κ. τ. λ.*

^u Ibid. Orat. vol. iii. p. 101. *Τοῖς παραδεδομένοις, καὶ εἰς τόδε τετηρημένοις τύποις τῆς ἐκκλησίας.*

^v Ibid. p. 102. A. *Εὐχῶν τε τύπον ἐν μέρει.*

^w Sozomen. lib. v. c. xvi. (Aug. T. 1746. p. 186. C 3.) *Διανοεῖτο πανταχῆ τοὺς Ἑλληνοκοῦς ναοὺς τῆ παρασκευῆ καὶ τῆ τάξει τῆς Χριστιανῶν θρησκείας διακοσμεῖν . . . ὥρων τε ῥητῶν καὶ ἡμερῶν τεταγμέναις εὐχαῖς.*

^x Nazianz. Orat. xl. de Bapt. (Paris. 1630. vol. i. p. 671. A 3.) *Γνώσῃ καὶ τοῖς σχήμασι καὶ τοῖς ῥήμασι, ὡς ὄλην ἀποπέμπῃ τὴν ἀθείαν, οὕτως ὄλη θεότητι συντασσόμενος.*

There is one author more which was famous about this time, before the death of Athanasius, which was Ephraim, deacon of Edessa, commonly called the prophet of the Syrians. Theodoret says ^y, “that he composed a great many hymns, in opposition to those that had been formerly made by Harmonius, the son of Bardesanes, the heretic; and that they were used upon the festivals of the martyrs.” Sozomen ^z mentions his divine hymns also, as well as those that were made upon the martyrs. And these, no doubt, were some of those famous writings of his, which, St. Jerome says ^a, “were used to be rehearsed in the Church after the reading of the Scriptures.”

Here it will not be improper also to observe, that the practice of heretics, in endeavouring to corrupt and alter the ancient forms of the Church, is often a manifest evidence and testimony of the antiquity of them. Thus Theodoret takes notice ^b, “that, in the beginning of this century, Arius, transgressing the ancient laws of giving ‘glory to God,’ which had been

^y Theodoret. lib. iv. c. xxix. (Aug. T. 1748. p. 166.) Καὶ ἐπειδὴ Ἀρμόνιος ὁ Βαρδησιάνου, ψόδᾳς τινὰς συντεθείκει πάλαι, καὶ τῇ τοῦ μέλους ἡδονῇ τὴν ἀσέβειαν κεράσας, κατεκίηλει τοὺς ἀκούοντας, καὶ πρὸς ὀλεθρον ἤγγρευε, τὴν ἀρμονίαν τοῦ μέλους ἐκεῖθεν λαβῶν ἀνέμιξε τὴν εὐσέβειαν, καὶ προσενήνοχε τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ἡδιστον ὁμοῦ καὶ ὀνησιφόρον φάρμακον ταῦτα καὶ νῦν τὰ ἄσματα, φαιδροτέρας τῶν νικηφόρων μαρτύρων τὰς πανηγύρεις ποιῶν.

^z Sozomen. lib. iii. c. xvi. (Cambr. p. 120.) Ἰδὼν δὲ Ἐφραίμ κηλουμένους τοὺς Σύρους τῷ κάλλει τῶν ὀνομάτων, καὶ τῷ ῥυθμῷ τῆς μελωδίας, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο προσεπιζομένους ὁμοίως αὐτῷ δοξάζειν, καίπερ Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας ἄμοιρος, ἐπέστη τῇ καταλήψει τῶν Ἀρμονίου μέτρων καὶ πρὸς τὰ μέλη τῶν ἐκείνου γραμμάτων, ἑτέρας γραφᾶς συναδούσας τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς δόγμασι συνέθηκεν ὅποια αὐτῷ πεπόνητο ἐν θείοις ὕμνοις καὶ ἔγκωμιόις ἀπαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐξ ἐκείνου τε Σύροι κατὰ τὸν νόμον τῆς Ἀρμονίου ψόδῆς τὰ Ἐφραίμ ψάλλουσι.

^a Hieron. de Scriptor. cxv. (Venet. 1766. vol. ii. p. 943.) Ad tantam venit claritudinem, ut post lectionem Scripturarum publice in quibusdam ecclesiis ejus scripta recitentur.

^b Theodoret. Hæret. Fabul. lib. iv. c. i. (Halke, 1772. vol. iv. p. 350.) Οὗτος (Ἄρειος) καὶ τῆς δοξολογίας τοὺς νόμους καταλιπὼν, οὗς οἱ ἐξαρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται τοῦ Λόγου παρέδοσαν, ἕτερον ἐπεισήγαγε τύπον, δοξάζειν τοὺς ἐξηπατημένους διδάξας τὸν Πατέρα διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ θείου βαπτίσματος γινομένην ἐπίκλησιν ἐναλλάξει διὰ τὸ τῆς παραβάσεως προφανὲς οὐκ ἐθάρρησεν ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν δεσποτικὴν ἐντολήν, βαπτίζειν μὲν παρέδωκεν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος· δοξάζειν δὲ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ βαπτίσματος διεκώλυσε νόμον, κ. τ. λ.

handed down by those who lived and served in the ministry of the word from the beginning, introduced a new form, teaching those whom he deceived, to say, ‘Glory be to the Father, by the Son, in the Holy Ghost!’ And that though he did not presume to alter the form of baptizing ‘in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,’ yet he forbade to use the glorification according to the rule of baptism.” Does not this prove, that the form of this doxology was long before Arius, since he presumed to introduce a new one? So again, when the same Theodoret tells us^c, “that Eunomius subverted the ancient law of baptism, delivered by Christ and his apostles, and brought in a contrary law, that men should not be baptized with a triple immersion, nor by invocation of the Trinity, but only by a single immersion in the name of Christ,” does not this innovation as plainly prove, that the rite of trine immersion was the ancient form and custom of the Church? as Tertullian^d, and all that speak of it before Eunomius, have constantly asserted. So that, whether we consider the testimonies of the Catholics, or the practices and innovations made by heretics, they both concur to prove, that within this period of time, viz. during the life of Athanasius, the Church made use of forms in every considerable part of divine service, baptism, psalmody, and the most solemn worship at the Lord’s table. And so she did also in her funeral rites; where nothing is more common than to hear of psalmody in their solemn processions to any interment, as may be seen in the writings of Gregory Nazianzen^e and the Constitutions^f, to mention no

^c Ibid. (c. iii. p. 356.) *Αὐτὸς καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος ἀνέτρεψε τὸν ἀνέκαθεν παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ ἀποστόλων παραδοθέντα θεσμὸν, καὶ ἀντικρυς ἀντενομοθέτησε, μὴ χρῆναι λέγων τρεῖς καταδύειν τὸν βαπτιζόμενον, μηδὲ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν τῆς Τριάδος ἐπίκλησιν· ἀλλ’ ἅπαξ βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Χριστοῦ.*

^d Tertul. cont. Prax. c. xxvi. (Oberthür, p. 278.) *Nec semel, sed ter, ad singula nomina, in personas singulas tingimur.*—It. de Coron. Milit. c. iii. *Ter mergitatur.*—Constitut. Apostol. c. xlix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 37.) *Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, μὴ τρία βαπτίσματα μιᾶς μύσεως ἐπιτελέσῃ, ἀλλ’ ἐν βάπτισμα, τὸ εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κυρίου διδόμενον, καθαιρέσθω.*

^e Nazianz. Orat. iv. in Julian. (Paris. 1630. vol. i. p. 118.) *Ὁ μὲν γὰρ παραπέμπεται πανδήμοις εὐφημίαις τε καὶ πομπαῖς, καὶ τούτοις δὴ τοῖς ἡμέτεροις σεμνοῖς, ψδαῖς παννύχοις καὶ δαδουχίαις· αἷς Χριστιανοὶ τιμᾶν μετὰστασιν εὐσεβῆ νομίζομεν, καὶ γίνεται πνευγυρις μετὰ πάθους, ἢ ἔκκομιδὴ τοῦ σώματος.*

^f Constitut. lib. vi. c. xxix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 412. A 6.) *Μηδὲ ἐπιζητεῖτε*

other at present, that come not within the prefixed term of the life of Athanasius.

It was not above three years after the death of Athanasius, that St. Ambrose was made bishop of Milan (an. 374). He was a zealous defender of the Catholic faith against the Arians, in opposition to whom he composed several hymns in Latin “to the glory of the Holy Trinity,” for the people to sing in the church, of which he himself gives this account in his tract against Auxentius: “They accuse me,” says he^g, “for deceiving and alluring the people with the poetry of my hymns. And I do not altogether deny the charge; for what can be more powerful and alluring than the confession of the Trinity, which is daily sung by the mouth of all the people? They all zealously strive to make profession of the faith; they all know how to celebrate the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in verse.” These hymns are mentioned also by Prosper, in his *Chronicon*^h, as the first that were sung in the Church in Latin measures. St. Austin frequently speaks of them, and saysⁱ, “they were sung, as then the psalms were, in the alternate way, verse for verse, by the people, to alleviate the tediousness of their sorrow; and from this example the custom of alternate hymnody and psalmody spread almost all over the Western Churches.” One of these is particularly cited by him^j, as an evening hymn, and

Ἰουδαϊκοὺς ἀφορισμοὺς, ἣ συνεχῆ βαπτίσματα, ἣ καθαρισμοὺς ἐπὶ θίξει νεκροῦ· ἀπαρτηρήτως δὲ συναθροίξεσθε ἐν τοῖς κοιμητηρίοις, τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τῶν ἱερῶν βιβλίων ποιούμενοι, καὶ ψάλλοντες ὑπὲρ τῶν κεκοιμημένων μαρτύρων καὶ πάντων ἀπ’ αἰῶνος ἀγίων, καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν τῶν ἐν Κυρίῳ κεκοιμημένων.

^g Ambros. Orat. cont. Auxent. (Paris. 1836. vol. iv. p. 279.) Hymnorum quoque eorum carminibus deceptum populum ferunt. Plane nec hoc abnuo. Grande carmen istud est, quo nihil potentius. Quid enim potentius quam confessio Trinitatis, quæ quotidie totius populi ore celebratur? Certatim omnes student fidem fateri, Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum norunt versibus prædicare.

^h Prosper, *Chronic.* an. 386, ap. Pagi *Critic.* in Baron. an. 387, n. vii. (Lucae, vol. v. p. 630.) Hymni Ambrosii compositi, qui numquam ante in ecclesiis Latinis modulis canebantur.

ⁱ Aug. *Confes.* lib. ix. c. vii. (Bened. 1679. vol. i. p. 162. F 8.) Tunc hymni et psalmi ut canerentur secundum morem Orientalium partium, ne populus mœroris tædio contabesceret, institutum est; et ex illo in hodiernum retentum, multis jam ac pene omnibus gregibus tuis, et per cætera orbis imitantibus.

^j *Ibid.* c. xii. Recordatus sum veridicos versus Ambrosii:

Deus Creator omnium,
Polique rector, vestiens

others are among his works. And these, we are sure, in the following ages, continued in use ; for the hymns of St. Ambrose and St. Hilary are mentioned by the fourth Council of Toledo^k (an. 633), as parts of the daily service in the Spanish churches. St. Ambrose himself also speaks of the use of that ancient hymn, called the *trisagion*, telling us, that in most of the Eastern and Western Churches, when the sacrifice was offered to God, the priest and people with one voice said^l, “ Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts, all the earth is full of thy glory.” He mentions also the common form of salutation^m, “ The peace of God be with you.” He says, the music spoken of in the parable of the prodigal son (Luke xv.) means the whole Church’s singing together the psalms alternatelyⁿ, men, women, and children, with different voices, but all conspiring, as the strings of an instrument, in one harmonious concord. And

Diem decoro lumine,
Noctem sopora gratia,
 Artus solutos ut quies
Reddat laboris usui,
Mentesque fessas allevet,
Luctusque solvat anxios.

Id. lib. i. Retract. c. xxi. In hoc libro (contra epistolam Donati) dixi in quodam loco de apostolo Petro, quod in illo, tamquam in petra, fundata sit ecclesia : qui sensus etiam cantatur ore multorum in versibus beatissimi Ambrosii, ubi de gallo gallinaceo ait :

Hoc ipsa petra ecclesie,
Canente, culpam diluit.

^k See page 235, note (c).

^l Ambros. de Spirit. Sanct. cited by Comber, of Liturgies, p. 183. [Locus iste sine dubio est lib. iii. c. xvi. qui autem non omnia probat, quæ hic dicit Binghamus. Ita habet : Cherubim et Seraphim indefessis vocibus laudant et dicunt, ‘ Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth.’ . . . Nos quoque nihil pretiosius invenimus, quo Deum prædicare possumus, nisi ut Sanctum appellemus. . . . Seraphim laudant, omnis beatorum chorus laudat, ut Sanctum Deum dicat, Sanctum Filium, Sanctum Spiritum. Quomodo igitur non omnia habet, quæ Dei sunt, qui cum Patre et Filio a sacerdotibus et in baptismo nominatur, et in oblationibus invocatur, cum Patre et Filio. *Grischov.*]

^m Ambros. de Dignit. Sacerdot. c. v. (Paris. 1661. vol. iv. p. 332. D 6.) Pronuntiat episcopus hujusmodi ad populum, dicens : Pax vobis.

ⁿ Ibid. lib. vii. in Luc. xv. (Paris. 1836. vol. iii. p. 82.) Hæc est symphonia, quando concinit in Ecclesia diversarum ætatum atque virtutum, velut variarum chordarum indiscreta concordia, psalmus respondetur, Amen dicitur. Hæc est symphonia, quam scivit et Paulus ; et ideo ait, ‘ Psallam spiritu, psallam et mente.’

this was the symphony which the apostle had reference to, when he said, “ I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also.” His books, *De Sacramentis*, if we allow them to be his, are so full of forms and ceremonies relating to the administration of baptism, confirmation, and the eucharist, that a man cannot look into them, but he must conclude, he wrote his accounts of these things from the known and settled forms of the Church; for which reason I think it needless to recite any of them, but they that please may see them related in Dr. Comber^o. If any one should except against these books, as none of St. Ambrose’s gennine offspring, it is sufficient to have evidenced the use of forms from his undoubted writings. St. Jerome testifies concerning the use of the psalms, as forms of prayer and praises, that they were used both publicly and privately upon all occasions. “ In the Egyptian monasteries,” he says^p, “ the singing of the psalms was a principal part of their devotions at every solemn meeting.” He directs Rusticus^q to learn the psalter by heart, and to repeat the psalm in his turn, as the monks were obliged to do, one by one, in their assemblies. He says of himself^r, that he thus learned the psalms by heart, when he was young, and sung them, when he was old, every day. He directs Læta, a noble lady, so to accustom her daughter to the singing of psalms and hymns at all the canonical hours of prayer^s, and teach her this by her own example. And after the same manner^t he writes to Demetrias, a virgin,

^o Comber, Origin of Liturgies, p. 182.

^p Hieron. Epist. xxii. ad Eustoch. c. xv. Post horam, etc. See note (q) p. 230. — Id. Epist. xxvii. c. x. (Venet. 1766. vol. i. p. 712.) Post virorum monasterium, quod viris tradiderat gubernandum, plures virgines quas e diversis provinciis congregarat, tam nobiles, quam medii et infimi generis, in tres turmas monasteriaque divisit: ita duntaxat, ut in opere et cibo separatæ psalmodiis et operationibus jungerentur.

^q Hieron. Epist. iv. ad Rustic. Monach. (p. 942.) Discatur psalterium ad verbum. . . . Dicis psalmum in ordine tuo.

^r Hieron. Apolog. advers. Ruffin. lib. ii. c. vii. (Venet. 1766. vol. ii. p. 518.) Egone contra LXX. interpretes aliquid sum loquutus, quos ante annos plurimos diligentissime emendatos, meæ linguæ studiosis dedi, quos quotidie in conventu fratrum edissero, quorum Psalmos jugi meditatione decanto? Tam stultus eram, ut quod in pueritia didici, senex oblivisci vellem?

^s Ibid. Epist. vii. ad Lætam. Adsuescat, etc. See c. ix. sect. viii. note (t).

^t Ibid. Epist. viii. ad Demetr. (vol. i. p. 991.) Præter psalmodium et ora-

to observe the order of psalmody and prayers at every such stated hour. There may be some dispute about the observation of canonical hours, seven times a-day, in the public service of the Church, but there is none about the use of psalmody in general; for St. Jerome, writing to Sabinianus^u, a deacon, who had been guilty of some indecent behaviour toward a consecrated virgin, reminds him of the immodest signs he had made to her, even whilst he stood in the choir of the singers. And, a little before^v, he speaks of the whole Church sounding forth hymns to Christ, their Lord, in her nocturnal vigils; a great part of which, as we shall see hereafter, was always spent in psalmody. This was always a part of their funeral service; for, speaking of the great concourse of bishops and people at the funeral of the Lady Paula, he says^w, “Some of the bishops led up the choir of singers, and the people sounded forth the psalms in order, some in Greek, some in Latin, some in Syriac, according to the different language of every nation.” He says the same in his epitaph of Fabiola^x, that the people made the gilded roof of the temple shake and echo again with their psalms and hallelujahs. It is also observable, that in St. Jerome’s time, and long before, the Church had a peculiar order among her clergy, called singers, which he himself mentions^y, and of which I have given a more particular account in a former book^z. He also frequently speaks^a of the clergy as ministering in a peculiar habit, a white

tionis ordinem, quod tibi hora tertia, sexta, nona, ad vesperam, media nocte, et mane semper est exercendum, etc.

^u Ibid. Epist. xlvi. cont. Sabinian. (vol. i. p. 1089.) *Stabas deinceps in choro psallentium, et impudicis nutibus loquebaris.*

^v Ibid. (vol. i. p. 1089.) *Tota ecclesia nocturnis vigiliis Christum Dominum personabat, etc.*

^w Ibid. Epist. xxvii. Epitaph. Paulæ, c. xiii. (Venet. 1766. vol. i. p. 723.) *Quum alii pontifices lampadas cereosque profferrent, alii choros psallentium ducerent. . . . Græco, Latino, Syroque sermone psalmi in ordine personabant.*

^x Hieron. Epist. xxx. Epitaph. Fabiolæ. (Venet. 1766. vol. i. p. 466.) *Sonabant Psalmi, et aurata templorum tecta reboans in sublime quatiebat Alleluiah.*

^y Ibid. Comment. in Ephes. v. 19. *Audiant hæc adolescentuli, audiant hi, quibus psallendi in ecclesia officium est, etc. †*

^z Book iii. c. vii.

^a Hieron. Epist. iii. ad Heliodor. *Hanc tunicam, etc.* See c. viii. sect. ii. note (j).—Id. Commentar. in Ezech. c. xliv. 17. (Bened. Veron. vol. v.

garment, in imitation of the angels, of which more will be said hereafter. At present I only observe, that this could not be done without some rule or order, prescribing the ceremonies of decency in divine worship. He does not say much of the other parts of the liturgy; yet he frequently mentions the form of renunciation used in baptism, and the use of the Creed^b; as does also Pelagius, in his Comments upon the Epistles of St. Paul, under the name of St. Jerome^c, and Hilary, the Roman deacon, under the name of St. Ambrose^d, whose authorities are good in this case, because they were contemporaries with these writers. He mentions also the use of the Lord's Prayer in the communion office, as given by Christ to his apostles, from whom the Church^e learned to use it every day in the sacrifice of his body. He speaks likewise of the *trisagion*, or cherubical hymn^f, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth," which they sung as a confession of the Holy Trinity. And he mentions a part of one of the Church's prayers, which was^g, "Lord, grant us thy peace; for thou hast given

p. 547.) Per quæ dicimus, non quotidianis et quibuslibet pro usu vitæ communis pollutis vestibus, nos ingredi debere in Sancta sanctorum, sed munda conscientia et mundis vestibus tenere Domini sacramenta.—Adversus Pelagian. (vol. ii. p. 713.) Quæ sunt, rogo, inimicitiae contra Deum, si tunicam habuero mundiorum? si episcopus, presbyter, et diaconus, et reliquus ordo ecclesiasticus in administratione sacrificiorum cum candida veste processerint?

^b Ibid. Commentar. in Amos vi. 14. (Bened. Veron. vol. vi. p. 322. D 3.) Primum renuntians ei, qui occidente est, nobisque moritur cum peccatis; et sic versi ad orientem, pactum inimus cum Sole Justitiæ, et ei servituros nos esse promittimus.—In Matth. v. 26. (Bened. Veron. vol. vii. p. 28.) Renuntio tibi, diabole, et pompæ tuæ, et vitiis tuis, et mundo tuo, qui in maligno positus est.—Dialog. cont. Lucifer. c. iii. (Venet. vol. ii. p. 184.) Quum solemne sit in lavaero, post Trinitatis confessionem, interrogare, Credis sanctam ecclesiam? Credis remissionem peccatorum? etc.

^c Pelag. Comment. in 1 Tim. vi. 12. *Et confessus.*] In baptismo abrenunciando sæculo et pompis ejus.

^d Ambros. 1 Tim. vi. 12. (Paris. 1661. vol. iii. p. 588. I 2.) Fidei victoria est, quum omnia vitia et crimina subjungantur, ut ad æternæ vitæ præmia veniatur: cujus confessio inter ipsa rudimenta fidei, teste interrogante et respondente, monumentis ecclesiasticis continetur.

^e Hieron. cont. Pelag. lib. iii. c. v. (Veron. vol. ii. p. 786.) Sic docuit Apostolos suos, ut quotidie in corporis illius sacrificio credentes audeant loqui, 'Pater noster, qui es in cælis,' etc.

^f Ibid. de xlii. Mansionibus. (vol. i. p. 469.) In confessionem Sanctæ Trinitatis erumpimus, dicentes, Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth.

^g Ibid. Epist. iv. ad Rustic. (Venet. vol. i. p. 947.) Utinam exaudiatur

us all things." And again ^h, "Thus saith the Church, 'In rest and in tribulation I have been mindful of thee;'" commenting on that psalm, which the ancients called their morning psalm, "My God, my God, early will I seek thee." And, on another psalm, "The Church says ⁱ, 'From the remembrance of our former sins, our hearts are hot within us.'" Speaking also of wicked priests, he says ^j, "They act impiously against Christ, whilst they think that a good life is not as necessary to the eucharist, as the solemn prayer or words of the priest:" where he seems plainly to reflect on those, who trust to the bare form of prayer, without moral qualifications. He also mentions the solemn rite of giving each other the kiss of peace in the eucharist ^k, and the people's known custom of answering "Amen," at the reception of it. All which are plain indications of the use of certain forms in divine worship; though St. Jerome only mentions them incidentally, and had no occasion to enlarge much upon them.

St. Austin and Chrysostom, as they are more voluminous writers, so they are more copious and exact upon this subject. I have given the reader a specimen of what may be collected of the Eastern liturgy, out of the writings of St. Chrysostom, in the following chapter. And some learned men are of opinion, that if any one will be as curious in examining St. Austin's works, he may find the whole African liturgy in his writings. I will not pretend to be so exact in this collection, but only make some short references to what he says upon some parts of it. He divides the whole liturgy or service of the Church

vox Ecclesiae implorantis, 'Domine, pacem da nobis: omnia enim dedisti nobis.'

^h Ibid. Comment. in Psalm. xlii. (Paris. 1648. vol. ii. p. 596. G.) Dicit hæc ecclesia, 'Et in requie et in tribulatione non fui tui oblitus †.'

ⁱ In Psalm. xxxviii. (Ibid. Paris. p. 50.) Dicit ecclesia, 'A recordatione delictorum priorum concealuit cor meum intra me.'

^j Ibid. in Zephan. c. iii. (Ben. Veron. vol. vi. p. 718.) Impie agunt in legem Christi, putantes *ἐνχαριστίαν* imprecantis facere verba, non vitam; et necessariam esse tantum solemnem orationem, et non sacerdotum merita.

^k Ibid. Epist. lxii. ad Theophil. c. i. (Venet. vol. i. p. 514.) Si munera nostra absque pace offerre non possumus; quanto magis et Christi corpus accipere? Qua conscientia ad eucharistiam Christi accedam, et respondebo Amen, dum de caritate dubitem porrigentis? . . . Quisquamne extenta manu vertit faciem; et inter sacras epulas, Judæ osculum porrigit?

into five parts¹, viz., psalmody, reading of the Scriptures, preaching, prayers of the bishop, and the bidding prayers of the deacon; all which, except preaching, were done by certain forms and prescriptions. And first, for psalmody, he says, "It was the exercise of the people at all times, when no other part of the service was a-performing. For there was no time," he says, "unseasonable for the people to sing holy psalms and hymns in the church, except when either the Scriptures were read, or the sermon was preached, or prayers were made by the bishop, or the common prayers were dictated by the voice of the deacon." We have heard him before speak with approbation of the ways of singing psalms and hymns introduced by Athanasius and St. Ambrose^m; which argues not only that he allowed the singing of psalms and hymns, that is, forms of prayer and praises in general, but also, that he liked the several ways of singing then in use; the plain song, and the symphoniacal concert at the conclusion of every verse, used by Athanasius, and the new alternate way introduced by St. Ambrose; though he intimates that the plain way generally was more agreeable to the slow geniusⁿ of the African people; whose singing he vindicates from the scurrilous objections which the Donatists made against their practice. And he wrote a book particularly against one Hilarius, a secular tribune, who pretended to quarrel with the custom of the Church of Carthage for singing hymns out of the book of Psalms^o at the altar, either before the oblation of the eucharist was made, or whilst it was distributed to the people. This book of St. Austin's is now lost; but he mentions it in his *Retractations*. He also speaks of the evening hymns^p; and of the singing of

¹ Aug. Epist. c. xix. ad Januar. c. xviii. (Bened. 1679. vol. ii. p. 142.) Quando non est tempus, quum in ecclesia fratres congregantur, sancta cantandi, nisi quum legitur, aut disputatur, aut antistes clara voce deprecatur, aut communis oratio voce diaconi indicitur?

^m See page 248, note (j).

ⁿ Aug. Epist. cxix. c. xix. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 142. B 5.) Donatistæ nos reprehendunt, quod sobrie psallimus in ecclesia divina cantica prophetarum.

^o Aug. *Retract.* lib. ii. c. xi.

^p *Ibid.* de Civitate Dei, lib. xxii. c. viii. (Bened. 1679. vol. vii. p. 667.) Ibi quum jaceret vel morti proximus, vel simillimus mortuo, ad vespertinos illic hymnos et orationes cum ancillis suis et quibusdam sanctimonialibus intravit.

the hallelujah ^a in some churches every day, and in others only the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost. And Possidius tells us in his Life ^r, “that in the great irruption of the Vandals into Afric a little before his death, nothing grieved him more than to see the hymns and praises of God destroyed out of the churches, and the solemnities of God’s worship, with the sacrifice and sacraments, to fail in the places where they were used to be celebrated.” And he adds ^s, “that, in his last sickness, he ordered some of the penitential Psalms of David to be written for him in large sheets and hanged up against the wall, which he read and used as forms proper for penitential devotion ;” all which shows that St. Austin thought the Psalms of David were not unlawful to be used as forms of prayers and praises in the service of God.

Secondly, for the reading of the Scriptures, he acquaints us in many places, that this was done by a certain rule and calendar, appointing proper lessons for particular occasions and seasons. “There were some festival days ^t,” he says, “on which they were bound to read certain appropriated lessons out of the gospel, which were so fixed to those anniversary solemnities, that no other lessons might be read in their room. Thus,” he says ^u, “in Easter week they constantly read four

^a Ibid. Epist. exix. ad Januar. c. xvii. (vol. iii. p. 141.) Ut autem Halleluia per illos solos dies quinquaginta cantetur, non usquequaque observatur. Nam in aliis diebus varie cantatur alibi ; ipsis autem diebus ubique.

^r Possid. Vit. Augustin. c. xxviii. (vol. x. app. p. 278.) Cernebat etiam hymnos Dei et laudes de ecclesiis deperisse, ædificia ecclesiarum quamplurimis locis ignibus concremata, solemnia quæ Deo debentur, de propriis locis desiisse sacrificia, sacramenta divina vel non quæri, vel quærenti qui tradat non facile reperiri.

^s Ibid. c. xxxi. (p. 279.) Jusserat sibi psalmos Davidicos, qui sunt paucissimi de pœnitentia, scribi, ipsosque quaterniones jacens in lecto contra parietem positos diebus suæ infirmitatis intuebatur, et legebat, et jugiter ac ubertim flebat ; etc.

^t Aug. Exposit. in 1 Joan. Epist. Præfat. (Bened. 1679. vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 826.) Interposita est sollemnitas sanctorum dierum, quibus certas ex evangelicæ lectiones oportet in Ecclesia recitari, quæ ita sunt annuæ, ut aliæ esse non possint.

^u Ibid. Serm. cxxxix. de Temp. (Bened. 1679. vol. v. p. 1001.) In die sancto Paschæ. Per hos dies, sicut recolit Caritas Vestra, solenniter leguntur evangelicæ lectiones, ad resurrectionem Domini pertinentes.—Serm. exl. Feria secunda Paschæ. (p. 989.) Hesterno die, id est, nocte, lecta est ex evangelio

days, one after another, the history of Christ's resurrection out of the four gospels,—on the first day, St. Matthew; on the second, St. Mark; on the third, St. Luke; and on the fourth, St. John." "So, likewise, on the day of Christ's passion," he says ^v, "they read the history of his sufferings out of St. Matthew only, because it was all but one day; and when he would have had all the four gospels read at that time also, the people were disturbed at it, because they had not been accustomed to it." "In the time between Easter and Pentecost," he says ^w, "they always read the Acts of the Apostles." St. Chrysostom will give us the reason of this hereafter; and we shall see that this was a universal custom obtaining throughout the whole Church, when we come to consider this rule more fully exemplified in the Church's general practice ^x.

Thirdly, for the prayers made by the bishop in the communion office, St. Austin gives us such a description of them, as shows they must needs be made by a certain order and form. For he thus describes one part of them, while he instructs the newly baptized in the method and meaning of them ^y: "Ye understand," says he, "the sacrament in the

resurrectio Salvatoris. Lecta est autem ex evangelio secundum Matthæum. Hodie vero, sicut audistis pronuntiare lectorem, recitata est nobis Domini resurrectio, sicut Lucas evangelista conscripsit.—Serm. cxli. eodem die. (p. 977.) Resurrectio Domini nostri Jesu Christi ex more legitur his diebus ex omnibus libris sancti Evangelii.—Serm. cxliv. Feria tertia Paschæ. (p. 980.) Resurrectio Domini nostri Jesu Christi et hodie recitata est: sed de altero libro evangelii, qui est secundum Lucam. Primo enim lecta est secundum Matthæum, hesterno autem die secundum Marcum, hodie secundum Lucam.—Serm. cxlviii. Feria quarta Paschæ. (p. 1026.) Et hodie lectio recitata est de his, quæ facta sunt post resurrectionem Domini secundum Evangelistam Joannem.

^v Aug. Serm. cxliv. (vol. v. p. 980.) Passio, quia uno die legitur, non solet legi, nisi secundum Matthæum. Volueram aliquando, ut per singulos annos secundum omnes evangelistas etiam passio legeretur: factum est; non audierunt homines quod consueverunt, et perturbati sunt.

^w Aug. Tractat. vi. in Joan. Evangelist. (Bened. 1679. vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 337. G.) Actus Apostolorum testes sunt, ille liber canonicus omni anno in ecclesia recitandus. Anniversaria solemnitate, post passionem Domini, nostis illum librum recitari.—Serm. lxxxiii. de Diversis, (vol. v. p. 973.) in die Paschæ. In Actibus Apostolorum advertite, quando legitur. Modo incipit liber ipse legi. Hodie cœpit liber, qui vocatur Actuum Apostolorum.

^x Book xiv. chap. iii. sect. iii.

^y Aug. Hom. lxxxiii. de Diversis. (vol. v. p. 973. G.) Tenetis sacramenta

order of its administration ; first, after prayer," meaning the prayer for the whole state of the Church which went before, "ye are taught to lift up your hearts. Therefore, when it is said, 'Lift up your hearts,' ye answer, 'We lift them up unto the Lord.' The bishop or presbyter who officiates, goes on and says, 'Let us give thanks to our Lord God : ' and ye give in your attestation, and say, 'It is meet and right so to do.' Then, after the consecration of the sacrifice, we say the Lord's Prayer ; and, after that, the priest says, 'Peace be with you,' and 'Christians, salute one another with a holy kiss.'" Here we have not only the method of the communion-service, but the several forms of it in order one after another. And these forms are frequently mentioned by St. Austin in other places. "The Lord's Prayer," he says ^z, "was always used by the whole Church almost, as the close of the consecration-service, and at other times as the daily prayer ^a of the faithful, peculiarly belonging to them and not to the catechumens," as we shall show more fully hereafter ^b. "The form, *Sursum corda*, 'Lift up your hearts,' &c.," he says, "was used by all Christians throughout the world, who daily answered with one voice, 'We lift up our hearts unto the Lord ; ' " as he speaks in his book

ordine suo. Primo post orationem, admonemini sursum habere cor, etc. Ideo quum dicitur, 'Sursum cor,' respondetis, 'Habemus ad Dominum.' . . . Sequitur episcopus vel presbyter, qui offert, et dicit, 'Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro,' et vos attestamini, 'Dignum et justum est,' dicentes. Deinde, post sanctificationem sacrificii dicimus Orationem Dominicam. Post ipsam dicitur, 'Pax vobiscum : ' et osculantur se Christiani in osculo sancto.

^z Ibid. Epist. lix. ad Paulin. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 509. C.) Multa hinc dici possunt, quae improbanda non sint. Sed eligo in his verbis hoc intelligere, quod omnis vel pene omnis frequentat ecclesia, ut *precatioes* accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione sacramentorum, antequam illud, quod est in Domini mensa, incipiat benedici : *orationes* quum benedicitur et sanctificatur, et ad distribuendum comminuitur, quam totam petitionem fere omnis ecclesia Dominica Oratione concludit.

^a Aug. Epist. exxi. ad Probam, cc. xi. xii.—Enchirid. ad Laurent. c. lxxi. (Ben. vol. vi. p. 223.) De quotidianis autem brevibus levibusque peccatis, sine quibus hæc vita non ducitur, quotidiana oratio fidelium satis facit : eorum enim est dicere, 'Pater noster, qui es in coelis,' etc.—Hom. xlii. inter l. (Ben. 1679. vol. v. p. 342. F 5.) Oratio (Dominica) vobis quotidie dicenda est, quum baptizati fueritis. In ecclesia enim ad altare Dei quotidie dicitur ista Oratio Dominica, et audiunt istam fideles.

^b Chap. vii. sect. ix.

of True Religion^c, and other places. And to this he says, “the priests added that other form, ‘Let us give thanks to our Lord God;’ to which the people answered, ‘It is meet and right so to do.’” As he speaks in his Epistles to Dardanus and Honoratus^d, and in his book of the Gift of Perseverance against the Pelagians, and *De Spiritu et Litera*, and *De Bono Viduitatis*; which being all to the same purpose, need not here be repeated. He also mentions in his other writings the solemn form of the priest’s saying, “Peace be with you,” and the people’s giving one another thereupon the kiss of peace^e, which was a symbol of that innocency and peace, which ought to be the qualification of true Christian doves. “And this rite,” he says, “was observed not only by the Catholics,

^c Aug. de Vera Relig. c. iii. (Ben. 1679. vol. i. p. 750.) Si per urbes atque oppida, castella, vicos et agros etiam, villasque privatas, in tantum aperte persuadetur et appetitur a terrenis aversio, et in unum Deum verumque conversio, ut quotidie per universum orbem humanum genus una pene voce respondeat, ‘Sursum corda se habere ad Dominum;’ quid adhuc oscitamus crapulam hesternam, et in mortuis pœudibus divina eloquia perscrutamur?—Serm. liv. de Tempore. (vol. v. append. p. 10.) Et quotiens sacerdos dixerit, ‘Sursum corda,’ secure et fideliter dicunt, ‘se habere ad Deum,’ etc.—Epist. clvi. ad Probam. (Ben. vol. ii. p. 394.) Ideo venit Salvator noster, qui mulierem illam in evangelio per decem et octo annos curvam, quæ fortasse hoc significabat, verbo salutis erexit, ut anima Christiana non frustra audiat, ‘Sursum cor :’ nec frustra respondeat, ‘Se habere ad Dominum.’

^d Ibid. Epist. lvii. ad Dardan. (tom. ii. p. 276. D. Basil.) Nosti autem, in quo sacrificio dicatur, ‘Gratias agamus Domino, Deo nostro.’—Epist. cxx. ad Honoratum†. De Bono Perseverant. c. xiii. (Ben. 1679. vol. x. p. 339.) Quod ergo in sacramentis fidelium dicitur, ‘ut sursum cor habeamus ad Dominum,’ munus est Domini : de quo munere ipsi Domino Deo nostro gratias agere, a sacerdote post hanc vocem, quibus hoc dicitur, admonentur, et ‘dignum et justum esse’ respondent.—De Spiritu et Lit. (vol. x. p. 94. E.) In ipso verissimo et in singulari sacrificio Domino Deo nostro agere gratias admonemur.—De Bono Viduit. c. xvi. (vol. vi. p. 380.) Quia et illud, quod inter sacra mysteria cor habere sursum jubemur, ipso adjuvante id valemus, quo jubente admonemur : et ideo sequitur, ut de hoc tanto bono sursum levati cordis, non nobis gloriam, quasi nostrarum virium, tribuamus, sed Domino Deo nostro gratias agamus. Hæc enim continuo commonemur, quia hoc dignum est, hoc justum est recordari.

^e Aug. Hom. vi. in Joan. (Bened. 1679. vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 331.) Sic ergo oportebat demonstrari Spiritum Sanctum venientem super Dominum, ut intelligat unusquisque, si habeat Spiritum Sanctum, simplicem se esse debere, sicut columbam : habere cum fratribus veram pacem, quam significant oscula columbarum.

but by the Donatists also^f;" so that here is unquestionable evidence for the use of all these forms in the writings of St. Austin. And though he does not give us the whole forms of the longer prayers made by the bishop at the altar, yet he mentions some parts of them; and makes such references and appeals to them, both in his Discourses to the Orthodox, and Confutations of Heretics, as plainly shows they were common forms which they were well acquainted with, and by remembering them might understand the doctrine of the Church. Thus, in his book of Perseverance, he says^g, "Those of the Church need not any operose disputations to convince them of the necessity of God's grace to persevere; they need only remember her daily prayers, how she prays, that infidels may believe, and that believers may persevere." And again he tells them^h, "It is the safest way for weak men in this dispute, to look upon these prayers which the Church always had, and always will have to the end of the world: for when did not the Church pray for infidels and her enemies, that they might believe? Or who ever, when he heard the priest praying over the faithful, and saying, 'Grant, O Lord, that they may persevere in thee unto the end,' durst, either in word or thought, find fault with him, and not rather, with faith in his heart, and confession in his mouth, answer 'Amen' to such a benediction? when the faithful pray no otherwise in the Lord's Prayer, espe-

^f Cont. Literas Petilian. lib. ii. c. xxiii. (vol. ix. p. 233. G.) *Illum commemoro, (Optatum Gildonianum,) cui pacis osculum inter sacramenta copulabatis.*

^g De Bono Perseverant. c. vii. (Bened. 1679. vol. x. p. 328. G.) *Prorsus in hac re non operosas disputationes expectet ecclesia, sed attendat quotidianas orationes suas. Orat, ut creduli credant. . . . Orat, ut credentes perseverent.*

^h *Ibid. c. xxiii. (p. 355.) Utinam tardi corde et infirmi, qui non possunt, vel nondum possunt scripturas vel earum expositiones intelligere, sic audirent, vel non audirent in hac questione disputationes nostras, ut magis intuerentur orationes suas, quas semper habuit et habebit ecclesia ab exordiis suis, donec finiatu hoc sæculum . . . Quando enim non oratum est in ecclesia pro infidelibus atque inimicis ejus ut crederent? . . . Aut quis sacerdotem super fideles Dominum invocantem, si quando dixit, 'Da illis, Domine, in te perseverare usque in finem,' non solum voce ausus est, sed saltem cogitatione reprehendere; ac non potius super ejus talem benedictionem, et corde credente et ore confitente respondit, 'Amen:?' quum aliud in ipsa Oratione Dominica non orant fideles, dicentes maxime illud, 'Ne nos inferas in tentationem:?' nisi ut in sancta obedientia perseverent?*

cially when they say, ‘Lead us not into temptation.’” By all which it appears, that both the larger and shorter prayers in the communion-office of the African Church, in St. Austin’s time, were offered up in such forms as the people could easily remember, when he referred to them as evidence in some disputes, which this was an easy way to determine.

Fourthly, there was one sort of prayers more, which St. Austin distinguishes from the former by the name of ‘common prayers,’ dictated or indited to the people by the voice of the deacon. Now these prayers, as I shall show more fully hereafterⁱ, differed from the bishop’s prayer in this, that the bishop’s prayer was a direct and continued invocation of God, to which the people answered only ‘Amen’ in the conclusion; but the deacon’s prayer was a sort of bidding prayer, or direction to the people what particulars they were to pray for, the deacon going before them, and repeating every petition, to which they make answer, ‘Lord, hear us,’ or ‘Lord, help us,’ or ‘Lord, have mercy,’ or the like. And this sort of prayer St. Austin^j expressly calls *communis oratio voce diaconi indicta*, “common prayer dictated by the voice of the deacon.” And he seems, in one of his epistles^k, to specify some of the particular petitions contained in that prayer. For writing to one who was infected with the Pelagian doctrine (maintaining that infidels were only to be preached to, and not prayed for, because faith was not the work of God’s grace, but the effect of man’s own free will), he urges him with the known prayers of the Church which the man himself frequented. “Exercise,” says he, “your disputations against the prayers of the Church; and when you hear the priest of God at the altar exhorting

ⁱ Book xv. chap. i. sect. ii.

^j Aug. Epist. cxix. ad Januar. c. xviii. (Bened. 1679. vol. ii. p. 142. B 9.) Quando autem non est tempus, quum in ecclesia fratres congregantur, sancta cantandi, nisi quum legitur, aut disputatur, aut antistes clara voce deprecatur, aut communis oratio voce diaconi indicitur?

^k Ibid. Epist. cvii. ad Vitalem. (p. 799. F 4.) Exsere contra orationes ecclesie disputationes tuas, et quando audis sacerdotem Dei ad altare exhortantem populum Dei, orare pro incredulis, ut eos Deus convertat ad fidem; et pro catechumenis, ut eis desiderium regenerationis inspiret; et pro fidelibus, ut in eo, quod esse cœperunt, ejus munere perseverent; subsanna pias voces, et dic te non facere, quod hortatur.

the people of God to pray for unbelievers, that they may be converted to the faith; and for catechumens, that God would inspire them with a desire of regeneration; and for the faithful, that, by his gift, they may persevere in that wherein they have begun, mock at these pious words, and say, ‘ You do not do what you here are exhorted to do.’” And again¹ “ When you hear the priest of God at the altar exhorting the people to pray to God, or else hear him praying with an audible voice, that God would compel the unbelieving Gentiles to come in to his faith, do you not answer, and say ‘ Amen?’” These seem to be usual parts of the prayer for the whole state of the world, in which infidels were prayed for as well as others; to which St. Austin refers, as things well known to all that frequented the prayers of the Church.

Besides these, there were some occasional offices, such as the offices of exorcism, and the institution of the catechumens, and baptism, in which many forms, and rites, and ceremonies, were observed, agreeable to the practice then obtaining in the Church: but of these I have had occasion to speak largely out of St. Austin and other writers, in a former book^m, and therefore think it needless to repeat them in this place. All I shall further add, is two or three canons of the African councils held in St. Austin’s time, at some of which he was present and assisted. He was a member of the third Council of Carthage, in one of whose canons there are several orders and directions given concerning the public prayersⁿ, “ that no one, in prayers, should name the Father for the Son, or the Son for the Father. And when they stood at the altar, all prayers should be directed to the Father. And whatever prayers any one writ for himself, or from other books, he should not use them before they were examined by his more learned brethren.”

¹ Aug. Epist. cvii. ad Vitalem. (1679. vol. ii. p. 808. A 5.) Numquid ubi audieris sacerdotem Dei ad ejus altare populum hortantem ad Deum orandum, vel ipsum clara voce orantem, ut incredulas gentes ad fidem suam venire compellat, non respondebis ‘ Amen?’

^m Books ix. and x.

ⁿ Conc. Carth. III. c. xxiii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1170.) Ut nemo, in precibus, vel Patrem pro Filio, vel Filium pro Patre nominet. Et quum altari adsistitur, semper ad Patrem dirigatur oratio. Et quicumque sibi preces aliunde describit, non eis utatur, nisi prius eas cum instructoribus fratribus contulerit.

This is as plain an argument for set forms as can be given; and yet some, I know not by what means, make it an argument against them. The design of the canon was plainly to prevent all irregularities and corruptions creeping into the devotions of the Church: and, therefore, the fathers made an order, "that no bishop should use any prayers in his church, but such as were first examined and approved by his fellow bishops in a council." As another canon in the African Code explains it^o, "that such prayers should be used by all, as had been authorized, and confirmed in synod, whether they were prefaces, or commendations, or impositions of hands; and that no other should be brought in against the faith, but those only be said, which were collected or examined by men of greater abilities and understanding." And this is repeated again in the Council of Milevis, almost in the same words^p. These African fathers probably had observed, that there were some country bishops who had not sufficient abilities to compose orthodox forms for the use of their own Churches: and, therefore, they a little restrained the ancient liberty which every bishop had, of composing a form of prayer for his own Church, and obliged them to use such as were composed by men of greater abilities, or such as had been approved in synod, that no heretical opinion might creep into the public worship, either by their ignorance, or want of care in their compositions. By all this it appears, that the public devotions of the African Church were, at this time, directed by certain forms of worship; and those not left to every bishop to compose for himself, but he must use such prayers as were first approved by his brethren, or established and confirmed in council. And this seems to be the first

^o Cod. Afric. c. iii. (Ibid. p. 1117.) "Ἦρесе καὶ τοῦτο, ὥστε τὰς κεκυρωμένας ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ ἱκεσίας, εἴτε προοίμια, εἴτε παραθέσεις, εἴτε τὰς τῆς χειρὸς ἐπιθέσεις, ἀπὸ πάντων ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, καὶ παντελῶς ἄλλας κατὰ τῆς πίστεως μηδέποτε προερχήσθαι· ἀλλ' αἵτινες δὴποτε ἀπὸ τῶν συνετωτέρων συνήχθησαν, λεχθήσονται.

^p Conc. Milevit. c. xii. (Ibid. p. 1540.) Placuit etiam illud, ut preces vel orationes seu missæ, quæ probate fuerint in concilio, sive præfationes, sive commendationes, seu manus impositiones, ab omnibus celebrentur. Nec aliæ omnino dicantur in ecclesia, nisi quæ a prudentioribus tractatæ, vel comprobate in synodo fuerint, ne forte aliquid contra fidem, vel per ignorantiam, vel per minus studium sit compositum.

beginning of that custom, which afterward prevailed all over the Church, as has been observed before in this chapter^q, that all provincial bishops should use the same form of prayer that was established in the churches of their metropolitans.

I need not now insist upon these same councils^r, speaking of the solemn interrogatories and answers to be made in baptism, nor of their mentioning the Lord's Prayer, as a form of so necessary and general a use^s, that the Pelagians themselves, who did not like one petition in it unless interpreted to a very perverse sense, durst not presume to lay aside the use of it. For as the first of these is a known practice, so the second will have a more particular handling, when we come to consider the use of the Lord's Prayer in a chapter by itself. And so I put an end to this chapter, concerning the use of liturgies in the ancient Church.

CHAPTER VI.

AN EXTRACT OF THE ANCIENT LITURGY OUT OF THE GENUINE WRITINGS OF ST. CHRYSOSTOM.

SECT. I.—*Parts of the Liturgy in the First Tome.*

IT has often been wished by learned men, that some one would represent the ancient liturgy, in its several parts and offices, as it may be collected out of the genuine and undoubted writings of St. Chrysostom; forasmuch as that liturgy which goes under his name cannot be so certainly depended on as his genuine offspring: but there are a great many parts of ancient liturgy of unquestionable credit, which may be gathered up out of his other discourses. Mr. Hales, of Eton, a diligent reader of Chrysostom, is said to have designed such a collection,

^q See sect. ii.

^r Conc. Carth. III. c. xxxiv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1172.) Ut ægrotantes, si per se respondere non possunt, quum voluntatis eorum testimonium hi, qui sui sunt, periculo proprio dixerint, baptizentur.

^s Conc. Milevit. c. viii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1540.) Item placuit, ut quicumque verba ipsa Dominice Orationis, ubi dicimus, 'Dimitte nobis debita nostra,' ita volunt a sanctis dici, ut humiliter non veraciter hoc dicatur, anathema sint.

but he did not effect it. Therefore, till some one else pursues his design more completely, I think it not improper, for its relation to the present subject, to give the reader, in one view, a specimen of such passages as plainly refer to the several parts of the ancient liturgy, observing the order of St. Chrysostom's works according to the Paris edition, 1609; and that of Commelin, 1617.

In the first tome, Hom. i. (p. 1), he plainly intimates^a, that the Scriptures were read then in some order by a stated rule of the Church, because his sermon that day was upon a passage that had been read in the course of morning service (1 Tim. v. 23): "Drink no longer water, but use a little wine." In his second Homily (p. 32)^b, he says again his text was taken out of the epistle then read for the day, which was 2 Tim. vi. 17: "Charge them that are rich in this world, that they be not high-minded." In his third Homily (p. 45), he says^c, "The Lord's Prayer was, by appointment of the Church, the peculiar privilege of those only who were baptized." For, before their initiation in the holy mysteries, they were not allowed to use it. In his seventh Homily (p. 106), he observes^d, "that the Book of Genesis was always appointed to be read in Lent: and, accordingly, it was then read for the day; and he preached upon the first words of it, 'In the

^a Bened. 1718. vol. ii. p. 1. B 2. Ἡκούσατε σήμερον περὶ πολλῶν καὶ ἀναγκαίων πραγμάτων διαλεγόμενου τῷ Τιμοθέῳ; καὶ γὰρ περὶ χειροτονιῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπέστελλεν, εἰπὼν· Χεῖρας ταχέως μηδενὶ ἐπιτίθει, κ. τ. λ. Ἐἶτα πάλιν φησὶν· Οἶνω ὀλίγῳ χρῶ, κ. τ. λ. Καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν οἰκετῶν ὑποταγῆς, καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν φιλαργύρων μανίας, καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν πλουτούντων ἀπονοίας, καὶ περὶ πολλῶν ἡμῖν ἐτέρων διελέχθη τήμερον.

^b Hom. ii. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 25. E.) Ἡμῖν δὲ ὥρα λοιπὸν τὴν εἰωθῆσαν ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ Παύλου παραθεῖναι τράπεζαν, τὴν σήμερον ἀναγνωσθεῖσαν ῥῆσιν προχειρισμένους καὶ εἰς μέσον καταθεμένους ἅπασι· τί ποτ' οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ σήμερον ἀναγνωσθέν; Τοῖς πλουσίοις ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι παράγγελλε μὴ ὑψηλοφρονεῖν.

^c Bened. vol. ii. p. 36. C 11. Προσθήσει τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν ἐκείνην, ἣν μυσταγωγήσαντες αὐτὸν τὴν ἱεράν μυσταγωγίαν ἐπαίδευσαν εὐχεσθαι, καὶ λέγειν, "Ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ἡμῶν, κ. τ. λ.

^d Hom. vii. (vol. ii. p. 85. E 7.) Τὸ σήμερον ἡμῖν ἀναγνωσθὲν μεταχειρισόμεθα βιβλίον, καὶ εἰ δοκεῖ, τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ προοίμιον, ὃ δοκεῖ μάλιστα μὴδὲ ἔχνος ἐμφαίνειν παραμυθίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθόλου παρακλητικῶν ἄλλοτριούσθαι λόγων, εἰς μέσον προθεῖς, ὃ λέγω ποιήσω φανερόν· τί ποτ' οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ προοίμιον; Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, κ. τ. λ.

beginning, God created heaven and earth.” In his fifteenth Homily (p. 191), he says ^e, “The whole city met together, and ‘with one common voice,’ τῇ μιᾷ κοινῇ φωνῇ, made their litany, or supplications to God.” And, in the same discourse, he intimates ^f, that a portion of the Prophet Zachary, chap. v., concerning the flying roll against swearers, had then been read for the day, which he accommodated to the subject of vain oaths, against which he was then discoursing. In his eighteenth Homily (p. 226), he says ^g, “He preached upon the epistle which had been read that day (Phil. iv. 4): ‘Rejoice in the Lord always; and again, I say, Rejoice.’” And in his sixteenth Homily (p. 284), he notes the same ^h, “that the words upon which he preached out of the Epistle to Philemon, ‘Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ,’ &c. had been read that day.” In his twenty-first Homily (p. 266), he takes notice of the use of the hymn called the *trisaqion*, or ‘cherubical hymn,’ “Holy, holy, holy,” in the celebration of the eucharist; arguing to his hearers in this manner upon it ⁱ: “What an absurdity is it for a man, after he has heard that mystical song that was brought down from heaven, brought down, I say, by the cherubims, to pollute his ears with the songs of harlots, and the effeminate music of the theatre.” In the same Homily, he twice takes notice of the form of renouncing the devil in baptism: p. 267; “We are commanded ^k to say,

^e Hom. xv. (vol. ii. p. 153. A 4.) Ἐκκλησία γέγονεν ἡ πόλις ἅπασα, τῶν ἐργαστηρίων ἀποκεκλεισμένων, καὶ πάντων ἐν ταῖς πανδήμοις ταύταις διημερευόντων λιταῖς, καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἐν μιᾷ καὶ κοινῇ φωνῇ μετὰ πολλῆς καλούντων τῆς προθυμίας.

^f Ibid. (vol. ii. p. 158. B 11.) Ἠκούσατε τοῦ προφήτου σήμερον περὶ τῶν ὄρκων διαλεγόμενου; Ἐπέβλεψα τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς μου, κ.τ.λ.

^g Hom. xviii. (vol. ii. p. 181. A 8.) Ἠκούσατε τοῦ Παύλου σήμερον παραινούντος ἡμῖν, καὶ λέγοντος, Χαίρετε ἐν Κυρίῳ, κ.τ.λ.

^h Hom. xvi. (vol. ii. p. 163. C 7.) Φέρε δὲ μίαν ῥῆσιν ἐκ τῶν σήμερον ἀναγνωσθέντων παραθέντες ὑμῖν καταπαύσωμεν τὸν λόγον, Παῦλος δέσμιος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

ⁱ Hom. xxi. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 237. B 8.) Πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἄτοπον, μετὰ τὴν μυστικὴν ἐκείνην φωνήν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν φερομένην (τὴν ἐκ Χερουβίμ λέγω) πορνικοῖς ἄσμασι, καὶ κατακεκλασμένοις μέλεσι, τὴν ἀκοὴν μολύνειν.

^k Ibid. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 238. A 8.) Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ κελεύομεθα λέγειν, Ἀποτάσσομαί σοι, Σατανᾶ, ἵνα μηκέτι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπανέλθωμεν.

'Αποτάσσομαί σοι, Σατανᾶ, 'I renounce thee, O Satan,' that we may never more return to him." And, again (p. 273)¹; "Remember," says he, "those words which you spake, when you were initiated in the holy mysteries, 'I renounce thee, O Satan, and thy pomp, and thy worship, and service.'" In his twenty-second Homily, upon anger and forgiving enemies, he argues for the necessity of pardoning offences from the necessary obligation that is laid upon all men to say the Lord's Prayer. "For this reason," says he (p. 287)^m, "we are commanded to say, 'Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.'" And again (p. 288): "When you say, 'Forgive us, as we forgive : ' if you do not forgive, you ask nothing else of God, but that he would deprive you of all excuse and pardon." And whereas some pleadedⁿ, that they did not say the whole prayer, but omitted that clause, "As we forgive them that trespass against us," he rebukes them for it; and bids them not be so vainly cautious, as to think they were excused by curtailing the prayer, but advises them to use the whole prayer, as Christ appointed it to be used, that the necessity of this petition might daily terrify them from revenge, and compel them to grant pardon to their neighbours. In his twenty-fourth Homily, of the baptism of Christ (p. 317), he again speaks of the cherubical hymn in the communion-service. "Do you think," says he^o, "that you have any secular business at that hour?

¹ Ibid. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 242. C 3.) 'Αναμνησθῆς τῆς φωνῆς ἐκείνης, ἣν ἀφῆκας μυσταγωγουμένη, 'Αποτάσσομαί σοι, Σατανᾶ, καὶ τῆ πομπῆ σου, καὶ τῆ λατρίᾳ σου.

^m Hom. xxii. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 208. A.) Διὰ τοῦτο ἐκελεύσθημεν λέγειν, "Ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν. See Ben. vol. ii. p. 209. A 5.

ⁿ Ibid. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 209. B 3.) Μὴ τοίνυν εὐλάβειαν εἶναι νομίσῃς, τὸ μὴ λέγειν ὀλόκληρον τὴν ῥῆσιν, μηδὲ ἐξ ἡμισείας ποιῶν τὴν εὐχὴν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔταξεν, οὕτως εὐχου, ἵνα κἂν ἡ ἀνάγκη τῆς λέξεως, φοβοῦσα καθ' ἡμέραν, συνωθέσῃ σε πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πλησίον συγχώρησιν.

^o Hom. xxiv. (Bened. 1718. vol. ii. p. 574.) "Ὅλωσ γὰρ οἶδας ὅτι πράγματα ἔχεις κατὰ τὴν ὥραν ἐκείνην; μέμνησαι γὰρ ὅλωσ, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἶ; νομίζεις δὲ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων εἶναι; καὶ πῶς οὐχὶ λιθίνης ταῦτα διανοίας; τὸ νομίζειν κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον ἐπὶ γῆς εἶσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐ μετὰ ἀγγέλων χορεύειν, μεθ' ὧν τὸ μυστικὸν ἐκείνο μέλος ἀνέπεμψας· μεθ' ὧν τὴν ἐπινίκιον ἐκείνην ἀνένεγκας φῶδῆν τῷ Θεῷ;

Do you then imagine yourself to be upon earth, or conversing among men? Whose heart is so stony as to think, that at that time he stands upon the earth, and is not rather in a choir of angels, with whom you sing that mystical hymn; with whom you send up that triumphal song to God?" In his twenty-eighth Homily (which is the third of the incomprehensible nature of God), p. 363, he speaks of the common prayer, "as sent up with one common voice of the whole congregation, speaking and crying aloud to God with one accord." Some would have excused themselves from these prayers of the Church, by this frivolous plea, that they could pray at home; but they could not hear a sermon or discourse of instruction in their own houses; and, therefore, they would come to sermon, but not to prayers. To whom he makes this reply^p, "You deceive yourself, O man: for though you may pray at home, yet you cannot pray there in that manner as you do in the church, where there are so many fathers together; and where the cry of your prayers is sent up to God with one consent. You are not heard so well when you pray to God by yourself alone, as when you pray with your brethren. For there is something more here—consent of mind, and consent of voice, and the bond of charity, and the prayers of the priests together. For the priests for this very reason preside in the church, that the people's prayers, which are weaker of themselves, laying hold on those that are stronger, may, together with them, mount up to heaven." This is a plain description of such common prayers, wherein both priests and people joined, not only in heart, but in one common form of words, whereby they cried aloud to God together. A little after (p. 365)^q, he describes these prayers again by "the people's

^p Hom. xxviii. (Bened. vol. i. p. 469.) Ἀπατᾶς σαυτὸν, ἄνθρωπε· εὐξασθαι μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας δυνατὸν οὕτω δὲ εὐξασθαι, ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀδύνατον, ὅπου πατέρων πλῆθος τοσοῦτον, ὅπου βοή πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀναπέμπεται οὐχ οὕτως ἀκούη μετὰ σαυτὸν τὸν Δεσπότην παρακαλῶν, ὡς μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν σῶν· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἐστὶ τι πλεον, οἷον ἡ ὁμόνοια, καὶ συμφωνία, καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης ὁ σύνδεσμος, καὶ αἱ τῶν ἱερέων εὐχαί. Διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο οἱ ἱερεῖς προεστήκασιν, ἵνα καὶ αἱ τοῦ πλήθους εὐχαὶ ἀσθενέστεραι οὔσαι, τῶν δυνατωτέρων τούτων ἐπιλαβόμεναι ὁμοῦ συνανέλθωσιν αὐταῖς εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν.

^q Hom. xxviii. (Bened. vol. i. p. 470.) Οὐκ ἄνθρωποι μόνοι βοῶσι τῆν

sending up their tremendous cry all at once," βωῶσι τὴν φρικωδεστάτην βοήν. And he makes this difference between the manner of the *energumens*' supplicating God, and that of the people; that the one spake not a word, but only supplicated by the posture of their bodies, bowing down their heads, whilst the people, who were allowed to speak audibly in prayers, spake aloud for those who could not speak for themselves. "For this reason," says he^r, "the deacon, at the time of the oblation, brings forth the *energumens*, or those that are possessed with evil spirits, and bids them bow their heads only, and signify their supplications by this bodily gesture: for they are not permitted to pray with the common assembly of the brethren: therefore he presents them before the congregation, that you, pitying both their vexation, and their disability to speak for themselves, might, by the freedom and liberty of speech which is allowed you, grant them your patronage and assistance." From this it appears that these prayers for the *energumens* were in a certain form, in which all the people vocally joined together. In his twenty-ninth Homily, which is the fourth *de Incomprehensibili* (p. 374)^s, he repeats the same account of the deacon's calling forth the *energumens*, and bidding them bow their heads; and the people's praying to God ὁμοθυμαδὸν καὶ μετὰ σφοδρᾶς βοῆς, "with one consent, and with strong cries," that he would show mercy on them. A little after, in the same Homily (p. 375), he mentions another form used by the deacon, as the herald of

φρικωδεστάτην ἐκείνην βοήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄγγελοι προπίπτουσι τῷ Δεσπότη, κ. τ. λ.

^r Ibid. (p. 470. E 3.) Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἐνεργουμένους κατ' ἐκείνον ἴστησιν τὸν καιρὸν ὁ διάκονος, καὶ κελεύει κλίνειν τὴν κεφαλὴν μόνον, καὶ τῷ σχήματι ποιῆσθαι τοῦ σώματος τὰς ἰκετηρίας· εὐχέσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς μετὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ συλλόγου τῶν ἀδελφῶν οὐ θέμις· διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὺς ἴστησιν, ἵνα κατελείψας αὐτοὺς, καὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς, καὶ τῆς ἀφωνίας, τῇ οἰκίᾳ παρῥησία πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀποχρήση προστασίαν.

^s Hom. xxix. (p. 477. B 2.) Ἔσται δὲ ἡ χάρις, ἃν διδάξωμεν ὑμᾶς, τίνος ἕνεκεν ἐκείνη γίνεται πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἢ εὐχῆ, καὶ τί δήποτε τοὺς δαιμονῶντας, καὶ τῇ μανίᾳ πονηρᾷ κατεχομένους εἰσάγεσθαι κελεύει τότε ὁ διάκονος καὶ κλίνειν τὰς κεφαλὰς· . . . ἵνα τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀπάσης ἔνδον παρούσης κοινᾷ περὶ αὐτῶν ἰκετηρίαί γένηνται, πάντων ὁμοθυμαδὸν τὸν κοινὸν δεσπότην ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐξαιτουμένων, καὶ ἐλεῆσαι παρακαλούντων μετὰ σφοδρᾶς τῆς βοῆς.

the Church, who was appointed to call upon the people every now and then, and excite them to fervency in devotion, by using this form of words, ὀρθοὶ στῶμεν καλῶς, “Let us elevate our minds, and attend with decency to our devotions.” For, as he there explains it, this admonition did not so much respect the body, as the mind. “When the deacon,” says he^t, “calls upon us, and says, ‘Let us stand elevated with decency,’ it was not without good reason that this admonition was, by the rule of the Church, appointed, but that we should elevate our thoughts that lie grovelling upon the ground; that, casting away the distraction that arises from secular affairs, we should be able to present our souls, upright and raised, to a spiritual sense, in the presence of God.” “Let no man, therefore,” adds he, “join in those sacred and mystical hymns with remissness of mind; let no man entertain the thoughts of this life at that time; but, driving away all earthly concerns, let him translate himself wholly into heaven, as standing then close by the throne of glory, and flying with the seraphims; and so let him offer up τὸν πανάγιον ἕμνον, ‘that most holy hymn,’ (meaning the *trisagion*, or else the hymn called, ‘Glory be to God on high’) to the God of majesty and glory. It is upon this account we are called upon at this time, ἐστάναι καλῶς, ‘to compose ourselves decently,’ as it becomes men who stand in the presence of God; with fear and trembling; with a vigilant and elevated soul.” In his thirty-fourth Homily^u, which is the first against the Jews (p. 440), he speaks of another form used by the deacon; and that frequently before the participation of the holy mysteries: he then cried out, ἐπιγινώσκετε ἀλλήλους, “Discern and know

^t Hom. xxix. (Bened. vol. i. p. 478. C.) Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο παρακελεύεσθαι τὸν διάκονον ἅπασι καὶ λέγειν, Ὀρθοὶ στῶμεν, καλῶς, οὐχ ἀπλῶς οὐδὲ εἰκὴ νενομεθέτηται· ἀλλ’ ἵνα τοὺς χαμαὶ συρομένους λογισμοὺς ἀνορθώσωμεν, ἵνα τὴν ἔκλυσιν τὴν ἐκ τῶν βιωτικῶν ἡμῖν γινομένην πραγμάτων ἐκβαλόντες, ὀρθὴν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Θεοῦ παραστήσῃσιν συνηθῶμεν ἡμῶν τὴν ψυχὴν. . . . μηδεὶς τοίνυν διαλελυμένος τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν ἱερῶν κοινωνεῖτω, καὶ μυστικῶν ἕμνων ἐκείνων· μηδεὶς βιωτικοὺς κατ’ ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν ἐχέτω λογισμοὺς, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ γήινα τῆς διανοίας ἐξορίσας, καὶ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ὅλον ἑαυτὸν μεταθείς, ὡς αὐτοῦ πλησίον ἐστῶς τοῦ θρόνου τῆς δόξης, καὶ μετὰ τῶν Σεραφίμ ἱπτάμενος, οὕτω τὸν πανάγιον ἕμνον ἀναφερέτω τῷ τῆς δόξης καὶ τῆς μεγαλοσύνης Θεῷ.

^u Hom. xxxiv. (Bened. vol. i. p. 393.)

one another ;” which was an admonition to the people, that they should suffer no Jew, infidel, heretic, catechumen, or penitent, to communicate among them. In his fortieth Homily upon the martyrs Juventinus and Maximus (p. 550), he says ^x, “the Church kept her vigils all the night with continual psalmody,” which was nothing but forms of prayers and praises out of the Holy Scriptures. In the forty-seventh Homily upon Julian the martyr (p. 613), he again mentions the solemn form of renunciation in baptism. “You renounced,” says he ^y, “all this kind of pomp (harlots’ songs and obscene words used in the theatre) and made a covenant with Christ in that day, when you were initiated in the holy mysteries. Remember, therefore, those words and your covenant, and beware you do not transgress it.” In his fifty-first Homily, upon Bernice (p. 635), he says ^z, “they used hymns, and prayers, and psalms, at the funeral of Christians ; and particularly the words of Psalm cxvi. : ‘Return unto thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee :’ implying that the death of a Christian was a kindness and a rest : ‘for he that is entered into that rest, hath ceased from his own works, as God did from his.’” In his fifty-fifth Homily, which is the fifth [seventh] of repentance (p. 672) ^a, he plainly

^x Hom. xl. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 581.) *Συντρεχόντων πολλῶν ψαλμωδίας συνεχεῖς ἐτελοῦντο παννυχίδες ἱεραί.*

^y Hom. xlvii. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 679.) *Σὺ δὲ ἀπετάξω πάση ταύτῃ τῇ πομπῇ, καὶ τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ λατρεία συνετάξω κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν, καθ’ ἣν τῶν ἱερῶν κατηξιώθης μυστηρίων ἀναμνήσθητι τοίνυν τῶν ῥημάτων ἐκείνων καὶ τῆς συνθήκης, καὶ φύγε τὴν παράβασιν.*

^z Hom. li. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 638. E 3.) *Παρά μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς νεκροῖς κοπετοί τινες ἐγίνοντο καὶ θρῆνοι· νῦν δὲ ψαλμοὶ καὶ ὑμνωδίαὶ ἐκλαυσαν γοῶν τὸν Ἰακώβ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας· ἐκλαυσαν καὶ τὸν Μωσῆν ἐτέρας τσοαύτας οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ ἐκόψαντο· ἐπειδὴ θάνατος τότε ὁ θάνατος ἦν· νυνὶ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως· ἀλλὰ ὑμνωδίαι, καὶ εὐχαί, καὶ ψαλμοὶ· δηλούντων ἀπάντων, ὅτι ἡδονὴν ἔχει τὸ πρᾶγμα· οἱ γὰρ ψαλμοὶ εὐθυμίας σύμβολον· εὐθυμεῖ γὰρ τις, φησὶν, ἐν ἡμῖν ; ψαλλέτω· ἐπεὶ οὖν εὐθυμίας ἐσμὲν πεπληρωμένοι, διὰ τοῦτο ψάλλομεν ἐπὶ τοῖς νεκροῖς ψαλμούς, θαρρῆν ὑπὲρ τῆς τελευτῆς παρακελευομένους· Ἐπίστρεψον γάρ, φησι, ψυχὴ μου, εἰς τὴν ἀνάπαισιν· ὁ γὰρ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν κατάπαισιν ἐκείνην, κατέπαισεν ἀπὸ ἔργων αὐτοῦ, ὡσπερ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ὁ Θεός.*

^a Hom. lv. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 326. D 8.) *Ἠκούσατε τοίνυν, ἵνα ἐκ μέρους ἄψωμαι τῶν ἐφημένων, ὡς ἀρτίως διαλεγόμενος τοῖς Κορινθίοις ἔλεγεν ὁ γενναῖος ἐκείνος καὶ θαυμάσιος ἀνὴρ, Μήπως ἐλθὼν, κ. τ. λ.*

intimates, that his discourse was made upon the epistle that had been read for the day (2 Cor. xii. 21) : “ Lest when I come again, I shall bewail many who have sinned, and have not repented.” In his sixtieth Homily, which is his catechetical instruction to those that were preparing for baptism, he takes notice of several forms and rules made by the Church relating to that matter (p. 797) : as first, the solemn words by which every man entered into covenant with Christ. For, speaking of the danger and ill consequences of deferring baptism to a sick bed, he says ^b, “ When he that is baptized knows none that are about him ; when he cannot hear a word that is spoken ; when he cannot utter those words, wherewith he should make the blessed covenant with our common Lord, but lies like a stock or a stone, differing nothing from a dead man ; what advantage is it to such a one to be initiated in the holy mysteries, in such a state of insensibility ?” This implies, that the party baptized was to make his compact with God in a solemn and usual form of words, which a man, at the point of death, was not able to utter. After this he goes on to show ^c, that the Church had appointed the time of Lent, chiefly above other times, for exorcism and baptism : and that the catechumens, after they were instructed, were remitted over to the exorcists, to have their exorcisms or prayers said over them ; and that during this time they were obliged to walk discalceate, and wear only one coat : “ which were appointments of the Church,” he says, “ established for good reasons, and not without their mystical signification.” In his seventy-fourth Homily, in which is a

^b Hom. lx. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 227. C 6.) “ Όταν γὰρ μήτε τοὺς παρόντας ἐπιγινώσκῃ, μήτε φωνῆς ἀκούῃ, μήτε ἀποκρίνασθαι δύνηται τὰ ῥήματα ἐκεῖνα, δι’ ὧν τὴν μακαρίαν συνθήκην πρὸς τὸν κοινὸν ἡμῶν ἀπάντων καταθήσεται Δεσπότην, ἄλλ’ ὡσπερ ξύλον ἄργον ἢ λίθος, ὁ φωτίζεσθαι μέλλων, πρόκειται νεκροῦ μηδὲν διαφέρων, τί τῆς μυσταγωγίας ὄφελος ἐν ἀναισθησίᾳ τσαύτῃ ;

^c Ibid. (p. 227. E 5.) Ἐβουλόμην μὲν πρῶτον ἀπάντων εἰπεῖν, τί δῆποτε παραδραμόντες ἡμῶν οἱ πατέρες ἅπαντα τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ μυσταγωγεῖσθαι τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐνομοθέτησαν, καὶ τίνος ἕνεκεν μετὰ τὴν παρ’ ἡμῶν διδασκαλίαν ὑπολύσαντες ὑμᾶς καὶ ἀποδύσαντες, γυμνοὺς καὶ ἀνυποδέτους μετὰ τοῦ χιτωνίσκου μόνου πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἐξορκιζόντων παραπέμπουσι φωνάς ; οὐ γὰρ ἀπλῶς οὐδὲ εἰκῆ, καὶ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνοι τούτου ἡμῖν διετύπωσαν ; ἀλλ’ ἔχει ταῦτα ἀμφοτέρα μυστικόν τινα λόγον καὶ ἀπόρρητον.

panegyric upon the martyrs (p. 900), he speaks again of the *trisagion*, or ‘cherubical hymn,’ as used to be sung in the celebration of the eucharist. “The martyrs,” says he ^d, “are now joining in concert, and partaking in the mystical songs of the heavenly choir: for if, whilst they were in the body, whenever they communicated in the holy mysteries, they made part of that choir, singing with the cherubims the *trisagion* hymn, ‘Holy, holy, holy,’ as all ye that are initiated in those mysteries, very well understand; much more now being joined with them, whose partners they were in the earthly choir, they do with greater freedom partake in those solemn blessings and glorifications of God in heaven above.”

SECT. II.—*Parts of the Liturgy in the Second Tome of St. Chrysostom's Works.*

The second tome of St. Chrysostom's works is his Homilies upon Genesis, which were preached in Lent, when that book was always read in the Church, as appears from his first Homily (p. 10) ^e, and from what has been observed before ^f out of his seventh Homily to the people of Antioch in the foregoing section. In his twenty-seventh Homily upon this book, he plainly intimates, that the Lord's Prayer was always a part of the communion-office; for, speaking of the duty of forgiving enemies, he says (p. 358) ^g, “If we do this, we may then, with a pure conscience, come to this holy and tremendous table, and boldly say the words that are contained in that prayer. They who are initiated in the holy mysteries know what I mean.” He covertly intends that petition of the

^d Hom. lxxiv. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 715. A 9.) Κοινωνοῦσι τῶν χορῶν, καὶ μετέχουσι τῶν μελῶν τῶν μυστικῶν· εἰ γὰρ ἐν σώματι ὄντες κατὰ τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων κοινωνίαν εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἐτέλουν τὸν χορὸν, μετὰ τῶν Χερουβὶμ τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον ψάλλοντες, καθάπερ ἡμεῖς ἴστε οἱ μνηθέντες, πολλῶ μᾶλλον νῦν τοὺς συγχορευτάς ἀπολαβόντες μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς παρῆρσίας κοινωνοῦσι τῆς εὐφημίας ἐκείνης.

^e Tom. ii. Hom. i. (Bened. vol. iv. p. 7.) . . . ἵνα τὸν καιρὸν ἅπαντα τῆς ἁγίας τεσσαρακοστῆς τὴν πνευματικὴν ἐμπορίαν ἐμπορευσάμενοι, κ. τ. λ.

^f See page 264, note (d).

^g Hom. xxvii. (Bened. vol. iv. p. 268. A 7.) Ἄν τοῦτο κατορθώσωμεν, δυνασόμεθα μετὰ καθαροῦ συνειδότος καὶ τῆ ἱερᾶ ταύτης καὶ φρικτῆ τραπέζῃ προσελθεῖν, καὶ τὰ ῥήματα ἐκεῖνα τὰ τῆ εὐχῆ συνεζευγμένα μετὰ παρῆρσίας φθέγξασθαι ἴσασιν οἱ μεμνημένοι τὸ λεγόμενον.

Lord's Prayer, "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us." In his thirty-third Homily (p. 478), he acquaints us^h, "that though the Book of Genesis was, by the order of the Church, read in Lent; yet when they came to the Thursday in the Passion Week, the day on which our Saviour was betrayed, then they had proper lessons for that day, and Good Friday, and Easter day, and all the time between Easter and Pentecost, when it was customary to read the Acts of the Apostles, as a demonstration of our Saviour's resurrection." In his fifty-fourth Homily (p. 731), he saysⁱ, "Christ commanded the use of the Lord's Prayer, prescribing us therein the bounds and rules of praying for temporal things, whilst he enjoins us to say those words, 'Give us this day our daily bread.'" In his second Homily upon the prayer of Hannah, in the same volume, p. 965, he says^k, "When Christ commanded his disciples not to pray after the manner of the heathen, using vain repetitions, he also taught us the measure of prayer;" meaning the form which he appointed. He repeats the same in the third Homily, upon Saul and David (p. 1053). "Although," says he^l, "you are guilty of

^h Hom. xxxiii. (Bened. vol. iv. p. 331. B 4.) 'Η τῆς ἀγίας ἑορτῆς παρουσία τὴν ἀκολουθίαν ἡμῖν διέκοψεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν εὐλογον, τὸν σταυρὸν ἡμᾶς ἑορτάζοντας τοῦ Δεσπότου περὶ ἕτερα ἡμῖν τὴν διδασκαλίαν γίνεσθαι ἀλλ' ἐχρῆν καθ' ἕκαστον καιρὸν τὴν ἀρμόττουσαν ὑμῖν παρατιθέναι τράπεζαν. Διὰ τοι τοῦτο ἡνίκα ἡ τῆς παραδόσεως ἔφθασεν ἡμέρα, τὴν ἀκολουθίαν διατεμόντες τῆς διδασκαλίας, τοῦ κατεπείγοντος γενόμενοι, ἐπὶ τὸν προδότην τὴν γλῶτταν ἐπαφήκαμεν, καὶ πάλιν τὸ κατὰ τὸν σταυρὸν ὑμῖν εἰς μέσον προιθήκαμεν· εἶτα ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρας καταλαβούσης, ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τὰ περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Δεσπότου διδάξει τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην, καὶ πάλιν ἐν ταῖς ἐφεξῆς ἡμέραις τῆς ἀναστάσεως τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ὑμῖν παρασχεῖν διὰ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα γεγενημένων θαυμάτων, ὅτε καὶ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν ἐπιλαβόμενοι, κ. τ. λ.

ⁱ Hom. liv. (Bened. vol. iv. p. 525. E 9.) Διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς τῆς εὐχῆς ῥήμασιν ὕρους ἡμῖν καὶ κανόνας τιθεῖς, μέχρι τίνος δεῖ τὴν περὶ τῶν βιωτικῶν αἰτησιν ποιέσθαι, τὰ ῥήματα ἐκεῖνα λέγειν ἡμᾶς ἐκέλευσε, Τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον.

^k Hom. ii. de Anna. (Bened. vol. iv. p. 714. B 3.) Ὁ Χριστὸς εἰπὼν τοῖς μαθηταῖς, μὴ κατὰ τοὺς ἔθνικοὺς εὐχεσθαι, καὶ μὴ βαττολογεῖν, καὶ μέτρον εὐχῆς ἐδίδαξε.

^l Hom. iii. de Saul. et David. (Bened. vol. iv. p. 783.) Κὰν μυρία πεπλημμελῆκῶς ἦς, τὴν εὐχὴν ἐκείνην προτεινόμενος, τὴν λέγουσαν, Ἄφετε τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑμῶν, καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ὑμῶν ἀφήσει ὑμῖν τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν, μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς παρῥησίας τὴν ἄφεισιν λήψῃ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων ἀπάντων

a thousand crimes, yet if you sincerely offer up that prayer, which promises, that ‘if you forgive your enemies, your Father will forgive your trespasses,’ you shall, with great confidence, obtain the remission of all your sins.”

SECT. III.—*Parts of the ancient Liturgy in the Third Tome.*

The third tome contains St. Chrysostom’s Commentaries and Homilies on the Psalms and the Prophet Isaiah, where he frequently refers to the known parts of the liturgy then in use in the Church. In his comment upon Psalm cxii., he three times mentions the necessary use of the Lord’s Prayer (p. 369), “As Christ,” says he^m, “when he would induce us to unanimity and charity in our prayers, enjoins us to make common prayer, and obliges the whole Church, as if it were but one person, to say, ‘Our Father;’ and ‘Give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil;’ always using a word of the plural number, and commanding every one, whether he pray alone by himself, or in common with others, still to make prayer for his brethren;—so here the prophet David calls all men to a consent in prayer, saying, ‘Praise the Lord, O ye servants: praise the name of the Lord.’” Again (p. 370), speaking of glorifying God, he saysⁿ, “Christ hath commanded us to pray for this, saying, whenever we pray, ‘Hallowed be thy name.’” And (p. 372)^o, “Christ in his Gospel hath commanded us to pray, and say, ‘Thy will be done on earth, as it

^m Comment. in Psalm. cxii. (Bened. 1718. vol. v. p. 287. E.) Καθάπερ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐνάγων ὑμᾶς εἰς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ ἀγάπην ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς κοινῇ ἐπέταξε ποιῆσθαι τὴν εὐχὴν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης ὡς ἐξ ἐνὸς προσώπου λέγειν, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, καὶ, τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον, καὶ, ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα, καθὼς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν, καὶ, μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμὸν, ἀλλὰ ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ πανταχοῦ τῷ πληθυντικῷ κεχρημένους ὀνόματι, καὶ κελεύων ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ κἂν καθ’ ἑαυτὸν εὐχῆται, κἂν κοινῇ, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν εὐχὴν ἀναφέρειν οὕτω καὶ ὁ προφήτης κοινῇ πάντα εἰς τὴν συμφωνίαν καλεῖ τῆς εὐχῆς καὶ λέγει, Αἰνεῖτε τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου.

ⁿ Ibid. (p. 288. C 2.) Τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ ἐκέλευσεν ἡμᾶς ὁ Χριστὸς αἰεὶ λέγειν εὐχομένους, Ἀγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου.

^o Ibid. (p. 289. E 2.) Ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Χριστὸς εὐχεσθαι καὶ λέγειν, Γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου, ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

is in heaven.' ” In like manner, on Psalm cxiv. (p. 394), speaking of the life to come, and how we ought to desire it, and make all our actions tend that way, he adds^p, “ For this reason we are commanded to say in our prayer, ‘ Thy kingdom come ;’ that we may always have respect to that day.” He repeats the same words on Psalm cxix. (p. 425)^q. And on Psalm cxxvii. (p. 465)^r, “ We are commanded to use a prayer, in which there is but one petition relating to this life, ‘ Give us this day our daily bread ;’ ” which he repeats again on Psalm cxl. (p. 551)^s. On Psalm cxliv. (p. 595), he says^t, “ We are commanded to say in our prayer, ‘ Hallowed be thy name.’ ” And on Psalm cxlix. (p. 633)^u, he calls it the prayer which was offered up by all in common, and always in the plural number, “ Our Father,” &c. On Psalm cl. (p. 636), he says^x, “ This prayer was peculiar in its use to the sons of God only, who could call God their Father by virtue of their regeneration and adoption. Our prayer,” says he, “ is pre- faced with this title ; for it belongs to them only to say, ‘ Our Father,’ who can give him thanks for the gifts which they have received, and show forth them all in that name : for he

^p In Psalm. cxiv. (Bened. vol. v. p. 307.) Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ κελευόμεθα λέγειν, Ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου ἵνα ἀεὶ πρὸς ἐκείνην βλέπωμεν τὴν ἡμέραν.

^q In Psalm. cxix. (Bened. vol. v. p. 332. B 5.)

^r In Psalm. cxxvii. (Bened. vol. v. p. 364.) Ὑπὲρ αἰσθητῶν, μίαν λέξιν κελευόμεθα λέγειν. Ποίαν δὲ ταύτην ; τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον.

^s In Psalm. cxl. (Bened. vol. iv. p. 432.) Τί οὖν ; οὐ δεῖ, φησιν, Αἰσθητὰ αἰτεῖν ; δεῖ μὲν, μετὰ μέτρου δὲ . . . ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκέλευσεν εὐχεσθαι, Τὸν ἄρτον, κ. τ. λ.

^t In Psalm. cxliv. (Bened. vol. iv. p. 467. C.) Τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ κελευόμεθα λέγειν, Ἀγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου.

^u In Psalm. cxlix. (Bened. vol. iv. p. 499.) Αὐτὴ ἡ εὐχὴ τοῦτο αἰνίττεται, ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ πάντων ἀναφερομένη, Πάτερ ἡμῶν . . . τῷ πληθυντικῷ ὀνόματι κεχρημένους.

^x In Psalm. cl. (Bened. vol. iv. p. 501. B 4.) Οὕτω καὶ τῆς εὐχῆς ἡμῶν τὸ προοίμιον ἐντεῦθεν ἔχει τὴν ἀρχήν· τὸ γὰρ λέγειν, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, εὐχαριστούντων ἐστὶν ἐπὶ ταῖς γεγενημέναις δωραῖς, καὶ πάσας αὐτὰς διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τούτου δεικνύντων· ὁ γὰρ εἰπὼν Πατέρα, τὴν υἰοθεσίαν ὡμολόγησεν· ὁ δὲ τὴν υἰοθεσίαν ὡμολογήσας, τὴν δικαιοσύνην, τὸν ἀγιασμόν, τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν, τὴν τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἄφεσιν, τοῦ Πνεύματος τὴν χορηγίαν ἀνεκέρυξε· δεῖ γὰρ ταῦτα πάντα προϋπάρξαι, ὥστε τῆς υἰοθεσίας ἡμᾶς οὕτως ἀπολαῦσαι, καὶ καλέσαι Πατέρα ἀξιοθῆναι.

that calls God his Father, confesses the adoption of sons ; and he that confesses the adoption of sons, owns and declares both justification, and sanctification, and redemption, and remission of sins, and the gifts of the Holy Spirit ; for all these must go before, that we may thereby enjoy the adoption of sons, and be thought worthy to call God our Father." By which reasoning of St. Chrysostom it appears, that he was so far from thinking the Lord's Prayer a carnal form, not proper to be used by spiritual men, because it was a form ; that, on the contrary, he thought none were truly qualified to use it but such as were regenerate, and adopted, and endowed with the gifts of the Holy Spirit, who alone had the true title to call God their Father ; and this I shall show, in the next chapter, was the general sense of all the ancient writers.

But to return to St. Chrysostom. In his Comment on Psalm cxvii. (p. 406) ^y, he takes notice, that the people were used, in their responses, to return one verse of this psalm, which was, " This is the day which the Lord hath made : we will rejoice and be glad in it." This kind of responses he calls *ὑπηχεῖν* and *ὑποψάλλειν*, because it was the people's subjoining their response to something, that the minister had read before out of the same psalm. And it seems to have been appointed for the service of Easter-day, or Christmas-day, or the Lord's day ; because he adds, " The people were wont to make this response chiefly on that spiritual assembly and heavenly festival : " plainly referring to some eminent festival then well known to the people. And that this custom was introduced by a law and order of the Church, is evident from what follows : " For," he says ^z, " their forefathers had appointed the people to sing this verse," *ὑπηχεῖν ἐνομοθέτησαν*, both because it was sonorous, and also contained a sublime doctrine, that, forasmuch as they knew not the whole psalm,

^y In Psalm. cxvii (Bened. 1718. vol. v. p. 317.) Ἡ μὲν ῥῆσις τοῦ ψαλμοῦ, ἦν ὑποψάλλειν ὁ λαὸς εἶωθε, τοιαύτη τις ἐστίν· Αὕτη ἐστίν ἡ ἡμέρα, ἣν ἐποίησεν ὁ Κύριος· ἀγαλλιασώμεθα καὶ εὐφρανθῶμεν ἐν αὐτῇ· καὶ πολλοὺς διανίστησι, καὶ κατὰ τὴν πανήγυριν ἐκείνην τὴν πνευματικὴν, καὶ τὴν οὐράνιον ἑορτὴν μάλιστα τοῦτο ὑπηχεῖν ὁ λαὸς εἶωθεν.

^z Ibid. (p. 317. B 3.) Τὸν μὲν στίχον οἱ πατέρες, ἅτε ἦχον ὄντα καὶ τι ὑψηλὸν ἔχοντα δόγμα, τὸ πλῆθος ὑπηχεῖν ἐνομοθέτησαν, ἐπειδὴ τὸν ἅπαντα ἡγούουν ψαλμὸν· ἵνα κἂν ἐντεῦθεν ἀπηρτισμένην λάβωσι διδασκαλίαν.

they might from this one verse be perfectly instructed in the mystery of it. This was the wisdom of the ancient Church, according to Chrysostom, to teach the people the mysteries of religion, by obliging them to bear a part in the usual service.

In his Comment on Psalm cxxxvii. (p. 518), he declares again ^a, “that the psalmody was performed partly by the priests and partly by the people’s joining with them: the priests began, and the people answered to them.” On Psalm cxl. he notes (p. 544) ^b, that this psalm was constantly sung in the order of the daily evening service, whence it had the name of the evening psalm: as the lxii. had the name of the morning psalm, because it was always sung in the morning service; of which, because I have given a more particular account hereafter ^c, I say no more in this place. On Psalm cxliv. (p. 594), he acquaints us ^d, “that this psalm was always sung alternately by the priest and people at the Lord’s table, chiefly upon the account of these words in it, ‘The eyes of all wait upon thee, and thou givest them their meat in due season.’” Of which custom we shall have occasion to speak further in its proper place ^e.

In his Sermon on Psalm cxlv. (p. 823), he tells us ^f, “That psalm was used to be sung in the Passion Week, ‘Praise the

^a In Psalm. cxxxvii. (Bened. 1718. vol. v. p. 405.) Ἐν τοίνυν τοῦτο ἐκλαβεῖν ἤ, ἐκείνο νοεῖν δεῖ, ὅτι μετὰ τῶν ἱερέων, παρόντων αὐτῶν, μετὰ τῆς προσηκούσης εὐταξίας καταρχομένων ἐκείνων, προηγουμένων ἔψομαι, καὶ ἀκολουθήσω, καὶ ᾄσω σοι, κ. τ. λ.

^b In Psalm. cxl. (Bened. vol. v. p. 427.) Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπλῶς οἶμαι τὸν ψαλμὸν τοῦτον τετάχθαι παρὰ τῶν πατέρων καθ’ ἐκάστην ἑσπέραν λέγεσθαι, οὐδὲ διὰ τὴν μίαν λέξιν τὴν λέγουσαν, Ἐπαρσις τῶν χειρῶν μου θυσία ἐσπερινή· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλοι ψαλμοὶ ταύτην ἔχουσι τὴν λέξιν . . . οὐ διὰ τοῦτο γοῦν τοῦτον τὸν ψαλμὸν ἐτύπωσαν οἱ πατέρες, ἀλλ’ ὡς τι φάρμακον σωτήριον, καὶ ἁμαρτημάτων καθάρσιον ἐνομοθέτησαν λέγεσθαι. . . τοιοῦτός ἐστι καὶ ὁ ἑωθινὸς ψαλμός· κ. τ. λ.

^c Book xiii. chap. x. and xi.

^d In Psalm. cxliv. (Bened. vol. v. p. 466.) Οὗτος γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ τὰ ῥήματα ἔχων ταῦτα, ἅπερ οἱ μεμνημένοι συνεχῶς ὑποψάλλουσι, λέγοντες, Οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ πάντων εἰς σὲ ἐλπίζουσι, καὶ σὺ δίδως τὴν τροφήν αὐτῶν ἐν εὐκαρίῳ· ὁ γὰρ γενόμενος Υἱὸς, καὶ τραπέζης ἀπολαύων πνευματικῆς, δοξάζειν δίκαιος ἂν εἴη τὸν Πατέρα.

^e Book xv. chap. v. sect. x.

^f Hom. in Psalm. cxlv. (Bened. vol. v. p. 476.) Ταύτην καὶ ἡμεῖς τιμῶμεν τὴν ἐβδομάδα . . . ἐξέλθωμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς, καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν φοινίκων βαίτων προαίρεσιν θάλλουσαν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι βοήσωμεν, καθάπερ σήμερον ὑπεψάλλομεν, Αἶνει, ἡ ψυχὴ μου, τὸν Κύριον, αἰνέσω Κύριον ἐν ζωῇ.

Lord, O my soul; while I live, will I praise the Lord,'” &c. In his first Sermon on Isaiah (p. 834), he says^g, “The *trisagion*, or ‘cherubical hymn,’ ‘Holy, holy, holy,’ was sung by the seraphim in heaven above, and by men on earth beneath.” And (p. 836) he takes notice^h of the angelical doxology, “Glory be to God on high,” as used in the Church; and the forms, *Κύριε, ἐλέησον*, and *σῶσον*, “Lord have mercy upon us,” and, “Lord, save us,” as usual prayers and responses of the people. And reproving the people’s clamours, and negligence, and indecent gesticulations, in the church, he reprimands them in this mannerⁱ: “How dare you mix the devil’s sport with this doxology of angels? Why do you not revere the words, which you yourselves use in that place, ‘Serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice unto him with reverence?’ Is this to serve him in fear, when you thus theatrically toss and stretch your bodies, and know not what you say yourselves, for your disorderly vociferation?” This plainly implies, that the people bare their part, though sometimes without a just decorum, in all these doxologies, prayers, and responses. In his Sermon upon the seraphims, which is the sixth upon Isaiah (p. 890)^k, he gives a large account again of the use of the seraphical hymn, “Holy, holy, holy,” at the communion-table; which, because I shall recite at length hereafter^l, I only just barely hint it in this place.

^g Hom. in Iesaiam. (Bened. vol. vi. p. 95. D 10.) “*Ἄνω τὰ Σεραφίμ τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον ἀναβοᾷ κάτω τὸν αὐτὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀναπέμπει πληθῶς κοινή τῶν ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων συγκροτεῖται πανήγυρις.*”

^h Hom. in Iesaiam. (Bened. 1718. vol. vi. p. 97. D 5.) “*Πῶς εἰς οἶκτον ἐπισπάσῃ τὸν Δεσπότην, οὕτω καταπεφρονημένως τὴν δέησιν προτεινόμενος; Ἐλέησόν με, ὁ Θεός, λέγεις, καὶ τοῦ ἐλέους ἀλλότριον τὸ ἦθος ἐπιδείκνυσαι Σῶσόν με, βοᾷς, καὶ ξένον τῆς σωτηρίας τὸ σχῆμα διατυποῖς τί συντείνουνσι πρὸς ἱεσϊαν χεῖρες ἐπὶ μετεωρισμῶ συνεχῶς ἐπαιρόμεναι καὶ ἀτάκτως περιφερόμεναι, κραυγὴ τε σφοδρὰ, καὶ τῇ βιαίᾳ τοῦ πνεύματος ὠθήσει τὸ ἄσημον ἔχουσα; οὐχὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς τριόδοις ἐταιριζομένων γυναικῶν; τὰ δὲ τῶν ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις φωνούντων ἐστὶν ἔργα; πῶς οὖν τολμᾷς τῇ ἀγγελικῇ ταύτῃ δοξολογίᾳ τὰ τῶν δαιμόνων ἀναμινύειν παίγνια;*”

ⁱ Ibid. “*Πῶς δὲ οὐκ αἰδῶ ταύτην τὴν φωνήν, ἣν ἐκεῖ ἐκφέρεις, Δουλεύσατε τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν φόβῳ, λέγων, καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε αὐτῷ ἐν τρόμῳ; τοῦτο ἔστιν ἐν φόβῳ δουλεύειν, τὸ διακεχῦσθαί τε καὶ διατείνεσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ σεαυτὸν ἐπίστασθαι, περὶ τίνων διαλέγῃ τῇ ἀτάκτῳ τῆς φωνῆς ἐνηχῆσει;*”

^k Hom. in Seraphim. (Bened. vol. vi. p. 140, &c.)

^l Book xv. vol. v.

In his second Homily upon the obscurity of the ancient prophecies (p. 946), in answer to that vulgar plea, that men could pray at home, he replies in such a manner, as shows that the people bare a part with their own tongues in the common prayers of the Church. “You may pray at home,” says he^m, “but your prayer is not of that efficacy and prayer, as when the whole body of the Church, with one mind and one voice, ὁμοθυμαδὸν μιᾷ φωνῇ, send up their prayers together, the priests assisting, and offering up the prayers of the whole multitude in common.” He there also speaks of the deacon’s form in bidding prayer for all orders of men in the world: which I shall not recite here, because I have done it more fully in its proper placeⁿ.

SECT. IV.—*Parts of the ancient Liturgy in the Fourth Tome of St. Chrysostom’s Works.*

The fourth volume of St. Chrysostom’s works consists chiefly of private discourses, which have not much relation to the public liturgy of the Church: yet some few passages are worthy to be noted among these. In his famous discourse upon Eutropius (p. 554), among other arguments, whereby he presses the people to lay aside their anger against him, and pardon the injury he had done them, he urges this^o: “How will you otherwise,” says he, “take the holy sacrament into your hands, and use the words of that prayer, wherein we are commanded to say, ‘Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us,’ if you exact punishment of your debtor?” This shows that the Lord’s Prayer was used then as a usual part of the communion-service. In the third Homily of repentance (p. 562)^p, he speaks of the seraphical hymn under the title of *μυστικὸν μέλος*, ‘the mystical song,’ because it was

^m Hom. ii. de Obscur. Prophet. (Bened. vol. vi. p. 187. D 7.) Δύνασαι μὲν εὔξασθαι (ἐν οἰκίᾳ) οὐ τοσαύτην δὲ δύναμιν ἔχει ἢ εὐχή, ὡς ὅταν μετὰ τῶν μελῶν τῶν οἰκείων γίνηται, ὡς ὅταν ὀλόκληρον τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀναπέμπει τὴν δέησιν μιᾷ φωνῇ, ἱερέων παρόντων καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς τοῦ κοινῆ πλῆθους ἀναφερόντων.

ⁿ Book xv. chap. i. vol. v.

^o Hom. in Eutrop. See p. 311, note (x).

^p Hom. viii. de Pœnit. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 344.) Παρίεστω τοίνυν Ἡσαΐας, ὁ τῶν Σεραφίμ θεωρὸς, ὁ τὸ μυστικὸν μέλος ἀκούσας ἐκέينو, κ. τ. λ.

used in the celebration of the holy mysteries. And again, in his second epistle to Olympias (p. 715)^q, he mentions it under the same title. And, in his sermon after his return from banishment (p. 971)^r, he speaks of the form εἰρήνη πᾶσι, “Peace be to you all,” as a solemn form used frequently in the Church.

SECT. V.—*In the Fifth Tome.*

The fifth volume of his works affords us many more examples. Here he no less than eight times mentions the Lord's Prayer as a form in common use by the commandment of Christ. In his sixth Homily upon Lazarus (p. 107)^s, “We are commanded in our prayer to say, ‘Forgive us our trespasses,’ that, by the continual use of that prayer, we may be put in mind that we are liable to punishment.” In his eighth Homily, on our Saviour's prayer, “Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me” (p. 134), he says^t, “Christ prayed to teach his disciples to pray. But they were to learn not only to pray, but after what manner to pray; and therefore he delivered them a prayer in these words, commanding them and us to say, ‘Our Father, which art in heaven,’” &c. In his tenth Homily (p. 154) he says^u, “Christ taught us what we are to say in prayer, and in a few words instructed us in all manner of virtue.” In his sixteenth Homily, upon those words, “If thine enemy hunger, feed him” (p. 237), he urges forgiveness of injuries with this argument^x, “For this reason we

^q Epist. ii. ad Olymp. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 548. D 5.) Ὁ Παῦλος, ὁ τὴν σάρκα ἀποδυσάμενος, καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀποθέμενος, καὶ μετὰ τῶν Χερουβιμ ἐστῶς ἄνω, καὶ τῆς μυστικῆς ἐκείνης μελωδίας αὐτοῖς κοινωνῶν, κ. τ. λ.

^r Serm. post Redit. ab Exilio. [In edit. Francof. ubi p. 848, seqq. hic sermo legitur, etsi de pace ecclesie quaedam habet, de formula tamen illa nihil invenio. —Grischov.] [Bened. vol. iii. p. 424.]

^s Hom. vi. in Lazar. (Bened. vol. i. p. 736. D 8.) Διὰ τοῦτο κελευόμεθα εἰς τὴν εὐχὴν λέγειν, Ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν, ἵνα τῇ συνηθείᾳ τῆς εὐχῆς ἀναμνηθῶμεν ἐκεῖ, ὅτι ὑπεύθυνοί ἐσμεν κολάεσσι.

^t Hom. viii. in illud: ‘Si possibile est.’ (Bened. vol. iii. p. 23. C 6.) Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ εὐχεται, ἵνα ἐκείνοι μάθωσιν εὐχεσθαι ἄλλ’ οὐκ εὐχεσθαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πῶς δεῖ εὐχεσθαι, μαθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐχρῆν διὰ δὴ τοῦτο καὶ εὐχὴν παρέδωκεν οὕτως ἔχουσαν, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, κ. τ. λ.

^u Hom. x. (p. 154.) Διδάσκει δὲ, τίνα χρὴ λέγειν ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ, καὶ ἐν δόλοισι ῥήμασι πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἐκπαιδεύει.

^x Hom. xvi. in illud, ‘Si esurierit,’ etc. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 170. C 2.) Διὰ

are taught to say, 'Forgive us, as we forgive,' that we may learn that the measure of forgiveness takes its rise from ourselves." In his thirty-sixth Homily, upon Pentecost (p. 552), he says praying by the Lord's Prayer is praying by the Spirit: his words are these^y; "If there was no Holy Ghost, we that are believers, could not pray to God: for we say, 'Our Father, which art in heaven.' As therefore we could not say that Jesus was the Lord, so neither could we call God our Father, without the Holy Ghost. How does that appear? From the same apostle, who says, 'Because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father.'" In his thirty-eighth Homily, of repentance and the eucharist (p. 570), he thus again argues for forgiving enemies^z: "When we go into the church, let us approach God as becomes his majesty: lest if we have designs of revenge in our hearts when we pray, we pray against ourselves, saying, 'Forgive us, as we forgive them that trespass against us.' These are terrible words, and the same as if one said to God, 'Lord, I have forgiven my enemy, forgive thou me; I have loosed him, loose thou me; I have pardoned my enemy, pardon me; if I have retained his sins, retain thou mine; if I have not loosed my neighbour, do not thou loose my offences; what measure I have meted to him, measure to me again.'" In his fifty-first Homily, upon the prayers of Christ (p. 691), he says^a, "Christ taught his disciples to pray both

τοῦτο ἐδιδάχθημεν λέγειν, "Ἄφες ἡμῖν, καθὼς ἀφίμεν ἵνα μάθωμεν, ὅτι τὸ μέτρον τῆς ἀφέσεως παρ' ἡμῶν πρῶτον λαμβάνει τὴν ἀρχήν.

^y Hom. in Pent. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 462. E 7.) *Εἰ μὴ Πνεῦμα ἦν ἕγιον, τὸν Θεὸν παρακαλεῖσαι οὐκ ἠδυνάμεθα οἱ πιστοὶ λέγομεν γὰρ, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ὡσπερ οὖν Κύριον καλεῖσαι οὐκ ἠδυνάμεθα, οὕτως οὐδὲ Πατέρα τὸν Θεὸν καλεῖσαι ἠδυνάμεθα πόθεν δῆλον; ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀποστόλου λέγοντος, "Ὅτι δὲ ἐστε υἱοὶ, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν, κράζον, Ἀββᾶ ὁ Πατήρ.*

^z Hom. in Pœn. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 350. C 9.) *Εἰσερχόμενοι εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὡς Θεῷ πρέπει, εἰσέλθωμεν, μὴ μνησικακίαν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἔχοντες, μήπως εὐχόμενοι, καθ' ἑαυτῶν εὐχόμεθα, λέγοντες, "Ἄφες ἡμῖν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν φοβερὸν γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ λεγόμενον, καὶ σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν, τοιοῦτο πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν βοᾷ ὁ τοῦτο λέγων, Ἀφῆκα, Δέσποτα, ἄφες ἔλυσσα, λῦσον· συνεχώρησα, συγχώρησον· εἰ ἐκράτησα, κράτησον· εἰ μὴ ἔλυσσα τῷ πλησίον, μὴδὲ σὺ λύσης τὰ ἐμὰ ἁμαρτήματα· ἐν ᾧ μέτρον ἐμέτρησα, ἀντιμετρηθῆτω μοι.*

^a Hom. liv. (Bened. vol. i. p. 532. A.) *Οὐχὶ διδάσκει αὐτοὺς (μαθητευομέ-*

in words and actions," meaning the words of the Lord's Prayer, together with his own example. And in the sixty-second Homily, upon the paralytic (p. 934), he says ^b, "This prayer was the peculiar privilege of the faithful, and not allowed to any unbaptized catechumen; for, before we have washed away our sins in the font of the holy waters, we cannot call God our Father; but when we return from thence, having put off the burden of our sins, then we say, 'Our Father, which art in heaven.'"

Besides this account of the various use of the Lord's Prayer, he mentions several other parcels of the liturgy in this volume. In the sixteenth Homily (p. 229), he takes notice of the use of the seraphical hymn in the eucharistical service. "Consider," says he ^c, "you that are initiated, what a mystical service you have been employed in; with whom you have sent up that mystical song; with whom you have cried out, *Τρισάγιος*, 'Holy, holy, holy!'" In the thirty-sixth Homily, upon Pentecost and the Holy Spirit (p. 553), he treats at large of that ancient form of salutation used in every office, "Peace be with you," or, "The Lord be with you," and the people's answering always, "And with thy spirit." "Our common father and teacher," says he ^d, meaning the bishop when he

νους) εὐχὴν μόνον τὴν διὰ τῶν ῥημάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς διατελεῖ τοῦτο ποιῶν, καὶ εὐχεται διανυκτερεύων ἐν ταῖς ἐρημίαις, ἡμᾶς παιδεύων καὶ νοουθετῶν, κ. τ. λ.

^b Hom. lxx. See page 309, note (o).

^c Hom. xvi. p. 208. E, edit. Francof. 'Εννόησον οἷας ἀπολαύεις μυσταγωγίας ὁ μεμνημένος σὺ, μετὰ τίνων ἀναπέμπεις τὸ μυστικὸν μέλος ἐκεῖνο, μετὰ τίνων βοᾷς τὸ, *Τρισάγιος*. [See Bened. vol. ii. p. 715. B.]

^d Hom. xxxvi. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 463. A 6.) *Εἰ μὴ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἦν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τούτῳ Πατρὶ καὶ διδασκάλῳ, οὐκ ἂν, ὅτε πρὸ μικροῦ ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν βῆμα τοῦτο, καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἔδωκε εἰρήνην, καὶ ἐπεφθέγγασθε αὐτῷ κοινῇ πάντες, Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου. Διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀναβαίνοντι μόνον, οὐδὲ διαλεγόμενῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οὐδὲ εὐχομένῃ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ταύτην ἐπιφθέγγεσθε τὴν ῥῆσιν, ἀλλ' ὅταν παρὰ τὴν ἱερὰν ταύτην ἐστήκη τράπεζαν. ὅταν τὴν φρικτὴν ἐκείνην θυσίαν ἀναφέρειν μέλλῃ ἴσασι γὰρ οἱ μεμνημένοι τὸ λεγόμενον· οὐ πρότερον ἄπτεται τῶν προκειμένων, ἕως ἂν ὑμῖν αὐτὸς ἐπεύξηται τὴν Παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου χάριν, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπιφθέγγεσθε αὐτῷ, Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου, διὰ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως αὐτῆς ἀναμνησκόντες αὐτοὺς, ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτὸς ὁ παρὼν πράττει, οὐδὲ ἀνθρωπίνης ἐστὶ φύσεως, κατορθώματα τὰ προκειμένα δῶρα, ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦ Πνεύματος χάρις παρούσα καὶ πᾶσιν ἐπιπταμένη τὴν μυστικὴν ἐκείνην κατασκευάζει θυσίαν.*

goes up into his throne, “ says, ‘ Peace be to you all ;’ and you all make answer with one common voice, ‘ And with thy spirit.’ Neither do you make this answer only when he goes into his throne, or when he preaches to you, or when he prays for you, but when he stands by the holy table. When he is about to offer that tremendous sacrifice (they that are initiated, know what I say), before he touches the elements lying upon the table, he prays, ‘ The grace of the Lord be with you,’ and ye reply, ‘ And with thy spirit ;’ reminding yourselves by this answer, that it is not the minister that effects any thing in this matter ; neither is the consecration of the gifts the work of human nature ; but that it is the grace of the Spirit then present, and descending upon the elements, which consummates that mystical sacrifice.” In the thirty-eighth Homily on the eucharist and repentance (p. 569) ^e, he takes notice of another known form in the communion-service, where the priest says, “ Let us lift up our minds and hearts,” and the people answer, “ We lift them up unto the Lord,” ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον. This is the same form as we have seen before in Cyprian, *Sursum corda*, and *Habemus ad Dominum*. In the forty-seventh Homily (p. 632) ^f, he speaks again of the seraphical hymn, taken out of Isaiah, under the name of *μυστικὸν μέλος*, “ the mystical song.” And Homily fifty-second, *in eos qui Pascha jejnant* (p. 713), persuading men to peace and unity, he argues again from the frequent use of the form *εἰρήνη πᾶσιν*, “ Peace be with you all,” in every office of the Church. “ There is nothing,” says he ^g, “ can be compared

^e Hom. xxxviii. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 349. C 9.) Τί ποιεῖς, ἄνθρωπε; οὐκ ὑπέσχου τῷ ἱερεῖ εἰπόντι, Ἐνασχῶμεν ἡμῶν τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰς καρδίας, καὶ εἶπας, Ἐχομεν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον; κ. τ. λ.

^f Hom. l. p. 565. B, Francof. Ἡσαίας . . . ὁ τοῦ μυστικοῦ μέλους ἐκείνου καταξιωθεὶς ἀκούειν, κ. τ. λ.

^g Hom. lv. (Bened. vol. i. p. 614. C.) Οὐδὲν εἰρήνης ἴσον καὶ συμφωνίας. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ εἰσιῶν ὁ πατήρ, οὐ πρότερον ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον ἀναβαίνει τοῦτον, ἕως ἂν ἅπασιν ὑμῶν εἰρήνην ἐπέβηται καὶ ἀναστάς οὐ πρότερον ἄρχεται τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς διδασκαλίας, ἕως ἂν ἅπασιν δῶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ μέλλοντες εὐλογεῖν ἱερεῖς, πρότερον τοῦτο ὑμῶν ἐπευξάμενοι, οὕτω τῆς εὐλογίας ἄρχονται καὶ ὁ διάκονος δὲ, κελεύων εὐχεσθαι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιτάττει κατὰ τὴν ἐνγὴν αἰτεῖν τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς εἰρήνης, καὶ τὰ προκείμενα πάντα εἰρηνικά καὶ τῆς συνόδου ταύτης ἀπολύων ὑμᾶς, τοῦτο

with peace and concord ; therefore the bishop, when he first enters the church, before he goes up into his throne, prays, saying, ‘ Peace be with you all ;’ and when he rises up he does not begin to preach before he says again, ‘ Peace be with you all :’ and the priests, when they are about to say any prayer of benediction, do not begin the blessing before they have used the same form of salutation.” “ And the deacon, when he bids men pray with others, enjoins them this in their prayers, ‘ That they should pray for the angel of peace ^h, and that all their purposes may be directed to a peaceable end :’ and when he dismisses you from this assembly he prays thus, saying, Πορεύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ‘ Go in peace ;’ and nothing is said or done without this ;” so that it seems, this was a form that had its return in every particular office, and was sometimes used six or seven times at one assembly of the Church. In his thirty-fifth Homily upon the Ascension (p. 535) ⁱ, he more particularly takes notice of this form of the deacon’s bidding men pray for the angel of peace. In his admonition to those that are scandalized at the evils which befall the Church, (c. iv. p. 863,) ^j he has again occasion to mention the seraphical song under the aforesaid title of “ the mystical song of sanctification.” In his sixty-third Homily (p. 949) ^k, he shows us, how by the order of the Church, on the day of our Saviour’s passion, all such portions of Scripture were read as had any relation to the cross ; and on the great Sabbath, or Saturday following, such Scriptures as contained the history of his being betrayed, crucified, dead, and buried. And he

ὑμῖν ἐπεύχεται λέγων, Πορεύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ· καὶ οὐδὲν ὅλως ἐν οὐτε εἰπεῖν, οὐτε πράξαι, ταύτης χωρίς.

^h See this form explained, Book xiv. chap. v. sect. iv.

ⁱ In Ascens. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 448. D 7.) “Ἴνα μάθῃς, ὅτι ἄγγελοι εἰρήνης εἰσὶν, ἀκουσον ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς αἰεὶ λεγόντων τῶν διακόνων, Ἐὖν ἄγγελον τῆς εἰρήνης αἰτήσατε.

^j Ad eos qui scandalizati sunt. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 470. A 7.) Μόνον ἐδοξολόγουν, μόνον ἕμνον, μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς φρίκης τὸ μυστικὸν ἐκείνο τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ ἀναφέρουσαι μέλος.

^k Bened. vol. iii. p. 88. Ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ σταυροῦ τὰ περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ πάντα ἀναγινώσκωμεν ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ πάλιν, ὅτι παρεδόθη ἡμῶν ὁ Κύριος, ὅτι ἐσταυρώθη, ὅτι ἀπέθανε τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ὅτι ἐτάφη.

adds (p. 951)¹, that on Easter-day they read such passages as gave an account of his resurrection; and on every festival the things that happened at that season. Only the Acts of the Apostles, which contain the history of the miracles done by the Apostles after Pentecost, after the Holy Ghost was come upon them, were, for a particular reason, ordered to be read before Pentecost, that is, immediately after Easter, because the miracles of the Apostles, contained in that book, were the great demonstration of our Saviour's resurrection: for which reason the Church appointed the Book of Acts always to be read in the time between Easter and Whitsuntide, immediately after the resurrection of Christ, to give men the evidences and proofs of that holy mystery, which was the completion of their redemption. Thus, according to Chrysostom, the Church, in great wisdom, ordered and methodized her liturgy by exact rules, for the better instruction and edification of the people.

SECT. VI.—*In the Sixth Tome.*

The sixth tome is chiefly made up of such tracts as do not acknowledge Chrysostom for their author; and, therefore, among these we shall not be very curious in searching for the forms of the ancient liturgy. Some of them are supposed, by learned men, to be written by Severianus, bishop of Gabala, contemporary with Chrysostom; and these may be reckoned of the same authority as Chrysostom's own writings. Among the homilies of this sort, is reckoned the thirty-seventh upon the parable of the prodigal son, where the author (p. 375), commenting upon these words, "They began to be merry," thus discourses^m: "Ye know what spiritual mirth is, who

¹ Bened. vol. iii. p. 89. D 7. Τὰ περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ σταυροῦ ἀναγινώσκομεν, καὶ τὰ ἐν ἐκάστῃ ἑορτῇ γεγονότα τῇ αὐτῇ πάλιν ἀναγινώσκομεν . . . μετὰ τὸν σταυρὸν εὐθὺς ἀνάστασιν καταγγέλλομεν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῆς δὲ ἀναστάσεως ἀπόδειξις ἐστὶ τὰ σημεῖα τὰ ἀποστολικά, τῶν δὲ σημείων ἀποστολικῶν διδασκαλεῖόν ἐστι τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον ὃ τοίνυν μάλιστα πιστοῦται τὴν ἀνάστασιν τὴν δεσποτικὴν, τοῦτο μετὰ τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὴν ζωηφόρον ἀνάστασιν εὐθὺς οἱ πατέρες ἐνομοθέτησαν ἀναγινώσκεισθαι διὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν μετὰ τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν εὐθὺς ἀναγινώσκομεν τὰ σημεῖα τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἵνα ἔχωμεν σαφῆ καὶ ἀναμφισβήτητον τὴν τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἀπόδειξιν. †

^m Hom. de Fil. Prodig. (Bened. 1718. vol. viii. append. p. 57. A 2.) 'Επ-

have tasted of it, who have been partakers of the holy mysteries, and have seen the deacons or ministers of divine service, imitating the wings of angels with their little veils lying upon their left shoulders, and traversing the church, and crying, ‘ Let no catechumen be present, none of those that may not eat, no spy, none of those that may not see the feast of the fatted calf, none of those that may not look upon the heavenly blood shed for the remission of sins, no one that is unworthy of the living sacrifice, no one that is yet unbaptized, no one that may not with his polluted lips touch the tremendous mysteries.’ Ye remember how, after this, the angels from heaven sing the hymns and praises, saying, ‘ Holy is the Father who willed the fatted calf to be slain, who knew no sin,’ as saith the prophet Isaiah, ‘ Who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth.’ Holy is the Son, the Calf that is always willingly slain, and always lives. Holy is the Comforter, the Holy Ghost, which perfects the sacrifice.’ ” These are plain references and allusions to the usual forms of the Church, viz. to the deacons vested in their proper habit and badge, calling to all non-communicants to withdraw, and to the seraphical hymn, ‘ Holy, holy, holy,’ which was always sung in the communion-service. The same writer, a little after (p. 377), as plainly alludes to the use of the Lord’s Prayer at the eucharist, when he brings in the father thus speaking to the elder sonⁿ; “ Son, thou art ever with me ; thou standest by

ίστασθε τὴν πνευματικὴν εὐφροσύνην, οἱ ταύτης γευσάμενοι, καὶ μεμνημένοι τῶν φρικτῶν μυστηρίων, τῶν λειτουργιῶν τῆς θείας ἱερουργίας, τῶν μιμουμένων τὰς τῶν ἀγγέλων πτέρυγας ταῖς λεπταῖς ὀθόνησι, ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ὤμων κειμέναις, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ περιτρεχόντων καὶ βοώντων, Μὴ τις τῶν κατηχουμένων, μὴ τις τῶν μὴ ἐσθιόντων, μὴ τις τῶν κατασκόπων, μὴ τις τῶν μὴ δυναμένων θεάσασθαι τὸν μόσχον ἐσθιόμενον, μὴ τις τῶν μὴ δυναμένων θεάσασθαι τὸ οὐράνιον αἷμα, τὸ ἐκχυνόμενον εἰς ἄφῃσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, μὴ τις ἀνάξιος τῆς ζωῆς θυσίας, μὴ τις ἀμύητος, μὴ τις μὴ δυνάμενος ἀκαθάρτοις χεῖλεσι προσψάσασθαι τῶν φρικτῶν μυστηρίων.— εἶτα καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων οὐρανόθεν ἐπευφημοῦντων καὶ λεγόντων, “ Ἅγιος ὁ Πατήρ, ὁ θελήσας τυθῆναι τὸν μόσχον τὸν σιτευτὸν, τὸν μὴ γνόντα ἁμαρτίαν, καθὼς φησιν ὁ προφήτης Ἡσαΐας: “Ὅς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ εὐρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ· ἅγιος ὁ Υἱός, ἅμα καὶ μόσχος, ὁ αἰεὶ θυόμενος ἐκῶν, καὶ αἰεὶ ζῶν· ἅγιος ὁ Παράκλητος, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ τὴν θυσίαν τελεσιουργῆσαν.

ⁿ Hom. de Filio Prodigio. (Bened. vol. viii. app. p. 38. B 4.) Τέκνον, σὺ

the altar, and there criest out with freedom, ‘Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name.’” In the first Homily in this volume, intituled, *De Uno Legislatore* (p. 10), there is mention made of the ceremony of laying the Book of the Gospels upon a bishop’s head at his ordination. “For this reason,” says the author^o, “when priests are ordained in the Church, the gospel of Christ is laid upon their heads; that he that is ordained, may learn that he receives the true tire or covering of the Gospel; and that he may be taught, that though he be at the head of all, yet he is subject to those laws; though he rules over all, he is under the rule of those laws; though he gives laws to all others, he is to be governed by the law himself.” The critics are not agreed upon the author of this discourse. Du Pin^p rejects it as none of Chrysostom’s: but Photius quotes it under his name; and Bishop Pearson^q has a long dissertation to vindicate the authority of it out of Photius and several other ancient writers before him, where he answers all the objections that Bishop Ussher and some other learned men had raised against it. Without deciding this controversy, it is sufficient for our present purpose, that the homily either acknowledges Chrysostom or some such other ancient writer for its author; and the ceremony, here spoken of, was certainly a custom observed in the ordination of bishops in the time of Chrysostom; as appears not only from other places in Chrysostom, but also from the authors of the Constitutions and the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, and the Canon of

πάντοτε μετ’ ἐμοῦ εἶ . . . σὺ τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ παριστάμενος, μετὰ παρρησίας βοᾷς, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὃ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἀγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου.

^o Hom. i. de Uno Legislatore. (Bened. vol. vi. p. 410. B 3.) Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις τῶν ἱερέων, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς τίθεται, ἵνα μάθῃ ὁ χειροτονούμενος, ὅτι τὴν ἀληθινὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τιάραν λαμβάνει καὶ ἵνα μάθῃ, εἰ καὶ πάντων ἐστὶ κεφαλὴ, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τούτους πράττει νόμους· πάντων κρατῶν, καὶ τῷ νόμῳ κρατούμενος· πάντα λογοθετῶν, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου νομοθετούμενος.

^p Du Pin. 1. Le style en est tout-à-fait différent de celui de Saint Chrysostome. 2. Elle est pleine d’allegories, qui sont rares dans Saint Chrysostome. 3. L’ordre et la disposition de cette homilie sont fort differens de celles de Saint Chrysostome. 4. La plupart des pensées de cette homilie sont indignes de Saint Chrysostome. [Du Pin assigns four additional reasons. Nouvelle Bibliothèque, vol. iii. première partie, p. 81, Paris, 1690.]

^q Pearson, Vindic. Ignat. part i. c. ix. p. 311, a fin. B tot. et p. 312, tot.

the fourth Council of Carthage, which I have had occasion to produce in a former book ^r, to which I refer the reader, and go on with Chrysostom in order.

In the fifty-second Homily upon the Circus in this volume (p. 491), the author makes mention of that ancient custom of saying, Δόξα σοι, Κύριε, “Glory be to thee, O Lord,” at the reading of the gospel. “When we are met together,” says he ^s, “in the ecclesiastical theatre, as soon as the deacon opens the Book of the Gospels, we all look upon him with silence; and when he begins to read, we presently rise up and say, ‘Glory be to thee, O Lord.’”

SECT. VII.—*In the Seventh Tome of his Homilies on St. Matthew.*

In his eleventh Homily on St. Matthew (p. 108), he mentions the people joining in psalmody and the accustomed prayers ^t. “When ye have borne your part ‘in singing two or three psalms,’ δύο ψαλμοὺς ἢ τρεῖς ὑπηχήσαντες, ‘and have made your usual prayers,’ τὰς συνήθεις εὐχὰς ποιούμενοι, ye think ye have done enough for your salvation.” In the thirty-third Homily (p. 318), he notes the customary form of the minister’s saying, Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν, “Peace be unto you all,” when he first enters the church, and he forms this exhortation upon it ^u: “When I say, ‘Peace be unto you;’ and ye answer again, ‘And with thy spirit;’ do not say this only in words, but in mind; not with your mouth, but with your heart. For if you say here in the church, ‘Peace be with thy spirit,’

^r Book ii. chap. xi. sect. viii.

^s Hom. lii. de Circo. (Bened. vol. viii. append. p. 89. B 9.) Οἱ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν θεωρίαν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἀθροιζόμενοι, τοῦ διακόνου ἀνοίγειν μέλλοντος τοῦ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τετράθυρον, πάντες αὐτῷ ἀτενίζομεν ἡσυχίαν παρέχοντες· καὶ ἡνῖκα τοῦ δρόμου τῆς ἀναγνώσεως ἀρξῆται, εὐθέως διαπιστάμεθα ἡμεῖς, ἐπιφωνοῦντες, Δόξα σοι, Κύριε.

^t Hom. xi. in Matth. (Bened. 1718. vol. vii. p. 158. C 2.) Ἐὰν δύο ψαλμοὺς ἢ τρεῖς ὑπηχήσαντες, ἢ τὰς συνήθεις εὐχὰς ἀπλῶς, καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε, ποιούμενοι διαλυθῆτε, νομίζετε ἀρκεῖν τοῦτο εἰς σωτηρίαν ὑμῖν.

^u Hom. xxxiii. (vol. vii. p. 374. A 4.) Ὅταν εἶπω, Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν, εἶτα εἴπητε, Καὶ τῷ πνεύματι σου, μὴ τῇ φωνῇ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ λέγετε· μὴ στόματι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ· ἂν δὲ ἐνταῦθα μὲν λέγῃς, Εἰρήνη καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου· ἔξω δὲ μοι πολεμῆς, διαπτύων, καὶ κακηγορῶν, μυρίοις λάθρα πλύνων ὀνειδίσει, ποία εἰρήνη αὕτη;

but as soon as you are gone out, begin to oppugn me, despise me, accuse me, and load me with a thousand reproaches, what peace is this?" In his sixty-ninth Homily (p. 600), speaking of the monks, and their manner of worshipping God, he says ^x, "As soon as they were out of their beds, they made a choir, and sang hymns to God, *συμφώνως ἅπαντες, ὡσπερ ἐξ ἐνὸς στόματος*, 'all together with one voice, and as it were with one mouth;' and, among these, they particularly addressed that angelical hymn to God, 'Glory be to God on high: on earth peace, good will towards men.'" In his seventy-second Homily (p. 624) ^y, he speaks of three prayers, one of which was for the demoniacs, the second for the penitents, and the third for the faithful, or communicants, all conceived in a certain form of words; which is evident from this circumstance, which he there subjoins, "that, in the last of these prayers, the children of the Church joined with the rest of the people in crying to God for mercy." The people prayed alone, without the children, when they prayed for the demoniacs and penitents; but, when they prayed for themselves, they strengthened their prayers with the cries and intercessions of their children, whose innocence and simplicity they esteemed to be prevailing motives with God to hear them. By this account it is plain, these prayers must be in certain forms, known both to the people and the children; otherwise it is impossible to imagine how they should all join vocally in crying to God for mercy. In his twentieth Homily, which is upon the Lord's Prayer, he

^x Hom. lxi. (p. 674. C 2.) Ἀναστάντες εὐθέως ἀπὸ τῆς εὐνῆς φαιδροὶ, καὶ γεγηθότες, καὶ χορὸν ἕνα στησάμενοι, ἐν φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ τε καὶ συνειδότη, συμφώνως ἅπαντες, ὡσπερ ἐξ ἐνὸς στόματος, ὕμνους εἰς τὸν τῶν ὄλων ᾄδουσι Θεόν, γεραίροντες αὐτὸν, καὶ χάριν εἰδότες ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων αὐτῷ, τῶν τε ἰδίων, τῶν τε κοινῶν εὐεργετημάτων . . . τί τῶν ἀγγέλων οὗτος διέστηκεν ὁ χορὸς τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ᾄδόντων καὶ λεγόντων, Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ: καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία;

^y Hom. lxxii. (vol. vii. p. 699. E 3.) Ἡ πρώτη δέησις ἐλέους γέμει, ὅταν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων παρακαλῶμεν καὶ ἡ δευτέρα πάλιν, ὑπὲρ ἐτέρων, τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ, πολὺ τὸ ἔλεος ἐπιζητοῦσα: καὶ ἡ τρίτη δὲ πάλιν, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ αὕτη τὰ παιδία τοῦ δήμου προβάλλεται, τὸν Θεὸν ἐπὶ ἔλεον παρακαλοῦντα: ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αὐτοὶ κατεγνώκαμεν ἑαυτῶν ἁμαρτήματα, ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν πολλὰ ἁμαρτηκότων, καὶ ἐγκληθῆναι ὀφειλότων, αὐτοὶ βοῶμεν: ὑπὲρ δὲ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν οἱ παῖδες, ὧν τῆς ἀπλότητος τοὺς ζηλωτὰς ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν μένει.

not only mentions the use of this form of prayer, but says it was the peculiar privilege of communicants, or baptized persons, to use it. "That this prayer," says he (p. 200)^z, "belongs to the faithful only, is evidenced both from the laws of the Church, and the first words of the prayer itself; for no unbaptized person can call God his Father." In the same Homily^a, he takes notice of the ceremonies used in the reception of the eucharist, particularly the custom of giving one another the holy kiss of peace. And in the seventh Homily (p. 70)^b, he alludes to the custom of the priest's saying ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, in the celebration of the eucharist, when he says, "Christ gives holy things to holy men."

SECT. VIII.—*In the Eighth Tome on St. John and the Acts of the Apostles.*

The eighth tome of St. Chrysostom's works contains his Homilies on St. John and the Acts of the Apostles. In his preface to St. John, he mentions the form of renouncing the devil, and covenanting with Christ. "Ye which are initiated," says he^c, "know what compact ye made with us, or rather with Christ, when he admitted you to his holy mystery, what you said to him concerning the pomp of Satan; how, after you had renounced Satan and his angels, you renounced this also, and promised never to look toward it again."

Homily forty-second^d, he speaks of the Lord's Prayer as a

^z Hom. xx. (vol. vii. p. 252. C.) "Ὅτι τοῖς πιστοῖς αὐτῆ ἢ προσευχῆ προσήκει, καὶ οἱ νόμοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας διδάσκουσι, καὶ τὸ προοίμιον τῆς εὐχῆς· ὁ γὰρ ἀμύητός οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο Πατέρα καλεῖν τὸν Θεόν."

^a Ibid. (p. 257. B.) Πῶς ἀσπάσῃ τὸν ἀδελφόν; πῶς ἀψῆ τῆς θυσίας; πῶς ἀπογεύσῃ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ, τοσοῦτον ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς διανοίας τὸν ἰόν;

^b Hom. vii. (vol. vii. p. 114. A 5.) Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις δίδωσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμῖν παρέχει τῆς πηγῆς, ἀλλ' αἷμα ζῶν.

^c Præfat. in Joan. (Bened. 1718. vol. viii. p. 6. C 4.) Ἴστε οἱ μεμνημένοι, ποίας ἡμῖν ἔθεσθε συνθήκας· μᾶλλον δὲ, ποίας ἔθεσθε τῷ Χριστῷ, ὅτε ὑμᾶς αὐτὸς ἐμυσταγωγεί; τί πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπατε; τί περὶ τῆς πόμπης Σατανικῆς αὐτῷ διελέχθητε; πῶς μετὰ τοῦ Σατανᾶ καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ καὶ ταύτῃ τότε ἀπετάττεσθε, καὶ ὑπισχνείσθε μηδὲ παρακύψειν ἐκεῖ;

^d Hom. xlii. (vol. viii. p. 257. B 8.) Διὸ χρῆ περὶ τούτων αἰεὶ Θεὸν παρακαλεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα αἰτεῖν· τοιαῦτα γὰρ καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς εὐχέσθαι ἐδίδαξεν· καὶ ἀναπτύξωμεν τὴν εὐχὴν ἐκείνην, οὐδὲν εὐρήσομεν ἐν αὐτῇ σαρκικόν, ἀλλὰ πάντα πνευματικά.

form of spiritual prayer, which Christ taught his disciples and all Christians.

Homily forty-fourth, he says^e, “Every good Christian used this prayer daily, saying those holy words, ‘Thy kingdom come;’ implying a belief of the resurrection.”

Homily sixty-first^f, he makes mention of hymns and psalmody, as the honour of Christian funerals.

Homily seventy-seventh, he takes notice of the kiss of peace, and the common prayers made for the whole state of the world in the communion service. “We salute one another,” says he^g, “in the holy mysteries, that being many, we may be made one; and we make common prayers for those that are unbaptized, and supplications for the sick, and for the fruits of the world, both by sea and land;” which plainly refers to the known forms then commonly used in the Church.

In his nineteenth Homily on the Acts of the Apostles, he speaks of several customary forms observed in the reading of the Scriptures^h: “The deacon, the common minister of the Church, first stood up, and cried, with a loud voice, *Πρόσχωμεν*, ‘Let us give attention:’ and this he repeated over and over again. After that, the reader names the Prophet Esaias, or the like; and before he begins to read, he cries out, *Τάδε λέγει Κύριος*, “Thus saith the Lord.’”

Homily twenty-first, he refers to the bidding prayer of the deacon, in which he was used to admonish the people in these words, among many other petitionsⁱ: “Let us pray for those

^e Hom. xlv. (p. 268. C 5.) Οὐδείς τῶν ὀρθῶς βεβιωκότων τῇ ἀναστάσει διαπιστεῖ, ἀλλὰ καθ’ ἐκάστην εὐχονται τὴν ἡμέραν, τὴν ῥῆσιν ἐκείνην τὴν ἁγίαν λέγοντες, Ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου.

^f Hom. lxi. (p. 374. E.) Ἡ τιμὴ τῷ τετελευτηκότι, οὐ θρῆνοι καὶ οἰμωγαί· ἀλλ’ ὕμνοι καὶ ψαλμωδίαί, καὶ βίος ἄριστος.

^g Hom. lxxvii. (Bened. 1718. vol. viii. p. 464. D 2.) Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις ἀσπαζόμεθα ἀλλήλους, ἵνα οἱ πολλοὶ γενόμεθα ἓν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμυήτων κοινὰς ποιούμεθα τὰς εὐχὰς, λιτανεύοντες ὑπὲρ νοσοῦντων, καὶ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης, καὶ γῆς, καὶ θαλάττης.

^h Hom. xix. in Acta Apost. (Bened. vol. ix. p. 159. E 8.) Κοινὸς [διάκονος] ἔστηκεν ὁ διάκονος μέγα βοῶν καὶ λέγων, Πρόσχωμεν· καὶ τοῦτο πολ- λάκις· ἐκείνη ἡ φωνή, κοινὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐστίν, ἣν οὕτως ἀφήσιν . . . μετ’ ἐκείνον ἄρχεται ὁ ἀναγνώστης τῆς προφητείας Ἡσαίου . . . εἶτα εἰς ἐπήκουον ἐκφωνεῖ λέγων, Τάδε λέγει Κύριος.

ⁱ Hom. xxi. (p. 176. A 4.) Οὐχ ἀπλῶς ὁ διάκονος βοᾷ, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν

that sleep in Christ, and for those that make commemorations for them, for the Church, for the priests, for the people, for the martyrs," &c.

Homily twenty-fourth, he mentions the hymns that were used by all in common at the communion-table^k: "Know you not, that you then stand with angels, and sing with them, and send up hymns and praises to God with them?" Meaning the *trisagion*, or 'cherubical hymn,' "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts," &c. which was a known part of the eucharistical service.

SECT. IX.—*In the Ninth Tome on Romans, and First and Second to the Corinthians.*

The ninth tome of his works contains his homilies on the Epistle to the Romans, and the first and second to the Corinthians. In his seventh Homily on Romans (p. 68)^l, he speaks of common prayer sent up to God with one voice for the *energumens*, or 'persons vexed with evil spirits;' which was by a certain form, as we have seen before, in his seventy-first Homily on St. Matthew, and is evident from the very manner of expressing it here: for the people could not pray with one voice, unless a form of words was some way or other dictated to them. This dictating of prayers to be used by the whole assembly, was commonly the office of the deacon, as Chrysostom informs us, in the fourteenth Homily upon this same Epistle (p. 165), where he shows the different state of the Church in the apostles' days from that of his own time. For explaining those words, "The Spirit maketh intercession for us with groanings that cannot be uttered," he says^m,

Χριστῷ κεκοιμημένον, καὶ τῶν τὰς μνείας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐπιτελουμένων,
κ. τ. λ.

^k Hom. xxiv. (p. 199. C 7.) Οὐκ οἶδας, ὅτι μετὰ ἀγγέλων ἔστηκας; μετ' ἐκείνων ᾄδεις μετ' ἐκείνων ὑμνεῖς;

^l Hom. vii. ad Roman. (Bened. 1718. vol. ix. p. 490. E 10.) Κοινῇ πάντες ἐξώμεθα, καὶ μίαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀνερέγκωμεν φωνήν, ὡς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων.

^m Hom. xiv. (p. 585. E 10.) Ἄσαφές τὸ εἰρημένον διὰ τὸ πολλὰ τῶν τότε γινομένων θαυμάτων πεπαῦσθαι νῦν· διόπερ ἀναγκαῖον διδάξει ἡμᾶς τὴν τότε κατάστασιν, καὶ οὕτω σαφέστερος λοιπὸν ἔσται ὁ λόγος· τίς οὖν ἢ τότε κατάστασις ἦν; διάφορα πᾶσι τοῖς τότε βαπτιζομένοις ἐίδιδου χαρίσματα ὁ Θεός, ἃ δὴ καὶ πνεύματα ἐκαλεῖτο· πνεύματα γὰρ προφητῶν

“ This was an obscure expression, because many of the miraculous gifts which were then in being, were since ceased: as the gift of prophecy, the gift of wisdom, the gift of healing the sick, the gift of raising the dead, the gift of tongues, and, among the rest, the gift of prayer, which was then distinguished by the name of the Spirit: and he that had this gift prayed for the whole congregation. Upon which account the apostle gives the name of the Spirit both to this gift and to the soul that was endowed with it, who made intercession with groanings unto God, asking of God such things as were of general use and advantage to the whole congregation: the image or symbol of which is now the deacon, who offers up prayers for the people.” Here, according to Chrysostom, the spirit of praying was an extraordinary gift, like that of tongues; and the difference between the apostolical age and his own was this, that at first both the matter and words of their prayers were inspired in an extraordinary way; but afterward the deacons prayed by ordinary forms, without any such immediate inspiration.

In his Comments upon the first Epistle to the Corinthians, Homily twenty-four (p. 532), he rehearses the heads of the solemn thanksgiving at the consecration of the eucharist. “ We rehearse,” says he ⁿ, “ over the cup the ineffable blessings

προφήταις ὑποτάσσεται, φησί· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔχει προφητείας χάρισμα, καὶ προέλεγε τὰ μέλλοντα· ὁ δὲ σοφίας, καὶ εἰδίδασκε τοὺς πολλούς· ὁ δὲ ἰαμάτων, καὶ ἰεράτευε τοὺς νοσοῦντας· ὁ δὲ δυνάμεων, καὶ ἤγειρε τοὺς νεκρούς· ὁ δὲ γλωσσῶν, καὶ διαφόροις ἐλάλει φωναῖς· μετὰ δὲ τούτων ἀπάντων ἦν καὶ εὐχῆς χάρισμα, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα ἐλέγετο· καὶ ὁ τοῦτο ἔχων, ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλήθους παντὸς ἤρχετο· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πολλὰ τῶν συμφερόντων ἡμῖν ἀγνοοῦντες, τὰ μὴ συμφέροντα αἰτοῦμεν, ἤρχετο χάρισμα εὐχῆς εἰς ἓνα τινὰ τῶν τότε, καὶ τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπάσης, αὐτός τε ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ἴστατο αἰτῶν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπαίδευε· πνεῦμα τοίνυν ἐνταῦθα καλεῖ τότε χάρισμα τὸ τοιοῦτον, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν δεχομένην τὸ χάρισμα, καὶ ἐντυγχάνουσαν τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ στεναύζουσαν· ὁ γὰρ τοιαύτης καταξιωθείς χάριτος, ἐστὼς μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς κατανύξεως, μετὰ πολλῶν τῶν στεναγμῶν τῶν κατὰ διάνοιαν τῷ Θεῷ προσπιπτόντων, τὰ συμφέροντα πᾶσιν αἰτεῖ· οὗ καὶ νῦν σύμβολόν ἐστιν ὁ διάκονος, τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου ἀναφέρων εὐχάς.

ⁿ Hom. xxiv. in 1 Cor. (Bened. vol. x. p. 212. D 7.) Καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπιλέγοντες τῷ ποτηρίῳ τὰς ἀφάτους ἐνεργείας τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ὅσων ἀπολελαύκαμεν, οὕτως αὐτὸ προσάγομεν καὶ κοινωνοῦμεν, εὐχαριστοῦντες, ὅτι τῆς πλάνης ἀπήλλαξε τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος· ὅτι μακρὰν ὄντας ἐγγὺς ἐποίησεν· ὅτι

of God, and whatever benefits we enjoy ; and so we offer it at the holy table, and communicate, giving him thanks that he hath delivered mankind from error ; that when we were afar off, he hath made us near ; that when we had no hope, and were without God, he hath made us brethren and fellow-heirs with himself. For these, and all the like blessings, we give him thanks, and so come to his holy table.” Homily thirty-five (p. 640)^o, he notes the words *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*, ‘for ever and ever,’ to be the common conclusion of their eucharistical thanksgivings, to which a layman, if they were said in an unknown tongue, could not answer ‘Amen.’ In his thirty-sixth Homily (p. 652)^p, he mentions the form, “Peace be with you all :” to which the people answered, “And with thy spirit :” which he derives from apostolical practice, when both minister and people were used to speak by immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost. He further observes (p. 653)^q, “that they all sang in common, both in the apostles’ days and in his own time : and that the bishop, at the entrance into the church, said always, ‘Peace be to you all,’ as a proper salutation when he came into his Father’s house ;” though he laments, that whilst they retained the name of peace, they had lost the thing. Again (p. 655)^r, he takes notice, that when a single reader sung the psalms, all the people, as it were with one mouth, did *ὑπηχεῖν*, “return their answer to him ;” that is, either by singing the verses alternately, or by joining in the close of every verse, of which more in the next book. Chap.

ἐλπίδα μὴ ἔχοντας, καὶ ἀθείους ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ἀδελφοὺς ἐαυτοῦ κατασκεύασε καὶ συγκληρονόμους ὑπὲρ τούτων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀπάντων ἐνχαριστοῦντες, οὕτω πρόσιμεν.

^o Hom. xxxv. (Bened. vol. x. p. 325.) Ἐν εὐλογίῃς τῇ τῶν βαρβάρων φωνῇ, οὐκ εἰδὼς τί λέγεις, οὐδὲ ἐρμηνεύσαι δυνάμενος, οὐ δύναται ὑποφωνῆσαι τὸ Ἄμην ὁ λαϊκός· οὐ γὰρ ἀκούων τὸ, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τέλος, οὐ λέγει τὸ Ἄμην.

^p Hom. xxxvi. (Bened. vol. x. p. 339. D.) Ἐπειδὴν ἀρξώμεθα λέγειν, ὁ λαὸς ἀντιφθέγγεται, τῷ πνεύματί σου, δεικνύς, ὅτι τὸ παλαιὸν οὕτως ἔλεγον οὐκ οἰκεία σοφία, ἀλλὰ τῷ πνεύματι κινούμενοι.

^q Hom. xxxvi. (Bened. vol. x. p. 340. B 5.) Συνήεσαν τὸ παλαιὸν ἅπαντες, καὶ ἐπέψαλλον κοινῇ τοῦτο ποιῶμεν καὶ νῦν. . . . Εἰρήνην καὶ νῦν πᾶσιν ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προσεστὼς ἐπέυχεται, ὡς εἰς πατρῴαν οἰκίαν εἰσιῶν· ἀλλὰ τῆς εἰρήνης ταύτης τὸ μὲν ὄνομα πολὺ, τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα οὐδαμοῦ.

^r Ibid. (Bened. vol. x. p. 342. D.) Καὶ ὁ ψάλλων, ψάλλει μόνος· κἂν πάντες ὑπηχῶσιν, ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος ἢ φωνῇ φέρεται.

i. Homily forty (p. 688) ^s, he observes, “that every person at his baptism was, by the rule of the Church, obliged to make profession of his faith in the solemn words of the creed; and, among other articles, particularly said, ‘I believe the resurrection of the dead.’” By which form of profession Chrysostom explains that noted passage of St. Paul, “Why are they then baptized for the dead?” That is, if the dead rise not, why do they profess at their baptism that they “believe the resurrection of the dead?” Homily forty-one (p. 702), he mentions part of the solemn form of prayer for the dead, then in use in the Church. “It is not without reason,” says he ^t, “that he that stands at the altar, when the holy mysteries are celebrated, says, ‘We offer for all those who are dead in Christ, and for all those who make commemorations for them.’” And, a little after, “We at that time also make prayers for the whole world, and name the dead with martyrs, and confessors, and priests: for we are all one body, though some members exceed other members in glory.”

In his second Homily upon the second Epistle to the Corinthians (p. 740) ^u, he styles the Lord’s Prayer *εὐχὴν νενομισμένην*, ‘the prayer which Christ brought in, and established by law’ in his Church; and says it was the peculiar privilege of the faithful to use it; for the catechumens were not allowed so great a favour before baptism. There, also, he mentions several forms of the deacon’s calling upon the people to pray; as that, *Στῶμεν καλῶς, δεηθῶμεν*, “Let us stand devoutly, and pray:” which, he says, “was addressed, not only to

^s Hom. xl. (Bened. vol. x. p. 382. C 3.) Πρῶτον εἰπὼν ἀμαρτιῶν ἄφεσιν, τότε ὁμολογεῖς καὶ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν . . . Τούτων τοίνυν τῶν ῥημάτων ἀναμνήσκων ὁ Παῦλος φησι, Τί ποιήσουσιν οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν; εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἐστὶν ἀνάστασις, φησι, σκηνὴ τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα· εἰ μὴ ἐστὶν ἀνάστασις, πῶς αὐτοὺς πείθομεν πιστεύειν, ἅπερ οὐ διδάμεν;

^t Hom. xli. (Bened. vol. x. p. 393. A.) Οὐδὲ μάτην ὁ παρεστὼς τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ τῶν φρικτῶν μυστηρίων τελουμένων βοᾷ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἐν Χριστῷ κεκοιμημένων, καὶ τῶν τὰς μνείας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐπιτελούντων . . . Διὰ τοῦτο θαρρόντες ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκουμένης δεόμεθα τότε, καὶ μετὰ μαρτύρων αὐτοὺς καλοῦμεν, μετὰ ὁμολογητῶν, μετὰ ἱερέων· καὶ γὰρ ἐν σώμα ἴσμεν ἅπαντες, κὰν λαμπρότερα μέλη μελῶν.

^u Hom. ii. in 2 Cor. (Bened. 1718. vol. x. p. 435. C 4.) Οὐδέπω εὐχὴν ἔχουσι τὴν νενομισμένην καὶ εἰσενεχθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐδέπω παρῆρησιαν κέκτηνται.

the priests, but also to the people :” and, again, “ Let us pray ardently for the catechumens :” after which admonition, the deacon recited the particular petitions they were to make for them, which Chrysostom there relates at length in the very form that was used, which I shall omit to recite here, because the reader may find it whole hereafter in the service of the catechumens ^w. A little after, in this same Homily (p. 743), he mentions the usual form of renunciation in baptism : “ Ye that are initiated,” says he ^x, “ know what I say : for ye easily remember those words, whereby ye renounce the tyranny of the devil, falling upon your knees, and going over to Christ your king, and uttering those tremendous words, whereby we are taught to pay no manner of obedience to the tyrant.” And (p. 745) he adds ^y, “ that, in the service of the faithful, that is, the communion service, the deacon again bid them supplicate and address God for bishops, for presbyters, for kings, for emperors, for all by sea and land, for the temperature of the air, and for the whole world.” Which are but so many hints of the deacon’s bidding prayer in the service of the faithful, more fully related in the fifteenth book, chap. i. Homily fifth (p. 775) ^z, he speaks of the obligation men have to use the Lord’s prayer. Homily eighteenth (p. 872) ^a, he intimates a form of prayer used by the people at the time of ordaining ministers. “ The suffrage of the people,” says he, “ is no little ornament to those, who are called to any spiritual

^w Book xiv. chap. v.

^x Bened. vol. x. p. 438. D 2. Ἰστε ταῦτα οἱ μεμνημένοι ἀναμνήσθητε γοῦν τῶν ῥημάτων ἐκείνων, δι’ ὧν ἀπετάξασθε αὐτοῦ τῇ τυραννίδι, γόνυ κλίναντες, καὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλεῖα αὐτομολήσαντες, καὶ τὰ φρικώδη ἐκεῖνα φθεγγάμενοι ῥήματα, δι’ ὧν παιδευόμεθα μηδὲν αὐτῷ καθόλου πειθεσθαι.

^y Hom. ii. in 2 Cor. (Bened. 1718. vol. x. p. 440. E 6.) Καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν πιστῶν, ὑπὲρ ἐπισκόπων, ὑπὲρ πρεσβυτέρων, ὑπὲρ βασιλέων, ὑπὲρ τῶν κρατούντων, ὑπὲρ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, ὑπὲρ ἀέρων, ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης κελευόμεθα προσεῖναι τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ Θεῷ.

^z Hom. v. (p. 471. C 6.) Τοῦτο καὶ ἐπετάγης λέγειν, Ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.

^a Hom. xviii. (p. 568. A 8.) Ἡ τούτων ψῆφος, οὐχ, ὡς ἔτυχε, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς πνευματικὰς ἀρχὰς ἐρχομένους κατακοσμεῖ. Διὰ τοι τοῦτο καὶ ὁ μέλλων χειροτονεῖν, καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων εὐχὰς καλεῖ τότε, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπιψηφίζονται, καὶ ἐπιβοῶσιν ἅπερ ἴσασιν οἱ μεμνημένοι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ θέμις ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμνήτων ἐκκαλύπτειν ἅπαντα.

dignity. And, therefore, he that performs the office of ordination, then requires their prayers; and they join their suffrage, and cry out those words, which they that are initiated know; for it is not lawful to speak all things before the unbaptized." A little after (p. 873), he says^b, "The people had a considerable share in the prayers of the Church. For common prayers were made both by priest and people for the energumens and penitents, and they all say one and the same prayer for them, the prayer so full of mercy. Again, when we dismiss those who may not participate of the holy table, another prayer is to be made, in which we all fall down upon the ground together, and all rise together." He means the prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church, which was said jointly by the priest and people together. "Again, when the salutation of peace is mutually to be given and received, we all, in like manner, use this salutation." He means either the kiss of peace, or the form of salutation used between priest and people, "The peace of God be with you," "And with thy spirit." But, more probably, he means the former, because it immediately follows after, "When we come to the tremendous mysteries; then, as the priest prays for the people, so the people pray for the priest. For these words, 'And with thy spirit,' signify nothing else. Again, that prayer wherein we give thanks, is common to both. For not only the priest gives thanks, but all the people. For he first receives their

^b Ibid. (p. 568. B 10.) Καὶ ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς δὲ πολὺ τὸν λαὸν ἴδοι τις ἂν συνεισφέροντα· καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ, κοιναὶ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἱερέως, καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν γίνονται αἱ εὐχαί· καὶ πάντες μίαν λέγουσιν εὐχὴν, εὐχὴν τὴν ἐλέου γέμουσαν· πάλιν ἐπειδὴν εἰρξομεν τῶν ἱερῶν περιβόλων τοὺς οὐ δυναμένους τῆς ἱερᾶς μετασχεῖν τραπέζης, ἐτέραν δεῖ γενέσθαι εὐχὴν, καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως ἐπ' ἰδάφους κείμεθα, καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως ἀνιστάμεθα, ὅταν εἰρήνης πάλιν μεταλαμβάνειν καὶ μεταδιδόναι δεῖ, πάντες ὁμοίως ἀσπαζόμεθα· ἐπ' αὐτῶν πάλιν τῶν φρικωδέσ- τάτων μυστηρίων ἐπεύχεται ὁ ἱερεὺς τῷ λαῷ, ἐπεύχεται καὶ ὁ λαὸς τῷ ἱερεῖ· τὸ γὰρ Μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστίν, ἢ τοῦτο· τὰ τῆς εὐχαριστίας πάλιν κοινά· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος εὐχαριστεῖ μόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἅπας· πρότερον γὰρ αὐτῶν λαβὼν φωνήν, εἶτα συντιθεμένων, ὅτι ἀξίως καὶ δικαίως τοῦτο γίνεται, τότε ἄρχεται τῆς εὐχαριστίας· καὶ τί θαυμάζεις, εἴ που μετὰ τοῦ ἱερέως ὁ λαὸς φθέγγεται, ὅπουγε καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν τῶν Χερουβὶμ, καὶ τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων, κοινῇ τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἐκείνους ὕμνους ἀναπέμπει;

answer, they rejoicing, 'It is meet and right so to do;' and then he begins the thanksgiving. And why should any man wonder that the people should speak together with the priest, when they even join with cherubims and the powers above to send up, in common, those sacred hymns to heaven?" Meaning the hymns, 'Holy, holy, holy,' and 'Glory be to God on high,' which were sung by all the people in the communion service. Chrysostom has a good remark upon all these forms, and the people's obligation to bear a part in them, which, therefore, I may not here omit, because it shows us the reason why the ancient Church so ordered her service. "I have mentioned all these things," says he^c, "on purpose to excite the vigilance of those that are in an inferior station, that we may learn that we are all one body; and only differ, as one member may differ from another; and that we should not cast all upon the priests, but ourselves be concerned in the care of the whole Church, as of one common body."

SECT. X.—*In the Tenth Tome.*

The last volume of St. Chrysostom's works contains his Homilies upon the remaining Epistles of St. Paul. In his first Homily on the Ephesians (p. 1037), he speaks of the forms of profession used in baptism: "What is more gracious," says he^d, "than those words, by which we renounce the devil; by which we covenant with Christ? What more gracious than that profession, which we make both before and after baptism?" In the third Homily (p. 1051)^e, he tells us the deacons were wont to use this form of words to all those that were under the Church's censures, to withdraw from the Lord's

^c Hom. xviii. (Bened. vol. x. p. 568. D 10.) Ταῦτα δὲ μοι πάντα ἐκείνα εἶρηται, ἵνα ἕκαστος καὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων νήψῃ, ἵνα μάθωμεν, ὅτι σῶμά ἐσμεν ἅπαντες ἐν, τοσαύτην ἔχοντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφορὰν, ὅσην μέλη πρὸς μέλη· καὶ μὴ τὸ πᾶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱερέας ῥίπτωμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ, ὡς περ κοινοῦ σώματος, τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπάσης οὕτω φροντίζωμεν.

^d Hom. i. in Epist. ad Ephes. (Bened. 1718. vol. xi. p. 6. E.) Τί χαριέστερον τῶν ῥημάτων, δι' ὧν ἀποτασσόμεθα τῷ διαβόλῳ; δι' ὧν συντασσόμεθα τῷ Χριστῷ; τῆς ὁμολογίας ἐκείνης τῆς πρὸ τοῦ λουτροῦ; τῆς μετὰ τὸ λουτρόν;

^e Hom. iii. (Bened. vol. xi. p. 23. A 6.) Ἀκούεις ἐστῶτος τοῦ κήρυκος καὶ λέγοντος, "Ὅσοι ἐν μετανοίᾳ, ἀπέλθετε πάντες.

table, "Ye that are in a state of penance, depart." And (p. 1052)^f, when they were gone, they said again to the communicants, "Let us pray in common all together." And there^g, also, he speaks of the hymns that were sung at the Lord's table. Homily fourteenth (p. 1127), he argues from the use of the Lord's Prayer^h, that men should not revile those whom they therein owned to be their brethren. "If he is not thy brother, how dost thou say, 'Our Father?' For that word, 'Our,' denotes many persons." And, further, to show the indecency of such contumelious languageⁱ, he reminds them of their known custom in singing the sacred hymns with cherubims and seraphims at the communion. "Consider with whom you stand in the time of the holy mysteries. With Cherubims, with Seraphims. For the Seraphims use no reviling. Their mouth is continually employed in fulfilling one necessary office, that of glorifying and praising God. How then can you say with them, 'Holy, holy, holy,' who use your mouth to revile your brethren?" He adds^k, "You say 'Our Father;' and what follows that? 'Which art in heaven.' As soon as you say, 'Our Father which art in heaven,' that word raises you up, and gives wings to your soul, and shows that you have a

^f Ibid. (vol. xi. p. 23. D 5.) "Όταν ἀκούσης, δεηθῶμεν πάντες κοινῇ.

^g Ibid. (vol. xi. p. 23. E 5.) Οὕτω δὴ καὶ σὺ παραγέγονας τὸν ὕμνον ἤσασ, μετὰ πάντων, κ. τ. λ. . . . Οὐ διὰ τῶν προκειμένων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῶν φθδῶν ἐκείνων τὸ Πνεῦμα πάντοθεν κάτεισιν.

^h Hom. xiv. (vol. xi. p. 108. A 5.) Εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀδελφός, πῶς λέγεις Πάτερ ἡμῶν; τὸ γὰρ ἡμῶν, πολλῶν ἔστι προσώπων σημαντικόν.

ⁱ Ibid. (vol. xi. p. 108. A 7) Ἐννόησον μετὰ τίνων ἔστηκας κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῶν μυστηρίων, μετὰ τῶν Χερουβίμ, μετὰ τῶν Σεραφίμ; τὰ Σεραφίμ οὐχ ὑβρίζεις, ἀλλὰ μίαν αὐτοῖς χρεῖαν μόνον τὸ στόμα πληροῖ, τὸ δοξολογεῖν, τὸ δοξάζειν τὸν Θεόν· πῶς οὖν δυνήσῃ σὺ μετ' ἐκείνων λέγειν, "Άγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, εἰς ὕβριν τῷ στόματι κεχρημένος;

^k Hom. xiv. (Bened. 1718. vol. xi. p. 108. B 10.) Πάτερ ἡμῶν καὶ τί; τοῦτο μόνον; ἄκουε καὶ τῶν ἐξῆς· ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς· εὐθὺς εἶπες, Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, καὶ ἀνέστησέ σε τὸ ῥῆμα, ἐπέρωσέ σου τὴν διάνοιαν, ἔδειξεν, ὅτι Πατέρα ἔχεις ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς· μηδὲν πράττε, μηδὲν λέγε τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς· εἰς ἐκείνην σε τὴν τάξιν ἔστησε τὴν ἄνω, ἐκείνω σε ἐνέκρινε τῷ χορῷ· τί σαντὸν κάτω καθέλκεις; παρὰ τὸν θρόνον ἔστηκας τὸν βασιλικόν, καὶ ὑβρίζεις; . . . Ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἔστηκας, καὶ ὑβρίζεις; μετὰ ἀγγέλων πολιτεύῃ, καὶ ὑβρίζεις; φιλήματος ἠξίωσαι δεσποτικοῦ, καὶ ὑβρίζεις; τοσοῦτοις σου τὸ στόμα ἐκόσμησεν ὁ Θεός, ὕμνοις ἀγγελικοῖς, τροφῇ οὐκέτι ἀγγελικῇ, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἀγγελικῆν, φιλήματι τῷ αὐτοῦ, περιπλοκαῖς ταῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν, καὶ ὑβρίζεις;

Father in heaven. Therefore, do nothing, say nothing of those things that are upon earth. You stand in heaven: and do you use reviling? You converse with angels: and do you use reviling? You are honoured with the kiss of the Lord: and do you use reviling? God adorns your mouth so many ways with angelical hymns, with meat, not angelical, but above angels, with his own kisses and embraces; and do you still accustom yourself to reviling?"

Homily twenty-third (p. 1190), he says¹, "Jesus the Son of the living God hath brought down to us the celestial hymns. For what the cherubims say above, he hath commanded us to say; 'Holy, holy, holy.'"

On the Philippians, Homily fifteenth (p. 1311), he positively asserts^m, "that Christ delivered the Lord's Prayer 'as a form of prayer,' ὄρον εὐχῆς, teaching us to say, 'Give us this day our daily bread.'"

On the Colossians, Homily third (p. 1337)ⁿ, "We pray, saying, 'Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven.' We give thanks, saying, 'Glory be to God on high; on earth peace, good-will towards men,' We petition, in our prayers, for the angel of peace; and we pray for peace upon all occasions, for nothing can be compared unto it. The bishop in the church gives the benediction of peace, saying in every office, in prayers, in supplications, in his Homilies, once, twice, thrice, and oftener, 'Peace be with you all.'" Again (p.

¹ Hom. xxiii. (Bened. vol. xi. p. 178.) 'Ο Ἰησοῦς, ὁ τοῦ Πατρὸς τῶν οἰκτιρωτῶν, ὁ τοῦ ὄντως Θεοῦ Υἱὸς, ἤνεγκε πᾶσαν τὴν ἀρετὴν, πάντας τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν καρποὺς ἡμῖν κατήνεγκεν, τοὺς ὕμνους λέγω τοὺς ἐπουρανίους· ἃ γὰρ τὰ Χερουβὶμ ἄνω λέγει, ταῦτα καὶ ἡμῖν προσέταξε λέγειν, "Ἄγιος, ἄγιος, ἄγιος.

^m Hom. xv. in Epist. ad Philipp. (Bened. vol. xi. p. 316. A 8.) 'Ο Χριστὸς ὄρον εὐχῆς ἡμῖν διδούς, τοῦτο τῇ εὐχῇ ἐπέθηκε, διδάσκων ἡμᾶς, Τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον, λέγειν, δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον.

ⁿ Hom. iii. in Epist. ad Coloss. (Bened. 1734. vol. xi. p. 346.) Εὐχόμεθα λέγοντες, Γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημα σου, ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.— (p. 347. B 4.) Εὐχαριστοῦντες λέγομεν, Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία. . . . Εὐχόμεθα, καὶ λέγομεν αἰτοῦντες τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς εἰρήνης· καὶ πανταχοῦ εἰρήνην αἰτοῦμεν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ταύτης ἴσον· ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησιαῖς εἰρήνην, ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς, ἐν ταῖς λιταῖς, ἐν ταῖς προσήρσεις καὶ ἄπαξ, καὶ δις, καὶ τρίς, καὶ πολλάκις· αὐτὴν δίδωσιν ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προεστῶς, Εἰρήνη ἡμῖν, ἐπιλέγων.

1338) °: “When the bishop enters the church, he immediately says, ‘Peace be with you all:’ when he preaches, ‘Peace be with you all;’ when he gives the blessing, ‘Peace be with you all:’ when he bids you salute one another, ‘Peace be with you all:’ when the sacrifice is offered, ‘Peace be with you all:’ and, in the intervals, ‘Grace and peace be with you.’ Is it not therefore absurd, that when we so often hear peace mentioned, we should still be at war among ourselves? We receive the salutation of peace, and return it to him that gives it, and yet are at war with him. You answer, ‘And with thy spirit:’ yet as soon as you are gone out of the church, you calumniate and revile him.” He adds (p. 1339) ^p, “that it was not the bishop, properly speaking, that gave the peace; but Christ, that vouchsafes to speak by his mouth.”

Homily sixth, in Colossians (p. 1358), he compares the forms of renunciation in baptism, and covenanting with Christ, to a handwriting or bond, saying ^q, “Let us beware that we be not convicted by it, after we have said those words, ‘We renounce thee, Satan, and we make a covenant with thee, O Christ.’” Again (p. 1359) ^r, “You are taught to say, ‘I renounce thee, and thy pomp, and thy worship, and thy angels.’” He adds, “that every new baptized person, as soon as he came up out of the water, was appointed to say, ‘Our Father

° Hom. iii. in Epist. ad Coloss. (Bened. 1734. vol. xi. p. 348. C 5.) “Ὅταν εἰσέλθῃ ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προεστῶς, εὐθέως λέγει, Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν ὅταν ὀμιλῇ, Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν ὅταν εὐλογῇ, Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν ὅταν ἀσπάζεσθαι κελεύῃ, Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν ὅταν ἡ θυσία τελεσθῇ, Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν καὶ μεταξὺ πάλιν, Χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη· πῶς οὖν ἄτοπον, εἰ τοσαυτάκις ἀκούοντες εἰρήνην ἔχειν, ἐκπεπολεμώμεθα πρὸς ἀλλήλους; καὶ λαμβάνοντες, καὶ ἀντιδιδόντες, τῷ διδόντι τὴν εἰρήνην πολεμοῦμεν· λέγεις, Καὶ τῷ πνεύματι σου, καὶ διαβάλλεις αὐτὸν ἔξω.

^p Ibid. (p. 348. E 4.) Μὴ γὰρ ἐγὼ δίδωμι τὴν εἰρήνην; ὁ Χριστὸς δὲ ἡμῶν φθέγγεσθαι καταξίω.

^q Hom. vi. in Coloss. (p. 368. C.) Γέγονεν ἕτερον χειρόγραφον πάλιν, οὗ τοιοῦτον, οἷον τὸ πρότερον, ὁρᾷτε οὖν, μὴ τούτῳ ἀλῶμεν, μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν, Ἐποτάσσομαι τῷ Σατανᾷ, καὶ συντάσσομαι σοι, Χριστέ· μᾶλλον δὲ οὐκ ἂν κληθῇ τοῦτο χειρόγραφον, ἀλλὰ συνθήκη, κ. τ. λ.

^r Hom. vi. in Coloss. (Bened. 1734. vol. xi. p. 370. B 3.) Εὐθέως διδάσκει λέγειν, Ἐποτάσσομαι σοι, καὶ τῷ πομπῇ σου, καὶ τῷ λατρείᾳ σου, καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις σου . . . εὐθέως ἀνελθὼν ταῦτα φθέγγεται τὰ ῥήματα Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, γεννηθῆτω τὸ θέλημα σου.

which art in heaven, thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven.”

Homily ninth, in Colossians (p. 1380), on those words, “Admonishing one another in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs,” he says ^s, “The faithful know what is the hymn of the spirits above; what the cherubims above say; what the angels said: ‘Glory be to God on high.’” Meaning that these two hymns were sung by the faithful in the communion service.

Homily tenth (p. 1385) ^t, he gives the Lord’s Prayer the title of *εὐχὴ πιστῶν*, “the prayer of the faithful,” because it was their peculiar privilege to use it.

Homily third, in 2 Thess. (p. 1502) ^u, he mentions two usual forms relating to the reading of the lessons in the church. “When the reader rises up, and says, ‘thus saith the Lord:’ and the deacon standing up, commands all men to keep silence, he does not say this to honour the reader, but God who speaks to all by him.”

Homily sixth, in 1 Tim. (p. 1553) ^x, he proves that infidels are prayed for as well as others, from the use of the Lord’s Prayer. “For when he that prays, says, ‘Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven,’ the meaning is, that as there is no infidel in heaven, so we pray that there may be none on earth neither.”

^s Hom. ix. in Coloss. (Bened. 1734. vol. xi. p. 393.) *Τίς ὁ ὕμνος τῶν ἄνω, τί λέγει τὰ Χερουβίμ, ἴσασιν οἱ πιστοὶ τί ἔλεγον οἱ ἄγγελοι κάτω; Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ.*

^t Hom. x. in Coloss. See note (d) p. 312.

^u Hom. iii. in 2 Thess. (vol. xi. p. 527.) *Ὅταν ἀναστὰς ὁ ἀναγινώσκων λέγῃ, Τάδε λέγει Κύριος· καὶ ὁ διάκονος ἐστὼς ἐπιστομίζῃ πάντας, οὐ τῷ ἀναγινώσκοντι τιμὴν ποιῶν τοῦτό φησιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ δι’ ἐκείνου πᾶσι διαλεγομένῳ.*

^x Hom. vi. in 1 Tim. p. 444. (Bened. vol. xi. p. 581. F 4.) *Ἄλλ’ οὐκ εἰρηταί, φησιν, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπίστων εὐχεσθαι ἐκεῖ· ἐπειδὴ μηδὲ ἴστε τῆς εὐχῆς τὴν δύναμιν, μηδὲ τὸ βάθος καὶ τὸν θησαυρὸν αὐτῆς ἐπιγινώσκετε· εἰ γὰρ τις αὐτὴν ἀναπτύξειεν, εὐρήσει καὶ τοῦτο κείμενον ἐν αὐτῇ· ὅταν γὰρ λέγῃ ὁ εὐχόμενος, Γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου, ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ τοῦτο αἰνίττεται· πῶς; ὅτι ἐν οὐρανῷ οὐδεὶς ἄπιστος, οὐδεὶς προσκρούων· εἰ τοίνυν περὶ τῶν πιστῶν μόνον ἦν, οὐκ εἶχε λόγον τὸ λεγόμενον· εἰ γὰρ οἱ πιστοὶ ἐμελλον τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ ποιεῖν, οἱ δὲ ἄπιστοι οὐχί, οὐκέτι ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ, τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ ἦν· ἀλλὰ τί; ὡσπερ ἐν οὐρανῷ, φησιν, οὐδεὶς πονηρός, οὕτω μηδὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔστω.*

Homily second, in 2 Tim. (p. 1638), he says^y, “The words whereby the priests consecrate the eucharist, were the same that Christ spake.”

Homily fourth, on Hebrews (p. 1785), he intimates, that they had set psalms in their funeral service. “Consider,” says he^z, “what you sing at that time, ‘Turn again unto thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord hath rewarded thee.’ And again, ‘I will fear no evil, for thou art with me.’ And again, ‘Thou art my refuge from tribulation, which compasses me about.’ Consider what those Psalms mean. You say, ‘Turn again unto thy rest, O my soul:’ and do you still weep? Is not this mere pageantry and hypocrisy? If you believe the things to be true, which you say it is superfluous to lament.”

Homily fourteenth (p. 1852), speaking of the hymns sung at the eucharist, he says^a, “Do we not sing the same celestial hymns, which the choirs of incorporeal powers sing above?”

Homily seventeenth (p. 1870)^b, he mentions a part of the oblation prayer: “In the oblation we offer or bear, we confess our sins, and say, ‘Forgive us our transgressions, whether voluntary or involuntary:’ that is, we first remember them, and then ask pardon.” There, also (p. 1872), he mentions the deacon’s solemn form of words, admonishing the people to

^y Hom. ii. in 2 Tim. (Bened. vol. xi. p. 671. E 8.) “Ὡσπερ τὰ ῥήματα, ἅπερ ὁ Θεὸς ἐφθέγγαστο, τὰ αὐτὰ ἐστι, ἅπερ ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ νῦν λέγει, οὕτω καὶ ἡ προσφορὰ ἢ αὐτὴ ἐστι.

^z Hom. iv. in Hebrews. (Bened. vol. xii. p. 47. B 2.) ‘Ἐννόησον τί ψάλλεις κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον· Ἐπίστρεψον, ψυχὴ μου, εἰς τὴν ἀνάπασίν σου, ὅτι Κύριος ἐνηργέτησέ σε· καὶ πάλιν, Οὐ φοβηθήσομαι κακὰ, ὅτι σὺ μετ’ ἐμοῦ εἶ· καὶ πάλιν, Σὺ μου εἶ καταφυγὴ ἀπὸ θλίψεως τῆς περιεχούσης με ἐννόησον τί βούλονται οὗτοι οἱ ψαλμοί· ἀλλ’ οὐ προσέχεις, ἀλλὰ μεθύεις ὑπὸ τοῦ πένθους· κὰν ἐν τοῖς ἐτέρων κηδεύμασι κατανόησον ἀκριβῶς, ἵνα ἔχῃς φάρμακον ἐν τοῖς σοῖς· ἐπίστρεψον, ψυχὴ μου, εἰς τὴν ἀνάπασίν σου, ὅτι Κύριος ἐνηργέτησέ σε, λέγεις, καὶ δακρύεις; οὐχὶ σκηνὴ ταῦτά ἐστιν, οὐχ ὑπόκρισις; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὄντως πιστεύεις οἷς λέγεις, περιπτῶς πενήθεις.

^a Hom. xiv. (Bened. vol. xii. p. 141. B 7.) ‘Ἀλλὰ τί; οἱ ὕμνοι οὐκ ἐπουράνιοι; οὐχ ἅπερ ἄνω ζῶουσιν οἱ θεῖοι χοροὶ τῶν ἀσωμάτων δυνάμεων, ταῦτα καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ κάτω συνφθὰ ἐκείνοις φθεγγόμεθα;

^b Hom. xvii. (vol. xii. p. 166. C 6.) ‘Ἐπὶ τῆς προσφορᾶς, ἧς ἀναφέρομεν, προφέρομεν καὶ ἀμαρτήματα, λέγοντες, Εἴτε ἐκόντες εἴτε ἄκοντες ἡμάρτομεν, συγχώρησον, τουτέστι μεμνήμεθα αὐτῶν πρῶτον, καὶ τότε τὴν συγχώρησιν αἰτοῦμεν.

come holy to the holy sacrament^c: “For this reason, the deacon cries out, and calls upon the saints; and, by these words, prompts all men to consider their offences, that no one come unprepared.”

Homily twenty-second (p. 1898), he tacitly refers to the form, *Sursum corda*, ‘Let us lift up our hearts.’ For, having mentioned those words of the psalmist, “Let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice,” he adds^d, “‘With our hands let us also lift up our hearts.’ Ye which are initiated know what I say, you perhaps understand what is spoken, and perceive what I have obscurely hinted. ‘Let us lift up our souls on high.’”

Besides these passages collected out of Chrysostom’s works, published by Fronto Ducæus, there are several others in those Homilies which Sir Henry Savile set forth in Greek, and others in the Latin editions only; neither of which I have had opportunity perfectly to examine; and therefore I shall leave them to the more diligent inquiry of the curious reader: only noting, that in the sixth Homily of Repentance^e, he observes this difference between David’s Psalms and the rest of the Scriptures, that the others were read only twice a week in public, but the Psalms were used by all sorts of men, in all places, and upon all occasions. *In ecclesiis pernoctantibus, primus et medius et novissimus est David*: “When they held their vigils all night in the church, David’s Psalms were in the beginning, and middle, and end of all their service.” The same was observed in their morning prayer; in their funeral obsequies; by virgins at their needle; by the illiterate and unlearned, who could not read a letter in the book, yet could repeat David’s Psalms by heart. David was always in their mouths, not only in the cities and the churches, but in the courts, in the monasteries, in the deserts, and the wil-

^c Hom. xvii. (Bened. 1718. vol. xii. p. 170. B.) Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐπιφωνεῖ τότε τοὺς ἁγίους καλῶν, καὶ διὰ τῆς φωνῆς ταύτης μομοσκοπῶν ἅπαντας, ὥστε μὴ προσελθεῖν τινα ἀπαράσκευον.

^d Hom. xxii. (Bened. vol. xii. p. 207. D 5.) Ἐπαρσίς, φησι, τῶν χειρῶν μου θυσία ἐσπερινή, ἰὰν μετὰ τῶν χειρῶν καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἀναλάβωμεν ἵστε οἱ μεμνημένοι τί λέγω· τάχα δὲ καὶ ἐπιγινώσκετε τὸ λεχθὲν, καὶ συνορᾶτε ὅπερ ἡνιξάμην· Ἐπάρωμεν εἰς ὕψος τὴν διάνοιαν.

^e De Pœnit. Hom. vi. tom. vii. p. 146, Basil. 1525.

derness. He turned earth into heaven, and men into angels, being adapted to all orders, and all capacities, children, young men, virgins, old men, and sinners. In the beginning of the same Homily, he says the Book of Genesis was, by appointment of the Church, read only once a-year, at a certain season, which was the time of Lent, as we have heard before in several places of this author, and as we shall see more fully demonstrated from other writers, in the next Book.

Among those published in Greek by Sir H. Savile, the hundred and twenty-third Homily, tome v. p. 809^f, speaks of the priests using this form of admonition to all communicants in the time when the holy mysteries were celebrated, ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, “Holy things are only for holy men.” And whoever will bestow the pains to peruse the rest of the Homilies which are in that edition, may doubtless find many other such fragments of the ancient liturgy, which, as appears from this collection, so much abound in this celebrated writer.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE USE OF THE LORD'S PRAYER IN THE LITURGY OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

SECT. I.—*The Lord's Prayer by all the Ancients esteemed a Form, given by Christ to be used by his Disciples.*

IF there were no other argument to prove the lawfulness of set forms of prayer in the judgment of the ancients, the opinion which they had of the Lord's Prayer, and their practice pursuant to that opinion, would sufficiently do it. And, therefore, though several things have been occasionally hinted already about this matter, yet it will not be amiss to give it a

^f Hom. cxxiii. (tom. v. p. 809, Savil. lin. 29.) Περίων πανταχοῦ διὰ τῆς φωνῆς ἐκείνης τῆς φρικωδεστάτης ὁ ἱερεὺς, καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους καλῶν καὶ ἔλκων πρὸς μετάληψιν τῶν θείων καὶ φρικτῶν μυστηρίων, λέγει, Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις.—(Et sub fin.) Ὑψηλὸς ἰστώσ ὁ ἱερεὺς, μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ, φρικτῇ τῇ βοῇ, καθάπερ τις κήρυξ, τὴν χεῖρα ἔχων εἰς ὕψος, πᾶσι κατάδηλος γεγονώς, καὶ μέγα ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ τῇ φρικτῇ ἡσυχίᾳ ἀνακράζων, Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, τοὺς μὲν καλεῖ, τοὺς δὲ ἀπείργει.

distinct handling in this chapter. And, first of all, I observe, that the ancients did not only esteem it as a rule and pattern to conform our prayers to, but looked upon it as a particular form of prayer, which Christ enjoined all his disciples to use in the same words that he delivered it. Tertullian says ^a, “Our Lord prescribed a new form of prayer for his new disciples of the New Testament: and that though John had taught his disciples a form of prayer, yet all that he did was only as a forerunner of Christ; when Christ was increased (as John had foretold, ‘He must increase, but I must decrease’) then the whole work of the servant passed over to the Lord. And, therefore, it is not so much as extant now in what words John taught his disciples to pray; because earthly things were to give way to heavenly.” So again ^b, “The religion of prayer was ordained by Christ himself; and this prayer being animated by his Spirit from the time that it came out of his heavenly mouth, ascends up to heaven with a privilege, commending to the Father what the Son taught. But, because our Lord, who foresaw the necessities of man, after he had given this rule of praying, said also, ‘Ask, and ye shall receive;’ and there are many things which men’s particular circumstances oblige every one to ask; therefore, we have a right to make additional requests, and build other prayers upon this, always premising this appointed and ordinary prayer as the foundation.” So that, according to Tertullian, it was not only a rule prescribing the method and matter of prayer, but a form

^a Tertul. de Orat. c. i. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 22.) (Paris. 1664. p. 129.) Dominus noster novis discipulis Novi Testamenti novam orationis formam determinavit. . . . Docuerat et Joannes discipulos suos adorare: sed omnia Joannis Christo præstruebantur, donec ipso aucto (sicut ipse Joannes prænuntiabat, illum *augeri* oportere, se vero *diminui*) totum præministri opus cum ipso Spiritu transiret ad Dominum. Ideo nec exstat, in quæ verba docuerit Joannes adorare, quod terrena cœlestibus cesserint.

^b Tertul. de Orat. c. ix. (Oberth. p. 28.) Ab ipso ordinata religio orationis, et de Spiritu ipsius jam tunc, quum ex ore divino ferretur, animata, suo privilegio adscendit in cœlum, commendans Patri quæ Filius docuit. Quoniam tamen Dominus prospector humanarum necessitatum, seorsum post traditam orandi disciplinam, *Petite*, inquit, *et accipietis*; et sunt, quæ petantur pro circumstantia cujusque, præmissa legitima et ordinaria oratione quasi fundamento, accidentium jus est desideriorum, jus est superstruendi extrinsecus petitiones, etc.

to be used in the words in which Christ delivered it, and to be added to all other prayers as the foundation of a superstructure. After the same manner, St. Cyprian says^c, “that Christ, among many other wholesome admonitions and divine precepts, by which he provided for the salvation of his people, has given us also a form of prayer, teaching and admonishing us what we are to pray for.” And, a little after^d, “We are to learn from our Lord’s information what we are to pray for: for he said, ‘Pray thus: Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name,’” &c. St. Austin assures us^e, “that as the Church always used this prayer, so she used it by the command of Christ. He said, ‘Pray thus;’ he said to his disciples, ‘Pray thus:’ he said to his disciples, he said to his Apostles, and to us who are the lambs he said, and to the rams of his flock he said, ‘Pray thus.’” In another place^f, “This prayer is necessary for all, which the Lord gave to the rams of his flock, that is, to his apostles, that every one of them should say, ‘Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.’ For if there is any one to whom these words in the prayer are not necessary, he must be said to be without sin. And if Christ had foreseen that there would have been any such, so much better than his apostles, he would have taught them another prayer, in which they

^c Cyprian. de Orat. Dominic. (Oxon. 1682. p. 139.) (p. 99, Amstelod.) Dominus inter cetera salutaria sua monita et præcepta divina, quibus populo suo consuluit ad salutem, etiam orandi ipse formam dedit; ipse quid precaremur, monuit et instruxit.

^d Ibid. (Oxon. p. 141.) (Amstel. p. 100.) Cognoscemus, docente Domino, et quid oremus. Sic, inquit, orate: ‘Pater noster, qui es in cœlis, sanctificetur nomen tuum,’ etc.

^e Aug. Hom. xxiv. de Verbis Apostol. (p. 394. D, Basil. 1569†.) Ecclesie oratio est vox et de magisterio Domini veniens. Ipse dixit, Sic orate: Discipulis dixit, apostolis dixit nobis, qualescumque agniculi sumus, dixit, arietibus gregis dixit, Sic orate.

^f Ibid. Epist. lxxxix. ad Hilarium. (Bened. 1679. vol. ii. p. 543. B 6.) Omnibus necessaria est Oratio Dominica, quam etiam ipsis arietibus gregis, id est, apostolis suis Dominus dedit, ut unusquisque Deo dicat, ‘Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.’ Cui enim hæc in oratione verba necessaria non fuerint, ipse hic sine peccato vivere pronuntians est. Quales si aliquos futuros Dominus prævideret, meliores utique, quam exstiterunt ejus apostoli, aliam illos orationem doceret, qua non peterent dimitti sibi peccata, quibus in baptismo fuerant omnia jam dimissa.

should not have asked 'forgiveness of sins' for themselves, who had already obtained remission of all in baptism." Again he says ^g, "If any one say that this prayer is not necessary in this life for every saint of God, that knows and does the will of God, except one, the Holy of Holies, he is in manifest error, and pleases not that God whom he pretends to praise." "For this prayer which we use ^h, was given as a rule to the apostles by the heavenly Lawgiver, who said to them, 'Pray thus.' He enjoined the rams of his flock, the leaders of his sheep, the chief members of the great Shepherd to use it. And they thence learned to say, 'Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.'" In his *Retractions*ⁱ he confirms all this, calling it "one of Christ's commands to use this prayer, which the whole Church will continue to use to the end of the world." St. Chrysostom, in two volumes of his works, the third and fifth, repeats this almost twenty times, "that the Lord's Prayer was a common form in use among them, by the express command of Christ." And there are many other scattered passages throughout his writings, to the same purpose; which, because I have produced them at large in the last chapter, I need not here repeat them.

SECT. II.—*And, accordingly, it was used by the Primitive Church in all her Offices, particularly the Administration of Baptism.*

Evident it is, beyond dispute, that the whole primitive

^g Aug. de Peccator. Merit. lib. iii. c. xiii. (Bened. 1679. vol. x. p. 84.) Quam orationem quisquis cuilibet etiam homini sancto et Dei voluntatem scienti atque facienti, præter unum Sanctum sanctorum, dicit in hac vita necessariam non fuisse, multum errat, nec potest omnino illi ipsi placere quem laudat.

^h Ibid. cxlii. Psal. (Bened. vol. iv. p. 1592.) Ipsi apostoli didicerunt orare quod oramus, ipsis data est regula postulandi a jurisperito cœlesti. 'Sic orate,' inquit. Et quum quædam præmisisset, posuit et hoc, ut dicerent arietes nostri, duces ovium, et præcipua membra Pastoris et Congregatoris unius gregis: ipsi didicerunt dicere, 'Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.'

ⁱ Ibid. *Retraet.* lib. i. c. xix. (vol. i. p. 29. F 3.) In eisdem mandatis est quod jubemur dicere, 'Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.' Quam orationem usque ad finem sæculi tota dicit ecclesia.

Church constantly used it in all her holy offices, out of consciousness and regard to Christ's command. This, as we have heard Tertullian word it^k, was laid as the foundation of all other prayers. It is the prayer of the Church. The whole Church says, "Forgive us our trespasses," as we have it before in the testimony of St. Austin¹. And the practice was so universal and well known, from the beginning, that Lucian, the heathen, is thought to refer to it in one of his Dialogues^m, where he speaks, in the person of a Christian, of the prayer which began ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς, 'with Our Father.' But we have more certain evidence from the records and offices of the Church. For there was no considerable divine office, in the celebration of which this prayer did not always make a solemn part. Particularly in baptism, as soon as the person baptized came up out of the water, he was enjoined to say, "Our Father, which art in heaven." "Immediately after," says the author of the Constitutionsⁿ, "let him stand and pray the prayer which the Lord hath taught us." And so Chrysostom^o, "As soon as he rises out of the water, he says those words, 'Our Father which art in heaven,' " &c.

SECT. III.—*And in the Celebration of the Eucharist.*

In like manner, in the celebration of the other sacrament of Christ's body and blood, it was commonly used at the close of the consecration prayer. So it is expressly more than once noted by St. Austin^p: "After the sanctification of the sacrifice, we say the Lord's Prayer." And again^q, "The whole

^k Tertul. c. ix. See note (b) p. 306.

¹ Aug. de Verbis Apostol. p. 150. (394.) See note (e) p. 307.

^m Lucian. Philopat. p. 1128. See note (i) p. 202.

ⁿ Constitut. Apostol. lib. vii. c. xlv. Μετὰ τοῦτο ἐστὼς προσευχέσθω τὴν εὐχὴν ἣν ἐδίδαξεν ἡμᾶς ὁ Κύριος.

^o Chrysostom. Hom. vi. in Coloss. (See note (r) p. 301.) Εὐθὺς γὰρ ἀνελθὼν, κ. τ. λ. — It. Hom. lxiii. in Paralytic. (Bened. 1718. vol. iii. p. 42. E 3.) Ἡμεῖς οὐ πρότερον δυνάμεθα καλέσαι Πατέρα, ἕως ἐν τῇ κολυμβίθρῳ τῶν ὑδάτων τῶν ἁγίων ἀπονιψώμεθα τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ὅταν γοῦν ἐκείθεν ἀνέλθωμεν τὸ πονηρὸν ἐκεῖνο φορτίον ἀποθέμενοι, τότε λέγομεν, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, κ. τ. λ.

^p Aug. Hom. lxxxiii. de Diversis. (Bened. 1679. vol. v. p. 974.) Post sanctificationem sacrificii dicimus Orationem Dominicam.

^q Ibid. Epist. lix. ad Paulin. (Bened. 1679. vol. ii. p. 509. C 2.) *Preces*

Church almost concludes the prayer of benediction and sanctification with the Lord's Prayer." Upon this account he tells his hearers ^r, "that all who are communicants heard this prayer said daily at the altar." And he expressly makes this difference between the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, that men might remember the former by hearing it daily repeated at the altar; but the Creed was not so, for as yet it was never publicly used, but only in the occasional service of baptism; whereas, the Lord's Prayer was of constant use by being a daily part of the communion service. Cyril, in his Mystagogical Catechism to the Illuminated, gives the same account of it ^s: "After the oblation prayer we say that prayer which our Saviour delivered to his disciples, calling God our Father with a pure conscience, and saying, 'Our Father, which art in heaven.'" And St. Jerome ^t, though he does not so precisely note what part of the communion office it was used in, yet in general, he says, "Christ taught his apostles this prayer, that believers might every day, in the sacrifice of his body, have boldness to say, 'Our Father, which art in heaven.'" And St. Chrysostom, in a covert way, intimates the same, when he tells his hearers ^u, "that if they forgive their enemies, they may come with a pure conscience to the holy and tremendous table, and boldly say the words that are contained in the prayer. The initiated know what I mean." He means that petition of the Lord's Prayer, 'Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us;' which he expresses thus covertly, because of non-communicants, catechumens, or infidels, that might be present at a popular discourse in a general assembly. He speaks more plainly in his Sermon upon *facimus in celebratione sacramentorum, antequam illud, quod est in Domini mensa, incipiat benedici: orationes, quum benedicatur et sanctificatur, et ad distribuendum comminuitur, quam totam petitionem fere omnis ecclesia Dominica Oratione concludit.*

^r Ibid. Hom. xlii. inter l. (Bened. vol. v. p. 342.) In ecclesia ad altare quotidie dicitur ista Oratio Dominica, et audiunt illam fideles.

^s Cyril. Catech. Mystag. v. (Venet. 1763. p. 328.) Εἶτα μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν εὐχὴν λέγομεν ἐκείνην, ἣν ὁ Σωτὴρ παρέδωκε τοῖς οἰκείοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς, μετὰ καθαρᾶς συνειδήσεως Πατέρα ἐπιγραφόμενοι τὸν Θεόν, καὶ λέγοντες, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὃ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, κ. τ. λ.

^t Hieron. lib. iii. cont. Pelag. c. iii. Docuit, etc. See p. 252, note (e).

^u Chrysost. Hom. xxvii. in Genes. See p. 272, note (g).

Eutropius, where, pressing the people to forgive the injury which that great statesman had done the Church, he uses this argument to them^x: “How otherwise will you take the holy sacrament into your hands, and use the words of that prayer, wherein we are commanded to say, ‘Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.’” This plainly shows that the Lord’s Prayer was then used as an ordinary and constant part of the communion-service; only with this difference, that in the Greek Church and the Gallican Church it was said by the priest and all the people together, as Mabillon^y proves out of Gregory of Tours,—and Leontius in the Life of Joannes Eleemosynarius, bishop of Alexandria,—and the Epistles of Gregory the Great, who expressly notes the difference between the Greek and Latin Church in this particular^z: “Among the Greeks the Lord’s Prayer is said by all the people; but with us by the priest alone.” And in this the Gallican Church chose to follow the way of the Greek Church, as we now follow the Gallican Church and not the Roman. The manner of the Mosarabic liturgy in Spain is noted also by Mabillon to be different from both these; for there the priest repeated every petition by itself, and the people answered to each petition separately, ‘Amen.’ But these differences in the manner of using it only serve to confirm the use of it in general, and show us that it was never omitted by any Church in the public service of the altar, at least from the beginning of the fourth century, when Cyril of Jerusalem lived, whose Mystical Catechisms are a clear evidence for it.

SECT. IV.—*And in their Morning and Evening Prayers.*

It also made a part in their daily morning and evening prayers distinct from the communion office; of which we have

^x Ibid. Hom. in Eutrop. (Bened. 1718. vol. iii. p. 385. B 10.) Πῶς τοῦ θεάτρου τούτου λυθέντος, ὑμεῖς μυστηρίων ἄψεσθε, καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν ἐρεῖτε ἐκείνην, δι’ ἧς κελεύομεθα λέγειν, Ἄφες ἡμῖν, καθὼς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν, τὸν ὑμῶν ὀφειλέτην ἀπαιτοῦντες δίκην;

^y Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallic. lib. i. c. v. n. xxii. ex Gregor. Turon. de Mirac. Martini, lib. ii. c. xxx.

^z Gregor. lib. vii. ep. lxiv. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1348. C 5.) Dominica Oratio apud Græcos ab omni populo dicitur, apud nos vero a solo sacerdote.

instances in the Canons of the Councils of Gironde^a and Toledo^b; which shall be recited hereafter, when we come to consider more exactly the several parts of the morning and evening service.

SECT. V.—*And in their Private Devotions.*

They used it also in their private devotions; as is evident from that passage in St. Chrysostom upon Psalm cxii. where he says^c, “that Christ, to induce us to unanimity and charity, enjoins us to make common prayer, and obliges the whole Church, as if it were but one person, to say, ‘Our Father,’ and, ‘Give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil;’ always using a word of the plural number, and commanding every one, whether he pray alone by himself, or in common with others, still to make prayer for his brethren.” This implies, that in their private devotions, as well as public, they thought themselves obliged, by the command of Christ, to use the Lord’s Prayer. In another place, he gives us an instance in the practice of a holy man, who, to the form of his private devotions (which he also there recites), always added the Lord’s Prayer, or the prayer of the faithful^d, as he styles it, for a particular reason, of which more by-and-by; making it both the conclusion and uniting tie of all his other prayers for all men. In compliance with this general practice it is, that the author of the Constitutions^e orders every one to use the Lord’s Prayer three times a day. And this Cotelierius thinks was done in honour of the Holy Trinity^f, citing Theodoret

^a Conc. Gerund. c. x. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1569.) Ita nobis placuit, ut omnibus diebus, post matutinas et vespertinas, Oratio Dominica a sacerdote proferatur.

^b Conc. Tolet. IV. c. ix. See note (h) in next page.

^c Chrysostom. Comm. in Psalm. cxii. See p. 274, note (m).

^d Chrysostom. Hom. x. in Coloss. (Bened. 1734. vol. xi. p. 399. B 9.) Ἐπιθεις την εὐχην τῶν πιστῶν, ὡς κορωνίδα τινὰ καὶ σύνδεσμον ὑπὲρ πάντων εὐχὴν ποιησάμενος.

^e Constitut. lib. vii. c. xxv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 427.) Οὕτω προσεύχεσθε, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, κ. τ. λ. Τρις τῆς ἡμέρας οὕτω προσεύχεσθε.

^f Cotel. (vol. i. p. 370.) In honorem Sanctissimæ Trinitatis; ut colligo ex Theodoro, ep. cxlv. et Isidoro, Originum lib. vi. c. ult. Euthymium consule

and Isidore for his opinion. St. Ambrose also, writing instructions to virgins^g, directs them to sing psalms in bed, and say the Lord's Prayer between every psalm. And the fourth Council of Toledo^h makes it deprivation for any clergyman to omit using the Lord's Prayer daily, either in his public or private offices of devotion, censuring him as a proud contemner of the Lord's injunction.

SECT. VI.—*Whence it had the name of Oratio Quotidiana, the Christian's daily Prayer.*

Now, this being the constant use that was daily made of the Lord's Prayer, it hence took the name of *Oratio Quotidiana*, 'the daily prayer,' as is observed in the foresaid Canon of that Council. And so we find it styled in Cyprian, who thought that petition in the Lord's Prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread," might be taken in a spiritual as well as a literal sense, and refer to the eucharist, or the body and blood of Christ, the celestial breadⁱ, which they then desire to receive every day. And the Council of Toledo cites St. Hilary to the same purpose^k: " 'Give us this day our daily bread.' God desires nothing so much as that Christ may dwell in us daily, who is the bread of life, and the bread that comes from heaven. And because this is our daily prayer, we therefore pray daily that this bread may be given us." St. Austin also means the

ad Psalm. liv. 18. Dicendum illis (fidelibus), ut singulis diebus, qui amplius non potest, saltem duabus vicibus oret, mane scilicet et vespere, dicens Symbolum, vel Orationem Dominicam.

^g Ambros. de Virgin. lib. iii. (Paris. 1836. vol. iii. p. 245.) In ipso cubili volo Psalmos cum Oratione Dominica frequenti contexas vice.

^h Conc. Tolet. IV. c. x. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1708. E 11.) Quisquis sacerdotum vel subjaentium clericorum hanc Orationem Dominicam quotidie, aut in publico aut in privato officio, præterierit, propter superbiam judicatus, ordinis sui honore privetur.

ⁱ Cyprian. de Orat. Domin. (Oxon. 1682. p. 147.) (p. 104, edit. Amstelod.) Christus noster panis est. Hunc panem dari nobis quotidie postulamus, ne, qui in Christo sumus, et eucharistiam quotidie ad cibum salutis accipimus . . . a Christi corpore separemur.

^k Conc. Tolet. IV. c. x. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1708. D 1.) Sanctus Hilarius dicit, 'Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie.' Quid enim tam vult Deus, quam ut quotidie Christus habitet in nobis, qui est panis vite et panis e celo? Et quia quotidiana oratio est, quotidie quoque ut detur, oratur.

Lord's Prayer when he says^l, "that the Christian's daily prayer makes satisfaction for those lesser and daily failings, without which no man lives." Upon which account, he says, in another place^m, "that this daily prayer is a sort of daily baptism, because, in the pious use of it, men obtain daily remission of sins, as they did at first in baptism." Possidius also makes this remark in his Life, upon his practice and that of St. Ambroseⁿ, "that they both trusted more in God's mercy than their own merits, being used to pray in the words of our Lord's daily prayer, 'Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us:'" from all which, and much more that might be alleged upon this head, it appears that this prayer, in the very words which Christ delivered it in, was not only an allowed form, but a prayer of daily use both in their public and private devotions.

SECT. VII.—*And was used by all Heretics and Schismatics, as well as Catholics.*

Neither were there any sects or heresies that pretended, in those times, to object the least thing against the use of it. The Donatists broke off from the Church, and set up conventicles of their own, but they did not alter the way of worship; "they still thought themselves obliged," as Optatus says^o, "to use the Lord's Prayer at the altar." The Pelagians could not relish well one petition in it, "Forgive us our trespasses;" for they proudly thought the saints were without sin, and had nothing to ask forgiveness of. Yet they also continued to use it, and accounted for their practice, by putting

^l Aug. Enchirid. c. lxxi. (Bened. 1679. vol. vi. p. 223.) De quotidianis brevibus levibusque peccatis, sine quibus hæc vita non ducitur, quotidiana fidelium oratio satisfacit. Eorum est enim dicere, 'Pater noster, qui es in cælis.'

^m Ibid. Hom. cxix. de Tempore, (vol. v. p. 942. E.) Remissio peccatorum non est in sola ablutione baptismatis sacri; sed etiam in Oratione Dominica et quotidiana. In illa invenietis quasi quotidianum baptismum.

ⁿ Possid. Vit. Aug. c. xxvii. (vol. x. append. p. 276. D 6.) Sciens examen sequitatis divinæ, de bono se dixit Domino magis confidere: cui etiam in oratione quotidiana Dominica dicebat, 'Dimitte nobis debita nostra.'

^o Optat. lib. ii. (p. 44.) Ad altare conversi, Dominicam Orationem prætermittere non potestis.—It. lib. iii. p. 72. Oratio, etc. Note (z) p. 241.

this false gloss upon it, that they then prayed not for their own sins, but the sins of others. We find this often objected to them in the African councils^p, but never any charge brought against them, as if they omitted the Lord's Prayer in whole, or even this single petition in it. St. Austin, indeed, often says ^q, "that their impious tenets and disputations tended to take away the use of the Lord's Prayer;" but then he explains himself to mean, not that they laid aside the use of it, but that they taught that a man might come to such perfection in righteousness in this life, by observing all the commands, and that by his own free will, without the help of the grace of Christ, that he needed not to say, "Forgive us our trespasses," for himself, but only for others. They owned that the apostles used the Lord's Prayer^r; but then, they said, they were so

^p Conc. Milevit. II. c. vii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1539.) Quicumque dixerit, in Oratione Dominica ideo dicere sanctos, 'Dimitte nobis debita nostra,' ut non pro se ipsis hoc dicant, quia non est eis jam necessaria ista petitio, sed pro aliis, qui sunt in suo populo peccatores: et ideo non dicere unumquemque sanctorum, 'Dimitte mihi debita mea,' sed, 'Dimitte nobis debita nostra,' ut hoc pro aliis potius, quam pro se justus petere intelligatur, anathema sit.—Can. ix. (can. viii.) Placuit, ut quicumque verba ipsa Dominicæ Orationis, ubi dicimus, 'Dimitte nobis debita nostra,' ita volunt a sanctis dici, ut humiliter, non veraciter, hoc dicatur, anathema sit.—Cod. Afric. c. cxv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1124.) "ἤρεσεν, ἵνα ὅστις δῆποτε εἶποι, ἐν τῇ δεσποτικῇ εὐχῇ διὰ τοῦτο λέγειν τοὺς ἀγίους, "Ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν· οὐχ ὅτι ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν τοῦτο λέγουσι, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖς λοιπὸν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀναγκαῖα αὕτη ἢ αἰτησις, ἀλλ' ὅτι ὑπὲρ ἄλλων τῶν ὄντων ἐν τῷ λαῷ αὐτῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν· καὶ μὴ λέγειν ἕνα ἕκαστον τῶν ἀγίων, "Ἄφες μοι τὰ ὀφειλήματά μου, ἀλλ' ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν· ὡς ὑπὲρ ἄλλων τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ τὸν δίκαιον αἰτοῦντα νοεῖσθαι, ἀνάθεμα εἶη.—Can. cxvi. 'Ὁμοίως ἤρεσεν, ἵνα οἵτινες δῆποτε αὐτὰ τὰ ῥήματα τῆς δεσποτικῆς εὐχῆς, ὅπου λέγομεν, "Ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν· οὕτως βούλονται, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγίων λέγεσθαι, ὡς ταπεινοφρόνως καὶ οὐκ ἀληθῶς ταῦτα λεχθῆναι, ἀνάθεμα εἶη.

^q Aug. Epist. xcii. ad Innocentium. (Bened. 1679. vol. ii. p. 621. A 4.) Nobis etiam Dominicam Orationem impiis disputationibus conantur auferre. . . . Dicunt, posse hominem in hac vita, præceptis Dei cognitis, ad tantam perfectionem justitiæ sine adjutorio gratiæ Salvatoris, per solum liberum voluntatis arbitrium, pervenire, ut ei non sit jam necessarium dicere, 'Dimitte nobis debita nostra.'

^r Aug. de Peccator. Meritis, lib. ii. c. x. (Bened. 1679. vol. x. p. 47. B 4.) Quidam contra Orationem Dominicam argumentantur: Quia etsi orabant eam, inquit, sancti et perfecti jam apostoli, nullum omnino habentes peccatum, non tamen pro se ipsis, sed pro imperfectis adhuc peccatoribus dicebant,

holy and perfect, without all manner of sin, that they did not say for themselves, "Forgive us our trespasses," but only for other sinners, that were yet imperfect. St. Chrysostom mentions another sort of men, who were also offended at this petition, because of the condition that was in it, "Forgive us, as we forgive others;" and therefore they curtailed the prayer, by dropping this petition when they said it. But he rebukes them for this^s, and bids them not be so vainly cautious as to think they were excused by curtailing the prayer, but advises them to use the whole prayer, as Christ appointed it to be used, that the necessity of this petition might daily terrify them from revenge, and compel them to grant pardon to their neighbours; so that, though there were some heretics, and other ill men, who did not like this one petition for different reasons, yet they all continued to use the prayer either in whole or in part; and there is no instance of any that totally rejected it.

SECT. VIII.—*That it was esteemed a Divine and Spiritual Form of Prayer.*

There was no objection against it in those days, that it was a form, or that it was not a spiritual prayer; because it was used in the very words in which Christ had delivered it; but, on the contrary, it was recommended as the most spiritual and prevalent prayer that could be used, because of the dignity of its author. St. Cyprian thus argues for the use of it^t:

'Dimitte nobis debita nostra.'—Id. Epist. xciv. ad Hilarium. (vol. ii. p. 629. F 5.) Omnes qui spem habemus in Christo, huic pestiferæ impietati resistere, eamque concorditer damnare et anathematizare debemus, quæ contradicit etiam orationibus nostris, concedens quidem, ut dicamus, 'Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris:?' et hoc ita concedens, ut asserat hominem in hoc corruptibili corpore, quod aggravat animam, posse suis viribus ad tantam justitiam pervenire, ut neque hoc illi sit dicere necessarium, 'Dimitte nobis debita nostra.'

^s Chrysostom. Hom. xxii. See note (n) page 266.

^t Cyprian. de Orat. Domin. (Oxon. 1682. p. 139.) (p. 99, edit. Fell, Amstelod.) Christus prædixerat, horam venire, quando veri adoratores adorarent Patrem in spiritu et veritate, et implevit quod ante promisit; ut, qui Spiritum et veritatem de ejus satisfactione percepimus, de traditione quoque ejus vere et spiritaliter adoremus. Quæ enim potest esse magis spiritalis oratio, quam quæ a Christo nobis data est, a quo nobis et Spiritus Sanctus missus est?

“Christ,” says he, “had foretold, that ‘the hour was coming, when the true worshippers should worship the Father in spirit and in truth;’ and he fulfilled what he had promised before, that we, who had received the Spirit and truth by his sanctification, might worship, in spirit and truth, by his tradition, or the prayer which he delivered to us; for what prayer can be more spiritual, than that which is given us by Christ, by whom the Holy Spirit is sent to us? What can be esteemed a truer prayer with the Father, than that which came out of the mouth of his Son, who is truth itself? So that to pray otherwise than he has taught us, is not only ignorance but a crime; since he has laid it down, and said, ‘Ye reject the commandment of God, to establish your own tradition.’ Let us, therefore, my dearly beloved brethren, pray as our God and Master taught us. It is a friendly and familiar way of praying, to beseech God, in his own words, ‘to let the prayer of his Son come to his ears.’ Let the Father hear and acknowledge the words of his Son; when we make our prayers, let him that dwells in our heart, be also in our voice. And forasmuch as we have him our advocate with the Father for our sins, when we sinners pray for the pardon of our sins, let us bring forth the words of our advocate; for, since he has said, that ‘whatever we ask the Father in his name, he will give it us,’ how much more efficaciously shall we obtain what we ask in the name of Christ, if we ask it in his prayer?” He introduces all this discourse with these words: “He that made

Quæ vera magis apud Patrem precatio, quam quæ a Filio, qui est veritas, de ejus ore prolata est? ut aliter orare quam docuit, non ignorantia sola sit, sed et culpa; quando ipse posuerit et dixerit, ‘Rejicitis mandatum Dei, ut traditionem vestram statuatis.’ Oremus itaque, fratres dilectissimi, sicut magister Deus docuit. Amica et familiaris oratio est Deum de suo rogare, ad aures ejus ascendere Christi oratione. Agnoscat Pater Filii sui verba. Quum preceem facimus, qui habitat intus in pectore, ipse sit et in voce. Et quum ipsum habeamus apud Patrem advocatum pro peccatis nostris; quando peccatores pro delictis nostris petimus, advocati nostri verba promamus. Nam quum dicat, ‘quia quodcumque petierimus a Patre in nomine ejus, dabit nobis;’ quanto efficacius impetramus, quod petimus in Christi nomine, si petamus ipsius oratione?—He begins this sermon with these words: Qui fecit vivere, docuit et orare; benignitate ea, scilicet, qua et cetera dare et conferre dignatus est: ut dum prece et oratione, quam Filius docuit, apud Patrem loquimur, facilius audiamur.

us live, taught us to pray, by the same kindness that he confers all other things upon us; that whilst we speak to the Father in the prayer and oraison which the Son taught us, we should more easily be heard." So far was this holy man from thinking the Lord's Prayer a dead form, that could not be offered with the true spirit of prayer, that, on the contrary, he labours with all his might to convince men, that no prayer could be more justly styled worshipping God in spirit and in truth, or with greater advantages be presented to the Father. St. Chrysostom was of the same mind, that praying by the Lord's Prayer might justly be termed "praying by the Spirit," for he uses this as an argument for the Holy Spirit's operation upon us. "If there were no Holy Ghost," says he^u, "we that are believers could not pray to God; for we say, 'Our Father which art in heaven.' As, therefore, we could not say that Jesus was the Lord, so neither could we call God our Father without the Holy Ghost. How does that appear? From the same apostle, who says, 'Because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father.'" And St. Austin^x, expounding those words of the apostle (Rom. viii. 26), "We know not what to pray for as we ought, but the Spirit helpeth our infirmities," concludes, "that the Spirit's helping and teaching them to pray as they ought, could not mean his helping them to new words and expressions; for both the apostle, and they to whom he wrote, were well acquainted already with the Lord's Prayer, so that there could be no want of the Spirit's assistance in that respect. But the want was this: men are commonly ignorant of the real benefit of temporal tribulation and affliction, which tends either to cure the tumour of pride, or exercise and try men's patience, and crown it with a greater reward, or else to chastise and abolish such other sins as they are subject to. Men being ignorant of these advantages, are usually most inclined to ask a perfect freedom and immunity from temporal affliction; but the Spirit corrects this ignorance, and helps

^u Chrysostom. Hom. xxxvi. in Pentecost. See note (y) p. 281.

^x Aug. Epist. cxxi. ad Probam, c. xiv. (Bened. 1679. vol. ii. p. 391. F 3.)
Neque enim ullo modo credendum est, vel ipsum, vel quibus ista dicebat,
Dominicam nescisse Orationem.

this infirmity, and teaches men rather to ask patience of God, and submission to his will, that they may not think themselves neglected of God, though he do not remove such afflictions, but with a devout and pious patience hope for greater good arising from them." This is St. Austin's exposition of that famous passage of the apostle, concerning the assistance of the Spirit in prayer; by which he is so far from derogating from the Lord's Prayer, as void of the Spirit, that he supposes the very knowledge of it to be antecedently a work of the Spirit. And he says further ^y, "that when men believe, and hope, and desire, and consider the things they ask of God in the Lord's Prayer, they are then qualified with those graces of the Spirit, faith, hope, and charity, which are necessary to bring a pious votary to God." Men that say such things as these of the Lord's Prayer, could not conceive any mean thing about it, derogatory to the spirit of prayer; but must be presumed to entertain the most high and venerable notions of it, of any that can possibly be imagined.

SECT. IX.—*And the Use of it a peculiar Privilege, allowed only to Communicants and perfect Christians.*

And that they did so, is evident from one thing further, very observable in the ancient discipline and practice; that is, that then the use of the Lord's Prayer was not a mark of infamy or reproach, but an honorary privilege, allowed to none but communicants, or complete and perfect Christians. For, as I have had occasion to remark once or twice, in former parts of this work ^z, all catechumens, or persons unbaptized, were absolutely debarred from the use of this prayer; they were not allowed to call God 'Our Father,' till they were regenerated and made sons by the waters of baptism. I have noted several passages out of St. Austin, St. Chrysostom, and Theodoret, to this purpose, which need not here be repeated. To these I shall only add one passage out of Chrysostom, in his Homily upon the Paralytic ^a, where, speaking of baptism,

^y Ibid. c. xiii. (Bened. 1679. p. 391. D 10.) Fides ergo, et spes, et caritas ad Deum perducunt orantem, hoc est, credentem, sperantem, desiderantem, et que petat a Domino in Dominica Oratione considerantem.

^z Book i. chap. iv. sect. vii. and Book x. chap. v. sect. ix.

^a Chrysostom. Hom. lxii. See note (o) p. 309.

he says, “ Before we have washed away our sins in the font of the holy waters, we cannot call God ‘ Our Father ;’ but when we return from thence, having put off the load of our sins, then we say, ‘ Our Father which art in heaven.’ ” And upon this account, as has been also noted before, this prayer was peculiarly called εὐχὴ πιστῶν, ‘ the prayer of communicants or believers,’ because none had a right to use this prayer, but only such as had a right to communicate at the altar, and there hear it daily repeated.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE USE OF HABITS, AND GESTURE, AND OTHER RITES
AND CEREMONIES IN THE SERVICE OF THE ANCIENT
CHURCH.

SECT. I.—*No certain Evidence for the use of distinct Habits in the Apostolical Age, or the two following.*

THE next things to be spoken of are the circumstances and ceremonies of habits, gestures, and times appropriated to divine service. Of all these it may be said in general, that, as they are matters of indifferent usage in their own nature, so the Church used her liberty in the appointment and observation of them. The writers of the Romish Church, Baronius, Du Saussay, and Bona, who will have every ceremony to be apostolical, pretend that the apostles themselves wore a distinct habit in all their sacred ministrations. Bona is very confident that St. Paul’s cloak which he left at Troas^a was a sacerdotal vestment. And others speak of St. Peter’s *Planeta*, which is said to be sent from Antioch to Paris, and kept there as a sacred relic in the temple of St. Genouesa. And others mention St. John’s, which is said to be sent to Gregory the Great. But Bona himself will not undertake to

^a Bona, *Rer. Liturgic. lib. i. c. xxiv. n. i.* (Antwerp. 1677. p. 448.) *Huc pertinet penula, a Paulo Troade relicta, quam fuisse vestem sacerdotalem suo loco indicabo.*

vouch for these, because of the silence of all ancient writers about them^b. Yet he is very angry with Nicolas Alemanius, for saying^c, “that neither the apostles nor apostolical men used any sacred vestments; and that the opinion which maintains it, is to be exploded as ridiculous, and what is rejected by learned men.” Vicecomes was a diligent inquirer into antiquity; and yet he could find no ground for this assertion, but has some arguments against it, which Bona is put to answer. And, till some better arguments can be produced to support it, I think it most prudent to leave uncertain tradition to shift for itself, and proceed to an age wherein we have more light and certainty in the matter.

SECT. II.—*What Evidence there is for them in the Fourth Century.*

In the beginning then of the fourth age, when the Church was quietly composed by Constantine, and settled in peace, we are sure a distinction was made in the habits and vestments of divine service. For Constantine^d himself is said to have given a rich vestment embroidered with gold to Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem, to be worn by him when he celebrated the service of baptism. And it was one of the accusations that the Arians

^b Ibid. lib. i. c. v. n. ii. (p. 342.) Planetæ S. Petri, ab Antiochia Parisios delatæ, et in templo S. Genouesæ collocatæ, meminit in vita S. Hugonis Cluniacensis alter Hugo, ejusdem monasterii monachus apud Surium die xxix. Aprilis. Sacram item vestem sancti Joannis Evangelistæ Gregorio Magno transmissam refert Joannes Diaconus in ejus vita, (lib. iii. c. lix.) Sunt et aliæ quædam historiæ de vestibus Apostolorum, quibus in oblatione divini sacrificii usi fuisse dicuntur, quarum dubia est fides, tum propter antiquitatem, tum propter Veterum de illis silentium.

^c Bona. (Antverp. p. 342.) Audacius quam par esset, Nicolaus Alemannius (in dissertatione de Parietinis Lateranensibus, c. ix.) sacrarum vestium usum non solum Apostolis, sed etiam Apostolicis viris abnegat: idque ait explodendum esse tamquam ridiculum, et aî omnibus viris doctis improbari. Nimia prorsus audacia. Nemo enim negabit viros doctos fuisse Valdensem, Democarem, Baronium, Stapletonium, Saussayum, et alios contrariæ sententiæ adsertores.

^d Theodoret. lib. ii. c. xxvii. (Cambr. p. 110.) Τὴν ἱεράν στολήν ἣν ὁ πανεύφημος Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίαν γεραίρων, δεδώκει τῷ Μακαρίῳ τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης ἀρχιερεῖ, ἵνα ταύτην περιβαλλόμενος, τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βαπτίσματος ἐπιτελῆ λειτουργίαν ἐκ χρυσῶν δὲ αὐτῆ κατεσκεύαστο νημάτων.

afterward brought against Cyril, that he had sold it. Valesius^e thinks that it was not intended for an ordinary habit, whenever the bishop celebrated the office of baptism; but only when he performed the service of the great day of our Lord's baptism, which was the festival of Epiphany, held in great veneration at Jerusalem. This is not so likely in my opinion: but be it as it will, it makes no alteration in the case; for still it was a sacred vestment to be used in the celebration of the liturgy of divine service, which is enough to the present purpose. Not long after, we find Athanasius accused by his enemies for laying a tax upon the Egyptians, to raise a fund for the linen vestments of the Church. The thing is mentioned both by Athanasius himself^f, and Sozomen^g, the one calling them 'linen *sticharia*,' and the other 'linen *tunicles*,' which are the same thing. Where, we are to observe, that the accusation was not that he used such vestments in the church, but only that he laid a tax upon the people to provide them; which supposes them to be in use, else there had been no colour or foundation for such a charge against him. St. Jerome often mentions this distinction of habits as generally observed in his time. I urge not those words which he has in his commentary upon Ezekiel^h: "The religion of God has one habit in its ministry, and another for the common uses of life:" because I think he is there speaking of the Jewish priests, in opposition to the idol-priests of Isis and Serapis. But what he says in his book against Pelagius, plainly relates to the

^e Vales. in loc. Hunc locum de baptismi sacramento intellexerunt interpretes. Ego vero de festo Epiphaniarum die malim intelligere, quo Christus in Jordane est baptizatus. Hunc enim diem præcipuo honore colebant Hierosolymitani, eo quod apud ipsos Christus tinctus fuisset: eoque die infantes baptizari apud illos solebant, ut legere memini in Typico Monasterii sancti Sabæ, ubi etiam officium illius diei refertur.

^f Athanas. Apol. ii. p. 778. (p. 178, Paris. 1698.) Πλάττονται πρώτην κατηγορίαν . . . περί στιχαρίων λινῶν, ὡς ἐμοῦ κανόνα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπιβαλόντος, καὶ πρώτους αὐτοὺς ἀπαιτήσαντος.

^g Sozom. lib. ii. c. xxii. (Aug. T. 1746. p. 68. C 3.) Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ πρώτην ὑπομένει γραφὴν ὡς χιτωνίων λινῶν φόρον ἐπιτιθεῖς Αἰγυπτίοις, καὶ παρὰ τῶν κατηγόρων τοιοῦτον δασμὸν εἰσπραξάμενος.

^h Hieron. Comment. in Ezech. c. xliv. p. 668, edit. Basil. 1565. (Venet. 1766.) Religio alterum habitum habet in ministerio, alterum in usu vitæ communi.

Christiansⁱ: “What harm or enmity, I pray, is it against God, if I use a more cleanly garment; if a bishop, presbyter, or deacon, or any other of the ecclesiastical order, come forth in a white vestment, when they administer the sacraments?” He says also, in his epitaph upon Nepotian^j, “that Nepotian, for his ordinary wearing, used the *pallium*, ‘the cloak that was in common use among Christian philosophers:’ but in his ministrations he used a tunicle, which he ordered his uncle Heliodore to send as his legacy to St. Jerome.” St. Chrysostom also intimates, that the deacons wore a peculiar habit in their ministrations, when he says^k, “Their honour, crown, and glory, did not consist so much in their walking about the church in a white and shining garment, as in their power to repel unworthy communicants from the Lord’s table.” This implies that they had a distinct habit, when they ministered in divine service. And so it is remarked by Sozomen, when, speaking of the assault that was made upon the Church by the enemies of Chrysostom, he says^l, “The priests and deacons were beaten and driven out of the church, as they were in the vestments of their ministration.” And there is among St. Chrysostom’s works a homily upon the prodigal son, written by Severianus, bishop of Gabala, contemporary with St. Chrysostom; who, speaking of the deacons ministering in the sacred mysteries, says^m, “They resembled the wings of angels, with their veils, or tippetts, on their left shoulders, running about the church, and crying out, ‘Let none of the

ⁱ Ibid. lib. i. cont. Pelag. (Bened. Veron. vol. ii. p. 713.) *Quæ sunt, rogo, inimicitie contra Deum, si tunicam habuero mundiorem? Si episcopus, presbyter, diaconus, et reliquus ordo ecclesiasticus, in administratione sacrificarum, candida veste processerit?*

^j Ibid. Epist. iii. ad Heliodor. (vol. i. p. 341.) *Apprehensa avunculi manu, ‘Hanc,’ inquit, ‘tunicam, qua utebar in ministerio Christi, mitte dilectissimo mihi, ætate patri, fratri collegio.’—It. Epist. ad Præsid. Diacon. Difficile est locum Stephani implere, et populos subjacentes candenti desuper veste despiciere.*

^k Chrysostom. Hom. lxxxii. al. lxxxiii. in Matth. (Bened. 1718. vol. vii. p. 789. D 6.) *Τοῦτο ὑμῶν ἀξία, τοῦτο ἡ ἀσφάλεια, τοῦτο ὁ στέφανος, οὐχ ἵνα λευκὸν χιτωνίσκον καὶ ἀποστίλβοντα περιβαλλόμενοι περιήητε.*

^l Sozom. lib. viii. c. xxi. (Cambr. p. 352.) *Ἱερέων δὲ καὶ διακόνων τυπτομένων τε, καὶ πρὸς βίαν ὡς εἶχον σχήματος ἐλαυνομένων.*

^m Chrysostom. Hom. xxxvii. de Filio Prodigio. See note (m) p. 285.

catechumens be present at the celebration of the mysteries,'” &c. In like manner, Nazianzen, in his vision of the Church of Anastasia, represents the deacons standingⁿ ἐν εἵμασι παμφανόωσιν, ‘in their bright and shining garments.’ And in his will he leaves to his deacon Evagrius [Eutrophus?] a κάμασον and a στιχάριον, which were then the common names for these ‘surplices,’ or ‘white garments,’ used in divine service^o. The Council of Laodicea has two canons concerning the little habit called the *orarium*^p, which was a ‘scarf, or tippet,’ to be worn upon the shoulders, and might be used by bishops, presbyters, and deacons, but not by subdeacons, singers, or readers, who are expressly debarred the use of it in that council. The fourth Council of Carthage^q speaks of the *alba*, or ‘surplice,’ which the deacon is ordered to wear, when the oblation is made, or the lessons are read. The Council of Narbo^r mentions the same. The first Council of Braga speaks of the *tunica* and the *orarium*^s as both belonging to deacons; and the third council of Braga^t orders priests to wear the *orarium* on both shoulders, when they ministered at the altar. By which we learn, that the *tunica*, or ‘surplice,’ was common to all the clergy; the *orarium* on the left shoulder

ⁿ Nazianz. Somn. Athanas. tom. ii. p. 78.

Οἱ δ' ἄρ' ὑποδρηστήρεις ἐν εἵμασι παμφανόωσιν
Ἔστασαν, ἀγγελικῆς εἰκόνας ἀγλαΐης.

^o Id. in Testamento, ap. Brisson. de Formulis, lib. vii. plagula RRRR. col. 1, p. 671, (verius, p. 681,) lin. 30, 31, (edit. Francof. 1592.) Εὐτρόφῳ . . . βούλομαι, δοθῆναι κάμασον ἕνα, καὶ στιχάρια β', πάλλια γ', κ. τ. λ.

^p Conc. Laodic. c. xxii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1499.) “Οτι οὐ δεῖ ὑπηρέτην ὠράριον φορεῖν, οὐδὲ τὰς θύρας ἐγκαταλμπάνειν.— Can. xxiii. “Οτι οὐ δεῖ ἀναγνώστας ἢ ψάλτας ὠράριον φορεῖν, καὶ οὕτως ἀναγνώσκειν καὶ ψάλλειν.

^q Conc. Carth. IV. c. xli. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1203.) Ut diaconus, tempore oblationis tantum vel lectionis, alba utatur.

^r Conc. Narbon. an. 589, c. xii. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1020.) . . . Nec diaconus, aut subdiaconus certe, vel lector, antequam missa consummetur, alba se præsumat exuere.

^s Conc. Bracar. I. c. xxvii. (Labbe, Conc. II. c. ix. tom. v. p. 841.) Placuit, ut quia in aliquantis hujus provincie ecclesiis diacones absconsis infra tunicam utuntur orariis, ita ut nihil differre a subdiacono videantur, de cetero superposito scapulæ, sicut decet, utantur orario.

^t Conc. Bracar. III. c. iii. (Labbe, Conc. IV. c. iv. tom. vi. p. 564.) Quum sacerdos ad solemnia missarum accedit, aut pro se Deo sacrificium oblaturus, aut sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi sumturus, non aliter accedat, quam orario utroque humero circumseptus.

proper to deacons; and on both shoulders the distinguishing badge of priests.

The fourth Council of Toledo is most particular in these distinctions; for, in one Canon it says, “that if a bishop, presbyter, or deacon be unjustly degraded, and be found innocent by a synod, yet they shall not be what they were before, unless they receive the degrees they had lost, from the hands of the bishop before the altar. If he be a bishop ^u, he must receive his *orarium*, his ring, and his staff; if a presbyter, his *orarium* and *planeta*; if a deacon, his *orarium* and *alba*.” And in another canon ^x, “that the deacon shall wear but one *orarium*; and that upon his left shoulder, wherewith he is to give the signal of prayers to the people.” Where we may observe also the reason of the name *orarium* in the ecclesiastical sense, *ab orando*, ‘from praying;’ though, in common acceptation it signifies no more than a handkerchief to wipe the face, and so comes from *ore*, in which signification it is sometimes used by St. Ambrose ^y, and St. Austin ^z, as well as by the old Roman authors. But here we take it in the ecclesiastical sense, for a sacred habit appropriated to bishops, priests, and deacons, in the solemnities of divine service; in which sense it appears to have been a habit distinct from that of civil and common use, by all the authorities that have been mentioned. The author of the Questions upon

^u Conc. Toletan. IV. c. xxviii. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1714.) *Episcopus, presbyter, aut diaconus, si a gradu suo injuste dejectus, in sancta synodo innocens reperitur, non potest esse quod fuerat, nisi gradus amissos recipiat coram altario de manu episcoporum. Si episcopus est, orarium, annulum, et baculum: si presbyter, orarium et planetam: si diaconus, orarium et albam.*

^x Conc. Toletan. IV. c. xl. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1716.) *Orariis duobus, nec episcopo quidem licet, nec presbytero uti, quanto [magis] minus diacono, qui minister eorum est. Unum igitur orarium oportet Levitam gestare in sinistro humero, propter quod orat, id est, prædicat.*

^y *Ambros. de Fide Resurrectionis in Satyri Fratris sui Obitu.* (Paris. 1836. vol. iv. p. 167.) *Audivit defunctus (Lazarus), et exivit foras de monumento, ligatus pedes et manus institis, et facies ejus orario colligata erat.—Id. Epist. liv. ad Marcell. Soror.* (Paris. 1661. vol. v. p. 316. M 4.) *Quanta oraria jactantur? Quanta indumenta super reliquias sacratissimas et tactu ipso medicabilia repossuntur?*

^z *Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. xxii. c. viii.* (Bened. 1679. vol. vii. p. 667. F.) *Tunc, sicut poterit, oculum lapsum atque pendentem, loco suo revocatum ligavit orario.*

the Old and New Testament, under the name of St. Austin, speaks also of the *dalmatica*^a, as worn both by the bishops and deacons: but whether it was then a garment of sacred use, is not said by him or any other ancient writer that I know of; and therefore I content myself with the proofs already alleged, as sufficient to show that, in the fourth age, a plain distinction of habits was made in the sacred service of the Church.

SECT. III.—*Four Postures of Devotion allowed of by the Ancients: First, Standing, which was particularly enjoined on the Lord's Day, and all the time between Easter and Pentecost.*

The next considerable circumstance in their worship was the posture observed in their addresses and adorations of God; and of this we find four kinds generally practised and allowed, viz. standing, kneeling, bowing, and prostration. For sitting, which some add as a fifth sort, was never allowed by the ancients as an ordinary posture of devotion. Standing was the general observation of the whole Church on the Lord's day, and the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost, in memory of our Saviour's resurrection. This custom may be traced as high as Irenæus, who derives it from apostolical authority: for the author, under the name of Justin Martyr, gives this account of the use of both postures in prayer^b; “Forasmuch as we ought to remember both our fall by sin, and the grace of Christ, by which we rise again from our fall, therefore, we

^a Ibid. Quæst. Vet. et Nov. Test. quæst. iv. vol. iii. Quasi non hodie diaconi dalmaticis induantur sicut episcopi.

^b Justin. Quæst. et Respons. ad Orthodox. quæst. cxv. (Paris. 1742. p. 490.) Ἐπειδὴ ἀμφοτέρων ἐχρῆν ἡμᾶς ἀεὶ μεμνήσθαι, καὶ τῆς ἐν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις πτώσεως ἡμῶν, καὶ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡμῶν, δι' ἧς ἐκ τῆς πτώσεως ἀνέστημεν· διὰ τοῦτο ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἐξ ἡμέραις ἡμῶν γονυκλισία σύμβολόν ἐστι τῆς ἐν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις πτώσεως ἡμῶν· τὸ δὲ ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ μὴ κλίνειν γόνυ, σύμβολόν ἐστι τῆς ἀναστάσεως, δι' ἧς τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάριτι, τῶν τε ἀμαρτημάτων, καὶ τοῦ ἐπ' αὐτῶν τεθνατωμένου θανάτου ἠλευθερώθημεν· ἐκ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν δὲ χρόνων ἢ τοιαύτη συνήθεια ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν, καθὼς φησιν ὁ μακάριος Εἰρηναῖος ὁ μάρτυς καὶ ἐπίσκοπος Λουγδούνου, ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Πάσχα λόγῳ, ἐν ᾧ μέμνηται καὶ περὶ τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς, ἐν ᾗ οὐ κλινόμεν γόνυ, ἐπειδὴ ἰσοδυναμεῖ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κυριακῆς, κατὰ τὴν ῥηθεῖσαν περὶ αὐτῆς αἰτίαν.

pray kneeling six days, as a symbol of our fall by sin ; but our not kneeling on the Lord's day is a symbol of the resurrection, whereby, through the grace of Christ, we are delivered from our sins, and from death that is mortified thereby. And this custom took its original from the times of the apostles, as St. Irenæus says in his book concerning Easter, wherein he also makes mention of Pentecost, during which time we kneel not, because it is of the same nature with the Lord's day, according to the reason that has been given." Not long after, Tertullian^c speaks of it as an observation among many others handed down from ancient tradition. And Cyprian^d may be supposed to hint it, when he speaks of their standing in prayer.

It is mentioned also by Clemens of Alexandria^e, and Peter^f, bishop of Alexandria, who died some years before the Council of Nice. He says, "We keep the Lord's day as a day of joy, because then our Lord rose from the dead, and our tradition is not to kneel on that day." In the time of the Council of Nice, there was some disagreement about this practice, and, therefore, that council made a canon to bring all Churches to an uniformity in this matter^g ; "Because there are some who kneel on the Lord's day, and in the days of Pentecost, that all

^c Tertul. de' Coron. Mil. c. iii. (Oberthür. vol. i. p. 207.) Die Dominico jejunium nefas ducimus, vel geniculis adorare. Eadem immunitate a die Paschæ in Pentecosten usque gaudemus.

^d Cyprian. de Orat. (Oxon. 1682. p. 152.) (p. 107, edit. Fell. Amstelod.) Quando stamus ad orationem, fratres dilectissimi, vigilare et incumbere ad preces toto corde debemus.

^e Clement. Stromat. vii. (Oberthür, vol. iii. p. 434.) Ταύτη καὶ προσανα-
τείνομεν τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν αἶρομεν, τοὺς τε πόδας
ἐπεγείρομεν κατὰ τὴν τελευταίαν τῆς εὐχῆς συνεκφώνησιν, ἐπακολουθοῦντες
τῇ προθυμίᾳ τοῦ πνεύματος εἰς τὴν νοητὴν οὐσίαν· καὶ συναφιστάνειν
τῷ λόγῳ τὸ σῶμα τῆς γῆς πειρώμενοι, μετάρσιον ποιησάμενοι τὴν ψυχὴν
ἐπτερωμένην τῷ πύθῳ τῶν κρειττόνων, ἐπὶ τὰ ἅγια χωρεῖν βιαζόμεθα,
τοῦ δεσμοῦ καταμεγαλοφρονοῦντες τοῦ σαρκικοῦ.

^f Pet. Alex. c. xv. (Bever. vol. ii. p. 23.) Κυριακὴν δὲ χαρμοσύνης ἡμέραν
ἄγομεν, διὰ τὸν ἀναστάνα ἐν αὐτῇ, ἐν ᾗ οὐδὲ γόνατα κλίνειν παρειλή-
φαμεν.

^g Conc. Nicæn. c. xx. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 246.) Ἐπειδὴ τινὲς εἰσι ἐν τῇ
κυριακῇ γόνα κλίνοντες, καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς ἡμέραις ὑπὲρ τοῦ
πάντα ὁμοίως ἐν πάσῃ παροικίᾳ ὁμοφρόνως φυλάττεσθαι, ἐστῶτας ἔδοξε τῇ
ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀποδίδοναι τῷ Θεῷ.

things may be uniformly performed in every parish or diocese, it seems good to the holy synod that prayers be made to God standing.” After this^h, St. Hilary speaks of it again as an apostolical practice, neither to fast nor worship kneeling on the Lord’s day, or the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost. Epiphanius saysⁱ, “that, on the appointed days, they prayed kneeling; but during the whole fifty days of Pentecost, they neither fasted nor kneeled.” St. Jerome^k reckons it among the traditions of the universal Church, neither to fast nor kneel on the Lord’s day or Pentecost. St. Austin is a little doubtful as to the practice of the Church universal^l; but he assures us, that, as far as he knew, all Churches in Afric forbore fasting, and prayed standing, and sung hallelujah at the altar every Lord’s day, and all the days of Pentecost, in token of our Saviour’s resurrection. We find the same in St. Basil^m, who derives it from apostolical practice. And Cassianⁿ testifies of the Egyptian Churches, that from Saturday night to

^h Hilar. Prolog. in Psalm. (Paris. 1693, p. 8. A 2.) *Hæc quidem sabbata sabbatorum ea ab apostolis religione celebrata sunt, ut his Quinquagesimæ diebus nullus neque in terram strato corpore adoraret, neque jejunio festivitatem spiritualis hujus beatitudinis impediret: quod id ipsum etiam extrinsecus in diebus Dominicis est constitutum.*

ⁱ Epiphanius. Exposit. Fid. n. xxii. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 1105. A 2.) . . . *δίχα μόνης τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς ὄλης τῶν πενήκοντα ἡμερῶν, ἐν αἷς οὔτε γονυκλισία γίνονται, οὔτε νηστεία προστέτακται.*

^k Hieron. Dialog. cont. Lucifer. c. iv. (Venet. 1766. vol. ii. p. 180.) *Die Dominico et omni Pentecoste, nec de geniculis adorare, et jejunium solvere soleant.*

^l Aug. Epist. cxix. ad Januar. c. xvii. (Bened. 1679. vol. ii. p. 141. E.) *Ut autem stantes in illis diebus et omnibus Dominicis oremus, utrum ubique servetur, ignoro.—Ibid. c. xv. (p. 139. E 7.) Propter hoc et jejunia relaxantur, et stantes oramus; quod est signum resurrectionis. Unde etiam omnibus diebus Dominicis id ad altare observatur, et Halleluia canitur.*

^m Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. c. xxvii. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 56.) *Ὁρθοὶ μὲν πληροῦμεν τὰς εὐχὰς, ἐν τῇ μιᾷ τοῦ σαββάτου τὸν δὲ λόγον οὐ πάντες οἶδαμεν οὐ γὰρ μόνον ὡς συναναστάντες Χριστῷ, καὶ τὰ ἄνω ζητεῖν ὀφείλοντες, ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσιμῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς διδομένης ἡμῖν χάριτος διὰ τῆς κατὰ τὴν προσευχὴν στάσεως ἑαυτοὺς ὑπομνήσκομεν ἀλλ’ ὅτι δοκεῖ πως τοῦ προσδοκώμενου αἰῶνος εἶναι εἰκῶν.*

ⁿ Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. c. xviii. (Atrebat. p. 39.) *Hoc quoque nosse debemus, a vespera sabbati, quæ lucescit in diem Dominicum, usque ad vesperam sequentem, apud Ægyptios genua non curvari; sed nec totis quidem Quinquagesimæ diebus, nec custodiri in eis jejuniorum regulam.*

Sunday night, and all the days of Pentecost, they neither kneeled nor fasted. And, in another place °, he gives the reason of this ; because kneeling was a sign of deep repentance and mourning, which they omitted on those days, out of respect and reverence to our Saviour's resurrection. Hence it was that the author of the Constitutions ^p makes it one of his apostolical orders, that "all men should pray three times, or three prayers, on the Lord's day, standing, in memory of him who rose the third day from the dead." And from hence came that usual form so often mentioned by St. Chrysostom ^q and others, of the deacons calling upon the people in prayer, ὀρθῶς στῶμεν καλῶς, "Let us stand upright with reverence and decency;" alluding to the posture then commonly used in prayer on the Lord's day. How long this custom continued in the Church, is not easy to determine : but we may observe it to be mentioned by Martin Bracarenis ^r in the sixth century, and the Council of Trullo ^s, in the seventh century, and

° Ibid. Collat. lib. xxi. c. xx. (p. 795.) Ideo in istis diebus (a Paschate ad Pentecosten) nec in genua in oratione curvantur, quia inflexio genuum velut pœnitentiæ ac luctus indicium est. Unde etiam per omnia eandem in illis solemnitatem, quam die Dominica custodimus, in qua majores nostri, nec jejunium agendum, nec genu esse flectendum, ob reverentiam resurrectionis Dominicæ tradiderunt.

^p Constitut. lib. ii. c. lix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 299.) Ἐν ἧ καὶ τρεῖς εὐχὰς ἐστῶτες ἐπιτελοῦμεν, μνήμης χάριν τοῦ διὰ τριῶν ἀναστάστος ἡμερῶν.

^q Chrysostom. Hom. xxix. de Incomprehens. Dei Natur. See note (t) p. 269. — It. Hom. ii. in 2 Cor. (Bened. vol. x. p. 435.) Στῶμεν καλῶς, δεηθῶμεν.

^r Martin. Bracar. Collect. Can. c. lvii. (Labbe, vol. v.) Si quis presbyter, propter publicam pœnitentiam a sacerdote acceptam, aut aliqua necessitate, die Dominica pro quadam religione jejunaverit, sicut Manichæi, anathema sit. Similiter et quod ab apostolis traditum canon tenet antiquus, placuit ut per omnes Dominicas quam per omnes dies Paschæ, usque ad quinquagesimam, non prostrati nec humiliati, sed erecto vultu ad Dominum fungantur orationum officio ; quia in his diebus gaudium resurrectionis Dominicæ celebramus.

^s Conc. Trull. c. xc. (Labbe, vol. vi. p. 1179.) Ταῖς κυριακαῖς μὴ γόνυ κλίνειν ἐκ τῶν θεοφόρων ἡμῶν πατέρων κανονικῶς παρελάβομεν, τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ τιμῶντες ἀνάστασιν· ὡς ἂν οὖν μὴ ἀγνοῶμεν τὸ σαφές τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦτο παρατηρήσεως, δῆλον τοῖς πιστοῖς καθιστῶμεν, ὥστε μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ ἐσπερινὴν τῶν ἱερωμένων πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον εἰσοδοῦν, κατὰ τὸ κρατοῦν ἔθος, μηδένα γόνυ κλίνειν μέχρι τῆς ἐφεξῆς κατὰ τὴν κυριακὴν ἐσπέρας, καθ' ἣν μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ λυχνικῷ εἰσοδοῦν αὐτῆς τὰ γόνατα κάμπτοντες, οὕτω τὰς εὐχὰς τῷ Κυρίῳ προσάγομεν.

the third Council of Tours ^t, in the time of Charles the Great. Nor do we meet with any exception to this rule all this time, save only one relating to the penitents, or those that were under the discipline of the Church; who being, by their falling into scandalous sins, reduced to a state of penance, were not allowed this privilege of standing at prayers on the Lord's day; but were obliged, in token of their humiliation, to kneel at all times, not excepting the days of relaxation, as the fourth Council of Carthage ^u words it in a canon made in this behalf. And so we have seen the concurrent testimony of all writers for the antiquity and universality of this practice.

SECT. IV.—*Secondly, Kneeling at all other Times, especially on the Stationary Days and other Times of Devotion.*

At other times, kneeling was the most common and ordinary posture of devotion. This may be concluded from the former exception of the Lord's day and Pentecost from this posture: for that implies, that at other times they used a different posture in their addresses to God. This was the usual posture of their ordinary morning and evening service on the weekly days, and on the stationary or fast-days; which were called 'stationary days;' not from their standing at prayer, but from their continuing and prolonging the exercise in imitation of the military stations. The only difference between these days and the Lord's day was, that, on the Lord's day, all prayers were performed standing; but on other days, some were said standing, some kneeling. In this sense we must understand St. Chrysostom ^x, when he speaks of the people's falling on the ground when they said the prayer for the whole state of the Church, and their rising again at the

^t Conc. Turon. III. c. xxxvii. (Labbe, vol. vii. p. 1267.) Sciendum est, quod exceptis diebus Dominicis et illis solemnitatibus, quibus et universalis ecclesia, ob recordationem Dominicæ resurrectionis solet stando orare, fixis in terra genibus, suppliciter Dei elementiam nobis profuturam, nostrorumque criminum indulgentiam deprecandum est.

^u Conc. Carth. IV. c. lxxxii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1206.) Pœnitentes etiam diebus remissionis genua flectant.

^x Chrysostom. Hom. xviii. in 2 Cor. (Bened. 1718. vol. x. p. 568. C 7.) 'Ἐτίραν δὲ γενέσθαι εὐχὴν, καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως ἐπ' ἐδάφους κείμεθα, καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως ἀνιστάμεθα.

bishop's invocation. And so the author of the Constitutions^y represents them kneeling at the first prayer, and standing up at the second. In like manner Cassian says^z, "The people performed their private prayers kneeling, and then rose up to the minister's collect or prayer, in which all joined standing." This is to be understood of their prayers on ordinary days, and not of the Lord's day, on which (as we have seen before), all their prayers were performed standing. As to the posture of kneeling upon other occasions, it would be endless to cite all the testimonies that may be alleged for it. It was so common among them, that the author of the Acts of Thecla^a gives prayer the name of κλίσις γονάτων, 'bending the knees.' And Arnobius, when he would describe to the heathen the manner of Christians' performing their divine offices to God, does it by saying^b, "they all fell down upon the earth, as their custom was, and made their common prayers to him." Eusebius, speaking of the great devotion of St. James, bishop of Jerusalem, says^c, "He was wont to go into the temple alone, and there pray assiduously upon his knees, making intercession for the sins of the people, till his knees were grown as hard and callous as those of camels, by continual exercise of his

^y Constitut. lib. viii. c. ix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 470.) "Ὅσοι πιστοὶ, κλίνωμεν γόνυ, δεηθῶμεν τοῦ Θεοῦ, διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ.— Id. c. x. 'Εγειρώμεθα, δεηθέντες ἐκτενῶς, ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἀλλήλους τῷ ζῶντι Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ παραθώμεθα.

^z Cassian. Instit. lib. ii. c. vii. (Atrebat. p. 27.) Post hæc puncto brevissimo proidentes humi, velut adorantes tantam divinam elementiam, summa velocitate consurgunt, ac rursus erecti expansis manibus eodem modo, quo prius stantes oraverant, suis precibus intentius immorantur. Humi namque diutius procumbentem, non solum cogitationibus aiunt, verum etiam somno gravius impugnari. . . . Quum autem is qui orationem collecturus est, e terra surrexerit, omnes pariter eriguntur, ita ut nullus, nec antequam inclinetur ille, genu flectere, nec cum e terra surrexerit, remorari præsumat, etc.

^a Acta Theclæ ap. Grabe Spicileg. vol. i. p. 96. Εἰσελθόντος τοῦ Παύλου εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Ὀνησιφόρου, ἐγένετο χαρὰ μεγάλη, καὶ κλίσις γονάτων, καὶ κλάσις ἄρτου, κ. τ. λ.

^b Arnob. lib. i. (Orell. 1816. vol. i. p. 18.) Hæc totius summa est actionis, hic propositus terminus divinatorum officiorum, hic finis, huic omnes ex more prosternimur, hunc collatis precibus adoramus.

^c Euseb. lib. ii. c. xxiii. (Cambr. p. 78.) Μόνος εἰσήρχετο εἰς τὸν ναόν ἠύρσκετό τε κείμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασι, καὶ αἰτούμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ ἄφεισιν ὡς ἀπεσκληκίναί τὰ γόνατα αὐτοῦ δίκην καμήλου, διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ κάμπτειν ἐπὶ γόνυ προσκυνῶντα τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ αἰτεῖσθαι ἄφεισιν τῷ λαῷ.

devotions." And so again, speaking of the Thundering Legion (who in the time of Marcus Aurelius procured rain by their prayers, to save the Roman army, and thunder to destroy their enemies), he says ^d, "They fell upon their knees, as was the usual custom of Christians in their prayers, and so made their supplications to God at the head of the army, as it was going forth to battle." Tertullian had his eye upon this very story, when he tells Scapula ^e, "that the geniculations, or prayers on the bended knee, together with the fastings of Christians, were always effectual in driving away drought and famine." It were easy to give a thousand other instances ^f of the like practice out of the ancient writers; but in a case so clear and uncontested, I think it next to impertinence to trouble my reader with them. I only note, that though these two postures of prayer were very indifferent in their own nature, yet it was always esteemed an instance of great negligence or great perverseness to interchange them unseasonably one for the other:

^d Ibid. lib. v. c. v. 'Εν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους παρατάξει γόνυ θέντας, ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν κατὰ τὸ οἰκείον ἡμῖν τῶν εὐχῶν ἔθος, ἐπὶ τὰς τὸν Θεὸν ἰκεσίας τραπέσθαι.

^e Tertul. ad Scapul. c. iv. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 20.) Marcus Aurelius in Germanica expeditione, Christianorum militum orationibus ad Deum factis, imbres in siti illa impetravit. Quando non geniculationibus et jejunationibus nostris etiam siccitates sunt depulsæ?

^f Vid. Herm. Past. part. i. vis. i. n. i. (Hefele, p. 234.) Genibus positus cœpi orare Dominum.—Clem. Roman. Epist. i. ad Corinth. n. xlviii. (Hefele, p. 94.) Προσπέσωμεν τῷ Δεσπότῃ, καὶ κλαύσωμεν ἰκετεύοντες αὐτὸν, ὅπως ἴλεως γενόμενος ἐπικαταλλαγῇ ἡμῖν.—Passio Ignat. ap. Coteler. tom. ii. p. 176. Cum genuflexione omnium fratrum . . . subductus est cum festinatione in amphitheatrum, etc.—Passio Cyprian. Oxon. p. 13. (pp. 14, 15, Fell. Amstelod.) Genu in terra flexit, et in orationem se Domino prostravit.—Euseb. Vit. Constant. lib. iv. c. lxi. Γόνυ κλίνας ἐπ' ἐδάφους, ἰκέτης ἐγίγνετο τοῦ Θεοῦ.—Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. xxii. c. viii. (Bened. 1679. vol. vii. p. 665. F.) Ubi nobis ex more genua figentibus atque incumbentibus terræ, ille se ita projecit, tamquam fuisset aliquo impellente graviter prostratus, et cœpit orare.—Chrysostom. Hom. xxii. de Ira. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 200. D 6.) Τῶν γονάτων σου χαμαὶ κειμένων, πολλαχοῦ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ τῆς οἰκίας πλανᾶσθαί σου τὴν διάνοιαν ἐῤῥς.—Prudent. Cathemerin. hymn. ii. (Galland. vol. viii. p. 524.)

Te mente pura et simplici,
Te voce, te cantu pio,
Rogare curvato genu,
Flendo et canendo, discimus.

that is, to pray kneeling on the Lord's day, when the Church required standing ; or standing on other days, when the rules and custom of the Church required men to kneel. And, therefore, as the canons of Nice and Trullo reflect upon those who were superstitiously bent upon kneeling on the Lord's day, so others, with equal severity, complain of the remissness and negligence of such as refused to kneel at other times, when the Church appointed it. It is a very indecent and irregular thing, says Cæsarius of Arles^g, " that, when the deacon cries out, ' Let us bend the knee,' the people should then stand erect as pillars, in the church." These were but small observations in themselves, but of great consequence, we see, when done perversely to the scandal and disorder of the Church, whose great rule in all such cases, is that of the apostle, " Let all things be done decently and in order."

SECT. V.—*Thirdly, Bowing down the Head.*

A third posture of devotion was bowing down the head, or an inclination of the body between the postures of standing and kneeling. This was chiefly used in receiving the bishop's or priest's benedictions, in all direct and formal addresses to God for his mercy and favour upon the people, whether catechumens, penitents, or any other. Thus we find in the Constitutions^h, the catechumens are bid to bow the head, in order to receive the bishop's benediction in a form of invocation there appointed to be said over them. So, likewise, the energumens have the same directionⁱ: " Bow down your heads, ye energumens, and receive the benediction." In like manner the candidates of baptism^k and the penitents^l are bid to rise

^g Cæsar. Arelatens. Hom. xxxiv. (Max. Bibl. V. P. vol. viii. p. 853. B 8.) Diacono clamante, ' Flectamus genua,' maximam partem populi, velut columnas, erectos stare conspicio ; quod Christianis, dum in ecclesia oratur, omnino nec licet, nec expedit.

^h Constitut. lib. viii. c. vi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 463. E 6.) Κλίνατε, καὶ εὐλογεῖσθε . . . κλινόντων δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς, εὐλογεῖτω αὐτοὺς ὁ χειροτονηθεὶς ἐπίσκοπος εὐλογίαν τοιάνδε· ὁ Θεὸς παντοκράτωρ, κ. τ. λ.

ⁱ Ibid. Κλίνατε, οἱ ἐνεργούμενοι καὶ εὐλογεῖσθε.

^k Ibid. c. vii. Κατασφραγισάμενοι τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, κλίναντες εὐλογεῖσθωσαν παρὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου.

^l Ibid. c. viii. Ἀναστάντες κλίνατε, καὶ εὐλογεῖσθε.

up, after the deacon's prayer, and bow their heads to receive the benediction. And this may be confirmed out of Chrysostom, who says^m, "The deacon, in the time of the oblation, presented the energumens, and bid them bow their heads only, to indicate, at least by the habit and gesture of the body, that they were in a praying posture." And this he repeats in other placesⁿ, where he particularly speaks of those that were possessed of evil spirits.

SECT. VI.—*Fourthly, Prostration.*

The last posture of devotion was prostration, or lying along, in the humblest manner, upon the ground. This seems to have been the proper posture for extraordinary humiliations, when men had some singular request more earnestly to recommend to God. We often read of Moses, and other saints, falling upon their faces in Scripture, when they were to make some extraordinary intercession for the sins of the people; and, in imitation of them, the same gesture was sometimes used in the Christian Church. Some lapsers, when they sued for admission to a state of penance, did not only fall down upon their knees, but prostrate themselves before the faithful, to beg their prayers as they entered into the church. Which is particularly noted by Socrates^o, of Ecebolius, the sophist; who, having lapsed in the time of Julian, desired favour under Jovian; and the more to move compassion, he put himself into the mournfullest posture, falling upon his face before the gate of the church, and crying out, *Calcate me insipidum sal*, "Tread me under foot as salt that has lost its savour." But this was not the only case in which they used this mournful posture; they also practised it on other occasions, when-

^m Chrysostom. Hom. xxviii. sive iii. de Incomprehensibili Dei Natura. (Ben. vol. i. p. 470. E 3.) Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἐνεργουμένους κατ' ἐκείνον ἴσθησι τὸν καιρὸν ὁ διάκονος, καὶ κελεύει κλίνειν τὴν κεφαλὴν μόνον, καὶ τῷ σχήματι ποιῆσθαι τοῦ σώματος τὰς ἰκετερίας.

ⁿ Ibid. Hom. xxix. tom. i. (vol. i. p. 477. B 2.) Ἔσται δὲ ἡ χάρις, ἃν διδάξωμεν ὑμᾶς, τίνος ἕνεκεν ἐκείνη γίνεται πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἢ εὐχῆ, καὶ τί δήποτε τοὺς δαιμονῶντας, καὶ τῇ μανίᾳ πονηρᾷ κατεχομένους εἰσάγεσθαι κελεύει τότε ὁ διάκονος, καὶ κλίνειν τὰς κεφαλὰς.

^o Soerat. lib. iii. c. xiii. (Cantab. p. 188.) Ῥίψας ἑαυτὸν πρηνῆ πρὸ τῆς πύλης τοῦ εὐκτηρίου οἴκου, Πατήσατέ με, ἰβόα, τὸ ἄλας τὸ ἀναίσθητον.

ever any great necessity urged them with greater ardency to prefer their petitions to God. Thus Socrates observes of Alexander, bishop of Constantinople^p, “that when he was in a great strait about the admission of Arius into the Church, he prostrated himself upon his face under the communion-table, and there prayed to God, for many days and nights together, that God would give some token to determine which of their doctrine was true. If the doctrine of Arius was true, he desired that he himself might not live to see the day appointed for the disputation; but, if his own were true, then he desired that Arius might suffer the punishment due to his impiety.” Which he accordingly did, voiding his entrails, as he had occasion to go to stool, whilst he was going triumphantly to the church. Theodoret makes a like remark upon the behaviour of Theodosius the Great^q, “that when he first entered the church, after he had been for some time excluded by St. Ambrose, he would neither pray to God standing nor kneeling, but prostrate, with his face to the ground, using those words of the psalmist, ‘My soul cleaveth to the dust; oh, quicken thou me according to thy word.’” By which we learn, that this posture was chiefly appropriated to deep humiliations, and expressions of shame or sorrow, upon some very remarkable occasion, but scarce ever used as a general practice of the Church.

SECT. VII.—*Sitting, no allowed Posture of Devotion.*

There is one posture more, which some plead for as a posture of adoration, but it never had any allowance in the practice of the ancient Church; that is, sitting, which Cardinal Perron, and some others in the Romish Church, pretend was the posture in which the apostles received the communion at its first institution: and that this was then a common posture of

^p Ibid. lib. i. c. xxxvii. (Cant. p. 73.) Εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον εἰσελθὼν, ὑπὸ τὴν ἱερὰν τράπεζαν ἐαυτὸν ἐπὶ στόμα ἐκτείνας, εὐχεταὶ δακρῶν, κ. τ. λ.

^q Theodoret. lib. v. c. xviii. al. xix. (Cambr. p. 217.) Οὕτως ὁ πιστότατος βασιλεὺς εἶσω γενέσθαι θαρρήσας τοῦ θεοῦ νεώ, οὐχ ἐστῶς τὸν δεσπότην ἰκέτευεν, οὐδὲ τὰ γόνατα κλινὰς· ἀλλὰ προηνῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ δαπέδου κείμενος, τὴν Δαυϊδικὴν ἀφῆκε φωνὴν, Ἐκολλήθη τῷ ἐδάφει ἡ ψυχὴ μου, ζῆσόν με κατὰ τὸν λόγον σου.

adoration used among the heathens. But the learned Mr. Daillé^r has abundantly exposed this pretence, and showed the falsity of it in every particular; for neither did the heathens sit at their devotions, as the cardinal imposed upon himself by a false interpretation of Plutarch and Tertullian: neither did the apostles communicate sitting, but lying along on beds or couches, which all men know to be a different posture; neither did they worship the eucharist in any posture; neither did the primitive Christians ever use or take sitting for a posture of devotion. Tertullian, indeed, says^s, “There were some superstitious persons in his time, admirers of the book called *Hermas Pastor*, who made it a matter of conscience to sit down for some time *adsignata oratione* ;” that is, ‘not in time of prayer,’ as some falsely render it; but, ‘when prayer was ended,’ because they found the example of the pastor in that book to that purpose; for as he sat down upon a bed after prayer, so they thought themselves obliged to do the same in compliance with his example. But this is no proof of their sitting at prayer, but only after prayer was ended; and that, too, grounded upon a very weak and superstitious opinion, that every circumstance of an action or narration, however indifferent in itself, was to be drawn into example, and to be made matter of necessary duty. According to which way of reasoning, as Tertullian observes, “they must have worshipped no where but where there was a bed; not sat upon a chair or bench, because this would have been a deviation from their example.” He adds, “that the heathens only were used to sit after prayer before their idols,” and for that very reason it was not fit for Christians to imitate^t their practice.

^r Dall. de Objecto Cult. Relig. lib. ii. c. ii. p. 225—228, edit. Genev. 1664.

^s Tertul. de Orat. c. xii. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 30.) (Paris. 1664. p. 134.) Item, quod adsignata oratione adsidendi mos est quibusdam, non perspicio rationem; nisi si Hermas ille, cujus scriptura fere Pastor inscribitur, transacta oratione non super lectum adsedisset, verum aliud quid fecisset, id quoque ad observationem vindicaremus. Utique non: simpliciter enim et nunc positum est, ‘Quum adorassem et adsedissem super lectum,’ ad ordinem narrationis, non ad instar discipline. Alioquin nusquam erit adorandum, nisi ubi fuerit lectus. Immo contra Scripturam fecerit, si quis in cathedra aut subsellio sederit.

^t Tertul. de Orat. c. xii. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 30.) Porro quum perinde

All which shows, that the Christians then were so far from using sitting as a posture of devotion, that they did not think it proper to sit, even after prayer, in the presence of God, whilst an angel of prayer (it is his phrase) stood by them, and because it looked more like a heathenish than a Christian practice.

SECT. VIII.—*Some superstitious Practices in Devotion noted by Tertullian.*

Tertullian, in the same book, takes notice of some other superstitious observations, which some ran into in their devotions in imitation of the heathen. Some thought it necessary to put off their cloaks when they went to prayer; which he condemns as symbolizing with idolaters: for so the heathen^u were used to do in reference to their idols. This was superstition, not religion; and more an affectation and curiosity, than any thing of rational and manly service. Others would not pray without washing the whole body in water, as if that made them more acceptable to God: whereas the true purity was that of the spirit, to lift up holy hands free from deceit, murder, cruelty, witchcraft, idolatry, and other such corruptions^v,

faciant nationes, adoratis sigillaribus suis residendo, vel propterea in nobis reprehendi meretur, quod apud idola celebratur. Eo apponitur et irreverentiæ crimen, etiam ipsis nationibus, si quid saperent, intelligendum. Siquidem irreverens est adsidere sub conspectu contraque conspectum ejus, quem cum maxime reverearis ac venereris; quanto magis sub conspectu Dei vivi, angelo adhuc orationis adstante, factum istud irreligiosissimum est, nisi exprobramus Deo, quod nos oratio fatigaverit!

^u Tertul. de Orat. c. xii. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 30.) Hujusmodi non religioni, sed superstitioni deputantur, adfectata et coëcta, et curiosi potius quam rationalis officii, certe vel eo coërcenda, quod gentilibus adæquent. Ut est quorundam positus penulis, orationem facere: sic enim adeunt ad idola nationes.

^v Ibid. c. xi. (p. 29.) Quæ ratio est, manibus quidem ablutis, spiritu vero sordente orationem obire? quando et ipsis manibus spirituales munditiæ sint necessariae, ut a falso, a cæde, a sævitia, a veneficiis, ab idololatria, ceterisque maculis, quæ spiritu conceptæ manuum opera transiguntur, puræ advenientur. Hæc sunt veræ munditiæ, non quas plerique superstitiose curant, ad omnem orationem etiam cum lavacro totius corporis aquam sumentes. Id quæm scrupulose percontarer et rationem requirerem, comperi commemorationem esse in Domini deditorem. Nos Dominum adoramus, non dedimus; immo et adversari debemus deditoris exemplo, nec propterea manus abluere,

which defile both flesh and spirit. A man that is free from these is always clean, being once washed in the blood of Christ; but he that is inwardly polluted is unclean, though he wash every member of his body every day. It is the superstition of these practices that Tertullian complains of; for, otherwise, the Christians themselves had their fountains before the church in many places, for men to wash their hands, as a matter of decency, before they went to worship God: as has been showed in another place^w. And the evil of such practices consists not in the bare use of such things, but in laying the opinion of necessity upon them, and affixing holiness to the usage, and making them become essential parts of divine service.

SECT. IX.—*That the Ancients uncovered their Head in their Devotions.*

Such practices, therefore, as were attended with superstition, they disclaimed: but retained such other rites and ceremonies, as were either proper expressions of decency in their own nature; or, by their significancy and symbolical use, might be improved to a spiritual advantage. They prayed with the head uncovered, according to the Apostle's direction, as esteeming it a great indecency to do otherwise. So Chrysostom in his comment on the place^x. Tertullian adds another reason in his Apology to the Gentiles^y, "We pray uncovered, because we are not ashamed to appear with open face;" making it a sort of testimony and symbol of their innocency in their addressing God without covering. On the other hand, as both nature and custom had made it decent for women to be covered, so they were very precise in requiring this to be observed,

nisi quod conversationis humanæ inquinamentum, conscientiae causa, lavemus. Ceterum satis mundæ sunt manus, quas cum toto corpore in Christo semel lavimus. Omnibus licet membris lavet quotidie Israël, numquam tamen mundus est.

^w Book viii. chap. iii. sect. vi.

^x Chrysostom. 1 Cor. Hom. xxvi. (Bened. 1718. vol. x. p. 232. B 9.) Τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα οὐκ αἰεὶ ἀναγκάζει ἀκατακάλυπτον εἶναι, ἀλλ' ὅταν εὐχῆται μόνον.

^y Tertul. Apol. c. xxx. (Oberthür, vol. i. p. 110.) Capite nudo, quia non erubescimus, oramus semper pro omnibus imperatoribus, etc.

especially in religious assemblies. Some pleaded an exemption for virgins in the case, which gave occasion to Tertullian to write his book *De Velandis Virginibus*^z, wherein he argues both virgins and matrons to be under the same obligation of being veiled, or covered, in time of divine service: and he severely inveighs against those who hanged a fringe or riband about their heads, and pretended to call that a covering, But some learned persons think he was too severe in this reflection^a, and almost singular in applying it to the case of virgins, who were then allowed a greater liberty in this matter above matrons or married women, by the general discipline of the African Church.

SECT. X.—*And lift up their Hands toward Heaven, sometimes in the Form of a Cross.*

It is more uncontested, what Tertullian observes of another ceremony^b: “That they usually prayed with their arms expanded, and their hands lift up to heaven, and that sometimes in the form of a cross, to represent our Saviour’s passion.” For this is also noted by Minucius, when he says^c, “they worshipped God with a pure mind, and their hands stretched forth in the form of a cross.” And by Asterius Amasenus, in a fragment of his Homily concerning prayer, preserved in Photius, who says, “The Christian represents the passion of

^z Ibid. de Veland. Virgin. c. xvi. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 116.) (Paris. 1664. p. 182.) *Quantum castigationem merebuntur etiam illæ, quæ inter psalmos vel in quacumque Dei mentione relectæ perseverant? Meritone etiam, in oratione ipsa facillime fimbriam, aut villum, aut quodlibet filum cerebro superponunt, et tectas se opinantur? Tanti caput suum mentiuntur.*

^a Du Pin, Biblioth. tom. i. p. 95. (Paris. 1693. vol. i. p. 103.) *Il ne faut pas l’entendre seulement des vierges consacrées à Dieu; car le but de Tertullien est de prouver dans cet ouvrage, qu’il faut que les filles soient voilées, c’est-à-dire, qu’elles aient le visage couvert dans l’église, ce qu’il entreprend de montrer contre la coûtume de son pais, où il n’y avoit que les femmes mariées qui se voilassent.*

^b Tertul. de Apol. c. xxx. *Manibus expansis, quia innocuis, etc.*—Id. de Orat. c. xi. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 30.) *Nos vero non attollimus tantum, sed etiam expandimus et Dominica passione modulantes, et orantes confitemur Christo.*

^c Minuc. Dialog. (Oberthür, p. 591.) *Crucis signum est, quum homo, porrectis manibus, Deum pura mente veneratur.*

the cross by his gesture, whilst he expands his arms, and lifts them up in the figure of a cross^d." After this manner, Paulinus describes St. Ambrose^e, in his last minutes, praying to God with his hands expanded in the form of a cross. And Prudentius, relating the passion of Fructuosus, a Spanish bishop and martyr, in the time of Gallienus, says^f, "The bands which tied his arms were first burnt off without touching his skin: for they durst not restrain those arms which were to be lift up to the Father in the manner of a cross." And this, probably, is St. Chrysostom's meaning, when he says^g, "The sign of the cross was used even by the emperors upon all occasions; on their purple, on their diadems, in their prayers, on their arms, and at the holy table." And, in reference to this gesture it is that Eusebius tells us^h, that Constantine ordered his own image to be stamped on his golden medals, representing him in the posture of a supplicant, looking up to heaven, with his arms stretched forth to God. Origen saysⁱ, "This was to represent the lifting up of their hearts to God in the heavens." And Chrysostom more largely sets forth the use of it in explaining those words of the Psalmist, "Let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice." "What means,"

^d Aster. ap. Phot. Cod. cclxxi. *Εὐχή τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν βοήθεια, ὁμιλία πρὸς Θεὸν, λήθη τῶν γηίνων, ἀνοδος πρὸς οὐρανόν· καὶ τὸ ὄρθιον δὲ τῆς προσευχῆς, ἐκτεταμένος προβαλλόμενον τὰς χεῖρας, τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ πάθος ἐν τῷ σχήματι ἐξεκονίζει.*

^e Paulin. Vit. Ambros. (Paris. 1836, vol. i. p. xvii.) *Ab hora circiter undecima diei, usque ad illam horam in qua emisit spiritum, expansis manibus in modum crucis orabat.*

^f Prudent. Peristephanon. Hymn. vi. in Fructuos. v. 103, seq.

Nexus denique, qui manus retrorsum
 In tergum revocaverant revinctas,
 Intacta cute, decidunt adusti,
 Non ausa est cohibere pœna palmas,
 In morem crucis ad Patrem levandas;
 Solvit brachia, quæ Deum precentur. (Galland. vol. viii. p. 451.)

^g Chrysostom. Demonstrat. quod Christus sit Deus, (Bened. vol. i. p. 569. D 7.) *Ἐν πορφύρισι σταυρὸς, ἐν διαδήμασι σταυρὸς, ἐπὶ εὐχῶν σταυρὸς, ἐπὶ ὕπλων σταυρὸς, ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης τῆς ἱερᾶς σταυρὸς, κ. τ. λ.*

^h Euseb. Vit. Constant. lib. iv. c. xv. (Cantab. p. 634.) *Ὡς ἐν τοῖς χρυσοῖς νομίσμασι τὴν αὐτοῦ αὐτὸς εἰκόνα ὧδε γράφεσθαι διετύπων· ὡς ἄνω βλέπειν δοκεῖν, ἀνατεταμένος πρὸς Θεὸν τρόπον εὐχομένου.*

ⁱ Origen. περὶ εὐχῆς, n. xx.

says he^k, “the stretching forth our hands in prayer? Because they are instrumental in many sorts of wickedness, as fighting, murder, robbery, and rapacious avarice: therefore, we are commanded to lift them up, that the ministry of prayer may tie them up from vice, and deliver them from wickedness; that when you are inclined to rob, or plunder, or smite your neighbour, you should then remember, that these hands are the advocates, as it were, which you are to send forth to God, and by which you are to offer the spiritual sacrifice of prayer to him. And, therefore, you ought not to dishonour them, and destroy their confidence, by letting them minister to wicked actions; but rather cleanse them by alms-deeds, and humanity, and assistance of those that are in want, and so lift them up to God in prayer. For if you cannot endure to lift up unwashen hands, how much less should you think it meet to defile them with sin?” By all this it appears, that these ceremonies both of washing hands and lifting them up in prayer, were of spiritual use, and designed for pious ends, to put men in mind of internal purity by external symbols; and that this significancy was the chief thing that could justify and account for the use of them, as ceremonies in divine service.

^k Chrysostom. in Psalm. cxl. (Bened. vol. γ. p. 431. C 6.) *Τί βούλεται καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἢ ἔκτασις ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ; ἐπειδὴ πολλαῖς πονηρίαις διακονοῦνται αὐται, οἷον πληγαῖς, φόνοις, ἀρπαγαῖς, πλεονεξίαις, δι' αὐτὸ μὲν οὖν τοῦτο κελεύομεθα αὐτὰς ἀνατείνειν, ἵνα ἢ τῆς εὐχῆς διακονία δεσμὸς αὐταῖς γένηται τῆς κακίας, καὶ ἀπαλλαγὴ τῆς πονηρίας, ἵν' ὅταν μέλλῃς ἀρπάζειν, ἢ πλεονεκτεῖν, ἢ τύπτειν ἕτερον, ἀναμνησθεῖς ὅτι ταύτας μέλλεις ἀπὶ συνηγόρων πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν πέμπειν, καὶ διὰ τούτων τὴν θυσίαν ἀναπέμπειν ἐκείνην τὴν πνευματικὴν, μὴ κατασχύνῃς αὐτάς, καὶ ἀπαρρήσιάστους ἐργάσῃ τῇ διακονίᾳ τῆς πονηρᾶς ἐργασίας· κάθαιρε τοῖνυν αὐτάς ἐλεημοσύνη, φιλανθρωπία, προστασία δεομένων, καὶ οὕτως αὐτάς εἰς εὐχὴν ἄγε. εἰ γὰρ ἀνίπτους αὐτάς οὐκ ἐπιτρέπεις εἰς εὐχὴν ἐπαίρεσθαι, πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἁμαρτήμασιν οὐκ ἂν εἴης δίκαιος αὐτάς μαινῖν. — Vid. Clement. Alex. Strom. vol. vii. p. 354. Ταύτη καὶ προσανατείνομεν τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν αἴρομεν, τοὺς τε πόδας ἐπεγείρομεν κατὰ τὴν τελευταίαν τῆς εὐχῆς συνεκφώνησιν, ἐπακολουθοῦντες τῇ προθυμίᾳ τοῦ Πνεύματος εἰς τὴν νοητὴν οὐσίαν· καὶ συναφιστάνειν τῷ λόγῳ τὸ σῶμα τῆς γῆς πειρώμενοι, μετάρσιον ποιησάμενοι τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπτερωμένην τῷ πόθῳ τῶν κρειττόνων, ἐπὶ τὰ ἅγια χωρεῖν βιαζόμεθα, τοῦ δεσμοῦ καταμεγαλοφρονοῦντες τοῦ σαρκικοῦ.*

SECT. XI.—*But yet were great Enemies to all Theatrical Gestures.*

But as they allowed of such decent and significant ceremonies as those that have been mentioned, so they were great enemies to all light and theatrical gestures. They required a modest, and grave, and well-composed behaviour in all external deportment; as thinking no other becoming the majesty of God, or the character of those that were to address him. Upon this account Tertullian¹ requires a modesty and humility in his votaries, even in lifting up their hands in prayer, that they should not toss them up indecently on high, nor appear with a countenance expressing elation and boldness; because the publican's humility and dejection was more commendable than the audaciousness of the Pharisee. He requires also a gentle and submissive voice, since God did not hear men for the sound of their words, or the strength of their lungs or arteries, but the fervency of their hearts: and they that were loud in prayer, he tells them, did nothing else but hinder their neighbours' devotion. St. Cyprian expresses himself much after the same way in his directions about the manner of praying^m; "Let them that pray," says he, "do it with an orderly voice, expressing quietness and modesty. Let us consider ourselves

¹ Tertul. de Orat. c. xiii. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 31.) Cum modestia et humilitate adorantes magis commendabimus Deo preces nostras, ne ipsis quidem manibus sublimius elatis, sed temperate ac probe elatis. Ne vultu quidem in audaciam erecto. Nam ille publicanus, qui non tantum prece, sed et vultu humiliatus atque dejectus orabat, 'justificator Phariseo' procacissimo 'dissessit.' Sonos etiam vocis subjectos esse oportet; aut quantis arteriis opus est, si pro sono audiamur? Deus autem non vocis, sed cordis auditor est, sicut conspector. . . . Quid amplius referent isti, qui clarius adorant, nisi quod proximis obstrepunt?

^m Cyprian. de Orat. Domin. (Oxon. 1632. p. 140.) (p. 99, edit. Fell. Amstelod.) Sit orantibus sermo et precatio cum disciplina, quietem continens et pudorem. Cogitemus nos sub conspectu Dei stare: placendum est divinis oculis et habitu corporis, et modo vocis. Nam ut impudentis est clamoribus strepere, ita contra congruit verecundo modestis precibus orare. . . . Quando in unum cum fratribus convenimus, et sacrificia divina cum Dei sacerdote celebramus, verecundiæ et disciplinæ memores esse debemus: non passim ventilare preces nostras inconditis vocibus: nec petitionem, commendandam modeste Deo, tumultuosa loquacitate jactare. Quia Deus non vocis, sed cordis auditor est. Nec admonendus est clamoribus, qui cogitationes hominum videt, etc.

as standing in the sight of God; and that we are to please the Divine eyes both with the habit or gesture of our body, and with the manner of our voice. For as it is a sign of an impudent man to make a clamorous noise, so it becomes a modest man to use modesty in his prayers. Therefore, when we meet together with our brethren, and celebrate the divine sacrifices with the priest of God, we ought to be mindful of reverence and discipline; not tossing out our prayers with a rude and disorderly voice, nor with a tumultuous loquacity pouring forth these petitions, which ought to be recommended modestly to God. For God is not the hearer of the voice, but the heart: neither needs he to be reminded by noise and clamour, who sees the thoughts of men." It appears from these cautions, that men were apt to run into disorders and excesses in the manner of expressing the external part of their devotions, which needed such rules and admonitions to direct them in the purest ages. And it appears yet more from St. Chrysostom, who had several sharp and severe invectives against some, who accustomed themselves to see the Roman games and plays, brought the manners of the stage into the church, and corrupted their devotions with theatrical gestures. It will be sufficient to relate a few words out of a single passage in one of his homilies to this purposeⁿ: "O unhappy wretch," says

ⁿ Chrysostom. Hom. i. de Verbis Iesa. (Bened. 1718. vol. vi. p. 97. B 7.)
 "Αθλιε καὶ ταλαίπωρε, δέον σε δεδοικῶτα καὶ τρέμοντα τὴν ἀγγελικὴν δοξολογίαν ἐκπέμπειν, φόβῳ τε τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν τῷ Κτίστῃ ποιῆσαι, καὶ διὰ ταύτης συγγνώμην τῶν ἐπταισμένων αἰτεῖσθαι· σὺ δὲ τὰ μίμων καὶ ὄρχηστῶν ἐνταῦθα παράγεις, ἀτάκτως μὲν τὰς χεῖρας ἐπανατείνων, καὶ τοῖς ποσὶν ἐφαλλόμενος, καὶ ὄλῳ περικυκλῶμενος τῷ σώματι καὶ πῶς οὐ δεδοικας, οὐδὲ φρίττεις τοιοῦτων κατατολμῶν λογίων; οὐκ ἐννοεῖς, ὅτι αὐτὸς ἀοράτως ἐνταῦθα πάρεστιν ὁ Δεσπότης, καὶ ἐκάστου τὴν κίνησιν ἀναμετρεῖ, καὶ τὸ συνειδὸς ἐξετάζει; οὐκ ἐννοεῖς, ὅτι ἄγγελοι ταύτῃ τῇ φρικτῇ παρίστανται τραπέζῃ, καὶ φόβῳ ταύτην περιέπουσιν; ἀλλὰ σὺ ταῦτα οὐ κατανοεῖς, ἐπειδὴ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἀκουσμάτων τε καὶ θεαμάτων τὸν νοῦν συνεσκοπίσθης, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἐκέῖσε πραττόμενα τοῖς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀναφέρεις τύποις. Διὰ τοῦτο ταῖς ἀσήμοις κραυγαῖς τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἄτακτον δημοσιεύεις· πῶς οὖν συγγνώμην ἐξαιτήσῃ τῶν οἰκείων ἁμαρτημάτων; πῶς εἰς οἶκτον ἐπισπάσῃ τὸν Δεσπότην, οὕτω καταπεφρονημένως τὴν δέησιν προτεινόμενος; ἐλέησόν με, ὁ Θεὸς, λέγεις, καὶ τοῦ ἐλέους ἀλλότριον τὸ ἦθος ἐπιδείκνυσαι Σῶσόν με, βοᾷς, καὶ ξένον τῆς σωτηρίας τὸ σχῆμα διατυποῖς· τί συντείνουσι πρὸς ἰκεσίαν χεῖρες ἐπὶ μετεωρισμῷ συνεχῶς ἐπαιρόμεναι, καὶ ἀτάκτως περιφερόμεναι, κραυγὴ τε σφοδρὰ, καὶ

he, “thou oughtest, with reverence and fear, to send up the angelic hymn, and with trembling make confession to God, and thereby ask pardon of thy offences. Instead of this, thou bringest into the church the manners of mimics and dancers, by a disorderly tossing up thy hands, and beating with thy feet, and agitation of thy whole body. Dost thou not consider, that the Lord himself is present, who measures every man’s motions, and examines their consciences? Dost thou not consider that the angels stand up by this tremendous table, and surround it with fear? But thou considerest none of these things, because thy mind is blinded with what thou hast heard and seen in the theatres; and the things which are done there, thou bringest into the rites and ceremonies of the Church; and with insignificant clamours bewrayest the disorders of thy soul. How canst thou expect to incline God to mercy, who offerest thy prayer with such contempt? Thou sayest, ‘Lord, have mercy on me,’ whilst thy behaviour proclaims itself a stranger to mercy. Thou criest out, ‘Lord, save me,’ whilst the whole deportment of thy body is in opposition to salvation. For what can those hands, which are always tossed up on high, and disorderly rolled about, contribute toward prayer? What use can there be in vehement clamour, and violent impulse of spirit, that has nothing in it but sound and noise without signification? These are more the practices of strumpets on the highway, or actors on the theatre. And how darest thou to mingle the sports of devils with that doxology, whereby angels glorify God?” Thus far St. Chrysostom, in his warmth and zeal against the corruptions that were creeping

τῆ βιαίᾳ τοῦ Πνεύματος ὠθήσει τὸ ἄσημον ἔχουσα; οὐχὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς τριόδουσι ἐταιριζομένων γυναικῶν, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις φωνούντων ἐστὶν ἔργα; πῶς οὖν τολμᾷς τῇ ἀγγελικῇ ταύτῃ δοξολογίᾳ τὰ τῶν δαιμόνων ἀναμιγνύειν παίγνια;—Conf. Hom. xix. in Matth. (Bened. vol. vii. p. 247. E 2.) Εἰσὶ τινες, οἱ μετὰ τοιαῦτα παραγγέλματα οὕτως ἀσχημονοῦντες ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ, ὡς καὶ τοῦ σώματος κρυπτομένου διὰ τῆς φωνῆς πᾶσι καταδήλους ἑαυτοὺς ποιεῖν, συρφετωδῶς βοῶντες, καὶ τῷ σχήματι καὶ τῇ φωνῇ καταγελάστους ποιοῦντες ἑαυτούς. . . μὴ τοίνυν τῷ σχήματι τοῦ σώματος, μηδὲ τῇ κραυγῇ τῆς φωνῆς, ἀλλὰ τῇ προθυμίᾳ τῆς γνώμης τὰς εὐχὰς ποιῶμεθα· μήτε μετὰ ψόφου καὶ ἠχῆς, καὶ πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν, ὡς καὶ τοὺς πλησίον ἐγκροῦειν· ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἐπιεικείας πάσης καὶ τῆς κατὰ διάνοιαν συντριβῆς, καὶ δακρύων τῶν ἐνδοθεν.

in upon devotion by absurd and ridiculous gestures. And this shows us abundantly, that as the ancients were no way averse to any rites and ceremonies, habits or gestures, that were decent and significant in their own nature, and had any real tendency toward piety; so they were utter enemies to such as were insignificant and trivial, light and theatrical, and discountenanced them as the effects of superstition or vanity, arising from misapprehensions of religion or evil customs of the world, which they laboured to extirpate, but could not always conquer; men's corrupt inclinations disposing them to commute the great things of religion for those that were small in comparison, and sometimes for those which were a real detriment and disadvantage to it, as in the cases now before us.

SECT. XII.—*Of Ceremonies used at their Entrance into the Church.*

But to pass by irregularities, and proceed with the observations of the Church. This were a proper place to take notice of several other usages, whereby they expressed their reverence to God at their first entrance into the church. But because some of these have been already considered in a former book °, where we speak of the respect and reverence which the primitive Christians paid to their churches, I shall but just name them in this place. Such was the ceremony of respect used by kings and emperors, who laid aside their crowns, and arms, and guards, when they entered into the house of the King of kings; of which I have only this further to observe here, that probably it was done in imitation of the old Roman magistrates, who, as some authors ^p tell us, were wont to lay aside their fasces and other ensigns of honour, whenever they went into the schools of philosophy at Athens. Such was that other custom of respect observed by the monks of Egypt, who put off their shoes, when they went into the house of God:

° Book viii. chap. x. vol. ii. p. 548.

^p Pol. Synop. Critic. in 2 Reg. v. 9. Principes Romani, dum essent cum imperio Athenis, fasces deposuerunt, quum scholas ingrederentur, ut philosophos audirent: quanto æquius submitunt se principes ad verbum Dei honore adficiendum!

but this, I showed, was only a topical custom peculiar to that nation, and not a general one reaching the whole Church. I observed also, that there are also some reasons to believe the ancients used the ceremony of bowing towards the altar at their first entrance into the church, though the arguments amount only to a probability, not a demonstration.

SECT. XIII.—*That the Bishop saluted the People with ‘ Pax vobis,’ at his Entrance into the Church.*

It is more certain, that the bishop saluted the people in the usual form, *Pax vobis*, “Peace be with you,” at his first entrance into the church. For this is often mentioned by St. Chrysostom^q, who derives it from apostolical practice.

SECT. XIV.—*And the People gave Alms to the Poor, who stood before the Gates of the Church for this Purpose.*

St. Chrysostom also mentions another very laudable custom, and he uses all his rhetoric to promote and encourage the practice of it; which was the people’s giving alms to the poor, at their first entrance into the church. “For this reason,” says he^r, “our forefathers appointed the poor to stand before

^q Chrysostom. Hom. xxxvi. in 1 Cor. See page 294, note (p).—Hom. iii. in Coloss. See page 301, note (o).

^r Chrysostom. Hom. xxiv. al. xxvi. de Verbis Apostol. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 289. C.) Διὰ τοῦτο πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν τῶν οἴκων τῶν εὐκτηρίων ἔστησαν τοὺς πένητας οἱ πατέρες οἱ ἡμέτεροι, ἵνα καὶ τὸν νωθρότατον καὶ ἀπανθρωπότατον αὐτῆ τῶν πενήτων ἢ ὄψις πρὸς ὑπόμνησιν ἐγείρῃ τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης· ὅταν γὰρ ἐστήκῃ χορὸς γερόντων, συγκεκυφότων, ῥακία περιβεβλημένων, ἀυχμώντων, ῥυπώντων, βακτηρίας ἐχόντων, μόλις στηρίζεσθαι δυναμένων, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐκκεκομμένων, καὶ τὸ σῶμα ὄλον ἀναπήρων, τίς οὕτω λίθινος, τίς οὕτως ἀδάμας, ὡς καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας, καὶ τῆς ἀσθενείας, καὶ τῆς πηρώσεως, καὶ τῆς πενίας, καὶ τῆς εὐτελοῦς στολῆς, καὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς πρὸς συμπάθειαν ἐπικλώντων αὐτὸν, ἀντιστήναι καὶ μείναι πρὸς ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἀνένδοτος; διὰ ταῦτα πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἡμῶν ἐστήκασι παντὸς λόγου δυνατώτεροι, διὰ τῆς ὀφείας ἐπισπώμενοι, πρὸς φιλανθρωπίαν τοὺς εἰσιόντας ἐκκαλοῦμενοι· καθάπερ γὰρ κρήνας εἶναι ἐν ταῖς ἀλάϊς τῶν εὐκτηρίων οἴκων νενόμισται, ἵνα οἱ μέλλοντες εὐχεσθαι τῷ Θεῷ, πρότερον ἀπονιψάμενοι τὰς χεῖρας, οὕτως αὐτὰς εἰς εὐχὴν ἀνατείνωσιν· οὕτω καὶ τοὺς πένητας ἀντὶ πηγῶν καὶ κρηνῶν ἔστησαν οἱ πατέρες πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἵν’ ὡσπερ ὕδατι τὰς χεῖρας ἀπονίπτομεν, οὕτω φιλανθρωπία τὴν ψυχὴν ἀποσμήχοντες πρότερον, οὕτως εὐχόμεθα· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὕτως ὕδατος φύσις ἀπονίπτει κηλίδας σώματος, ὡς ἐλεημοσύνης δύναμις ἀποσμήχει ῥύπον ψυχῆς· ὡσπερ οὖν οὐ τολμᾷς ἀνίπτοις χερσίν

the doors of our churches, that the sight of them might provoke the most backward and inhuman soul to compassion. And as by law and custom we have fountains before our oratories, that they who go in to worship God, may first wash their hands, and so lift them up in prayer; so our ancestors, instead of fountains and cisterns, placed the poor before the doors of the church; that as we wash our hands in water, so we should cleanse our souls by beneficence and charity first, and then go and offer up our prayers. For water is not more adapted by nature to wash away the spots of the body, than the power of alms-deeds is to cleanse the filth of the soul. As therefore you dare not go in to pray with unwashed hands, though this be but a small offence; so neither should you without alms ever enter the church for prayer. You, many times, when your hands are clean, will not lift them up to God before you have washed them in water; so prevalent is the force of custom with us: let us therefore do the same with respect to alms-deeds. And though we are not conscious to ourselves of any great and heinous crimes, let us, by charity, clear our consciences of lesser spots and blemishes, which we contract in our daily business and conversation." So again, in another place, expounding those words, "Thou shalt not appear before the Lord empty;" "These things," says he^s, "were spoken to the Jews, and how much more to us?

εἰσελθὼν εὖξασθαι, καὶ τοι ἔλαττον τὸ ἔγκλημα ἐκείνο, οὕτω μῆτε χωρὶς ἐλεημοσύνης ἐπ' εὐχὴν ἔλθης πότε καίτοι καὶ καθαρὰς πολλακίς ἔχοντες τὰς χεῖρας, ἂν μὴ πρότερον αὐτὰς ἀποπλύνωμεν ὕδατι, οὐκ ἀνατείνομεν εἰς εὐχὴν· τοσοῦτόν ἐστιν ἡ συνήθεια τοῦτο τοίνυν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης ποιῶμεν κἂν μηδὲν ἑαυτοῖς ὦμεν συνειδότες μέγα ἀμάρτημα, ὅμως ἀποσμήχωμεν τὸ συνειδὸς διὰ τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης.

^s Chrysostom. Hom. i. in 2 Tim. (Bened. 1718. vol. xi. p. 664. B 10.)
 Ἰουδαίοις ταῦτα ἐλέγετο, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν; διὰ τοῦτο ἐσθήκασιν οἱ πένητες πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν, ἵνα μηδεὶς εἰσὶν κενὸς, ἵνα μετὰ ἐλεημοσύνης εἰσὶν εἰσέρχῃ ἐλεηθῆναι· ἐλέησον πρότερον· ὁ δὲ ὕστερον ἐρχόμενος πλέον ὀφείλει· ὅταν γὰρ ἀρξώμεθα ἡμεῖς, ὁ δεύτερος πλέον κατατίθῃσιν ποιήσῃσιν· οἱ ὀφειλίτην τὸν Θεόν, καὶ τότε αὐτὸν αἰτησαί· δάνεισον, καὶ τότε ἀπαίτει, ἵνα μετὰ τόκου λάβῃς. βούλεται τοῦτο ὁ Θεὸς, οὐκ ἀποφεύγει· ἂν μετὰ ἐλεημοσύνης αἰτῆς, χάριν ἔχει· ἂν μετὰ ἐλεημοσύνης ἀπαίτησιν, δανείζεις καὶ τόκους λαμβάνεις. ναί, παρακαλῶ· οὐκ ἐν τῇ ἐκτάσει τῶν χειρῶν τὸ ἀκούεσθαι ἐστίν· ἔκτεινόν σου τὰς χεῖρας μὴ εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὰς τῶν πενήτων χεῖρας· ἂν εἰς τὰς τῶν πενήτων χεῖρας ἐκτείνῃς τὴν χεῖρα, αὐτῆς ἠψῶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· ὁ γὰρ ἐκεῖ

Therefore the poor stand before the doors of the church, that no one should go in empty, but enter securely with charity for his companion. You go into the church to obtain mercy; first show mercy: make God your debtor, and then you may ask of him, and receive with usury. We are not heard barely for the lifting up our hands. Stretch forth your hands, not only to heaven, but to the hands of the poor. If you stretch out your hands to the poor, you touch the very height of heaven; for he that sits there, receives your alms: but if you lift up barren hands, it profits nothing." He repeats the same in other places^t, which shows, that it was an excellent custom prevailing among them, and carefully recommended as a just preparation for prayer, among many other moral qualifications for this duty, which being vulgar and commonly known, I need not insist upon them in this place.

SECT. XV.—*That they worshipped toward the East; with the Reasons for this Practice.*

There was one observation more which must not be omitted, because it was a ceremony almost of general use and practice; and that was, the custom of turning their faces to the East in their solemn adorations. The original of this custom seems to be derived from the ceremonies of baptism, in which, as has been showed before^u, it was usual to renounce the devil with their faces to the West, and then turn about to the East, and make their covenant with Christ, from whence, I conceive, it became their common custom to worship God after the same way that they had first entered into covenant with him. The ancients give several reasons for this custom, but they all seem to glance at this one. Some say, the East was the symbol of Christ, who was called the 'Orient,' and 'Light,'

καθήμενος λαμβάνει τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην· ἂν δὲ ἀκάρπους ἀνατείνῃς, οὐδὲν ὠνήσας.

^t Ibid. Hom. iii. de Pœnit. tom. i. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 296. E 8.) "Ὡσπερ οἱ λουτῆρες ὕδατος πεπληρωμένοι εἰσὶ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἵνα νίψῃ τὰς χεῖρας· οὕτως οἱ πένητες καθέζονται, ἵνα πλύνῃς τὰς χεῖρας τῆς ψυχῆς· ἔπλυνας τὰς χεῖρας τὰς αἰσθητὰς τῷ ὕδατι; πλῦνον τὰς χεῖρας τῆς ψυχῆς τῇ ἐλεημοσύνῃ.

^u See vol. iii. p. 535.

and ‘Sun of Righteousness,’ in Scripture; and, therefore, since they must worship toward some quarter of the world, they chose that which led them to Christ by symbolical representation. As Tertullian tells us in one place^w, “that in fact, they worshipped toward the East, which made the heathen suspect that they worshipped the rising sun;”—so, in another place, he says^x, “The East was the figure of Christ; and, therefore, both their churches and their prayers were directed that way.” Clemens Alexandrinus says^y, “they worshipped toward the East, because the East is the image of our spiritual nativity; and from thence the light first arises, and shines out of darkness; and the day of true knowledge, after the manner of the sun, arises upon those who lie buried in ignorance.” And St. Austin^z, “When we stand at our prayers, we turn to the East, whence the heavens, or the light of heaven arises; not as if God was only there, and had forsaken all other parts of the world, but to put ourselves in mind of turning to a more excellent nature; that is, to the Lord.” This reason exactly falls in with that which is given for turning to the East, when they covenanted with Christ in the solemnities of baptism.

2. Another reason given for it by some is, “that the East was the place of paradise, our ancient habitation and country, which we lost in the first Adam by the fall, and whither we hope to be restored again, as to our native abode and rest, in the second Adam, Christ our Saviour.” This reason is given

^w Tertul. Apol. c. xvi. (Oberthür, vol. i. p. 88.) Inde suspicio, quod innotuerit, nos ad orientis regionem precari.

^x Ibid. cont. Valent. c. iii. (vol. ii. p. 422.) Nostræ columbæ domus simplex, in editis semper et apertis et ad lucem: amat figuram Spiritus Sancti, orientem Christi figuram.

^y Clement. Alex. Strom. tom. vii. (Oberthür, vol. iii. p. 440.) Ἐπεὶ δὲ γενεθλίου ἡμέρας εἰκὼν ἡ ἀνατολή, κάκειθεν τὸ φῶς αὐξεται ἐκ σκοτους λάμψαν τὸ πρῶτον· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ καλινδομένοις ἀνέτειλε γνώσεως ἀληθείας ἡμέρα κατὰ λόγον τοῦ ἡλίου πρὸς τὴν ἑωθινήν ἀνατολήν αἱ εὐχαί.

^z Aug. de Serm. Dom. in Monte, lib. ii. c. v. (Bened. 1679.) Quum ad orationes stamus, ad orientem convertimur, unde cœlum surgit: non tamquam ibi sit Deus, et quasi ceteras mundi partes deseruerit, qui ubique præsens non locorum spatiis, sed majestate potentiae; sed ut admoneatur animus ad naturam excellentiorem se convertere, id est, ad Dominum.

by Gregory Nyssen ^a, and St. Basil ^b, and by the author of the Constitutions ^c, and by the author of the Questions and Answers to Antiochus, among the works of Athanasius ^d; together with Chrysostom (as he is cited by Cotelerius ^e,) and Gregentius ^f, and many others. Now, this is the very reason assigned by St. Cyril for turning to the East, when they covenanted with Christ, and celebrated the mysteries of baptism; so that hitherto we find a clear relation of these ceremonies one to the other, and a perfect agreement between them.

3. Another reason assigned for this custom was, “that the East was the most honourable part of the creation, as being the seat of light and brightness.” The author of the Questions and Answers to the Orthodox gives this reason for it ^g:

^a Nyssen. Hom. v. de Orat. Dom. (Paris. 1638. vol. i. p. 755. C 5.) Ἐπειδὴν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἑαυτοὺς τρέψωμεν· οὐχ ὡς μόνον ἐκεῖ τοῦ Θεοῦ θεωρούμενου· ὁ γὰρ πανταχοῦ ὢν κατ’ οὐδὲν μέρος ἰδιαζόντως καταλαμβάνεται· ἐπίσης γὰρ περιέχει τὸ πᾶν· ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐν ἀνατολαῖς τῆς πρώτης ἡμῶν πατρίδος οὔσης· λέγω δὲ τῆς ἐν Παραδείσῳ διαγωγῆς, ἧς ἐκπεπτώκαμεν.

^b Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. c. xxvii. (Bened. 1721. vol. iii. p. 56.) Πάντες μὲν ὁρῶμεν κατὰ ἀνατολὰς ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν· ὀλίγοι δὲ ἴσμεν, ὅτι τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐπιζητοῦμεν πατρίδα, τὸν Παράδεισον, ὃν ἐφύτευσεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν Ἐδέμ κατ’ ἀνατολὰς.

^c Constitut. lib. ii. c. lvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 296.) Μετὰ τοῦτο συμφώνως ἄπαντες ἕξαναστάντες, καὶ ἐπ’ ἀνατολὰς κατανοήσαντες, μετὰ τὴν τῶν κατηχομένων καὶ τὴν τῶν μετανοούντων ἕξοδον, προσεξέασθωσαν τῷ Θεῷ, τῷ ἐπιβεβηκότι ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, κατὰ ἀνατολὰς, ὑπομνησκόμενοι καὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας νομῆς τοῦ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς Παραδείσου, ὅθεν ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ἀθετήσας τὴν ἐντολήν, ὄψεως συμβουλίᾳ πεισθεῖς, ἀπεβλήθη.

^d Athanas. Quæst. ad Antioch. quæst. xxxvii. (Paris. 1698. vol. ii. p. 276. D 7.) Οἱ πιστοὶ ἀκουέτωσαν καὶ μανθανέτωσαν, ὅτι τούτου χάριν οἱ μακαριώτατοι ἀπόστολοι κατὰ ἀνατολὰς τὰς τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐκκλησίας προσέχειν ἐποίησαν, ἵνα πρὸς τὸν Παράδεισον ἀφορῶμεν, ὅθεν καὶ ἐξέπεσαμεν, πρὸς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἡμῶν πατρίδα καὶ χώραν, αἰτούμενοι τὸν Θεὸν καὶ Δεσπότην ἀποκαταστήσαι ἡμᾶς, ὅθεν ἐξωρίσθημεν.

^e Coteler. Not. in Constitut. lib. ii. c. lvii. ex Chrysostom. ad Dan. vi. 10. p. 264, n. 44.

^f Gregent. Disput. cum Herbario Judæo. (Bibl. Patr. Gr.-Lat. tom. i. p. 217.) Κατὰ ἀνατολὰς ἐδιδάχθημεν προσεύχεσθαι, διότι ἐκεῖ εὐρίσκομεν τὸν Θεὸν, πλάσαντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ τὸν Παράδεισον ποιήσαντα.

^g Justin. Quæst. ad Orthodox. quæst. cxviii. (Bened. 1742. p. 491. E 2.) Ἐπειδὴ τῶν παρ’ ἡμῶν τὰ τιμιώτερα εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀφορίζομεν· κατὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπόληψιν τιμιωτέρα ἐστὶν ἡ ἀνατολὴ τῶν ἄλλων μερῶν τῆς κτίσεως· διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς προσευχῆς νεύομεν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν πάντες· καθάπερ τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ κατα-

“We set apart,” says he, “the most honourable things to the honour of God; and the East, in the opinion of men, is the most honourable part of the creation; we therefore, in time of prayer, turn our faces to the East, as we sign those, in the name of Christ, that need consignation, with the right hand, because it is deemed more honourable than the left, though it differ only in position, not in nature.” And Lactantius, without taking any particular notice of this custom, makes this general observation^h, “that the East was more peculiarly ascribed to God, because he was the fountain of light, and illuminator of all things, and because he makes us rise to eternal life. But the West was ascribed to that wicked and depraved spirit, the devil, because he hides the light, and induces darkness always upon men, and makes them fall and perish in their sins.” Now this is a reason that equally holds for turning to the East in baptism, as well as their daily devotion.

4. There is one reason more assigned for it, which is, “that Christ made his appearance on earth in the East, and there ascended into heaven, and there will appear again at the last day.” This is one of the three answers which the author of the Questions to Antiochus, under the name of Athanasiusⁱ, orders to be given to this question: “If a Christian asks the

σφραγίζομεν τοὺς τῆς σφραγίδος ταύτης δεομένους· ἐπειδὴ τιμιωτέρα νενομίσται τῆς ἀριστερᾶς, καὶ τοι θέσει, καὶ οὐ φύσει διαφέρουσα ταύτης ὑπάρχει· οὕτως καὶ ἡ ἀνατολὴ ὡς τιμιώτερον μέρος τῆς κτίσεως, εἰς προσκύνησιν Θεοῦ ἀφώρισται.

^h Lactant. lib. ii. c. x. (Paris. 1748. p. 154.) Oriens Deo accensetur, quia ipse luminis fons, et illustrator est rerum, et quod oriri nos faciat ad vitam sempiternam. Occidens autem conturbatæ illi pravæque menti adseribitur, quod lumen abscondat, quod tenebras semper inducat, et quod homines faciat occidere ac interire peccatis.

ⁱ Athanas. Quæst. ad Antioch. quæst. xxxvii. Ἰουδαίους μὲν εἶπομεν, ὅτι τούτου χάριν οἱ πιστοὶ προσκυνοῦμεν κατὰ ἀνατολὰς, τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος νομοθετήσαντος ἡμῖν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Δαβὶδ τοῦ εἰπόντος· Προσκυνήσωμεν εἰς τὸν τόπον, οὗ ἔστησαν οἱ πόδες Κυρίου. . . . Πρὸς δὲ Ἕλληνας ἐκέينو φαμέν, ὅτι οὐχ ὡς ἐν ἀνατολαῖς περιγραφόμενου τοῦ Θεοῦ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς προσκυνοῦμεν· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ὁ Θεὸς φῶς ἀληθινόν ἐστὶ τε καὶ ὀνομάζεται· τούτου χάριν πρὸς τὸ φῶς τὸ κτιστὸν ἀφορῶντες, οὐκ αὐτὸ, ἀλλὰ τὸν ποιητὴν αὐτοῦ προσκυνοῦμεν, ἐκ τοῦ λαμπροτέρου στοιχείου, τὸν (τῶν) πάντων στοιχείων καὶ τῶν αἰώνων ὑπέρλαμπρον Θεὸν γεραιφύοντες· οἱ δὲ πιστοὶ ἀκούετωσαν, κ. τ. λ. See note (d) p. 350.

question, he is to be told, 'They looked toward Paradise, beseeching God to restore them to their ancient country and region, from whence they were expelled.' If a heathen put the question, the answer should be, 'Because God is the true light; for which reason, when they looked upon the created light, they did not worship it, but the Creator of it.' If the question was proposed by a Jew, he should be told, 'They did it, because the Holy Ghost had said by David, 'We will worship toward the place where thy feet stood, O Lord' (Psalm cxxxii. 7); meaning the place where Christ was born, and lived, and was crucified, and rose again, and ascended into heaven." Which seems also to be intimated by St. Hilary on those words of Psalm lxvii., according to the translation of the Septuagint, "Sing unto God, who ascended above the heaven of heavens, in the East." "The honour of God," says he^k, "who ascended above the heaven of heavens, in the East, is now reasonably required; and for that reason toward the East, because he, according to the prophet, is the 'East,' or 'Morning from on High;' that he, returning to the place whence he descended, might be known to be the Orient Light, who shall hereafter be the author of man's rising to the same ascent of celestial habitation."

These several reasons have all a peculiar reference to Christ; and, therefore, as Christians first used the ceremony of turning to the East, when they entered into covenant with Christ in baptism, so it is probable that from thence they derived this custom of turning to the East in all their solemn adorations. But whether this were so or not, we are sure there was such a general custom among them, and that it was founded upon some, or all the reasons that have been mentioned; which is as much as is necessary to be said here for the illustration of it.

^k Hilar. in Psalm. lxvii. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 415.) Competenter nunc adscendetis 'super cœlum cœli ad Orientem,' Dei honor poscitur. . . . 'Ad Orientem' vero idcirco, quia ipse, secundum prophetam, Oriens ex alto sit: ut regressus eo, unde descenderat, nosceretur, ipseque sit hominibus in hunc cœlestis sedis adscensum rursus auctor oriundi.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE TIMES OF THEIR RELIGIOUS ASSEMBLIES, AND THE SEVERAL PARTS OF DIVINE SERVICE PERFORMED IN THEM.

SECT. I.—*No certain Rule for Meeting in Public, except upon the Lord's Day, in Times of Persecution, for the two first Ages.*

THERE remains one circumstance more of divine worship, which I have purposely reserved for this place, because the consideration of it will lead us to the several parts of the worship itself; that is, the circumstance of time: concerning which it may be inquired, how often they met in a week, and how often they met in a day for divine worship? Now no general answer can be given to these questions, because the times of their assemblies varied according to the different state and ages of the Church. At first learned men think they held assemblies every day in the apostles' time, and whilst the Jewish temple stood; for we read of the apostles going up to the temple at the ninth hour, being the hour of prayer (Acts iii. 1); and of their continuing daily, with one accord, in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, or in their house: meaning the church, or house of prayer, as others render it (Acts ii. 46); though their most solemn meetings were on the first day of the week, or the Lord's day (Acts xx. 7; 1 Cor. xvi. 2). In after ages, when the persecutions grew warm, they are thought to have confined themselves to the Lord's day; for the confession which Pliny^a took from the mouths of some apostatizing Christians, mentions no other. They confessed to him, that the sum of their crime or error was, "that they were used to meet on a certain stated day, before it was light, and sing a hymn to Christ, as to their God; and to bind themselves by a covenant or sacrament, not

^a Plin. lib. x. ep. xcvii. Adfirmabant, hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ, vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem; seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent. . . . quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque coëundi ad capiendum cibum.

unto any wickedness, but that they would not commit any theft, or robbery, or adultery, or break their faith, or deny what was committed to their trust; after which they were used to break up their assembly, and return again to a common feast." Which is a plain description of their worship, and communion, and 'love-feast,' called *agape*, on the Lord's day, but no other. And so Justin Martyr, describing the Christian worship, says^b, "that on the day called Sunday, there was a general meeting of all that lived both in city and country, when they had the Scriptures read, and a sermon preached, and prayers, and the communion." But he mentions no assembly for public worship on any other day; whence learned men^c have concluded, that in his time the Church observed no other days of solemn assemblies but only the Lord's day. His silence as to all others is a negative argument against them, unless perhaps some distinction may be made between the general assembly of both city and country on the Lord's day, and the particular assemblies of the city-Christians (who had better opportunities to meet) on other days; which distinction we often meet with in the following ages, when Christianity was come to its maturity and perfection.

^b Justin. Apol. i. (Bened. 1742. p. 83.) Τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρᾳ, πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται μέχρις ἐγχωρεῖ. εἶτα παυσαμένου τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος, ὁ προεστὼς διὰ λόγου τὴν νοθεσίαν καὶ πρόκλησιν τῆς τῶν καλῶν τούτων μιμήσεως ποιῆται. ἔπειτα ἀνιστάμεθα κοινῇ πάντες, καὶ εὐχὰς πέμπομεν παυσαμένων ἡμῶν τῆς εὐχῆς, ἄρτος προσφέρεται καὶ οἶνος καὶ ὕδωρ· καὶ ὁ προεστὼς εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας, ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ, ἀναπέμπει, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐπεφημεῖ λέγων τὸ 'Αμήν· καὶ ἡ διάδοσις καὶ ἡ μεταληψίς ἀπὸ τῶν εὐχαριστηθέντων ἐκάστῳ γίνεται, καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσι διὰ τῶν διακόνων πέμπεται τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέραν κοινῇ πάντες τὴν συνέλευσιν ποιούμεθα. ἐπειδὴ πρώτη ἐστὶν ἡμέρα, ἐν ᾗ ὁ Θεὸς τὸ σκότος καὶ τὴν ὕλην τρέψας, κόσμον ἐποίησε· καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ ἡμέτερος Σωτὴρ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνέστη.

^c Cotel. in Constit. Apost. lib. ii. c. lix. (vol. i. p. 267.) Celebrabantur conventus sacri, tempore apostolorum, singulis diebus, Act. ii. 46; sed solemniores die Dominica, Act. xx. 7, et 1 Cor. xv. 2. Postea effecerunt persecutiones, quum summe sævirent hostes veritatis, ut rarius conveniretur, tantumque in Dominicis diebus: quod colligitur ex Apologetico Justini Martyris, et ex Plinii Epistola.

SECT. II.—*The Original of the Stationary Days, or Church Assemblies, on Wednesdays and Fridays; and what Divine Service was performed on those Days.*

However it was not long after Justin Martyr's time, before, we are sure, the Church observed the custom of meeting solemnly, for divine worship, on Wednesdays and Fridays; which days are commonly called the stationary days, because they continued their assemblies on these days to a great length, till three o'clock in the afternoon; for which reason they had also the name of *semi-jejunia*, or 'half-fasts,' in opposition to the Lent fast, which always held till evening; and *jejunia quartæ* and *sextæ ferice*, 'the fasts of the fourth and sixth days of the week,' that is, Wednesdays and Fridays. These are first mentioned by Tertullian, and Clemens Alexandrinus, and Origen, and after them by most other writers, as fast-days generally observed by the Church. But I consider them not here as fasts (which will be more properly done under another head, when we come to speak of the fasts and festivals of the Church), but here only look upon them as days of religious assembly, to discover what public divine worship was performed on them. And for this we are chiefly beholden to Tertullian, who assures us, "that on these days they always celebrated the communion;" from whence we may infer, that the same service was performed on these days as on the Lord's day, unless, perhaps, the sermon was wanting. "Some there were," he says, "who objected against receiving the communion on these days, because they were scrupulously afraid they should break their fast by eating and drinking the bread and wine in the eucharist; and therefore they chose^d rather to absent themselves from the oblation prayers than break their fast, as they imagined, by receiving the eucharist. Whom he undeceives, by telling them, "that to receive the eucharist on such days would be no infringement of their fast, but bind

^d Tertul. de Orat. c. xiv. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 32.) Similiter de stationum diebus, non putant plerique sacrificiorum orationibus interveniendum, quod statio solvenda sit, accepto corpore Domini. Ergo devotum Deo obsequium eucharistia resolvit, an magis Deo obligat? Nonne solemnior erit statio tua, si et ad aram Dei steteris? Accepto corpore Domini, et reservato [*re serrata*], utrumque salvum est: et participatio sacrificii, et executio officii.

them closer to God ; their station would be so much the more solemn for their standing at the altar of God ; they might receive the body of the Lord, and preserve their fast too ; and so both would be safe, whilst they both participated of the sacrifices, and discharged their other obligation. Since, therefore, they received the eucharist on these days, we may conclude they had all the prayers of the communion-office, and what other offices were wont to go before them, as the psalmody, and reading of the Scriptures, and prayers for the catechumens and penitents ; which, together with the sermons, were the whole service for the Lord's day. But because even all this could not take up near so much time as must needs be spent in these stations, it seems most probable, that in two particulars they much enlarged their service on these days ; that is, in their psalmody, and private prayers, and confession of their sins. The Psalms, as we shall see hereafter, were sometimes lengthened to an indefinite number, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, or more, as the occasion of a vigil or a fast required ; and between every psalm they had liberty to meditate and fall to their private prayers ; and by these two exercises, so lengthened and repeated, it is easy to conceive how the longest station might be employed. Socrates says ^e, “ At Alexandria, on these days, they had sermons, and all other service used at other times, except the communion.” But admitting they had the whole service entire, as on the Lord's day, yet it was not commensurate to the time of their stations, unless we suppose their psalmody and private devotions in the church to be enlarged on those days, to a greater length than was usual in ordinary service.

St. Basil ^f agrees with Tertullian in making these days not only fasts, but communion days ; for reckoning up how many days in the week they received the communion, he makes

^e Socrat. lib. v. c. xxii. (Cantabr. p. 295.) (p. 287, edit. Amstelod.) Ἐν Ἀλεξάνδρῃα, τῇ τετράδι καὶ τῇ λεγομένη Παρασκευῇ γραφαί τε ἀναγιγνώσκονται, καὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι ταύτας ἐρμηνεύουσι, πάντα τε τὰ συνάξεως γίνεται, δίχα τῆς τῶν μυστηρίων τελετῆς.

^f Basil. Ep. cclxxxix. (Bened. 1721. vol. iii. p. 186. D 4.) Ἡμεῖς μέντοιγε τέταρτον καθ' ἑκάστην ἑβδομάδα κοινωνοῦμεν ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ, ἐν τῇ τετράδι, καὶ ἐν τῇ Παρασκευῇ, καὶ τῇ σαββάτῳ, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἡμέραις, ἐὰν ᾖ μνήμη μάρτυρός τινος.

Wednesday and Friday to be two of the number. Yet still it is hard to conceive what business they could have to detain them so long in the church, since their collects and public prayers were but few in comparison ; and, therefore, it seems most probable, that a competent share of this time was spent in psalmody, and as I find a learned person ^g inclined to think, in private devotions ; which always had a share in their service, and was generally intermixed with their singing of psalms, as shall be showed in their proper places ^h.

SECT. III.—*Saturday, or the Seventh Day, anciently observed with great Solemnity, as a Day of public Devotion.*

We also find in ancient writers frequent mention made of religious assemblies on the Saturday, or seventh day of the week, which was the Jewish Sabbath. It is not easy to tell either the original of this practice, or the reasons of it, because the writers of the first ages are altogether silent about it. In the Latin Churches (excepting Milan), it was kept as a fast ; but in all the Greek Churches as a festival. I consider it here only as a day of public divine service, on which, as the authors who mention it assure us, all the same offices were performed as were used to be on the Lord's day. For Athanasius, who is one of the first that mentions it, says ⁱ, “they met on the Sabbath, not that they were infected with Judaism, but to worship Jesus, the Lord of the Sabbath.” And Timotheus, one of his successors in the see of Alexandria, says ^j, “The communion was administered on this day as on the Lord's day ;” which were the only days in the week that the communion was received by the Christians of his time at Alexandria. Socrates is a little more particular about the

^g Stillingfleet, Orig. Britann. p. 224.

^h See book xiv. chap. i. book xv. chap. i. sect. i.

ⁱ Athanas. Hom. de Semente, (tom. ii. p. 60, Paris. 1698.) Ἐν ἡμέρᾳ σαββάτου συνήχθημεν, οὐ νοσοῦντες Ἰουδαϊσμόν· οὐ γὰρ ἐφαπτόμεθα σαββάτων ψευδῶν· παραγεγόναμεν δὲ ἐν σαββάτῳ τὸν Κύριον τοῦ σαββάτου Ἰησοῦν προσκυνήσοντες.

^j Timoth. Epist. Canon. c. xiii. (Bever. Pand. tom. ii. p. 163.) Ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὸ σάββατον καὶ τὴν κυριακὴν ἀπέχεσθαι δεῖ, διὰ τὸ ἐν αὐταῖς τὴν πνευματικὴν θυσίαν ἀναφέρεισθαι τῷ Κυρίῳ.

service; for he says ^k, “In their assemblies on this day they celebrated the communion: only the Churches of Egypt and Thebais differed in this from the rest of the world, and even from their neighbours at Alexandria, that they had the communion at evening service.” In another place, speaking of the Churches of Constantinople in the time of Chrysostom, he reckons Saturday ^l and Lord’s day, the two great weekly festivals, on which they always held Church-assemblies. And Cassian takes notice of the Egyptian Churches ^m, “that among them the service of the Lord’s day and the Sabbath was always the same; for they had the lessons then read out of the New Testament only, one out of the Gospels, and the other out of the Epistles or Acts of the Apostles; whereas, on other days, they had them partly out of the Old Testament, and partly out of the New.” In another place he observes ⁿ, “that in the monasteries of Egypt and Thebais they had no public assemblies on other days, besides morning and evening, except upon Saturday and the Lord’s day, when they met at three o’clock; that is, nine in the morning, to celebrate the communion.” In the Council of Laodicea, there are three canons to the same purpose. One ^o appoints the Gospels, with the other Scriptures, to be read upon this day. Another ^p,

^k Soerat. lib. v. c. xxii. (Cantab. p. 295.) Αἰγύπτιοι γείτονες ὄντες Ἀλεξανδρείων, καὶ οἱ τὴν Θηβαῖδα οἰκοῦντες, ἐν σαββάτῳ μὲν ποιοῦνται συνάξεις· οὐχ ὡς ἔθος δὲ Χριστιανοῖς, τῶν μυστηρίων μεταλαμβάνουσι· μετὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐνώχηθῆναι, καὶ παντοίων ἐδεσμάτων ἐμφορηθῆναι, περὶ ἑσπέραν προσφέροντες, τῶν μυστηρίων μεταλαμβάνουσιν.

^l Ibid. lib. vi. c. viii. (p. 321.) Ἡνίκα οὖν ἐκάστης ἑβδομάδος ἑορταὶ κατελάμβανον, φημὶ δὴ τὸ τε σάββατον καὶ ἡ κυριακὴ, ἐν αἷς αἱ συνάξεις κατὰ τὰς ἐκκλησίας εἰώθασιν γίνεσθαι, αὐτοὶ (οἱ Ἀρειανίζοντες) ἐντὸς τῶν τῆς πόλεως πυλῶν περὶ τὰς στοὰς ἀθροιζόμενοι, καὶ ἰψὰς ἀντιφώνους πρὸς τὴν Ἀρειανὴν δόξαν συντιθέντες, ἤδον.

^m Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. c. vi. (Atreb. p. 25.) In die vero sabbati vel Dominico utrasque lectiones de Novo recitant Testamento, id est, unam de Apostolo vel Actibus Apostolorum, et aliam de Evangeliiis.

ⁿ Ibid. lib. iii. c. ii. (p. 42.) Exceptis vespertinis ac nocturnis congregationibus, nulla apud eos per diem solemnitas, absque die sabbati vel Dominica, celebratur, in quibus hora tertia sacræ communionis obtentu conveniunt.

^o Conc. Laodic. c. xvi. (tom. i. Conc. p. 1500.) Περὶ τοῦ, ἐν σαββάτῳ εὐαγγέλια μετὰ ἐτέρων γραφῶν ἀναγινώσκεισθαι.

^p Ibid. c. xlix. Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἄρτον προσφέρειν, εἰ μὴ ἐν σαββάτῳ καὶ κυριακῇ μόνον.

that the oblation of the bread in the eucharist shall not be made all the time of Lent, except on the Sabbath and the Lord's day ; which implies, that those were communion-days, and kept as festivals, even in Lent itself. And for the same reason a third canon orders ^q, that no festivals of martyrs should be kept in Lent, but only commemorations of the martyrs be made on the Sabbath and the Lord's day. The only difference that was then made between the Sabbath and the Lord's day was, that Christians were not obliged to rest from bodily labour on the Sabbath ^r, but might work on that day (so far as divine service would permit), giving preference in this respect to the Lord's day, whereon they were to rest as Christians ; and if any transgressed these rules about working on the Sabbath, they were to be deemed Judaizers, and are ordered to be anathematized by another canon of the same council ; by which it appears, that Saturday was kept weekly as a day of public worship, but not as a Jewish Sabbath. Epiphanius ^s mentions it likewise as a day of public assemblies in some places, but not in all. St. Basil ^t says it was one of the four days in the week on which, in his time, they received the communion. By all which we may perceive, that the author of the Constitutions had a plain regard to the practice of the Eastern Church when he prescribed, "that on every Sabbath, save one (that is, the Saturday before Easter-day), and on every Lord's day ^u, they should hold religious assemblies, and keep them as the weekly festivals ; that is, not only with psalmody, and reading the Scriptures, and common prayers, which was

^q Ibid. c. li. "Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν τεσσαρακοστῇ μαρτύρων γενέθλιον ἐπιτελεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀγίων μαρτύρων μνείαν ποιεῖν ἐν τοῖς σαββάτοις καὶ κυριακαῖς.

^r Cone. Laodic. c. xxix. "Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ Χριστιανοὺς Ἰουδαΐζειν, καὶ ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ σχολάζειν, ἀλλὰ ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὴν δὲ κυριακὴν προτιμώντας, εἶγε δύναντο, σχολάζειν ὡς Χριστιανοί.

^s Epiphani. Epitom. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 1107.) "Ἐν τισὶ δὲ τόποις καὶ ἐν τοῖς σάββασι συνάξεις ἐπιτελοῦσιν.

^t Basil. See note (f) p. 356.—Aug. Ep. cxviii. (Bened. 1679. vol. ii. p. 124.) Alibi nullus dies omittitur, quo non offeratur, alibi sabbato tantum et Dominico.

^u Constitut. lib. v. c. xix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 371.) Πᾶν μέντοι σάββατον ἄνευ τοῦ ἐνόσ, καὶ πᾶσαν κυριακὴν ἐπιτελοῦντες συνόδους εὐφραίνεσθε.—Id. lib. viii. c. xxiii. Σάββατον δὲ καὶ κυριακὴν σχολάζετωσαν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ διὰ τὴν διδασκαλίαν.

the ordinary service of the morning and evening of every day; but with sermons also, or preaching the Gospel, and the offering of the oblation, and reception of the holy food;" as he describes the service of the Sabbath and Lord's day in another place^x.

SECT. IV.—*How they observed the Vigils of the Sabbath and Lord's Day, and other incidental Festivals of Martyrs.*

Now, as these were the two great festivals of every week, so they were commonly ushered in by the attendance of preceding pernoctations or vigils; which, as harbingers, went before to make preparation for the solemnities of the following days. These vigils were much of the same nature as the common nocturnal, or daily morning prayer, which was early, before it was light. And they only differed from the usual *antebucan* service in this, that whereas the usual morning service never began till after midnight, towards cock-crowning in the morning, these vigils were a longer service, that kept the congregation at church the greatest part of the night. These the Greeks called *παννυχίδας*, and the Latins *pernoctationes et pervigilia*, "watchings all the night." St. Chrysostom often speaks of these^y: "Go into the church," says he, "and there see the poor continuing from midnight to break of day. Go, and see the holy pernoctations joining day and night together: behold the people of Christ, fearing neither by night nor by day, the tyranny of sleep, or the necessities of poverty." In another place^z he calls them *πάννυχοι καὶ διηνεκεῖς στάσεις*,

^x Constitut. lib. ii. c. lix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 300.) Τί ἀπολογήσεται τῷ Θεῷ ὁ μὴ συνερχόμενος ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀκούειν τοῦ σωτηρίου περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως λόγου; ἐν ᾗ καὶ τρις εὐχὰς ἐστῶτες ἐπιτελοῦμεν, μνήμης χάριν τοῦ διὰ τριῶν ἀναστάντος ἡμερῶν ἐν ᾗ προφητῶν ἀνάγνωσις, καὶ εὐαγγελίου κηρυκία, καὶ θυσίας ἀναφορά, καὶ τροφῆς ἱερᾶς δωρεά.

^y Chrysostom. Hom. iv. de Verbis Esaiæ. (Bened. vol. vi. p. 121. B 7.) Εἰσελθε εἰς ἐκκλησίαν . . . ἴδε πένητας ἐκ μεσονυκτίων μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας παραμένοντας, βλέπε παννυχίδας ἱερὰς ἡμέρᾳ καὶ νυκτὶ συναφθείσας, οὔτε ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, οὔτε ἐν νυκτὶ τὴν τυραννίδα τοῦ ὕπνου, οὔτε τὴν ἀνάγκην τῆς πενίας φοβουμένους.

^z Chrysostom. Hom. i. de Verbis Esaiæ. (Bened. vol. vi. p. 95. D 4.) Ἐκ τῆς παννύχου ταύτης καὶ διηνεκοῦς στάσεως, ἐκ τοῦ τὴν ἀγγελικὴν χοροστασίαν μιμουμένους ἀκατάπαυστον τῷ κτιστῷ τὴν ὑμολογίαν προσφέρειν ὡ τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ δωρημάτων. ἄνω στρατιαὶ δοξολογοῦσιν ἀγγέλων· κάτω ἐν

“the continued and perfect night stations,” in opposition to the stations by day, which were but partial and imperfect. “By these,” he adds, “you imitate the station of the angelical choir, whilst you offer up ἀκατάπαυστον ὑμνολογίαν ‘psalmody, and hymnody, without ceasing,’ to your Creator. O, the wonderful gifts of Christ! The armies of angels sing glory to God above; and on earth, men, keeping their choral stations in the church, sing the same doxology, after their example. The cherubims above cry aloud, ‘Holy, holy, holy,’ in the *trisagion* hymn; and the congregation of men on earth below send up the same; and so a common general assembly is made of the inhabitants of heaven and earth together. Their thanksgiving is one and the same; their exultation, the same; their joyful choral station, the very same.” In which words he plainly gives us to understand, that the angelical hymn, “Glory be to God on high,” and the ‘cherubical hymn,’ or the *trisagion*, as it was called from the cherubims thrice repeating the first words, “Holy, holy, holy,” were part of their sacred service in these night stations; which, as I observed before, were but an earlier oblation of the ordinary morning service, wherein we shall find the angelical hymn amongst other parts of divine worship always appointed to be used.

It were easy to make a long discourse here of the several sorts of these night stations, or completer vigils holding all the night through. For they were sometimes held upon extraordinary occasions of prayer; upon great emergencies and necessities of the Church; instances of which the curious reader may find several in Chrysostom ^a, and St. Austin ^b, and

ἐκκλησίαις χοροστατοῦντες ἄνθρωποι τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνοις ἐκμιμῶνται δοξολογίαν ἄνω τὰ Σεραφίμ τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον ἀναβοῶν κάτω τὸν αὐτὸν ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀναπέμπει πληθὺς κοινὴ τῶν ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων συγκροεῖται πανήγυρις· μία εὐχαριστία, ἐν ἀγαλλίαμα, μία εὐφρόσυνος χοροστασία.

^a Chrysostom. Hom. xx. de Statuis, (Paris. tom. i. p. 252.) (p. 121, edit. Francof.) Οὐκ ἔστι τῆς τυχούσης ψυχῆς ἐν τῇ πειρασμῶν ἐπαγωγῇ νήφειν καὶ πρὸς Θεὸν βλέπειν. — Hom. xl. ad Juventin. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 581.) Συντρεχόντων πολλῶν ψαλμῳδίας συνεχεῖς ἐτελοῦντο, παννυχίδες ἱεραί.

^b Aug. Confess. lib. ix. c. vii. (Bened. 1679. vol. i. p. 162.) Exceubabat pia plebs in ecclesia, mori parata cum episcopo suo, servo tuo. Ibi mater mea, ancilla tua, solitudinis et vigiliarum primas partes tenens, orationibus vivebat. — Ep. exix. ad Januar.

Ruffin^e, and Socrates^d, and Sozomen^e, and Theodoret^f. Sometimes, again, they were kept as anniversary vigils, to usher in the greater festivals of the Nativity, Epiphany, Resurrection, and Ascension of Christ, and the Descent of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost; of which sort there is mention made in Tertullian^g, Lactantius^h, Chrysostomⁱ, Socrates^k,

^e Ruffin. lib. i. c. xii. Ad ultimum certam ei diem statuentes denuntiant, ut aut ipse Arium susciperet; aut si reniteretur, se ecclesia pulso et in exilium truso, ab alio eum suscipiendum sciret. Tum ille nocte, quæ ad constitutam intererat diem, sub altari jacens, atque in oratione et lacrimis totam pervigilem ducens, ecclesiæ caussam Domino commendabat.—Lib. ii. c. xvi. Ambrosius adversum reginæ furorem, non se manu defensabat, aut telo, sed jejuniis continuatisque vigiliis sub altare positus.

^d Socrat. lib. i. c. xxxvii. (Cantabr. p. 75.) Ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἧ ἐπόνυμον Εἰρήνη, μόνον ἑαυτὸν κατακλειστὸν ποιήσας, καὶ εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον εἰσελθὼν, ὑπὸ τὴν ἱεράν τράπεζαν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ στόμα ἐκτείνας, εὐχεται δακρῶν νύκτας τε πολλὰς ἐφεξῆς καὶ ἡμέρας τοῦτο ποιῶν διετέλει, κ. τ. λ.

^e Sozom. lib. ii. c. xxix. Τῇ δὲ πρὸ τῆς προθεσμίας ἡμέρᾳ, εἰσὼς ὑπὸ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, παννύχιος ἔκειτο πρηνῆς, τοῦ Θεοῦ δεόμενος, κ. τ. λ. — Lib. iii. c. vi. Τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης ἐκκλησίαζεν.

^f Theodoret. lib. i. c. xiv. (Cantabr. p. 43.) Ὁ τοίνυν ἐπίσκοπος Ἀλέξανδρος ἀκούσας ταῦτα, καὶ πάνυ λυπηθεὶς, εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἄρας πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, ἀπωδύρατο· καὶ ρίψας ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ἐν τῷ ἱερατεῖῳ, κείμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους ἠΰχετο.

^g Tertull. ad Uxor. lib. ii. c. iv. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 71.) Quis solemnibus Paschæ abnoctantem securus sustinebit?

^h Lactant. lib. vii. c. xix. (Paris. 1748. p. 569.) Hæc nox est, quæ a nobis, propter adventum Regis ac Dei nostri, pervigilio celebratur.

ⁱ Chrysostom. Hom. xxx. in Genes. (Bened. 1718. vol. iv. p. 294. C 7.) Διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὶ καὶ τὴν νηστείαν ἐπιτείνουνσι, καὶ ἀγρυπνίας καὶ παννυχίδας ἱεράς, καὶ ἐλεημοσύνας ἐπιδείκνυνται, δεικνύντες δι' ὧν πρᾶττουσι τὴν τιμὴν, ἣν περὶ τὴν ἐβδομάδα ἔχουσι.

^k Socrat. lib. vii. c. v. (Cantabr. p. 351.) Μετ' οὐ πολὺ τὴν ἐκ προλήψεως ἑορτὴν ἐπετέλει· καὶ συνέρρεον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξ ἔθους πολλοὶ καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἔθους παννυχίδα ποιούντων, θόρυβός τις δαιμόνιος ἐνέπεσεν εἰς αὐτοὺς, ὡς ἄρα Σισίννιος ὁ αὐτῶν ἐπίσκοπος σὺν πολλῷ πλήθει ἔρχεται κατ' αὐτῶν. — Conf. lib. ii. c. xi. See note (1) p. 363. — Euseb. de Vit. Constant. lib. iv. c. lvii. Ἦδη ἡ μεγάλη τοῦ πάσχα ἑορτὴ παρῆν' ἐν ᾗ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ Θεῷ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀποδιδούς συνδιενυκτέρευσε τοῖς ἄλλοις. — Hieron. Comment. in Matth. xxv. (Venet. vol. vii. p. 202.) Traditio Judæorum est, Christum media nocte venturum in similitudinem Ægyptii temporis, quando Pascha celebratum est, et exterminator venit, et Dominus super tabernacula transit, et sanguine agni postes nostrarum frontium consecrati sunt. Unde reor et traditionem apostolicam permansisse, ut in die vigiliarum Paschæ, ante noctis dimidium, populos dimittere non liceat, exspectantes adventum Christi.

and many others. But the vigils we are here concerned to speak of, are only such as have some relation to the weekly service ; of which number we may reckon those vigils of the Sabbath and Lord's day the chief, because they returned constantly in the weekly revolution. Concerning which we have not only the forementioned authority of Chrysostom, but several others. For Socrates, giving an account of Athanasius's escape out of the church of Alexandria, in the night, when the church was beset with soldiers to take him, says^l, "It was evening, and the people were keeping their nocturnal vigils, because the next day was to be a *synaxis*, or 'Church assembly.' Therefore Athanasius, fearing lest the people should suffer upon his account, bid the deacon give the signal, or call to prayer, and he commanded a psalm to be sung ; and whilst they were singing their psalmody, the soldiers were quiet ; and they all, meanwhile, went out at one door of the church ; and Athanasius, in the midst of the singers, escaped untouched, and fled to Rome." Athanasius himself has the same story in his Apology for his Flight, where he says^m, "Some of the people were keeping their night vigil, expecting an assembly the next day." And Socrates, in another place, speaking of these nocturnal vigils, kept both by the Arians and Catholics, saysⁿ, "They held them against the weekly

^l Socrat. lib. ii. c. xi. (Cantab. p. 89.) 'Εσπέρα μὲν ἦν ὁ δὲ λαὸς ἐπανύχιζε, προσδοκωμένης συνάξεως ἤκει δὲ ὁ στρατηγός, κατὰ φάλαγγα τοὺς στρατιώτας τάξας πανταχόθεν τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Ἀθανάσιος δὲ ἑωρακὼς τὰ γινόμενα, φροντίδα ἔθετο, ὅπως ἂν τῷ λαῷ μηδαμῶς βλάβη γένηται δι' αὐτόν· καὶ προστάξας διακόνῳ κηρύξαι εὐχὴν, αὐθις ψαλμὸν λέγεσθαι παρεσκεύασε· συμφωνίας δὲ ἐκ τῆς ψαλμωδίας γενομένης, διὰ μιᾶς τῶν πυλῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάντες ἐξήεσαν· τούτου γινομένου, οἱ στρατιῶται ἀπόμαχοι ἔμενον· ὁ δὲ Ἀθανάσιος ἐν μέσοις τοῖς ψαλμωδοῦσιν ἀβλαβῆς διεσώζετο· τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον διεκφυγὼν, ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνέδραμε.

^m Athan. Apol. de Fuga. (tom. i. p. 334, Paris. 1698.) Νυξ μὲν γὰρ ἦδη ἦν, καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τινες ἐπανύχιζον προσδοκωμένης συνάξεως.

ⁿ Socrat. lib. vi. c. viii. (Cantabr. p. 321.) Οἱ Ἀρειανίζοντες ἔξω τῆς πόλεως τὰς συναγωγὰς ἐπιούντο· ἠνίκα οὖν ἐκάστης ἐβδομάδος ἑορταὶ κατελάμβανον, φημί δὲ τό τε σάββατον καὶ ἡ κυριακὴ, ἐν αἷς αἱ συνάξεις κατὰ τὰς ἐκκλησίας εἰώθασιν γίνεσθαι, αὐτοὶ ἐντὸς τῶν τῆς πόλεως πυλῶν περὶ τὰς στοὰς ἀθροιζόμενοι, καὶ φῶδας ἀντιφώνουσι πρὸς τὴν Ἀρειανὴν δόξαν συντιθέντες ἤδον· καὶ τοῦτο ἐποίουν κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τῆς νυκτός· ὑπὸ δὲ ὄρθρον, τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀντίφωνα λέγοντες, διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως

festivals, the Sabbath and the Lord's day, on which days there were used to be general assemblies of the Church. And, because the Arians were allowed no churches within the walls, they sung their hymns in the streets and porticos of the city till the morning light; and then went out to their meeting places without the gates." And the historian observes, "that Chrysostom, fearing the Arians might gain ground upon the Church by this practice, and draw away some of the more simple people, appointed some of his own people, who were used to nocturnal hymnody, to meet in the streets after the same manner; and, to make the solemnity more splendid, the empress gave them silver crosses to set their lamps in, appointing one of her own eunuchs, called Brison, to be their protector. Which so provoked the Arians, that they fell to blows upon it; and Brison and some others were slain in the engagement; which occasioned the emperor wholly to put down those Arian meetings, and leave the Catholics quietly to go on with their vigils in the churches, as they had done before." From these accounts we may easily collect, both that there were such weekly vigils frequented by the more zealous and religious sort of people in all parts of the East; and also that psalms, and hymns, and prayers, were the exercises, wherewith they entertained themselves to the morning light. I might add many other testimonies out of Nazianzen^o and other Greek writers; but these are abundantly sufficient to show us the practice of the Oriental Church.

For the Latin Church, we have the authority of St. Jerome, who interpreting the word 'watcher,' in Daniel, says, "It signifies the angels, who always watch, and are ready to obey

ἐξήεσαν τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ τοὺς τόπους ἔνθα συνῆγον κατελάμβανον . . .
 Τότε δὴ καὶ Ἰωάννης εὐλαβηθεῖς, μὴ τις τῶν ἀπλουστέρων ὑπὸ τῶν
 τοιούτων ψῆδῶν ἀφελκουσθῆ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀντιτίθησιν αὐτοῖς τοὺς τοῦ ἰδίου
 λαοῦ, ὅπως ἂν καὶ αὐτοὶ ταῖς νυκτεριναῖς ὑμνολογίαις σχολάζοντες, ἀμαν-
 ρώσωσι μὲν τὴν ἐκείνων περὶ τούτου σπουδὴν, βεβαίους δὲ τοὺς οἰκίους
 πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν πίστιν ἐργάζωνται, κ. τ. λ.

^o Nazianz. Carm. Iambic. xviii. (1630. tom. ii. p. 218.)

Ὅρᾶς ἀγρύπνους πρὸς Θεὸν ψαλμψῆδας

Ἀνδρῶν, γυναικῶν, φύσεως λεησμένων;

— Id. Orat. xi. de Gorgonia, tom. i. p. 184. Ὡ νυκτῶν ἀύπνων, καὶ ψαλμψῆ-
 δίας, κ. τ. λ.

the commands of God ;” and he adds ^p, “ We also, by our frequent pernoctations, or night-watches, imitate the office of angels.” And it appears from him, further ^q, that women and virgins frequented this service, as well as men : for he advises Læta to inure her daughter to these solemn pernoctations ; only cautioning her to keep a guard upon her, and not let her wander from her side : for the same reason, I presume, for which the Council of Eliberis ^r thought fit wholly to forbid women the observation of these vigils ; because many, under pretence of prayer, were found to commit wickedness. There are many other passages in St. Austin, and St. Hilary, and other Latin writers, which speak of vigils ; but, because they may be understood either of private watchings in prayers at home, or of the common vigils of the ordinary morning-prayer before day, I omit them in this place : only alleging that of St. Ambrose, where he seems to found this practice upon the imitation of Christ’s example : “ The Lord Jesus,” says he ^s, “ continued all night in prayer ; not that he wanted the help of prayer, but to set thee an example to copy after. He continued all night praying for thee, that thou mightest learn after what manner to pray for thyself.”

But besides these stated vigils of the two weekly festivals, there was another sort of incidental ones, which came almost every week throughout the year : or, at least, were very frequent in some parts of it ; those were the vigils of the festivals, or anniversaries of the martyrs. Those anniversaries, as we shall see by and by, were always in great repute, and observed with the same solemnities of divine worship as the Sabbath, or the Lord’s day ; and, therefore, their vigils were also cele-

^p Hieron. Com. in Daniel, iv. 12. (Bened. Veron. vol. v. p. 647.) Unde et nos crebris pernoctationibus imitatur Angelorum officia.

^q Ibid. Epist. vii. ad Lætam. (Venet. vol. i. p. 686.) Vigiliarum dies et solennes pernoctationes sic virguncula nostra celebret, ut ne transverso quidem ungue a matre discedat.

^r Conc. Illiber. c. xxxv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 974.) Placuit prohiberi, ne feminae in cœmeterio pervigilent ; eo quod sæpe, sub obtentu orationis, latenter scelera committant.

^s Ambros. Serm. xix. in Psalm. cxviii. (Paris. 1836. vol. ii. p. 391.) Pernoctabat in oratione Dominus Jesus, non indigens precatationis auxilio, sed statuens tibi imitationis exemplum. Ille pro te rogans pernoctabat, ut tu disceres, quomodo pro te rogares.

brated with the same ceremony as the vigils, or night-stations, of the two great weekly festivals. St. Chrysostom is an undoubted witness of this: for in a Homily made upon one of these festivals, he takes notice of the preceding vigil, that had continued all the night: “Ye have turned,” says he^t, “the night into day, by keeping your holy stations all the night: do not now turn the day into night again, by surfeiting, and drunkenness, and lascivious songs.” And Sidonius Apollinaris will testify the same, at least for some part of the Western Church: for, writing about the festival of Justus, bishop of Lyons, he thus describes both the observation of the day, and the preceding vigil: “We met,” says he^u, “at the grave of St. Justus; it was a morning procession before day; it was an anniversary solemnity. The confluence of people, of both sexes, was so great, that the church, though very capacious, and surrounded with cloisters, could not contain them. When the service of the vigil was ended, which the monks and clerical singers performed with alternate melody, we separated for some time, but went not very far away, as being to meet again at three o’clock [that is, nine in the morning]; when the priests were to perform divine service;” that is, the service of the communion, as on a festival.

SECT. V.—*Of the Festivals of Martyrs; their Original, and what Divine Service was performed on them.*

And now that we have mentioned the festival of martyrs, as days of public religious worship, we must take notice of their original, to find out how early they became days of solemn

^t Chrysostom. Hom. lix. in Martyres. (Bened. 1718. vol. ii. p. 668. D 6.) Ἐποιήσατε τὴν νύκτα ἡμέραν διὰ τῶν παννυχίδων τῶν ἱερῶν μὴ ποιήσατε πάλιν τὴν ἡμέραν νύκτα διὰ τῆς μέθης καὶ τῆς κραιπάλης, καὶ τῶν ἄσμάτων τῶν πορνικῶν.

^u Sidon. lib. v. ep. xvii. (Max. Bibl. V. P. vol. vi. p. 1104. C 7.) Convenemus ad Sancti Justi sepulchrum. . . . Processio fuerat antelucana, solemnitas anniversaria, populus ingens sexu ex utroque, quem capacissima basilica non caperet, et quamlibet cineta diffusis crypta porticibus. Cultu peracto vigiliarum, quas alternante mulcedine monachi clericique psalmicines concelebraverant, quisque in diversa secessimus; non procul tamen, utpote ad tertiam preesto futuri, quum sacerdotibus res divina facienda.

addresses to God, and in what offices of divine service their observations consisted. These festivals were grown so numerous in the time of Chrysostom and Theodoret, that they tell us it was not once, or twice, or five times in a year that they celebrated their memorials, but they had oftentimes one or two in the same week ^x, which occasioned frequent solemnities. The original of them is, at least, to be carried as high as the time of Polycarp, who suffered about the year 168. For the Church of Smyrna (whereof he was bishop), in their Epistle to the Church of Philomelium, recorded by Eusebius ^y, tell them, “that they intended, if God would permit, to meet at his tomb, and celebrate his birth-day, that is, the day of his martyrdom, with joy and gladness, as well for the memory of the sufferer as for example to posterity.” Tertullian speaks of these anniversary festivals, as observed in his time. “We offer,” says he ^z “oblations for those that are dead, for their nativities on their anniversary-day.” And Cyprian ^a orders his clergy to note down the days of their decease, that a commemoration of them might be celebrated amongst the memories of the martyrs. And in another place he says ^b, “They offered sacrifices for them as often as they celebrated their passions, or days of martyrdom, by an anniversary commemoration.” These sacrifices were the sacrifices of prayer and thanksgiving

^x Chrysostom. Hom. xl. in Juventin. (Bened. 1718. vol. ii. p. 578.) Ὁ μακάριος Βαβύλας πρώην ἡμᾶς ἐνταῦθα μετὰ παιδῶν τριῶν συνήγαγε· σήμερον στρατιωτῶν ξυνωρὶς ἀγίων, τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ τῆς παρατάξεως ἔστησε· τότε ἄρμα μαρτύρων, νῦν ξυνωρὶς μαρτύρων.—Theodor. Serm. viii. de Martyr. (Schulze, Halæ, vol. iv. p. 921.) Εἰς δὲ τούτους (σηκοῦς μαρτύρων) οὐχ ἅπαξ ἢ δις γε τοῦ ἔτους ἢ πεντάκις φοιτῶμεν ἀλλὰ πολλάκις μὲν πανηγύρεις ἐπιτελοῦμεν.

^y Euseb. lib. iv. c. xv. (Cantabr. p. 171.) Ἐνθα ὡς δυνατὸν ἡμῖν συναγομένοις ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει καὶ χαρᾷ, παρέξει ὁ Κύριος ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου αὐτοῦ ἡμέραν γενέθλιον, εἰς τε τῶν προηθληκότων μνήμην, καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἄσκησίν τε καὶ ἐτοιμασίαν.

^z Tertull. de Coron. Milit. c. iii. (Oberthür, vol. i. p. 207.) Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis, annua die facimus.

^a Cyprian. Ep. xii. al. xxxvii. (Oxon. 1682. p. 27.) (p. 188, edit. Fell. Amstelod.) Dies eorum quibus excedunt, adnotate ut commemorationes eorum inter memorias martyrum celebrare possimus.

^b Ibid. Ep. xxxiv. al. xxxiv. (Oxon. p. 77.) (p. 224, edit. Fell. Amstelod.) Sacrificia pro eis semper, ut meministis, offerimus, quoties martyrum passiones et dies anniversaria commemoratione celebramus.

to God for the examples of the martyrs, and the celebration of the eucharist on these days, and the offerings of alms and oblations for the poor, which, together with a panegyric oration or sermon, and reading the acts or passion of the martyr, if they had any such recorded, were the exercises and special acts of devotion in which they spent these days. For these were always esteemed high festivals; and, therefore, the same service that was performed on the Sabbath and Lord's day, was always performed on them. They never passed without a full assembly, nor without a sermon or a communion; as appears from some of Chrysostom's Homilies upon such occasions. To dissuade the people from intemperance, he bids them consider^c "how absurd it was, after such a meeting, after a whole night's vigil, after hearing the Holy Scriptures, after participating of the divine mysteries, after such a spiritual repast, for a man or a woman to be found spending whole days in a tavern." The foundation of his argument is built upon this supposition, that they had received the eucharist in the church before, in celebrating the memorial of a martyr. And so Sidonius Apollinaris represents the matter in the passage just now cited from him^d; that after they had kept the vigil of St. Justus the night preceding, they assembled again by day, at nine in the morning, when the priests did *rem divinam facere*; 'offer the oblation, or consecrate the eucharist;' as Savaro^e rightly interprets it.

But, besides the usual solemnities of other festivals, there was one thing peculiar to these festivals of the martyrs; which was, that the history of their passions, as they were taken by the notaries, appointed by the Church for this purpose, were commonly read in the assembly upon such occasions. It was at least the common practice of the African Churches. For

^c Chrysostom. Hom. lix. de Martyr. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 669. A 8.) Ἐννόησον, ἡλικὸς γέλως, μετὰ τοιαύτην σύνοδον, μετὰ παννυχίδας, μετὰ γραφῶν ἁγίων ἀκρόασιν, μετὰ μυστηρίων θείων κοινωνίαν, καὶ μετὰ πνευματικὴν χορηγίαν, ἄνδρα ἢ γυναῖκα ἐν κατηλείφ φαίνεσθαι διημερεύοντας.

^d Sidon. Apoll. lib. v. ep. xvii. See note (u) p. 366.

^e Savar. Commentar. in Sidon. *Res divina facienda*] id est, missarum solemnium celebranda, missa facienda, sacrificia offerenda, ut ipse loquitur, ep. xv. lib. iv.

St. Austin ^f speaks of it as a usual thing, indulging his people with liberty to sit whilst they heard them read, because they were sometimes of a considerable length. And the third Council of Carthage ^g made a canon to encourage the reading of them. Mabillon ^h gives several other instances out of Alcimus Avitus, Cæsarius Arelatensis, and Ferreolus, to show that they were read also in the French Churches. Only they were forbidden in the Roman Church by the decree of Pope Gelasius ⁱ in his Synod of Seventy Bishops, under pretence that they were written by anonymous authors, and sometimes by ignorant heathens, and sometimes by heretical authors, as the Passions of Cyricus, Julita, and St. George. For which reason they had, by ancient custom, prohibited the reading of them in the Roman Church. But this rule, it seems, did not then prescribe to other Churches.

SECT. VI.—*Solemn Assemblies for Preaching, and other Acts of Divine Worship, held every Day during the whole Forty Days of Lent, and the Fifty Days between Easter and Whitsuntide.*

It may be further observed, that during the whole forty days of Lent, they had continual assemblies not only for prayers, but preaching also; as is evident from Chrysostom's sermons, many of which were preached by him successively, one day after another, throughout the greatest part of that season, as his Homilies upon Genesis, and those famous discourses called his *'Ανδριάντες*, preached at Antioch, in Lent, upon the occasion of a tumult, wherein the emperor's statues were

^f Aug. Hom. xxvi. ex l. (Bened. vol. v. append. p. 504. B 4.) Quando aut passiones prolixæ, aut certe aliquæ lectiones longiores, qui stare non possunt, humiliter et cum silentio sedentes, attentis auribus audiant, quæ leguntur.

^g Conc. Carth. III. c. xlvi. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1177.) Liceat etiam legi passiones martyrum, quum anniversarii dies eorum celebrantur.

^h Mabillon. de Cursu Gallicano, p. 403, etc.

ⁱ Gelas. Decret. ap. Grab. tom. i. p. 992. Singulari cautela, secundum antiquam consuetudinem, in sancta Romana ecclesia non leguntur, quia et eorum qui conscribere, nomina penitus ignorantur; et ab infidelibus idiotis superflua, aut minus apta, quam rei ordo fuerit, scripta esse putantur, sicut eujusdam Cyrici et Julitæ, sicut Georgii aliorumque hujusmodi passiones, quæ ab hæreticis perhibentur compositæ.

demolished. And many other instances may be given of the same practice : of which more hereafter, under the head of Preaching, in the next Book^j. It is true, indeed, they did not always consecrate the eucharist in Lent, but only upon the Sabbath and Lord's day, as we learn from the Council of Laodicea^k, which expressly forbids the oblation of the bread in Lent upon any other day besides the Sabbath and the Lord's day. The reason of which was, that these two days were observed as festivals even in Lent itself; and they did not ordinarily consecrate the eucharist upon the solemn fasts in the time of this council : but instead of the consecration-service they had probably that which, in the following ages, is called *προηγιασμένων λειτουργία*, *missa præsanctificationum*, 'the office of the pre-sanctified elements,' which was a shorter service for communicating on fast-days in the elements that were consecrated before on the Lord's day festival; about which there is a particular direction in the Council of Trullo^l; so that, one way or other, they seem to have had both a communion and a sermon every day in Lent.

Then again, the fifty days between Easter and Whitsuntide were a sort of perpetual festival, and observed with great solemnity as days of joy, from the time of Tertullian, who mentions it, and triumphs over the heathen upon it^m, "that besides the Sunday, which returned once in eight days, this one continued festival of Pentecost was more than all the festivals the heathen could pretend to reckon up in a whole year." He does not tell us here, indeed, with what solemnity they observed this time; but, in another placeⁿ, he assures

^j Book xiv. chap. iv.

^k Conc. Laodic. c. xlix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1505.) "Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἄρτον προσφέρειν, εἰ μὴ ἐν σαββάτῳ καὶ κυριακῇ μόνον.

^l Conc. Trul. c. lii. (Labbe, vol. vi. p. 1166.) 'Ἐν πάσαις τῆς ἁγίας τεσσαρακοστῆς τῶν νηστεῶν ἡμέραις, παρεκτός σαββάτου, καὶ κυριακῆς, καὶ τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ εὐαγγελισμοῦ ἡμέρας, γινέσθω ἢ τῶν προηγιασμένων ἱερὰ λειτουργία.

^m Tertul. de Idololatr. c. xiv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 49.) *Ethnicis semel annuus dies quisque festus est : tibi octavus quisque dies. Excerpe singulas solemnitates nationum, et in ordinem texe, Pentecosten implere non poterunt.*

ⁿ Ibid. de Coron. Milit. c. iii. *Die Dominico jejunium nefas ducimus, vel geniculis adorare. Eadem immunitate a die Paschæ in Pentecosten usque gaudemus.*

us they had solemn worship every day, and paid the same respect to it as they did to the Lord's day, in that they neither fasted nor prayed kneeling on any day during this whole interval, which was the commemoration of our Saviour's resurrection and ascension; whence it is no improbable conjecture that, during this season, they might have the same complete worship every day that they had upon the Lord's day.

SECT. VII.—*Public Prayer, Morning and Evening, every Day in the third Century.*

And this consideration will lead us to fix the date of the setting up morning and evening prayer daily in the Church. For if the persecutions would give leave, in Tertullian's time, to keep fifty days together as solemn festivals, there is no reason to imagine that they could not as well meet every day for their ordinary devotions; and if Wednesdays and Fridays were then observed as stationary days, with more than ordinary attendance, as we have heard him declare before, there is little reason to question, but that every day might have an ordinary vigil, or morning assembly. It was not long after Tertullian's time, that, Cyprian assures us^o, "they received the eucharist every day:" and he thinks that petition in the Lord's Prayer may bear this sense, when we say, "Give us this day our daily bread;" which was also Tertullian's sense of it before him^p. Now this is demonstration, then, that they had assemblies for public worship every day, since they received the eucharist every day, which they did not use to consecrate but in public assemblies of the Church. From this time, therefore, there is no dispute about the Church's daily sacrifice of prayer in her morning assemblies; which, in after ages, are

^o Cypr. de Orat. Domin. (Oxon. 1684. p. 147.) (p. 104, edit. Fell. Amstelod.) Hunc panem dari nobis quotidie postulamus, ne qui in Christo sumus, et quotidie eucharistiam ad cibum salutis accipimus, intercedente aliquo graviore delicto, dum abstenti et non communicantes a cœlesti pane prohibemur, a Christi corpore separemur.

^p Tertul. de Orat. c. vi. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 26.) Corpus ejus in pane censetur: 'Hoc est corpus meum.' Itaque petendo panem quotidianum perpetuitatem postulamus in Christo, et individualitatem a corpore ejus.

commonly called *cœtus antelucani, et vigiliae, et horæ nocturnæ*, because they were a sort of 'ordinary vigils, or night-assemblies,' held before it was light, though not so early as those other sort of vigils, or night-stations, before the Sabbath and Lord's day, which were of longer duration : as has been noted already of them in its proper place.

As to evening prayer, public in the church, Mr. Mede^q thinks there is no mention made of it in Cyprian or Tertullian, nor in any writers before the author of the Constitutions and the Council of Laodicea. He thinks the ninth hour of prayer, mentioned by Cyprian^r, relates only to private prayer, which is very probable : and that Tertullian's *nocturnæ convocationes* mean not 'evening,' but 'morning prayers, early before day ;' which is undoubtedly true. But, then, he seems not to have considered, that, in Cyprian's time, there was a custom among some of communicating after supper ; for he plainly mentions it^s, though he did not like the custom. And this custom continued among the Egyptians till the time of Socrates^t, who speaks of it then as something peculiar to those Churches. Now, if there was a custom in Cyprian's time of communicating after supper, there is no doubt to be made of evening prayer at the same time. Rigaltius^u, and after him

^q Mede, Ep. lxvi. p. 840.

^r Cypr. de Orat. Domin. (Oxon. 1682. p. 154.) (p. 108, edit. Amstelod.) In orationibus celebrandis invenimus observasse cum Daniele tres pucros in fide fortes, et in captivitate victores, horam tertiam, sextam, nonam, sacramento scilicet Trinitatis ; quæ in novissimis temporibus manifestari habebat. . . . Quando a septima nona completur, per ternas horas Trinitas perfecta numeratur : quæ horarum spatia jam pridem spiritaliter determinantes adoratores Dei, statutis et legitimis ad precem temporibus serviebant ; et manifesta postmodum res est sacramenta olim fuisse ; quod ante sic justî precabantur, etc.

^s Ibid. Epist. lxiii. ad Cæcilium. (Oxon. p. 156.) (p. 227, edit. cit.) An illa sibi aliquis contemplatione blanditur, quod etsi mane aqua sola offerri videtur, tamen quum ad cœnandum venimus, mixtum calicem offerimus ?

^t Socrat. lib. v. c. xxii. See note (k) p. 357.

^u Rigalt. in Cyprian. Ep. lxiii. Ævo jam Tertulliani mutatum aliquid circa hoc sacramentum fuisse colligitur, et non solum vespere, in tempore victus, sed etiam horis antelucanis, sacramentum corporis Christi celebratum fuisse arguunt hæc verba (lib. de Corona) : 'Eucharistiæ sacramentum in tempore victus mandatum a Domino, etiam antelucanis horis sumimus.'

Bishop Fell^v, and Dr. Cave^x, carry this custom of communicating after supper as high as Tertullian: but I think they mistake his words; for he does not say that they communicated after supper^y, but “that Christ, at supper time, gave the command for the sacrament of the eucharist to all, though then they communicated in their morning assemblies, and received it from the hands of none but their governors.” I lay no stress, therefore, upon this proof, but think the proof of evening prayer may be rationally deduced from that of Cyprian; after whom the author of the Constitutions not only speaks of it^z, but gives us the order both of their morning and evening service; with which I shall present the reader in the following chapters. The Council of Laodicea speaks of the evening service^a, together with that of the *nones*, or ‘three in the afternoon,’ and orders the same service to be used in both. The Greeks commonly call it *λυχναψία*, and the Latins *lucernarium*, because it commonly began at the time when the day went off, and when they lighted candles for the night. It is likewise frequently styled *sacrificium vespertinum*, ‘the evening sacrifice,’ and *missa vespertina*; as those names are used to signify, in general, ‘the service or prayers of the Church.’ And these two, evening and morning, are the most celebrated times of the ancient daily service, which are to be found almost in every ecclesiastical writer; so that it is altogether needless here to insist any further upon them.

^v Fell. in locum. Constat eucharistiam, licet horis antelucanis sumtam, vespere etiam distribui solitam; ejus rei locuples testis Tertullianus (lib. de Corona, c. iii.): ‘Eucharistiæ sacramentum tempore victus de præsentium manu sumimus.’ Et alibi monet, ut finitis stationibus sumatur. (P. 156.)

^x Cave, Prim. Christ. part i. c. xi. Lond. 1698. p. 225.

^y Tertul. de Coron. Milit. c. iii. (Oberthür, vol. i. p. 207.) Eucharistiæ sacramentum, et in tempore victus, et omnibus mandatum a Domino, etiam antelucanis cœtibus, nec de aliorum manu quam presentium sumimus.

^z Constitut. lib. viii. c. xxxv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 499.) ‘Εσπέρας γενομένης, συναθροίσεις τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὡ ἐπίσκοπε, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ῥηθῆναι τὸν ἐπιλύχνιον ψαλμὸν, προσφωνήσει ὁ διάκονος ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηχομένων, καὶ χειμαζομένων, καὶ τῶν φωτιζομένων, καὶ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ, κ.τ.λ.

^a Conc. Laodic. c. xviii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1500.) Περὶ τοῦ, τὴν αὐτὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν εὐχῶν πάντοτε καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐννάταις, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐσπέρας ὀφείλειν γίνεσθαι.

SECT. VIII.—*The Original of the Canonical Hours of Prayer.*

No Notice of them for public Prayer, but only for private, in the three first Ages.

There remains one question more concerning those times of prayer, which are commonly called the canonical hours; that is, besides the forementioned evening and morning prayer, those that are called the first, the third, the sixth, and the ninth hours, with the *completorium*, or ‘bed-time.’ They who have made the most exact inquiries into the original of these as fixed hours of public prayer, can find no footsteps of them in the three first ages, but conclude they came first into the Church with the monastic life. So Mr. Mede^b and Bishop Pearson^c, who observes that Tertullian^d mentions the third, sixth, and ninth hours of prayer; but then he is disputing as a Montanist against the Catholics, and urging the necessity of observing the rules of the Montanists in all the heights of their austerities, and pretences of mortification and devotion above the Church. And he does not intimate that either the Montanists or the Catholics observed these hours for public

^b Med. Ep. lxvi.

^c Pears. Prælect. ii. in Act. Apostol. mn. iii. iv.

^d Tertul. de Jejun. c. x. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 172.) *Æque stationes nostras, ut indignas, quasdam vero et in serum constitutas, novitatis nomine inculsant, hoc quoque munus et ex arbitrio obeundum esse dicentes, et non ultra nonam detinendum, de suo scilicet more. Sed quod pertineat ad interdictionis questionem, semel pro omnibus causis respondebo. Nunc ad proprium hujus speciei articulum, de modo temporis dico, de ipsis prius expostulandum, unde hanc formam nona dirimendis stationibus præscribant: si, quia Petrus et qui cum eo ad horam nonam orationis templum introgressi leguntur, quis mihi probat illos ea die statione functos, ut horam nonam ad clausulam et expunctionem stationis interpretetur? Atqui facilius invenias Petrum hora sexta capiendi cibi causa, prius in superiora ad orandum adscendisse, quo magis sexta diei finiri officio huic possit, quæ illud absolutura post orationem videbatur. Porro, quum in eodem Commentario Lucæ, et tertia hora orationis demonstratur, sub qua Spiritu Sancto initiati pro ebriis habebantur; et sexta, qua Petrus adscendit in superiora; et nona, qua templum sunt introgressi, cur non intelligamus, salva plane indifferentia semper et ubique et omni tempore orandi, tamen tres istas horas, ut insigniores in rebus humanis, quæ diem distribuunt, quæ negotia distinguunt, quæ publicæ resonant; ita et solemniores fuisse in orationibus divinis? quod etiam suadet Danielis quoque argumentum, ter die orantis, utique per aliquarum horarum exceptionem; non aliarum autem quam insigniorum, exinde apostolicarum, tertiæ, sextæ, nonæ, etc.*

assemblies. Cyprian^e, indeed, recommends these hours of prayer from the example of Daniel, and other arguments, to Christians, in their private devotions: but he does not so much as once suggest, that the Church had then, by any rule, made these the stated hours of public devotion. That which evidently confirms this opinion is an observation to be made out of Cassian, who particularly describes the devotions of these canonical hours, and the gradual rise of them. For they had not all their original at the same time. The first monks of Egypt, who were the founders of the monastic life, he assures us, never observed any other canonical hours for public devotion, but only evening and morning early, before day^f: all the rest of their time they spent at work privately, joining private meditation of the Scriptures, singing of psalms, and prayers, continually, with their labour. Not long after, the monasteries of Mesopotamia and Palestine set up the practice of meeting publicly at the third, sixth, and ninth hours for performing their psalmody and devotions^g. But as yet, there was no new morning service, distinct from that of the old morning service before day. This was first begun in the monastery of Bethlehem^h, and thence propagated into others, but

^e Cyprian. de Orat. Domin. See note (r) p. 372.

^f Cassian. Institut. lib. iii. c. ii. (Atrebat. p. 41.) Apud illos hæc Officia, quæ Domino solvere per distinctiones horarum, et temporis intervalla cum admonitione compulsoris adigimur, per totum diei spatium jugiter cum operis adjectione spontaneè celebrantur. Ita namque ab eis incessanter operatio manuum privatim per cellulas exercetur, ut psalmodiarum quoque, vel ceterarum Scripturarum meditatio numquam penitus omittatur. Cui preces et orationes per singula momenta miscentes, in his Officiis, quæ nos statuto tempore celebramus, totum diei tempus absumunt. Quamobrem, exceptis vespertinis horis ac nocturnis congregationibus, nulla apud eos per diem publica solemnitas, absque die sabbati vel Dominica, celebratur, in quibus hora tertia sacræ communionis obtentu conveniunt.

^g Ibid. c. iii. (p. 44.) In Pales-tinæ vel Mesopotamiæ monasteriis ac totius Orientis, supradictarum horarum solemnitates trinis psalmis quotidie finiuntur; ut et orationum adsiduitas statutis temporibus Deo offeratur, et necessaria operationis Officia, consummatis justo moderamine spiritualibus obsequiis, nullatenus valeant impediri. His enim tribus temporibus etiam Daniele prophetam quotidie fenestris apertis in cœnaculo preces Domino fudisse cognoscimus. Nec immerito hæc specialius tempora religiosis sunt officiis deputata, etc.

^h Ibid. c. iv. (p. 51.) Sciendum hanc Matutinam [solemnitatem] quæ nunc observatur in Occiduis vel maxime regionibus, canonicam functionem nostro

not received in all. And the *completorium*, or ‘bed-time service,’ was utterly unknown to the ancients, as distinct from the *lucernaris*, or ‘evening service,’ as Bona himself proves against Bellarmineⁱ. So that these canonical hours came gradually into the Church, and are all of them owing to the rules of the Eastern monasteries for their original. Therefore what a learned man among ourselves says, must be taken with a little qualification, else it will not be true^k: “That the universal Church anciently observed set hours of prayer; that all Christians throughout the world might, at the same time, join together to glorify God.” And some of them were of opinion^l, that the angelical host, being acquainted with those hours, took that time to join their prayers and praises with those of the Church. If this be understood of any rule or custom of the universal Church for hours of public prayer, besides those of morning and evening, in the three first ages, it will not be true: but if it only mean that there were directions given for the encouragement of private prayer at those set times, and that Christians generally observed them in private, it may be allowed: since not only Origen, but Cyprian, as we have heard before, writes in favour of them; and Clemens Alexandrinus says^m, “Some allotted set hours for prayer,—the third, sixth, and ninth.” So necessary is it to distinguish between public and private devotions, and between the first and the following ages, when we speak of canonical hours of prayer, as appointed by the Church universal. For even after they were set up in

tempore in nostro quoque monasterio primitus institutum, ubi Dominus noster Jesus Christus natus ex virgine, humanæ infantie suscipere incrementa dignatus, nostram quoque adhuc in religione teneram et lactentem infantiam sua gratia confirmavit. Usque ad illud enim tempus hac solemnitate Matutina, (quæ expletis nocturnis psalmis et orationibus post modicum temporis intervallum solet in Gallie monasteriis celebrari,) cum quotidianis vigiliis pariter consummata, reliquas horas refectioni corporum deputatas a majoribus nostris invenimus.

ⁱ Bona de Psalm. c. xi. sect. i. n. ii. (Antverp. 1677. p. 759.)

^k Patrick, of Prayer, part. ii. chap. xi. Lond. 1705. p. 100.

^l Origen. *περὶ εὐχῆς*, nn. xxxiii. xxxv.

^m Clement. Alex. *Stromat.* vii. (Oberthür, vol. iii. p. 434.) *Εἰ δὲ τινες καὶ ὥρας τακτὰς ἀπονέμουσιν εὐχῆν, ὡς τρίτην φέρει, καὶ ἕκτην, καὶ ἑννάτην, ἀλλ’ οὐνγε ὁ γνωστικὸς παρὰ ὕλον εὐχεται τὸν βίον, δι’ εὐχῆς συνεῖναι μὲν σπεύδων Θεῷ.*

the monasteries, they were not immediately observed in all the Churches. For Epiphaniusⁿ, speaking of the customs of the Catholic Church, mentions the morning hymns and prayers, and the evening psalms and prayers, but no other. So Chrysostom often mentions the daily service in the church^o, morning and evening: and, at the most, never speaks of above three times a day for public assemblies. For thus he brings in a secular man complaining, and saying^p, “How is it possible for me, who am a secular man, and pinned down to the courts of law, to run to church, and pray at the three hours of the day?” In answer to which Chrysostom does not say the Church had these three hours of prayer for laymen, and more for others; but he tells the man of business, “that if he could not come to church, because he was so fettered to the court, yet he might pray even as he stood there: since it was the mind, and the voice, and the elevation of the soul, rather than the lifting up of the hands, that was to be regarded in prayer. For Hannah’s prayer was not heard for her loud voice; but because she cried aloud inwardly in her soul.” This seems to intimate, that the Church then only observed three hours of prayer; that is, the evening and morning; and (as I con-

ⁿ Epiphani. Exposit. Fid. n. xxiii. (Colon. 1682. tom. i. p. 1106.) Ἐωθινοὶ τε ὕμνοι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ διηνεκεῖς γίνονται, καὶ προσευχαὶ ἔωθιναί, λυχνικοὶ τε ἅμα ψαλμοὶ καὶ προσευχαί.

^o Chrysostom. Hom. xviii. in Act. (Bened. 1718. vol. ix. p. 150. D 7.) Οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἀπελθεῖν καὶ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ εἰδέναι ὅτι αὐτὸς αὐτὸν φκοδόμησε, καὶ ρίψαι ἑαυτὸν ὑπτίον, καὶ μετὰ τὴν αἰώραν τὴν σωματικὴν, καὶ λυχνικοῖς, καὶ ἔωθινοῖς ὕμνοις παραγενέσθαι, ὁμοτράπεζον ἔχειν τὸν ἱερέα, συνομιλοῦντα· εὐλογίας ἀπολαύειν, ἑτέρους ὄραν ἐρχομένους ἐκεῖ; — Hom. vi. in 1 Tim. (vol. xi. p. 579. A 8.) Καὶ τοῦτο ἴσασι οἱ μύσται, πῶς καθ’ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν γίνεται καὶ ἐν ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐν πρωτῆ· πῶς ὑπερ πάντων τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ βασιλέων, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ ὄντων ποιούμεθα τὴν δέησιν.

^p Ibid. Hom. iv. de Anna. (Bened. vol. iv. p. 737. C 4.) Καὶ πῶς δυνατὸν, φησὶν, ἀνθρωπον βιωτικὸν, δικαστηρίῳ προσηλωμένον, κατὰ τρεῖς ὥρας εὔχεσθαι τῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἐκτρέχειν; δυνατὸν καὶ σφόδρα εὐκολον· ἂν γὰρ εἰς ἐκκλησίαν δραμεῖν μὴ ῥόδιον, ἔστωτα ἐκεῖ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν, καὶ τῷ δικαστηρίῳ προσηλωμένον εὔχασθαι δυνατὸν οὐδὲ γὰρ οὕτω φωνῆς χρεία, ὡς διανοίας, οὐδὲ ἐκτάσεως χειρῶν, ὡς συντεταμένης ψυχῆς, οὐδὲ σχήματος, ἀλλὰ χρονήματος. ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡ Ἄννα αὕτη, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ λαμπρὰν καὶ μεγάλην ἀφήκε φωνήν, διὰ τοῦτο ἠκούετο, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ μεγάλη ἔνδον κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν ἐβόσ.

ceive) the *nones*, or ‘three in the afternoon:’ for, by this time, in some places, the Church had received that hour as a stated hour of prayer: of which more by and by. Yet it was some time after this, before these hours were admitted in the Gallican and Spanish Churches. For Mabillon shows^q, out of Gregory Turonensis, that the sixth and ninth hours of prayer were not introduced into the Church of Tours till the time of Bishop Injuriousus, which was not till the year 530. And it appears from one of the Canons of Martin Bracarenis^r, that they were not, in his time, admitted into the Spanish Churches. For he calls only the morning and evening service the daily sacrifice of psalmody, at which all clerks were obliged to be present, under pain of deposition, without amendment. This argues, that, as yet, the other hours were not established in the churches (but only in the monasteries) as canonical parts of the daily service. And it is observable, further, that most of the writers of the fourth age, who speak of six or seven hours of prayer, speak of the observations of the monks only, and not of the whole body of the Church. As St. Jerome, where he describes the institutions of the monasteries erected by the famous Lady Paula, says^s, “They sung the psalter in order; in the morning, at the third, and sixth, and ninth hours; and at evening and at midnight.” And, giving directions, in another place, to Læta^t, how to educate her daughter in the monastic life, he prescribes the same hours to be observed in devotion. And the like may be seen in St. Basil, Gregory Nyssen, Cassian, Cassiodore, and most other writers,

^q Mabil. de Curs. Gall. p. 409. De ecclesia Turonensi, id memoriæ prodidit Gregorius sub finem Historiæ suæ, Injuriousum episcopum ibidem instituisse Tertiam et Sextam in illa ecclesia.

^r Martin. Bracar. Capit. Synod. c. lxiii. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 912.) Si quis presbyter, vel diaconus, vel quilibet clericus ecclesiæ deputatus, si intra civitatem fuerit, aut in quolibet loco, in quo ecclesia est, et ad quotidianum psallendi sacrificium, matutinis vel vespertinis horis ad ecclesiam non convenit; deponatur a clero: si tamen castigatus, veniam ab episcopo per satisfactionem noluerit promereri.

^s Hieron. Epitaph. Paulæ, Ep. xxvii. c. x. Mane, etc. See note (l) p. 162.

^t Ibid. Epist. vii. ad Lætam. (Bened. Veron. vol. i. p. 680.) Adsuescat exemplo ad orationes et psalmos nocte consurgere; mane hymnos canere, tertia, sexta, nona hora stare in acie quasi bellatricem Christi; accensaque lucernula reddere sacrificium vespertinum.

may, even St. Chrysostom himself, who speaks but of three solemn hours of prayer in the Church; when yet he has occasion to speak of the monks and their institutions, he gives in much the same number of canonical hours as others do. He tells us ^u, “they had their midnight hymns, their morning prayers, their third, and sixth, and ninth hours, and, last of all, their evening prayers.” But I will not deny, that, by this time, these hours of prayer might, in some places of the East, be admitted into the churches. For the author of the Constitutions has different directions upon this point. In some places ^x, he speaks only of morning and evening prayer in the church; but, in another, he prescribes this rule to be observed by the bishops in the church ^y: “Ye shall make prayers in the morning, and at the third hour, and the sixth, and the ninth, and at evening, and at cock-crowing. In the morning, giving thanks to the Lord, for that he hath enlightened you, removing the night, and bringing in the day: at the

^u Chrysostom. Hom. xiv. in 1 Tim. (Bened. 1718. vol. xi. p. 630. A 6.) . . . ἀλεκτρονῶν ἐφώνησε, καὶ εὐθὺς ἔλθων ὁ προσετώς, καὶ τῷ ποδὶ τὸν κείμενον ἀπλῶς ὑπονύξας, πάντας ἀνέστησεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ γυμνοὺς ἐκεῖ καθεύδειν θέμις. εἶτα διαναστάντες εὐθὺς ἐστήκασιν, ὕμνους ᾄδοντες προφητικoὺς μετὰ πολλῆς συμφωνίας, μετ’ εὐρύθμων μελῶν. . . . Εὐχὰς ἐωθινὰς ἐπιτελέσαντες καὶ ὕμνους, πρὸς τὴν τῶν γραφῶν ἀνάγνωσιν τρέπονται . . . εἶτα τρίτην, ἔκτην, ἑννάτην, καὶ τὰς ἑσπερινὰς εὐχὰς ἐπιτελοῦσι.

^x Constitut. lib. ii. c. lix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 297.) Διδάσκων, ὃ ἐπίσκοπε, κέλευε καὶ παραίνει τῷ λαῷ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐνδεδεχίξειν ὄρθρου καὶ ἑσπέρας ἐκάστης ἡμέρας, κ. τ. λ. — Lib. viii. c. xxxv. Ἐσπέρας γενομένης συναθροίσαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὃ ἐπίσκοπε, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ῥηθῆναι τὸν ἐπιλύχιμον ψαλμὸν, προσφωνήσῃ ὁ διάκονος ὑπὲρ κατηχομένων, καὶ χειμαζομένων, καὶ τῶν φωτιζομένων, καὶ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ.

^y Ibid. lib. viii. c. xxxiv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 500.) Εὐχὰς ἐπιτελεῖτε ὄρθρου, καὶ τρίτῃ ὥρᾳ, καὶ ἔκτῃ καὶ ἑννάτῃ, καὶ ἑσπέρας, καὶ ἀλεκτροφωνίᾳ· ὄρθρου μὲν, εὐχαριστοῦντες, ὅτι ἐφώτισεν ὑμῖν ὁ Κύριος, παραγαγὼν τὴν νύκτα, καὶ ἐπαγαγὼν τὴν ἡμέραν· τρίτῃ δὲ, ὅτι ἀπόφασιν ἐν αὐτῇ ὑπὸ Πιλάτου ἔλαβεν ὁ Κύριος· ἔκτῃ δὲ, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῇ ἐσταυρώθη· ἑννάτῃ δὲ, ὅτι πάντα κεκένητο τοῦ Δεσπότου ἐσταυρωμένου, φρίττοντα τὴν τόλμαν τῶν δυσσεβῶν Ἰουδαίων, μὴ φέροντα τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν ὕβριν· ἑσπέρας δὲ, εὐχαριστοῦντες ὅτι ὑμῖν ἀνάπαυσιν ἔδωκε τῶν μεθιμερινῶν κόπων, τὴν νύκτα· ἀλεκτρονῶν δὲ κραυγῇ, διὰ τὸ τὴν ὥραν εὐαγγελίζεσθαι τὴν παρουσίαν τῆς ἡμέρας, εἰς ἐργασίαν τῶν τοῦ φωτὸς ἔργων· εἰ μὴ δυνατόν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ προϊέναι διὰ τοὺς ἀπίστους, κατ’ οἶκον συνάξεις, ὃ ἐπίσκοπε . . . εἰ μὴτε ἐν οἴκῳ, μῆτε ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ συναθροισθῆναι δυνατόν, ἕκαστος παρ’ ἑαυτῷ ψαλλέτω, ἀναγνωσκέτω, προσευχέσθω· ἢ καὶ ἕμα δύο, ἢ τρεῖς· ὅπου γὰρ εἰσι δύο, ἢ τρεῖς συνηγμένοι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου, ἐκεῖ εἰμὶ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν.

third hour, because, at that time, the Lord received sentence of condemnation from Pilate: at the sixth hour, because, at that time, after the Lord was crucified, all things were shaken and moved with horror and astonishment at the audacious fact of the impious Jews, detesting the affront that was put upon their Lord; at evening, giving thanks to God, who hath given the night to be a rest from our daily labours: at cock crowing, because that hour brings the welcome news of the day, to work the works of light. If you cannot go to church, because of the infidels, you shall assemble in a house: or if you can neither assemble in a house, nor in the church, then let every one sing, read, and pray by himself; or two or three together: ‘For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.’” One may conjecture, from this passage, that this author, living in the time when these canonical hours began to be in request, in the beginning of the fourth century, found them to be admitted into the usage of some Churches; and therefore drew his scheme of directions in conformity to their practice.

SECT. IX.—*What Service was allotted to these Canonical Hours by the Church.*

And it being allowed, that about this time they began gradually to take place in the Church, it will not be amiss to take a short view of them in particular, and examine what parts of divine service were performed in each of them. Cassian, speaking of the first institution of them in the monasteries of Mesopotamia and Palestine, where they had their first birth, says ^z, “They were appointed to be celebrated with the singing of three psalms at every meeting.” And these, intermixed with some prayers, were the whole service. So that these were but short offices, in comparison of the ancient morning and evening service. And there is reason to believe, that the Church did not precisely follow these monastic rules; but made proper offices for herself to be used upon these occasions; partly, because the monastic offices were very different from one another, and not always chosen with the greatest discretion. Of which I need but give one proof here, out of the

^z Cassian. Institut. lib. iii. c. iii. See note (g) p. 375.

Council of Braga, which made a canon to this purpose^a, “That, by common consent, one and the same order of singing should be observed in the morning and evening offices; and that the private, and different customs of the monasteries should not be mingled with the rules of the Church.”

The Gallican Church, in the time of the second Council of Tours, it is certain, had a very different rule from that of the Eastern monasteries about the number of psalms, hymns, and antiphonas, to be said at the several hours and times of prayer. For in one of the canons of that Council, about the year 567, a very peculiar order was made^b, “That the method of psalmody and number of hymns should be in proportion to the number of the hours or months in which they were used: the new morning service was to be performed with six antiphonas, and two psalms, in the height of summer. In September, there were to be seven antiphonas and two psalms; in October, eight antiphonas and three psalms; in November, nine, and three psalms; in December, ten, and three psalms; and the same in January and February until Easter. So, again, at the sixth hour, there were to be six psalms and the Alleluia; and at the twelfth hour, twelve psalms and the Alleluia. And, in the whole month of August, there should be manications; that is, as Mabillon^c explains it out of Aimoinus^d, early *matins*,

^a Conc. Bracar. II. c. i. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 840.) Placuit omnibus communi consensu, ut unus atque idem psallendi ordo in matutinis vel vespertinis officiis teneatur; et non diversæ, ac privatæ, neque monasteriorum consuetudines cum ecclesiastica regula sint permixtæ.

^b Conc. Turon. II. c. xviii. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 357.) Iste ordo psallendi servetur: ut in diebus festis ad matutinum sex antiphonæ binis psalmis explicentur. Toto Augusto manicationes fiant, quia festivitates sunt et missæ Sanctorum. Septembri septem antiphonæ explicentur binis psalmis; Octobri octo, ternis psalmis: Novembri novem, ternis psalmis: Decembri decem, ternis psalmis: Januario et Febuario, itidem usque ad Pascha. . . . Superest, ut vel duodecim psalmi expediantur ad matutinum; quia patrum statuta præceperunt, ut ad sextam sex psalmi dicantur cum Alleluia; et ad duodecim, itemque cum Alleluia.

^c Mabil. de Curs. Gallic. p. 422. Quid consequentiæ est, ut quia toto Augusto mane surgebatur ob frequentes festivitates, nulli psalmi ad hunc mensem præscribantur? Fortasse quod missæ Sanctorum tunc summo mane dicebantur ob messis necessitatem.

^d Aimoin. Hist. Francor. lib. iii. c. lxxxii. Porro toto Augusto, propter crebras festivitates, manicationes fiebant. Manicare autem ‘mane surgere’ dicitur.

or ‘morning service,’ without any psalms, because it was harvest time, and men were in haste to be gone to their labour, when they had performed the solemnity of the festivals, which, in that month, were frequent above others. This shows, that no certain rule was, at first, observed about these canonical hours; but that they varied, both as to their number and service, in their first original.

SECT. X.—*Of the Matutina, or Prima, called the ‘New Morning Service.’*

The first of these offices was the *matutina* or *prima*, ‘the new morning service;’ so called in contradistinction to the old morning service, which was always early before day, whereas this was after the day was begun. Cassian^e tells us this was first set up in the monastery of Bethlehem; for till that time, the morning service used to end with the old nocturnal psalms, and prayers, and the daily vigils; after which, they used to betake themselves to rest till the third hour, which was the first hour of diurnal prayer, till this new office of morning prayer was set up within Cassian’s memory, to prevent some inconveniencies which he there mentions. He often gives it the name therefore of *novella solemnitas*, ‘the new solemnity,’ as being so lately invented. And this is the true reason why in most of the writers before Cassian, such as St. Jerome, the author of the Constitutions, St. Basil, and others who speak particularly of the canonical hours, there is no mention of this first hour, but they always reckon them up after this manner:—the morning, meaning the morning vigil before day; the third, the sixth, the ninth, without mentioning the first, because it was not, in their time, as yet become an accustomed hour of prayer. But when it was once made a canonical hour to complete the number of seven times a day, then there were psalms particularly appointed for this service, which Cassian^f says were these three; the fiftieth, sixty-second, and eighty-ninth, which, according to our computation, are the fifty-first, sixty-third, and ninetieth. The first of which is

^e See note (h) p. 375.

^f Ibid. c. vi. Quinquagesimum vero psalmum, et sexagesimum secundum, et octogesimum nonum, huic novellæ solemnitati novimus fuisse deputatos. (p. 40.

that which the ancients called, properly, ‘the psalm of confession,’ or ‘penitential psalm,’ which begins, “Have mercy upon me, O God, after thy great goodness: according to the multitude of thy mercies, do away mine offences.” This, Cassian ^g says in the same place, was used by all the Churches of Italy in his time, as the close of this morning service. The second of these psalms is that which the ancients called by a peculiar name, ‘the morning psalm,’ as we shall see hereafter, because it begins with these words, “O God, my God, early will I awake unto thee,” or, “early will I seek thee;” and was always used in the old antelucan service, before this new service was set up. The third of these psalms, which is the ninetieth, seems to be taken into this service upon the account of those words in it, suiting the state of human life, “In the morning it is green, and groweth up; but in the evening it is cut down, dried up, and withered;” and “So teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom.”

SECT. XI.—*Of the Tertia, or ‘Third Hour of Prayer.’*

Next after this, in all such Churches as admitted the first, was the *tertia* or ‘third hour,’ that is, nine in the morning. This is mentioned by all the writers that say any thing of hours of prayer; some saying it was to be observed in regard to our Saviour’s being condemned by Pilate at that time ^h; and others, in memory of the Holy Ghost’s coming upon the apostles at that hour ⁱ; that men might, with one mind, wor-

^g Cassian. Institut. lib. iii. c. vi. (Atrebat. 1628. p. 56.) Denique per Italiam hodieque consummatis matutinalibus hymnis quinquagesimus psalmus in universis ecclesiis canitur. (p. 41.)

^h Constitut. lib. viii. c. xxxiv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 499.) Τρίτη δὲ, ὅτι ἀπόφασιν ἐν αὐτῇ ὑπὸ Πιλάτου ἔλαβεν ὁ Κύριος.

ⁱ Basil. Regul. Major. quæst. xxxvii. (Bened. 1721. vol. ii. p. 383.) Πάλιν δὲ κατὰ τὴν τρίτην ὥραν εἰς προσευχὴν ἀνίστασθαι, καὶ ἐπισυνάγειν τὴν ἀδελφότητα, κὰν τύχωσιν ἄλλοι πρὸς ἄλλα ἔργα μεμερισμένοι καὶ ὑπομνησθέντας τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος δωρεᾶς, τῆς κατὰ τὴν τρίτην ὥραν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις δεδομένης, προσκυνῆσαι πάντας ὁμοθυμαδὸν, εἰς τὸ ἀξίους γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτοὺς τῆς ὑποδοχῆς τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ, καὶ αἰτοῦντας τὴν παρ’ αὐτοῦ ὁδηγίαν καὶ διδασκαλίαν πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, κατὰ τὸν εἰπόντα, Καρδίαν καθαρὰν κρίσον ἐν ἐμοί, ὁ Θεὸς, κ. τ. λ. Καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ τὸ Πνευμά σου τὸ ἅγιον, μὴ ἀντανέλγῃς ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ.—Cassian. Institut. lib. iii. c. iii. (p. 44.) Hora

ship the Holy Spirit, and beg of him the same sanctification, direction, and protection ; imitating David's prayer, in saying, " Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me " (Psalm li.) : in another place, " Let thy loving Spirit lead me forth into the land of righteousness." (Psalm cxliii.) This is the reason assigned by Cassian and St. Basil for this solemnity. But whether any particular psalms were appropriated to this service, we are not told ; but only in general, Cassian says, " Three psalms together with prayers were appointed for every hour." But, on all festivals, this service was omitted ; because on Sundays, the communion service was used, which always began at this hour.

SECT. XII.—*Sixth Hour, or Noon-Day Service.*

The next hour was the sixth, or noon-day service ; at which time, St. Basil says¹, they used the ninetieth or ninety-first psalm, praying for protection against the incursions of " the noon-day devil," *δαμονίου μεσημβρινοῦ*, for so the Septuagint and other translations render the words of that psalm, " Thou shalt not be afraid for any terror by night, nor for the arrow that flieth by day, nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness, nor for the sickness, nor *the devil destroying at noon-day.*" What other psalms they used, he tells us not ; but probably there might be some that had relation to the death of Christ ; because it is agreed by all, that this service was appointed in commemoration of our Saviour's immaculate sacrifice to the Father at this hour.

SECT. XIII.—*Of the Ninth Hour, or Three in the Afternoon.*

The last hour of prayer in the day-time was the ninth hour,

namque tertia repromissus olim per prophetas Spiritus Sanctus super apostolos, in orationum officio constitutos, descendisse primitus comprobatur.

¹ Basil. Regul. Major. quæst. xxxvii. (p. 383. E 2.) 'Εν δὲ τῇ ἕκτῃ ὥρᾳ, κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν ἁγίων, ἀναγκαίαν εἶναι τὴν προσευχὴν ἐκρίναμεν, τῶν λεγόντων " ἔσπερας, καὶ πρωῒ, καὶ μεσημβρίας διηγῆσομαι, καὶ ἀπαγγεῶ, καὶ εἰσακούσεται τῆς φωνῆς μου" καὶ ὥστε ῥυσθῆναι ἀπὸ συμπτώματος καὶ δαμονίου μεσημβρινοῦ, ἅμα καὶ τοῦ ψαλμοῦ τοῦ ἐννενηκοστοῦ λεγομένου.

that is, three in the afternoon ; at which time our Saviour expired upon the cross, and by his death triumphed over death and hell. At this hour Cornelius was praying, when he was visited by an angel ; as Peter was at the sixth hour, when he had the vision of the sheet let down from heaven. This was the hour when Peter and John went up into the temple, “ at the ninth hour, being the hour of prayer ;” and the usual time of the Jewish evening sacrifice. In regard to all which, the Church seems to have taken this hour for a solemn time of public prayer before the two last-mentioned. For the Council of Laodicea^k expressly mentions the ninth hour of prayer ; and orders that the same service should be used in that, as was appointed for evening prayer. And St. Chrysostom^l, speaking of three hours of public prayer in the day, may most reasonably be understood to intend this ninth hour as the third of them ; because, in another place^m, he seems to recommend it as such : for, speaking of the apostles going into the temple at the ninth hour, being the hour of prayer, he says, “ They observed this hour not without very good reason ; for I have often told you concerning this hour, that it was the time when Paradise was opened, and the thief entered into it : this the time when the curse was taken away, when the sacrifice of the world was offered, when the darkness was dissolved, and the light, as well sensible as spiritual, shone forth. It was at the ninth hour, when others,

^k Conc. Laodic. c. xviii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1500.) Περὶ τοῦ, τὴν αὐτὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν εὐχῶν πάντοτε καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐννάταις, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐσπέραις ὀφείλειν γίνεσθαι.

^l Chrysostom. Hom. xiv. in 1 Tim. See note (u) p. 379.

^m Ibid. Hom. ii. de Inscriptione Act. Apostol. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 67. E.) Εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν προσεύξασθαι περὶ τὴν ὥραν τῆς προσευχῆς τὴν ἐννάτην· οὐδὲ ἡ ὥρα αὐτοῖς ἀπλῶς παρατετήρηται· καὶ γὰρ εἶπον ὑμῖν πολλάκις περὶ τῆς ὥρας ταύτης, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῇ παράδεισος ἀνεῴγη, καὶ ὁ ληστής εἰσῆλθεν, ἐν αὐτῇ ἡ κατὰ ἀνθρώπου, ἐν αὐτῇ ἡ θυσία τῆς οἰκουμένης προσηνέχθη, ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ σκότος ἐλύθη, ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ φῶς ἔλαμψε, καὶ τὸ αἰσθητὸν καὶ τὸ νοητὸν· περὶ ὥραν ἐννάτην· ὅτε ἕτεροι ἀπὸ ἀρίστου καὶ μέθης καθεύδουσιν ὑπνόν βαθύν, τότε ἐκεῖνοι νήφοντες, καὶ διεγερμένοι, καὶ πολλῶ τῷ πόθῳ ζέοντες, ἐπὶ τὴν προσευχὴν ἔσπευδον. εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι εὐχῆς ἐδέοντο, εὐχῆς οὕτω ἐκτενοῦς, εὐχῆς οὕτω δηκριβωμένης, οἱ τοσαύτην ἔχοντες παρρησίαν, οἱ μηδὲν ἑαυτοῖς συνειδότες πονηρὸν, τί ποιήσομεν ἡμεῖς, μυσίων γέμοντες τραυμάτων, οὐκ ἐπιτιθέντες δὲ τῆς εὐχῆς ;

after dinner and drunkenness, sleep a deep sleep, that they, then being sober, and vigilant, and fervent in love, made haste to prayer. And if they needed to be so exact and assiduous in prayer who had such boldness, and were conscious of no evil, what shall we do, who are overrun with wounds and sores, and neglect to use the medicine of prayer?" This character here given of the ninth hour, makes it probable to me, that this was one of those three famous hours of prayer which, in the former place, he exhorts all men to frequent in public. We have no particular account, in any writer, of the psalms or prayers to be used at this hour, but only what we have heard before out of the Council of Laodicea, that it was to be the same with the evening service; and, therefore, we must draw our accounts of it from thence. Now, because we have a more ample and distinct account of the morning and evening daily service, than of any other stated hours of prayer in the ancient Church (as being both more ancient and more celebrated than the rest), I shall give a more particular and exact description of the several parts and method of performing those offices, from such records as may be depended on for their truth and fidelity; and have therefore reserved the consideration of these for the two following chapters.

CHAPTER X.

THE ORDER OF THEIR DAILY MORNING SERVICE.

SECT. I.—*The order of Morning Service, as described in the Constitutions. This began with the Sixty-third Psalm.*

THE most noted and usual times of meeting, besides those of the Lord's day, were the morning and evening of every day; which, in times of peace, were constantly and regularly observed. I will describe the order of these services, as they are laid down in the Constitutions, and compare the several parts of them with the memorials and accounts, that are left us by other ancient writers. The order for the morning

service begins with the appointment of the ὄρθρινὸς ψαλμὸς, ‘the morning psalm,’ as the author of the Constitutions^a terms it. He names not what psalm it was, in this place; but, in another place, he calls it the sixty-second; that is, in our division, the sixty-third: which (to show how proper it was to begin their morning-service with, both in relation to the night past, and the day approaching), I think it not improper to recite in this place, according to our old version, which comes nearest to the translation of the Septuagint used in the ancient Church.

PSALM LXIII.

1. O God, thou art my God; early will I seek thee.
2. My soul thirsteth for thee, my flesh also longeth after thee, in a barren and dry land, where no water is.
3. Thus have I looked for thee in holiness; that I might behold thy power and glory.
4. For thy loving-kindness is better than the life itself; my lips shall praise thee.
5. As long as I live, will I magnify thee on this manner, and lift up my hands in thy name.
6. My soul shall be satisfied even as it were with marrow and fatness, when my mouth praiseth thee with joyful lips.
7. Have I not remembered thee in my bed, and thought upon thee when I was waking?
8. Because thou hast been my helper, therefore under the shadow of thy wings will I rejoice.
9. My soul hangeth upon thee: thy right hand hath upholden me.
10. These also that seek the hurt of my soul, they shall go under the earth.
11. Let them fall (*Septuagint, They shall fall*) upon the edge of the sword, that they may be a portion for foxes.
12. But the king shall rejoice in God; all they also that

^a Constitut. lib. viii. c. xxxvii. Ὁσαύτως ὄρθρου, μετὰ τὸ ῥηθῆναι τὸν ὄρθρινόν, κ. τ. λ.— Id. lib. ii. c. lix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 300.) Ἐκάστης ἡμέρας συναθροίζεσθε ὄρθρου καὶ ἰσπέρας, ψάλλοντες καὶ προσευχόμενοι ἐν τοῖς κυριακοῖς ὄρθρου μὲν λέγοντες ψαλμὸν τὸν ξβ΄ ἰσπέρας δὲ τὸν ρμ΄.

swear by him, shall be commended: but the mouth of them that speak lies, shall be stopped.

SECT. II.—*What notice we have of this Morning Psalm in other Writers.*

St. Chrysostom shows, that the author of the Constitutions does not impose upon us in this morning psalm; for he says ^b, “The fathers of the Church appointed it to be said every morning, as a spiritual song and medicine to blot out our sins; to kindle in us a desire of God; to raise our souls, and inflame them with a mighty fire of devotion; to make us overflow with goodness and love, and send us with such preparation to approach and appear before God.” He names not the psalm, but he repeats the first words, “O God, my God, early will I awake unto thee: my soul thirsteth for thee:” and, “Thus have I appeared before thee in holiness, that I might behold thy power and glory;” by which we may know that it is the same psalm. He says, he had before made an exposition upon this psalm; and refers his reader thither for a large account of it: but that, by injury of time, is now lost: and we are beholden to this passage by the bye for all the notice we have of this morning psalm out of him, upon the occasion of his commenting upon the evening psalm: of which more hereafter in its proper place. Besides Chrysostom, we have the testimony of Cassian for the use of this psalm: for, speaking of the several hours of prayer, and assigning reasons out of Scripture for them, he makes this to be one reason for morning prayer, that the psalm, which was daily sung ^c in that office, did properly instruct men about their obligations to this duty, saying, “O God, my God, early will I seek thee.” And

^b Chrysostom. Comment. in Psalm. cxl. (Bened. 1718. vol. v. p. 427. C 2.) Τοιοῦτός ἐστι καὶ ὁ ἑωθινὸς ψαλμός· . . . τὸν πόθον ἀνάπτει τὸν πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν, καὶ διεγείρει τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ σφόδρα πυρώσας, καὶ πολλῆς ἐμπλήσας ἀγαθότητος, καὶ ἀγάπης, οὕτως ἀφήσι προσελθεῖν ἴδωμεν δὲ καὶ πόθεν ἄρχεται, καὶ τί διδάσκει ἡμᾶς· Ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός μου, πρὸς σε ὀρθρίζω, ἐδίψησέ σε ἡ ψυχὴ μου· . . . οὕτως ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ὤφθη σοι, τοῦ ἰδεῖν τὴν δύναμίν σου, καὶ τὴν δόξαν σου.

^c Cassian. Institut. lib. iii. c. iii. (Atrebat. p. 45.) De matutina vero solemnitate etiam illud nos instruit, quod in ipsa quotidie decantari solet, ‘Deus, Deus meus, ad te de luce vigilo.’

Athanasius, also, once or twice recommends this psalm to virgins and others, as proper to be said privately in their morning devotions. "Rising early in the morning," says he to Marcellinus^d, "sing the sixty-second psalm." And again, to the virgins^e, "In the morning, sing this psalm, 'O God, my God, early will I seek thee.'" These were but private directions indeed, but probably might be suited to the orders and measures of public worship, it being evident, from the forecited authors, that this psalm was the usual introduction to their morning devotions.

SECT. III.—*Next to the Psalm followed the Prayers for the Catechumens, Energumens, Competentes, and Penitents.*

Immediately after this morning psalm, without mention of any other psalmody, or reading any lessons out of the Old or New Testament, follow the prayers for the several orders of catechumens, energumens, candidates of baptism, and penitents, as in the general service of the Lord's day: which, because I shall recite them at large in that service^f, I omit to mention any further in this place. Only observing, that these prayers were performed partly by the deacon's προσφώνησις, 'bidding' the people pray; and repeating the several petitions they were to make for those several orders of men; and partly, by the bishop's invocation or benediction said over them, as they bowed down to receive the blessing before their dismissal.

SECT. IV.—*Then the Prayers for the Faithful, the Peace of the World, and the whole State of Christ's Church.*

When these several orders were sent away, there followed the prayers, which, on the Lord's day, began the communion service; and which, upon that account, were usually styled εὐχαὶ πιστῶν, 'the prayers of the faithful,' or communicants; because none but they who had a right to communicate in the

^d Athan. Epist. ad Marcellin. (tom. i. p. 995. E. Paris. 1698.) Ὁρθρίζων, ψάλλε τὸν ἐξηκοστὸν δεύτερον.

^e Ibid. de Virginit. (tom. ii. p. 122.) Πρὸς ὄρθρον τὸν ψαλμὸν τοῦτον λέγετε, Ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ Θεὸς μου, πρὸς σε ὄρθρίζω· εἰδίψησέ σε ἢ ψυχὴ μου.

^f Book xiv. chap. v.

eucharist, might be present at them. These were the prayers for the peace of the world, and all orders of men in the Church, which always went before the consecration of the eucharist. And, though there were no consecration of the eucharist on these ordinary days, yet these general prayers were always used in the daily morning service. I omit the reciting of them here for the same reason as I do the former: because the reader may find them rehearsed at large hereafter ^ε, in the entrance on the communion service.

SECT. V.—*What Notice we have of these Prayers in other Writers.*

I only observe here, that there is mention made, in other writers, as well as the Constitutions, of these prayers for the whole state of the world, and all orders of men in the Church. For Chrysostom, writing upon those words of St. Paul, “I exhort, therefore, that first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men; for kings and all that are in authority;” says ^h, “This word, ‘first of all,’ relates to the daily worship; wherein they that were initiated know what was done every day, morning and evening; how we make supplications to God for the whole world, for kings and all that are in authority.” This clearly shows that such prayers were not only made on communion days, at the celebration of the eucharist, but every day, both morning and evening also, when it is certain there could be no sacrifice, but only that of their prayers. For the consecration of the eucharist, in that age, was never made at evening prayer. In this sense we may understand many of the ancient apologists, when they speak of making prayers continually for the Roman government. Thus Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, tells Æmilian the prefect ⁱ, “We worship the

^ε Book xv. chap. i. vol. v. p. 1.

^h Chrysostom. Hom. vi. in 1 Tim. (Bened. 1718. vol. xi. p. 579. A 7.) *Τί δέ ἐστι τὸ, πρῶτον πάντων; τουτέστιν, ἐν τῇ λατρείᾳ τῇ καθημερινῇ καὶ τοῦτο ἴσασι οἱ μύσται, πῶς καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν γίνεται, καὶ ἐν ἐσπέρᾳ καὶ ἐν πρωΐᾳ πῶς ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ βασιλέων, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ ὄντων ποιούμεθα τὴν δέησιν.*

ⁱ Dionys. Epist. ap. Euseb. lib. vii. c. xi. (Cambr. p. 335, 13.) *Ἡμεῖς τὸν ἕνα*

one God, Maker of all things, who gave the empire to Valerian and Gallienus, our divine governors : to him we pray continually for their kingdom, that it may be preserved free from disturbance and commotion." And so Tertullian acquaints Scapula^j : " We offer sacrifice for the emperor's safety, but to no other God but to our God and his ; and in that manner as God has appointed, that is to say, by prayer alone, without blood." In like manner, Cyprian tells Demetrian^k : " We continually pour forth supplications and prayers for driving away your enemies, and procuring rain, and either for removing or moderating your calamities : and we pray instantly and incessantly, day and night, for your peace and safety, appeasing God, and rendering him propitious unto you." Origen also, answering the objection of Celsus^l, " that the Christians were wanting in

Θεὸν καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ἀπάντων, τὸν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐγχειρήσαντα τοῖς θεοφιλεστάτοις σεβαστοῖς· τοῦτον καὶ σέβουμεν καὶ προσκυνούμεν" καὶ τούτῳ διηλεκτῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν, ὅπως ἀσάλευτος διαμένῃ, προσευχόμεθα.

^j Tertul. ad Scapul. c. ii. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 17, at bottom.) Sacrificamus pro salute Imperatoris, sed Deo nostro et ipsius ; sed quomodo præcepit Deus, pura prece.—Id. Apologet. c. xxx. (vol. i. p. 109.) Nos pro salute Imperatorum Deum invocamus æternum, Deum verum, Deum vivum.—Id. c. xxxix. (p. 117.) Oramus pro imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum et potestatibus, pro statu sæculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis.

^k Cyprian. ad Demetrian. (Oxon. 1682. p. 139.) (p. 134, edit. Fell. Amstelod.) Pro arcendis hostibus, et imbris impetrandis, et vel auferendis vel temperandis adversis, rogamus semper, et preces fundimus ; et pro pace ac salute vestra propitiantes ac placantes Deum, diebus ac noctibus, jugiter atque instanter oramus.

^l Origen. cont. Cels. (Cantabr. p. 426.) Εἰθ' ἑξῆς προτρέπεται ἡμᾶς ὁ Κέλσος, " ἀρήγειν τῷ βασιλεῖ παντὶ σθένει, καὶ συμπονεῖν αὐτῷ τὰ δίκαια, καὶ ὑπερμαχεῖν αὐτοῦ, καὶ συστρατεύειν αὐτῷ, ἂν ἐπέιγῃ καὶ συστρατηγεῖν." Λεκτέον δὲ καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα, ὅτι ἀρήγομεν κατὰ καιρὸν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι θεῖαν (ἢ οὕτως εἶπω) ἄρηξιν καὶ πανοπλίαν ἀναλαμβάνοντες Θεοῦ· καὶ ταῦτα ποιούμεν, πειθόμενοι ἀποστολικῇ φωνῇ, λεγούσῃ, Παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς πρῶτον πάντων ποιεῖσθαι δήσεις, προσευχάς, ἐντεῦξεις, εὐχαριστίας, ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ὑπὲρ βασιλέων, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ ὄντων· καὶ ὅσῳ γέ τις εὐσεβέστερός ἐστιν, τοσοῦτ' ἀνυτικώτερος ἐν τῷ ἀρήγειν τοῖς βασιλεύουσι παρὰ τοὺς εἰς τὰς παρατάξεις ἐξιώντας στρατιώτας, καὶ ἀναιροῦντας οὓς ἂν δύνωνται τῶν πολεμίων' . . . καὶ οὗτοι στρατεύονται ὡς ἱερεῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ θεραπευταί· καθαρὰς μὲν τηροῦντες τὰς δεξιὰς, ἀγωνιζόμενοι δὲ διὰ τῶν πρὸς Θεὸν εὐχῶν, ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίως στρατευομένων, καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίως βασιλεύοντος, ἵνα τὰ ἐναντία πάντα, καὶ ἔχθρὰ τοῖς δικαίως πράττουσι, καθαιρεθῇ. ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς πάντας

their duty to the emperor, in that they gave him no aid in his wars, and refused to fight for him," among other things, tells him, "that they gave him the most seasonable assistance, procuring him the divine aid, and defending him with the whole armour of God. And this they did in obedience to the apostle's admonition, 'I exhort, therefore, first of all, that supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men, for kings, and all that are in authority.'" He adds, "that, keeping their hands pure, they fought, in their prayers to God, for their lawful sovereign, and those that fought lawfully under him, that all opposition and enemies might fall before them, whilst they were lawfully employed. They, by their prayers, enervated the power of devils, the authors of war, and confounders of leagues, and disturbers of peace; and, in doing this, they did the emperor more effectual service, than they that bare arms for him." Athenagoras tells the emperors themselves, in his address to them^m, "that the Christians prayed for their government, and the royal progeny, that the son might succeed the father in his kingdom, according to right; and that their empire might be extended and enlarged; all things succeeding according to their desire: and this they did, both that they might lead a quiet and peaceable life, and cheerfully observe all that was commanded them." Now, though, in all these passages, there is no express mention made of morning and evening prayer in the Church; yet their continual prayer, and their praying day and night, may reasonably be presumed to include these, without any prejudice to other times of public or private devotion. I now go on again with the order of morning-prayer, in the Constitutions.

δαίμονας, τοὺς ἐγείροντας τὰ πολεμικά, καὶ ὄρκους συγχέοντας, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ταρασσόντας, καθαιροῦντες, μᾶλλον βοηθοῦμεν τοῖς βασιλεύουσιν, ἢ περὶ οἱ δοκοῦντες στρατεύεσθαι.

^m Athenagor. Legat. pro Christianis. (Paris. 1742. p. 313.) Περὶ μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐνχόμεθα, ἵνα παῖς μὲν παρὰ Πατρὸς κατὰ τὸ δικαίω-
 ταν διαδέχησθε τὴν βασιλείαν, αὔξησιν δὲ καὶ ἐπίδοσιν καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ ὑμῶν,
 πάντων ὑποχειρίων γιγνομένων, λαμβάνη; τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς ἡμῶν,
 ὅπως ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγοιμεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πάντα τὰ κεκελευσμένα
 προθύμως ὑπηρετοῖμεν.

SECT. VI.—*After the general Prayer for the whole State of the Church, followed a short Bidding Prayer for Preservation in the ensuing Day.*

After the prayer for the whole state of the Church was ended, and the deacon had said ⁿ, “Keep us, O God, and preserve us by thy grace;” which concludes the former prayer; he exhorted the people to pray for peace and prosperity the day ensuing, and all their lives, in this manner ^o:

“Let us beg of God his mercies and compassions, that this morning and this day, and all the time of our pilgrimage, may be passed by us in peace, and without sin: let us beg of God, that he would send us the angel of peace, and give us a Christian end, and be gracious and merciful unto us. Let us commend ourselves, and one another, to the living God, by his only-begotten Son.”

What is here said concerning the angel of peace, is a petition that came often in the devotions of the ancient Church, both when they prayed for themselves and others. For we shall meet with it again ^p in the evening service, and in the prayer for the catechumens mentioned by St. Chrysostom in several places of his writings, where he often speaks of the deacons bidding men pray for the angel of peace; and that all their purposes may be directed to a peaceable end. Which agree very well with this prayer of the deacon, in the Constitutions.

SECT. VII.—*Then the Bishop's Commendation, or Thanksgiving.*

Immediately after this common prayer of the deacon and people together (the deacon having bid the people commend themselves to God) the bishop makes this commendatory

ⁿ Constitut. lib. viii. c. xxxvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 501.) Σῶσον αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεός, καὶ ἀνάστησον ἐν τῇ χάριτί σου.

^o Ibid. Αἰτησώμεθα παρὰ Κυρίου τὰ ἐλεῆ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἰκτιροῦς· τὸν ὀρθρον τοῦτον καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν, εἰρηνικὴν καὶ ἀναμάρτητον, καὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον τῆς παρεπιδημίας ἡμῶν· τὸν ἄγγελον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης· Χριστιανὰ τὰ τέλη· ἴλεων καὶ εὐμενῆ τὸν Θεόν· ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἀλλήλους τῷ ζῶντι Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ παραθώμεθα.

^p See book xiv. chap. v. sect. iv.

prayer, which is there called, *εὐχαριστία ὀρθρινή*, “the morning thanksgiving;” and is in the following words^a:

“O God, the God of spirits, and of all flesh, with whom no one can compare, whom no one can approach, that givest the sun to govern the day, and the moon and the stars to govern the night; look down now upon us with the eyes of thy favour, and receive our morning thanksgivings, and have mercy on us. For we have not spread forth our hands to any strange god. For there is not any new god among us, but thou our eternal and immortal God; who hast given us our being through Christ, and our well-being through him also. Vouchsafe, by him, to bring us to everlasting life, with whom, unto thee, be glory, honour, and adoration, in the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen.”

SECT. VIII.—*And his Imposition of Hands, or
Benediction.*

After this, the deacon bids them bow their heads, and receive the imposition of hands, or the bishop’s benediction, which follows under the title of *χειροθεσία ὀρθρινή*, “the imposition of hands in morning-prayer,” in the form of words here annexed^r:

“O God, faithful and true, that showest mercy to thousands

^a Constitut. lib. viii. c. xxxviii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 502.) Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκὸς, ὁ ἀσύγκριτος καὶ ἀπροσδεής, ὁ δοὺς τὸν ἥλιον εἰς ἔξουσίαν τῆς ἡμέρας, τὴν δὲ σελήνην καὶ τὰ ἄστρα εἰς ἔξουσίαν τῆς νυκτός· αὐτὸς δὲ νῦν ἔπιθε ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς εὐμενέσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς, καὶ πρόσδεξιαι τὰς ἑωθινὰς ἡμῶν εὐχαριστίας, καὶ ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς· οὐ γὰρ διεπετάσαμεν τὰς χεῖρας ἡμῶν πρὸς θεὸν ἀλλότριον· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐν ἡμῖν θεὸς πρόσφατος, ἀλλὰ σὺ ὁ αἰώνιος καὶ ἀτελεύτητος· ὁ τὸ εἶναι ἡμῖν διὰ Χριστοῦ παρασχόμενος, καὶ τὸ εἶναι δι’ αὐτοῦ δωρησάμενος· αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς δι’ αὐτοῦ καταξίωσον καὶ τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς· μεθ’ οὗ σοι δόξα, καὶ τιμὴ, καὶ σέβας, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

^r Constitut. lib. viii. c. xxxix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 504.) Ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινὸς, ὁ ποιῶν ἔλεος εἰς χιλιάδας καὶ μυριάδας τοῖς ἀγαπῶσί σε, ὁ φίλος ταπεινῶν, καὶ πενήτων προστάτης, οὐ πάντα ἐν χρεῖᾳ καθέστηκεν, ὅτι τὰ σύμπαντα δοῦλά σου· ἔπιθε ἐπὶ τὸν λαόν σου τοῦτον, τοὺς κερλικότας σοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν κεφαλὰς, καὶ εὐλόγησον αὐτοὺς εὐλογίαν πνευματικῆν· φύλαξον αὐτοὺς ὡς κόρην ὀφθαλμοῦ· διατήρησον αὐτοὺς ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ καταξίωσον αὐτοὺς τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ σου παιδί· μεθ’ οὗ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ, καὶ σέβας, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

and ten thousands of them that love thee ; who art the friend of the humble, and defender of the poor, whose aid all things stand in need of, because all things serve thee ; look down upon this thy people, who bow their heads unto thee, and bless them with thy spiritual benediction : keep them as the apple of the eye ; preserve them in piety and righteousness, and vouchsafe to bring them to eternal life, in Christ Jesus, thy beloved Son, with whom, unto thee, be glory, honour, and adoration, in the Holy Ghost, now and for ever, world without end. Amen.”

This said, the deacon dismisses the congregation with the usual form, Προέλθετε ἐν εἰρήνῃ, “Depart in peace.” Which Chrysostom takes notice of, as the solemn word for dismissing every Church assembly. For, speaking of the frequent use of the salutation, *Pax vobis*, “Peace be unto you,” he observes, that as it was used in the beginning of every sacred action, prayer, preaching, blessing, &c., and sometimes in the middle of prayers too, so particularly at the bishop’s entrance into the church, and the deacon’s final dismissal of the assembly ; “The deacon,” says he^s, “when he sends you away from this meeting, does it with this prayer, Πορεύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ‘Go in peace.’”

SECT. IX. — *Whether the Morning Hymn was Part of the Public Service every day.*

But besides this order of morning prayer laid down in this place, by the author of the Constitutions, there is, in another place, a prayer or hymn appointed for the morning ; but whether for public or private use, is not said : I suppose he intended it only for private devotion, because it is placed among many other private prayers. He gives it the name of προσευχὴ ἑωθινή, “the morning prayer.” Other writers call it, “the hymn,” and “the angelical hymn,” and “the great doxology,” from the first words of it, “Glory be to God on high,” which was the angels’ hymn at our Saviour’s birth. The form of it, in this author, runs in these words :

^s Chrysostom. Hom. lii. in eos, qui Pascha jejnant. (Bened. 1718. vol. i. p. 614. C 9.) Ὁ διάκονος . . . τῆς συνόδου ταύτης ἀπολύων ὑμᾶς, τοῦτο ἡμῖν ἐπέυχεται λέγων Πορεύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

“Glory be to God^t on high, in earth peace, good-will towards men. We praise thee, we laud thee, we bless thee, we glorify thee, we worship thee, by the great High-Priest, thee the true God, the only Unbegotten, whom no one can approach for thy great glory, O Lord, heavenly king, God the Father Almighty: Lord God, the Father of Christ, the immaculate Lamb, who taketh away the sin of the world, receive our prayer, thou that sittest upon the cherubims. For thou only art holy, thou only Lord Jesus, the Christ of God, the God of every created being, and our king. By whom, unto thee, be glory, honour, and adoration.”

This same hymn is mentioned also by Athanasius, in his book of Virginit^u, but he gives it only as a direction to virgins, in their private devotions: “Early in the morning,” says he, “sing this psalm, ‘O God, my God, early will I awake unto thee. My soul thirsteth for thee.’ [That is Psalm lxiii.] When it is light, say, ‘Bless ye the Lord, all ye works of the Lord.’ [That is the Song of the Three Children.] And, ‘Glory be to God on high; on earth peace, good-will towards men. We laud thee, we bless thee, we worship thee;” and what follows. It is a great pity this author did not give us the whole hymn, that we might have compared it with that in the Constitutions. It was always used in the communion service, though not exactly in the same form, as we shall see hereafter. But St. Chrysostom speaks of it as used also daily at morning-prayer. For, describing the devotions of those who led an ascetic life, he

^t Constitut. lib. vii. c. xlvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 452.) Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία· αἰνοῦμέν σε, ὑμνοῦμέν σε, δοξολογοῦμέν σε, προσκυνοῦμέν σε διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου ἀρχιερέως· σὲ τὸν ὄντα Θεόν, ἀγέννητον ἕνα, ἀπόσιτον μόνον· διὰ τὴν μεγάλην σου δόξαν· Κύριε βασιλεῦ ἐπουράνιε, Θεὲ Πάτερ παντοκράτορ· Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ ἀμώμου ἀμνοῦ, ὃς αἶρει τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου· πρόσδεξαι τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν· ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβίμ· ὅτι σὺ μόνος ἅγιος· σὺ μόνος Κύριος Ἰησοῦς, Χριστὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ πάσης γεννητῆς φύσεως, τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν· δι’ οὗ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ, καὶ σέβας.

^u Athanas. de Virgin. (tom. ii. p. 122, Paris. 1698.) Πρὸς ὄρθρον δὲ τὸν ψαλμὸν τοῦτον λέγετε· Ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ Θεὸς μου, πρὸς σε ὀρθρίζω· ἐδίψησέ σε ἡ ψυχὴ μου· διάφανμα δὲ· εὐλογεῖτε πάντα τὰ ἔργα Κυρίου τὸν Κύριον· Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία· ὑμνοῦμέν σε, εὐλογοῦμέν σε, προσκυνοῦμέν σε, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

says ^v, “ As soon as they rose out of bed, they met together, and made a choir; and as it were with one mouth, sang hymns to God, praising him, and giving him thanks for all his blessings, both general and particular: and, among other things, like angels on earth, singing, ‘ Glory be to God on high, and on earth peace, good-will towards men.’ ” And Mabillon observes out of the rules of Cæsarius Arelatensis and Aurelian ^w, in the beginning of the sixth century, that it is there appointed to be sung as *matins*, or ‘ morning-prayer,’ every Lord’s day, and on Easter-day, and such other noted festivals. Which shows, that, at least in some churches, it was in other offices besides the communion service; and, among the monks, as an ordinary hymn, in their daily morning service. And so it is now used among the modern Greeks, as a learned searcher ^x of their rituals informs us, in his account of the Greek Church.

SECT. X.—*Whether the Psalms and Lessons were read at the Daily Morning-Service.*

But it seems a little more difficult to account for another thing; which is omitted in the Constitutions. For there is no order there either for psalms or lessons to be read in the morning service, besides that one psalm, which was particularly styled the ‘ morning psalm.’ Whereas other authors, and particularly Cassian, speak of three psalms, read at every assembly, through all the canonical hours of the day ^y; and he

^v Chrysostom. Hom. lxiix. in Matth. (Bened. 1718. vol. vii. p. 674. C 2.) Ἀναστάντες εὐθέως ἀπὸ τῆς ἐννῆς φαιδροὶ καὶ γεγηθότες, καὶ χορὸν ἔνα στησάμενοι, ἐν φαιδρῷ [τῷ προσώπῳ τε καὶ] συνειδότι συμφώνως ἅπαντες, ὡσπερ ἐξ ἐνὸς στόματος ἕμνους, εἰς τὸν τῶν ὄλων ἄδουσι Θεὸν, γεραίροντες αὐτὸν, καὶ χάριν εἰδότες ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων αὐτῷ, τῶν τε ἰδίων, τῶν τε κοινῶν ἐνεργητημάτων . . . τί τῶν ἀγγέλων οὗτος διέστηκεν ὁ χορὸς τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἄδόντων καὶ λεγόντων, Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἰδοκία;

^w Mabillon. de Curs. Gallie. p. 407. Ad hæc Cæsarius et Aurelianus in matutinis laudibus canticum Magnificat, et hymnum ‘ Gloria in excelsis’ pro diebus Paschalibus præcipiunt, itemque pro singulis Dominicis et majoribus festivitatis.

^x Smith, of the Greek Church, p. 224. That excellent hymn, the great Doxology, makes up a necessary part of their morning devotion, upon Sundays and the other more solemn festivals, and, indeed, on all other days, etc.

^y Cassian. Institut. lib. iii. c. iii. In Pakestinæ, etc. See note (g) p. 375.

remarks precisely for the morning service the psalms that were used^z, namely, the fiftieth, that is our fifty-first, which they commonly call the ‘penitential psalm:’ “Have mercy upon me, O God, after thy great goodness: according to the multitude of thy mercies, do away my offences:” and, together with that, Psalm lxii., that is the sixty-third in our division, which was commonly called ‘the morning psalm:’ as we have noted before; and the eighty-ninth, that is, our ninetieth Psalm, which is appropriated to the funeral office: but it is as proper for the service of every day, and fit to be used by all men whenever they begin a new day, because of those excellent petitions in it for God’s protection and favour, and for wisdom to consider our latter end: “So teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom.” And for that it so familiarly puts us in mind of our mortality, comparing our life to a sleep, which fades away suddenly like the grass: “In the morning, it is green and groweth up; but in the evening, it is cut down, dried up, and withered.” By which we may judge both of the wisdom and piety of the ancients in appointing this psalm to be used constantly in the daily course of morning service. Cassian observes, further, in the same place^a, that, in his time, throughout all the Churches of Italy, their morning hymns were concluded with ‘the penitential psalm,’ that is the fiftieth, according to his account, but with us the fifty-first. And St. Basil^b remarks the same thing for many of the Churches of the East, that their vigils, or nocturnal psalmody, was concluded, when the morning appeared, with the ‘psalm of confession,’ by which he means no other but this same fifty-first, or ‘penitential psalm,’ as I have evidently showed in another place^c. What shall we say, then, to the author of the Constitutions, who speaks but of one psalm in the morning service? I answer, 1. No doubt

^z Ibid. c. vi. (p. 56.) Quinquagesimum vero psalmum, et sexagesimum secundum, et octogesimum nonum, huic novellæ solemnitati novimus fuisse deputatos.

^a Cassian. Institut. lib. iii. c. vi. Denique, etc. See note (g) p. 383.

^b Basil. Epist. lxxiii. ad Neocæsar. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 311.) ‘*Ἡμέρας ἤδη ὑπολαμπούσης, πάντες κοινῇ, ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος καὶ μιᾶς καρδίας, τὸν τῆς ἐξομολογήσεως ψαλμὸν ἀναφέρουσι τῷ Κυρίῳ.*

^c See below, sect. xiii. of this chapter.

there were different customs in different Churches; and in nothing did the practice vary more than in the rules and measures about psalmody, as we shall see more clearly hereafter. So that both accounts may be very true, only applying them to the state and practice of different Churches. 2. I have observed before^d, that the primitive morning service, in times of persecution especially, was no other but the conclusion of the vigils, or *antelucan*, or ‘nocturnal service,’ which concluded towards the break of day, with some proper morning psalm, such as the fifty-first, or sixty-third, or ninetyeth, and certain prayers, or collects, proper to the occasion; the preceding part of the morning having been spent in psalms and hymns to a greater measure and number, sometimes ten, twelve, eighteen, or twenty, and these intermingled with lessons of Scripture, and public or private prayers between them. But when the morning service was made a distinct office from the vigils, as it began to be in the fourth or fifth century; then some other psalms were added to the morning psalm, and three psalms at least were read in this as well as in all other offices; and that is the reason why we meet with but one psalm in the order for morning service in the Constitutions, and three in others, which were of later appointment. Cassian himself, who gives the best account of these things of any other writer, plainly favours this observation: for he tells us, in one place^e, “that the Egyptians never admitted of any morning office distinct from their nocturnal vigils, nor of any other times of public worship besides the evening hours and nocturnal assemblies, except on the Sabbath and the Lord’s day, when they met also at the third hour, that is, at nine in the morning, to celebrate the communion on those days.” All other times they spent in labouring privately in their cells, joining continual meditation of the Psalms, and other Scriptures, with their labour; and mingling short prayers and ejaculations with them; so making the whole day but one continued office of devotion, which others performed by intervals of time, and distinction of the stated hours of prayer. In

^d Book xiii. chap. ix. sect. iv. and x. pp. 360 and 397.

^e Cassian. Institut. lib. iii. c. ii. See note (f) p. 375.

another place, he tells us^f, “that they who first brought in this new morning office, distinct from the nocturnal, did not diminish aught of the ancient psalmody from the nocturnal service; for they continued still to conclude their vigils before break of day with the same psalms as they were used to do before; that is, with Psalms cxlviii. cxlix. cl.; only they set apart Psalms li. lxiii. and xc. for this new office of morning service.” From all which it seems very probable, that, according to the difference of times and places, the number of psalms for the morning service might vary, since there were such different methods in the observation of this solemnity, and an old and a new office, that both went by the name of morning service.

SECT. XI.—*The Original of Antelucan and Night Assemblies, in Times of Persecution.*

Having thus far described the order of the old morning service, as it lies in the Constitutions; and hinted, that the morning assemblies were originally the very same with the ‘nocturnal,’ or *antelucan* meetings for divine service, which we so often read of in ancient writers; for the further illustration of this part of the Christian worship, it will be proper to inquire, a little more narrowly, into the nature and management of them from their first original; which is known to have had its rise from the severity of the heathen persecutions. For the Christians, being afraid to meet publicly on the Lord’s day for divine worship, were forced to hold their assemblies in the night, meeting early in the morning before day, to avoid the observation of their enemies. This appears from that early account of Pliny, which he had from the mouths of some apostatizing Christians, who confessed to him, that the sum of

^f Ibid. c. vi. Illud quoque nosse debemus, nihil a senioribus nostris, qui hanc eandem matutinam solemnitatem addi debere censuerunt, de antiqua psalmodum consuetudine immutatum; sed eodem ordine missam quo prius, in nocturnis conventibus perpetuo celebratam. Etenim hymnos, quos in hac regione ad matutinam exceperere solemnitatem, in fine nocturnarum vigiliarum, quas post gallorum cantum ante auroram finire solent, similiter hodieque decantant, id est, psalmum cxlviii. et reliquos, qui sequuntur: quinquagesimum vero, etc. See note (z) p. 398.

their crime or error was^g, “that they were used to meet together on a certain day, before it was light, and sing a hymn to Christ, as to their God.” Hence it is that the heathen, in Minucius^h, more than once objects to them their night assemblies, and calls them a skulking generation, that fled from the light; being mute in public, but free in discourse with one another, when they were got into their private corners. Celsus seems to mean the same thingⁱ, when he objects to them their holding of ‘clancular meetings,’ *συνθήκας κρύβδην*. And Tertullian, to show Christian women the inconvenience of marrying heathens, puts them in mind of these night assemblies: “What husband,” says he^j, “will be willing to suffer his wife to rise from his side, and go to the night assemblies?” And Prudentius, describing the martyrdom of St. Laurence, introduces the heathen judge, telling him^k, “that he had heard how they sacrificed in silver, and had their wax-lights set in gold, for the use of their night assemblies.” And this was the true original of lamps, and oil, and tapers, for the use of such meetings in time of persecution.

SECT. XII.—*These continued when the Persecutions were over.*

Now, though it was necessity which first gave rise to these assemblies, yet the Church, in after ages, thought fit to con-

^g Plin. lib. x. ep. xcvii. (Gierig. Lips. 1802. vol. ii. p. 513.) *Essent soliti, stato die, ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem.*

^h Minuc. Fel. de Idol. Vanitate, p. 25. (p. 26, edit. Hall. 8vo.) *Nocturnis congregationibus . . . fœderantur. Latebrosa et lucifuga natio, in publicum muta, in angulis garrula.*—It. p. 27. (p. 28.) *Occultis ac nocturnis sacris apposita suspicio.*

ⁱ Origen. cont. Cels. lib. i. (Cantabr. p. 4.) *Πρῶτον τῷ Κέλσῳ κεφάλαιόν ἐστιν, διαβαλεῖν Χριστιανισμόν, ὡς συνθήκας κρύβδην πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιουμένων Χριστιανῶν, παρὰ τὰ νενομισμένα.*

^j Tertul. ad Uxor. lib. ii. c. iv. — Id. de Coron. Milit. c. iii. (Oberthür, vol. i. p. 207.) *Eucharistiæ sacramentum, et in tempore victus, et omnibus mandatum a Domino, etiam antelucanis cœtibus, nec de aliorum manu quam præidentium sumimus.*

^k Prudent. Hymn. ii. de Laurentio. (Galland. vol. viii. p. 437.)

Argenteis scyphis ferunt
Fumare sacrum sanguinem;
Auroque, nocturnis sacris,
Adstare fixos cereos.

tinue them (transferring them from the Lord's day to all other days), partly to keep up the spirit of devotion in the ascetics, or such as had betaken themselves to a stricter life; partly to give leisure and opportunity to men of a secular life to observe a seasonable time of devotion, which they might do, early in the morning, without any distraction; and partly to guard her children against the temptations and seduction of the Arian sect, who, with great zeal, endeavoured to promote their heresy by their psalmody in such meetings, as appears from what Socrates¹ and Sozomen^m say of them, and what Sidonius Apollinaris particularly notes of Theodoric, king of the Gothsⁿ, "that he was so eager a promoter of the Arian cause, that, in his zeal for them, he frequented their morning assemblies before day, with a small guard attending him." Now, the Catholics, having so many reasons to keep up these assemblies, not only continued them, but with great zeal encouraged them in their discourses. St. Chrysostom^o commends the widows and virgins for frequenting the church, night and day, and singing psalms in these assemblies. He says^p, "Men ought to come to the sanctuary in the night, and pour out their prayers there." In another place, speaking of the excellency of the city of Antioch, he says^q, "It consisted not in its

¹ Socrat. lib. vi. c. viii. See note (n) p. 363.

^m Sozom. lib. viii. c. viii. (Cantabr. 1677. p. 336.) Ἐπεὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρείου αἰρέσεως, ἀφαιρεθέντες τῶν ἐν τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐκκλησιῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Θεοδοσίου βασιλείας, πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐκκλησίαζον, νύκτωρ πρότερον ἐν ταῖς δημοσίαις στοαῖς συνελέγοντο· καὶ εἰς συστήματα μεριζόμενοι, κατὰ τὸν τῶν ἀντιφώνων τρόπον ἔψαλλον, ἀκροτελεύτια συντιθέντες πρὸς τὴν αὐτῶν δόξαν πεποιημένα· ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἕω ταῦτα δημοσίᾳ ψάλλοντες, εἰς τοὺς τόπους ἀπήσαν, ἔνθα καὶ ἐκκλησίαζον· . . . Δείσας δὲ Ἰωάννης, μὴ τινες τοῦτοις ὑπαχθῶσι τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκκλησιαζόντων, ἐπὶ τὸν ἴσον τρόπον τῆς ψαλμωδίας τὸν αὐτοῦ λαὸν προτρέπει.

ⁿ Sidon. lib. i. ep. ii. (Max. B. V. P. vol. vi. p. 1077.) Antelucanos sacerdotum suorum coetus minimo comitatu expetit: grandi sedulitate veneratur.

^o Chrysostom. Hom. xxx. in 1 Cor. (Bened. 1718. vol. x. p. 274. D 9.) Αὐταὶ δὲ (παρθένοι καὶ χῆραι) καὶ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα, ψάλλουσι καὶ πάρεσι.

^p Ibid. Comment. in Psalm. cxxxiii. (Bened. vol. v. p. 382.) Διὰ τί φησιν, ἐν νυξί; παιδεύων ἡμᾶς, μὴ τὴν πᾶσαν αὐτὴν εἰς ὕπνον δαπανᾶν, καὶ δεικνὺς τότε καθαρωτέρας εἶναι τὰς εὐχὰς, ὅτε καὶ κουφότερος ὁ νοῦς, καὶ πλείων ἢ σχολή· εἰ δὲ ἐν νυκτὶ παραγίνεσθαι εἰς τὰ ἅγια δεῖ, ἐννόησον, ποίας τεύξεται συγγνώμης ὁ μηδὲ οἴκοι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον εὐχὰς ἐπιτελῶν.

^q Ibid. Hom. iv. de Verbis Esaiæ, (Bened. vol. vi. p. 121. B 5.) Τί μοι

fine buildings or pillars, but in the morals of the men. Go into the church, and there see the excellency of the city. Go into the church, and see the poor continuing there from midnight to the morning light." And it is remarkable what Socrates says of him, when he was bishop of Constantinople^r, that "he made additional prayers for the nocturnal hymns, on purpose to countermine the practice of the Arians." But I must not stand to repeat all that is said of these famous morning assemblies; for there is scarce an ecclesiastical writer^s that has not given some hint of them; which I need not recite, but rather go on to show what were the chief exercises of these meetings, which usually began soon after midnight, and continued to the morning light.

SECT. XIII.—*The order of Divine Service which was performed in them, as described by St. Basil.*

St. Basil, in one of his epistles, gives us a pretty clear description of them, though but in general terms, whilst he makes an apology for the practices of his own Church, against some who charged them with innovation. His words are these^t: "The customs," says he, "which now prevail among

λέγεις οἰκοδομήματα καὶ κίονας; ταῦτα τῷ παρόντι συγκαταλύεται βίη· εἰσελθε εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ βλέπε τῆς πόλεως τὴν εὐγένειαν· εἰσελθε, ἴδε πένητας ἐκ μεσουκτιῶν μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας παραμένοντας· βλέπε παννυχίδας ἱερὰς ἡμέρα καὶ νυκτὶ συναφθείσας.

^r Socrat. lib. vi. c. vii. (Aug. T. 1746. p. 271. B 3.) Ἡἔξησε πρῶτος καὶ τὰς περὶ τοὺς νυκτερινοὺς ὕμνους εὐχάς.

^s Vid. Eriphan. Exposit. Fid. n. xxiii. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 1106.) 'Ἐωθινοὶ τε ὕμνοι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ διηνεκεῖς γίνονται, καὶ προσευχαὶ ἑωθιναὶ, λυχνικοὶ τε ἅμα ψαλμοὶ, καὶ προσευχαί.—Hieron. See page 378, notes (s) and (t).—Hilar. in Psalm. lxiv. See page 416, note (r).

^t Basil. Epist. lxi. ad Neocæsar. (Bened. 1721. vol. iii. p. 311.) "Ὅτι τὰ νῦν κεκρατηκότα ἔθη πάσαις ταῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαις συνφθὰ ἐστὶ καὶ σύμφωνα· ἐκ νυκτὸς γὰρ ὀρθρίζει παρ' ἡμῶν ὁ λαὸς ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον τῆς προσευχῆς, καὶ ἐν πόνῳ, καὶ ἐν θλίψει, καὶ ἐν συνοχῇ δακρῶν ἐξομολογούμενοι τῷ Θεῷ· τελευταῖον ἀναστάντες τῶν προσευχῶν, εἰς τὴν ψαλμωδίαν καθίστανται καὶ νῦν μὲν διχῇ διανεμηθέντες, ἀντιψάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις, ὁμοῦ μὲν τὴν μελέτην τῶν λογίων ἐντεῦθεν κρατύνοντες, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ τὴν προσοχὴν καὶ τὸ ἀμετεώριστον τῶν καρδιῶν ἑαυτοῖς διακονούμενοι· ἔπειτα πάλιν ἐπιτρέψαντες ἐνὶ κατάρχειν τοῦ μέλους, οἱ λοιποὶ ὑπηχοῦσι, καὶ οὕτως ἐν τῇ ποικιλίᾳ τῆς ψαλμωδίας τὴν νύκτα διενέγκοντες μεταξὺ προσευχόμενοι ἡμέρας ἤδη ὑπολαμπούσης, πάντες κοινῇ, ὡς ἐξ ἐνὸς στόματος, καὶ μιᾶς καρδίας, τὴν τῆς ἐξομολογήσεως ψαλμὸν ἀναφέρουσι τῷ Κυρίῳ, ἴδια ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστος τὰ ῥήματα τῆς μετανοίας ποιούμενοι.

us, are consonant and agreeable to all the Churches of God ; for, with us, the people rising early, whilst it is night, come to the house of prayer ; and there, with much labour and affliction, and contrition and tears, make confession of their sins to God. When this is done, they rise from prayers, and dispose themselves to psalmody : sometimes dividing themselves into two parts, they answer one another in singing, or ‘ sing alternately,’ *ἀντιψάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις* : after this, again, they permit one alone to begin the psalm, and the rest join in the close of every verse, *ὑπηχοῦσι* : and thus, with this variety of psalmody, they carry on the night, praying betwixt whiles, or intermingling prayers with their psalms, *μεταξὺ προσευχόμενοι*. At last, when the day begins to break forth, they all, in common, as with one mouth and one heart, ‘ offer up to God the psalm of confession,’ *τὸν τῆς ἐξομολογήσεως ψαλμὸν τῷ Κυρίῳ ἀναφέρουσι*, every one making the words of this psalm to be the expression of his own repentance.”—Here we have the plain order of these nocturnal or morning devotions : 1. Confession of sins. 2. Psalms sung alternately. 3. Psalms sung by one alone. 4. Prayers between the psalms. 5. Lastly, the common psalm of confession, or the penitential psalm, in the close of all. Whether the first confession of sins was a public or private one, is not very certain. Some learned persons ^u take it for a public confession, like that in the beginning of our liturgy ; but I rather think that it was a private confession, with which we are sure their offices generally began ; as appears from a canon of the Council of Laodicea ^v, where it is called ‘ the silent prayer,’ *εὐχὴ διὰ σιωπῆς* : of which I have given a fuller account in the communion service ^w. The later confession was plainly a public one, made by a certain form, being no other but Psalm li. “ Have mercy on me, O God, after thy great goodness : according to the multitude of thy mercies, do away mine offences ;” for this psalm was particularly noted among the ancients by the name of ‘ the psalm

^u L’Estrange, Alliance of Divine Office. chap. iii. p. 75.

^v Conc. Laodic. c. xix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1500. C 5.) *Τούτων προσελθόντων ὑπὸ χεῖρα, καὶ ὑποχωρησάντων, οὕτως τῶν πιστῶν τὰς εὐχὰς γίνεσθαι τρεῖς· μίαν μὲν τὴν πρώτην διὰ σιωπῆς, κ. τ. λ.*

^w See book xv. chap. i. sect. i. vol. v. p. 1.

of confession.' Athanasius gives it this title^x, telling us, that Psalm I. which is the fifty-first in our division, is ψαλμὸς ἐξομολογήσεως, 'the psalm of confession.' And what further confirms this interpretation is, that this very psalm, by name, is appointed to be used in the close of the *matins*, or 'morning service,' which the Western Churches introduced, as distinct from the nocturnal service, as Cassian^y relates, who was an eye-witness of it.

SECT. XIV.—*The Account of them, out of Cassian.*

What number of psalms or prayers was used in this service, is not particularly noted by St. Basil; nor, perhaps, was it stinted to any certain number, but according as the length of the psalms or time required: but, in the Egyptian Churches, they reduced it to the precise number of twelve psalms; from whence some other Churches afterwards took their model, as Cassian informs us, who says^z, "that in other regions there were different rules and appointments: for some recited no less than twenty psalms, and these by way of antiphonal or alternate melody; others exceeded this number; others had eighteen; so that there were almost as many ways and rules, as there were monasteries and cells." Nay, in Egypt, before the rule was settled, some were for having fifty^a, some sixty psalms. But, at last, upon mature advice, they

^x Athanas. Epist. ad Marcellin. de Interpret. Psalm. (vol. i. p. 974.) (p. 995, Paris. 1698.) 'Ἄλλ' ἡμαρτες, καὶ ἐντραπεῖς μεταγινώσκεις, καὶ ἐλεθῆναι ἀξιοῖς· ἔχεις τοὺς τῆς ἐξομολογήσεως καὶ μετανοίας λόγους ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ [πρώτῳ].

^y Cassian. lib. iii. c. vi. See note (g) p. 383.

^z Ibid. lib. ii. c. ii. (Atrebat. p. 18.) Quidam vicenos psalmos, et hos ipsos antiphonarum protelatos melodiis et adjunctione quarumdam modulationum debere dici singulis noctibus censuerunt: alii hunc modum etiam excedere tentaverunt: nonnulli xviii. atque in hunc modum diversis in locis diversum canonem agnovimus institutum, totque propemodum typos ac regulas vidimus usurpatas, quot etiam monasteria cellasque conspeximus.

^a Ibid. c. v. (p. 23.) Cum alii quinquagenos, alii sexagenos psalmos, nonnulli vero ne hoc quidem numero contenti excedi cum debere censerent, essetque inter eos pro religionis regula piæ contentionis sancta diversitas, ita ut tempus solemnitatis vespertinæ sacratissimæ succederet questioni, quotidianos orationum ritus volentibus celebrare, unus in medium psalmos Domino cantaturus exurgit, etc.

fixed upon the certain number of twelve psalms^b, both for their evening and morning service; interposing a prayer between each psalm; and adding two lessons, one out of the Old Testament, and the other out of the New: which was their custom on all days, except Saturdays and Sundays, when they repeated them both out of the New Testament, the one out of St. Paul's Epistles, or the Acts of the Apostles, and the other out of the Gospels; as they did also for the whole term of fifty days, between Easter and Whitsuntide." He adds further, "that they did not use the alternate way of singing in Egypt, but only one amongst them sung with a plain and even voice, the rest sitting by, and attending to what was said." Neither did they answer^c, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost," at the end of every psalm; but interposed a prayer (which was the custom of all the East), and then at the end of the last psalm, which they called the Hallelujah, they subjoined the Glorification of the Trinity, which they never used but at the end of that *antiphona*, as they called the Hallelujah in the Eastern Church. When the psalms were very long, they sometimes divided them into two or three parts; and, at the end of every part, made a stop to interpose a

^b Ibid. Cumque sedentibus cunctis . . . et in psallentis verba omni cordis intentione defixis, undecim psalmos orationum interjectione distinctos continens (g)uis versibus parili pronuntiatione cantasset, duodecimum sub Alleluie responsione consummans, ab universorum oculis repente subtractus, questioni pariter et caerimoniis finem imposuit.—Cap. vi. (p. 25.) Ex hinc venerabilis patrum senatus intelligens, Angeli magisterio congregationibus fratrum generalem canonem, non sine dispensatione Domini constitutum, decrevit hunc numerum tam in vespertinis, quam in nocturnis conventiculis custodiri, quibus lectiones geminas adjungentes, id est, unam Veteris, et aliam Novi Testamenti, tamquam a se eas traditas et velut extraordinarias, volentibus tantum, ac Divinarum Scripturarum memoriam possidere, adsidua meditatione studentibus addiderunt. In die vero sabbati vel Dominico utrasque de Novo recitant Testamento, id est, unam de Apostolo vel Actibus Apostolorum, et aliam de Evangeliiis. Quod etiam totis Quinquagesimae diebus faciunt hi, quibus lectio curae est seu memoria Scripturarum.

^c Cassian. lib. ii. c. viii. (p. 28.) Illud etiam, quod in hac provincia [Gallia] vidimus, ut uno cantante in clausula psalmi, omnes adstantes concinant cum clamore, 'Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto,' nusquam per omnem Orientem audivimus; sed cum omnium silentio, ab eo qui cantat, finito psalmo, orationem succedere. Hac vero glorificatione Trinitatis tantummodo solere antiphonam terminari.

prayer^d, thinking it better to use frequent and short prayers to keep up the fervour of devotion. It does not appear that these were public prayers, but rather private; at the end of which the chief minister officiating is said *colligere precem*, ‘to make a collect or prayer,’ recapitulating the prayers that were made before by the assembly in private; of which I shall have occasion to give a fuller account in another place^e.’ It is noted further by Cassian^f, concerning the last of their psalms, called the *antiphona*, or Hallelujah, that no psalm was ever used in this place but only one of those which had the inscription of Hallelujah prefixed in the title of it; such as the hundred and forty-fifth, and those that follow, one of which was commonly the concluding psalm, repeated by way of *antiphona*, or responses. It was something particular in the manner of performing this psalmody in those Egyptian monasteries, that he that sung the psalms only stood up, but the rest heard them sitting: which Cassian^g observes to be matter of indulgence in regard to their continual watchings and hard labour. And it was no less peculiar, that never above four persons were allowed to repeat the twelve psalms in one assembly, and that by course^h, every one singing three, in order, after one another.

^d Ibid. c. xi. (p. 33.) Ne psalmos quidem ipsos, quos in congregatione decantant, continuata student pronuntiatione concludere: sed eos pro numero versuum duabus vel tribus intercessionibus cum orationum interjectione divisos distinctim particulatimque consummant.

^e Book xv. chap. i. sect. i. vol. v. p. 1.

^f Cassian. lib. ii. c. xi. (p. 533.) Illud quoque apud eos omni observantia custoditur, ut in responsione Alleluia nullus dicatur psalmus, nisi is, qui in titulo suo Alleluia inscriptione prænotatur.

^g Ibid. c. xii. (p. 34.) Hunc canonicum, quem prædiximus, duodenarium psalmoreum numerum tali corporis quiete relevant, ut has easdem congregationum solemnitates ex more celebrantes, absque eo, qui dicturus in medium psalmos surrexerit, cuncti sedilibus humillimis insidentes ad vocem psallentis omni cordis intentione dependeant. Ita namque jejuniis et operatione totius diei noctisque lassescunt, ut nisi hujusemodi refectioe adjuventur, ne hunc quidem numerum stantes implere prævaleant.

^h Ibid. c. xi. (p. 33.) Prædictum duodenarium psalmoreum numerum ita dividunt, ut si duo fuerint fratres, senos psallant; si tres, quaternos; si quatuor, ternos. Quo numero numquam minus in congregatione decantant; ac proinde quantilibet multitudo convenerit, numquam amplius psallunt in synaxi, quam quatuor fratres.

Or, if there were but three, then each sung four psalms ; and, if but two, each of them sung six.

SECT. XV.—*This Morning Service much frequented by the Laity of all Sorts.*

And thus far of the nocturnal psalmody, which was the old morning service of the Church. I only add, that though this service was very early in the morning, yet it was frequented, not by the clergy and monks only, but by the people also. For, as we have seen before, St. Basil takes notice, that the people came to church to celebrate these morning devotions ; and Sidonius has told us also, that Theodoric, king of the Goths, was a constant observer of them. So here it is also remarked by Cassianⁱ, “ that this part of the Church’s devotion was, with great exactness, observed by many secular men, who, rising early, before day, would not engage themselves in any of their most necessary and ordinary worldly business, before they had consecrated the first-fruits of all their actions and labours to God, by going to church, and presenting themselves in the divine presence.” A worthy example, fit to be recorded in letters of gold, to excite the emulation of the present age, wherein the daily worship of God at religious assemblies is so little frequented, and by many so much despised ; though the same service with that of the ancients, for substance, is still retained, with some improvements, and none of the corruptions which the superstition of darker ages brought into the devotions of the Church ; as any one may satisfy himself, that will compare what has been delivered in this chapter, with the daily service of our Church.

ⁱ Cassian. Collat. xxi. c. xxvi. (Atrebat. p. 801.) Quod devotionis genus multi etiam sæcularium summa cautione custodiunt, qui ante lucem vel diluculo consurgentes, nequaquam familiaribus ac necessariis mundi hujus actibus implicantur, priusquam cunctorum actuum suorum operationumque primitias, ad ecclesiam concurrentes, divino studeant sacrare conspectui.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ORDER OF THEIR DAILY EVENING SERVICE.

SECT. I.—*The Evening Service, in most things, conformed to that of the Morning.*

THE evening service, which was called the *hora lucernaris*, because it began at the time of lighting candles, towards the close of the day, was in most parts the same with that of the morning, only with such variation of psalms, and hymns, and prayers, as were proper to the occasion. The prayers for the catechumens, energumens, candidates of baptism, and penitents, were all the same; so were the prayers for the faithful, or communicants, called the ‘prayers for the peace of the world, and the whole state of the Catholic Church;’ which are described at large in the following books, to which the reader may have recourse.

SECT. II.—*But they differed, first, in that a proper Psalm was appointed for the Evening, called ‘the Evening Psalm,’ by the Author of the Constitutions.*

The first thing wherein they differed, was ‘the initial psalm:’ for as the morning service began with Psalm lxiii., so the evening service is appointed to begin with Psalm cxl. which we reckon the hundred and forty-first: “Lord, I call upon thee, haste thee unto me; and consider my voice when I cry unto thee. Let my prayer be set forth in thy sight, as the incense; and let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice,” &c. This psalm the author of the Constitutions calls emphatically ^a, τὸν ἐπιλύχνιον ψαλμὸν, ‘the evening psalm;’ in the place where he describes the order of this service. And though he does not, in that place, either name the psalm, or mention any words in it, yet he infallibly means the psalm now spoken of, because, in another place ^b, he expressly calls it Psalm cxl.,

^a Constitut. lib. viii. c. xxxv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 499.) Ἐσπέρας γενομένης συναθροίσεις τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ῥηθῆναι τὸν ἐπιλύχνιον ψαλμὸν, προσφωνήσει ὁ διάκονος ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηχουμένων, κ. τ. λ.

^b Ibid. lib. ii. c. lix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 299.) Ἐκάστης ἡμέρας συναθροίζεσθε

requiring it to be used in public assemblies, at the daily evening service.

SECT. III.—*The Psalm mentioned under the same Denomination by Chrysostom, and other Writers.*

And that which puts the matter beyond all dispute is, that Chrysostom, in his comment upon this psalm, takes notice of the use of it in the Church upon this particular occasion. “Hearken diligently,” says he^c, “for it was not without reason that our fathers appointed this psalm to be said every evening; not barely for the sake of that single expression, ‘Let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice:’ for other psalms have expressions of the same nature, as that which says, ‘At evening, and morning, and noon day, will I show forth thy praise:’ and, again, ‘The day is thine, and the night is thine:’ And, again, ‘Weeping may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning:’ and many other such like psalms may one find, that are proper for the evening season. Therefore our fathers did not order this psalm to be said upon the account of this expression; but they appointed the reading of it as a sort of salutary medicine to cleanse us from sin; that whatever defilement we may have contracted throughout the whole day, either abroad, in the market, or at home, or in whatsoever place,—when the evening comes, we might put it all off by this spiritual charm, or song, which is a medicine to purge away all such corruption.

ὄρθρου καὶ ἑσπέρας, ψάλλοντες καὶ προσευχόμενοι ἐν τοῖς κυριακοῖς· ὄρθρου μὲν λέγοντες ψαλμὸν τὸν ξβ΄· ἑσπέρας δὲ τὸν ρμ΄.

^c Chrysostom. Hom. in Psalm. cxl. (Bened. vol. v. p. 427. A 5.) Ἄλλα προσέχετε μετὰ ἀκριβείας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπλῶς οἶμαι τὸν ψαλμὸν τοῦτον τετάχθαι παρὰ τῶν πατέρων καθ’ ἐκάστην ἑσπέραν λέγεσθαι, οὐδὲ διὰ τὴν μίαν λέξιν τὴν λέγουσαν, Ἐπαρσις τῶν χειρῶν μου θυσία ἑσπερινή· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλοι ψαλμοὶ ταύτην ἔχουσι τὴν λέξιν, ὥσπερ ἐκείνος ὁ λέγων, Ἐσπέρας καὶ πρωὶ καὶ μεσημβρίας διηγῆσομαι, καὶ ἐπαγγελῶ· καὶ πάλιν, Σὴ ἐστιν ἡ ἡμέρα, καὶ σὴ ἐστιν ἡ νύξ· καὶ πάλιν, τὸ, Ἐσπέρας ἀυλισθήσεται κλαυθμὸς, καὶ εἰς τὸ πρωὶ ἀγαλλιάσιν· καὶ πολλοὺς ἂν εὔροι τις ψαλμοὺς ἐπιτηδείους τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἑσπέρας. οὐ διὰ τοῦτο γοῦν τοῦτον τὸν ψαλμὸν ἐτύπωσαν οἱ πατέρες, ἀλλ’ ὡς τι φάρμακον σωτήριον, καὶ ἀμαρτημάτων καθάρσιον ἐνομοθέτησαν λέγεσθαι· ἢ ὅσαπερ ἂν προστριβώμεθα δι’ ὄλου τοῦ μήκουσ τῆς ἡμέρας, ἢ ἐν ἀγορᾷ, ἢ ἐν οἰκίᾳ, ἢ ὕπου· δήποτε διατρίβοντες, ταῦτα ἐλθόντες εἰς τὴν ἑσπέραν διὰ τῆς ἐφροδῆς ταύτης ἀποδυσώμεθα τῆς πνευματικῆς· φάρμακον γὰρ ἐστιν ἀπάντων τούτων ἀνααιρετικόν.

SECT. IV.—*Secondly, Proper Prayers for Evening Service.*

After this psalm was ended, there followed the same prayers for the catechumens, energumens, penitents, and common prayers for the world and the Church, that were used in the morning service: but after them the deacon bid the people pray in a certain form proper for the evening, which the author of the Constitutions styles *προσφώνησις ἐπιλύχνιος*, ‘the evening bidding prayer,’ and it runs in these words^d: “Let us pray to the Lord for his mercies and compassions; and entreat him to send us the angel of peace, and all good things convenient for us; and that he would grant us to make a Christian end. Let us pray that this evening and night may pass in peace, and without sin; and all the time of our life unblameable, and without rebuke. Let us commend ourselves, and one another, to the living God, through his Christ.”

This said, the bishop, if present, made his commendatory collect, which is there styled *ἐπιλύχνιος εὐχαριστία*, ‘the evening thanksgiving,’ and is conceived in the following words^e: “O God, who art without beginning and without end, the Maker and Governor of all things through Christ, the God and Father of him before all things, the Lord of the Spirit, and King of all things, both intellectual and sensible; that hast made the day for works of light, and the night to give rest to our weakness; for the day is thine, and the night is

^d Constitut. lib. viii. c. xxxvi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 499. E 5.) Ἐναστάντες αἰτησώμεθα τὰ ἐλεή τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ τοὺς οἰκτιρισμοὺς αὐτοῦ· τὸν ἄγγελον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα, Χριστιανὰ τὰ τέλη· τὴν ἐσπέραν καὶ τὴν νύκτα εἰρηνικὴν καὶ ἀναμάρτητον, καὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν ἀκατάγνωστον αἰτησώμεθα· ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἀλλήλους τῷ ζῶντι Θεῷ διὰ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ παραθῶμεν.

^e Ibid. c. xxxvii. (p. 501.) Ὁ ἄναρχος Θεὸς καὶ ἀτελεύτητος, ὁ τῶν ὅλων ποιητὴς διὰ Χριστοῦ καὶ κηδεμὼν, πρὸ δὲ πάντων αὐτοῦ Θεὸς καὶ Πατήρ, ὁ τοῦ Πνεύματος Κύριος, καὶ τῶν νοητῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν βασιλεὺς, ὁ ποιήσας ἡμέραν πρὸς ἔργα φωτὸς, καὶ νύκτα εἰς ἀνάπαισιν τῆς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν· σὴ γὰρ ἔστιν ἡμέρα, καὶ σὴ ἔστιν ἡ νύξ· σὺ κατηρίσω φαῦσιν καὶ ἥλιον αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν, Δέσποτα, φιλάνθρωπε καὶ πανάγαθε, εὐμένως πρόσδεξαι τὴν ἐσπερινὴν εὐχαριστίαν ἡμῶν ταύτην· ὁ διαγαγὼν ἡμᾶς τὸ μήκος τῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ ἀγαγὼν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆς νυκτὸς, φύλαξον ἡμᾶς διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, εἰρηνικὴν παράσχου τὴν ἐσπέραν, καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἀναμάρτητον, καὶ καταξιώσον ἡμᾶς τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου· δι’ οὗ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ, καὶ σέβας, ἐν ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· Ἀμήν.

thine ; thou hast prepared the light and the sun ; do thou now, most kind and gracious Lord, receive this, our evening thanksgiving. Thou that hast led us through the length of the day, and brought us to the beginning of the night, keep and preserve us by thy Christ ; grant that we may pass this evening in peace, and this night without sin ; and vouchsafe to bring us to eternal life through thy Christ ; by whom be glory, honour, and adoration unto thee, in the Holy Spirit, world without end. Amen.”

After this, the deacon bids the people, *κλίνατε τῆ χειρο-θεσίᾳ*, ‘bow down to receive the benediction with imposition of hands ;’ and then the bishop makes this following prayer^f : “ O God of our fathers, and Lord of mercy, that hast created man, by thy wisdom, a rational being, and of all thy creatures upon earth dearest unto thee, that hast given him dominion over the earth, and hast made us, by thy pleasure, to be kings and priests, the one to secure our lives, and the other to preserve thy lawful worship ; be pleased now, O Lord Almighty, to bow down and show the light of thy countenance upon thy people, who bow the neck of their heart before thee ; and bless them by Christ, by whom thou hast enlightened us with the light of knowledge, and revealed thyself unto us : with whom is due, unto thee, and the Holy Ghost the Comforter, all worthy adoration from every rational and holy nature, world without end. Amen.”

There are two expressions in these prayers which may seem a little unusual to a modern reader ; one, where prayer is made for the angel of peace ; and the other, which styles God the Father, Lord of the Spirit : but both these occur in the morning prayers for the catechumens hereafter, where I show

^f Constitut. lib. viii. c. xxxvii. (p. 501. B 12.) Θεὸς πατέρων, καὶ Κύριε τοῦ ἐλέους, ὁ τῆ σοφίᾳ σου κατασκευάσας ἄνθρωπον τὸ λογικὸν ζῶον, τὸ θεοφιλὲς τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς, καὶ δοὺς αὐτῷ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς χθονὸς ἄρχειν, καὶ καταστήσας γνώμη σῆ ἄρχοντας καὶ ἱερεῖς, τοὺς μὲν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τῆς ζωῆς, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς λατρίαν ἔννομον· αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν ἐπικάμφθητι, Κύριε παντόκρατορ· καὶ ἐπίφανον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἐπὶ τὸν λαόν σου, τοὺς κάμφσαντας ἀρχένα καρδίας αὐτῶν· καὶ εὐλόγησον αὐτοὺς διὰ Χριστοῦ, δι’ οὗ ἐφώτισας ἡμᾶς φῶς γνώσεως, καὶ ἀπεκάλυψας ἡμῖν σαυτόν· μεθ’ οὗ σοὶ καὶ ἡ ἐπάξιος ὀφείλεται προσκύνησις παρὰ πάσης λογικῆς καὶ ἀγίας φύσεως, καὶ Πνεύματι τῷ Παρακλήτῳ, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· Ἀμήν.

out of Chrysostom^g, that prayer for the angel of peace was a common petition in many of the known forms of the Church : and for that other expression, which styles the Father ‘ Lord of the Spirit,’ which is a harsh way of speaking, and “ looks like Macedonianism,” as Cotelerius remarks upon it, I have showed out of Bishop Bull that it may fairly be interpreted to a sound and catholic sense, from parallel expressions in Justin Martyr. So that we need not condemn this author as an Arian or Macedonian heretic, only allowing him the favour of a candid interpretation.

To return, therefore, to the prayers themselves : the deacon, after these collects made by the bishop, dismisses the people with the usual form, as in the morning service, *προ-έλθετε ἐν εἰρήνῃ*, ‘ Depart in peace.’ And this is the conclusion of the evening service, according to our author in this place.

SECT. V.—*Of the Evening Hymn.*

But, in another place^h, he speaks also of an evening hymn, which he styles, *εὐχὴ ἑσπερινὸς*, an ‘ evening prayer,’ or ‘ thanksgiving,’ which is a sort of doxology to God, like that used before in the morning prayer. The form is in these words : “ Praise the Lord, ye servants, O praise the name of the Lord. We praise thee, we laud thee, we bless thee, for thy great glory, O Lord and King, the Father of Christ, the unspotted Lamb, that taketh away the sin of the world. All praises, and hymns, and glory are justly rendered unto thee, our God and Father, by thy Son, in the most Holy Spirit, for all ages, world without end. Amen. Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word : for mine

^g Book xiv. chap. v. sect. iii.

^h Constitut. lib. vii. c. xlix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 452.) *Αἰνεῖτε, παῖδες, Κύριον· αἰνεῖτε τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου· αἰνοῦμέν σε, ὑμνοῦμέν σε, εὐλογοῦμέν σε, διὰ τὴν μεγάλην σου δόξαν· Κύριε βασιλεῦ, ὁ Πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ ἀμώμου [ἀμνοῦ], ὃς αἴρει τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου· σοὶ πρέπει αἶνος· σοὶ πρέπει ὕμνος· σοὶ δόξα πρέπει τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἐν Πνεύματι τῷ παναγίῳ, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· Ἀμήν. Νῦν ἀπολύεις τὸν δοῦλόν σου, Δέσποτα, κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμά σου, ἐν εἰρήνῃ· ὅτι εἶδον οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου τὸ σωτήριόν σου ὃ ἠτοίμασας κατὰ πρόσωπον πάντων τῶν λαῶν, φῶς εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν ἐθνῶν, καὶ δόξαν λαοῦ σου Ἰσραὴλ.*

eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people, to be a light to lighten the Gentiles, and to be the glory of thy people Israel."

It is not here said whether this hymn was for public or private use. However, that there were such sorts of hymns in use among the ancients, at the first bringing in of candles in the evening, is evident from St. Basil, who mentions one part of such a hymn, which he styles ἐπιλύχνιος εὐχαριστία, 'the thanksgiving at setting up lights.' "It seemed good," says heⁱ, "to our forefathers not to receive the gift of the evening light altogether with silence, but to give thanks immediately upon its appearance. We cannot certainly tell who was the first author of that thanksgiving at setting up lights: but this we are sure of, that the people have of old used this form of words (and no one ever charged them with impiety for so doing) Αἰνοῦμεν Πατέρα, καὶ Υἱὸν, καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ, 'We praise the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit of God.'"

Bishop Ussher^j and Dr. Smith^k have given us an ancient form of this kind more at large, out of the Alexandrian manuscript of the Septuagint, and some other ancient copies of the Psalter in Greek, which it may not be improper to insert in this place. It goes in some books under the title of ὕμνος ἑσπερινός, 'the evening hymn;' and in others it is called ὕμνος τοῦ λυχνικοῦ, 'the hymn said at setting up lights.' We cannot certainly say this is the same that St. Basil refers to; but all that St. Basil mentions out of that ancient hymn is now found in this; which makes it probable that they are the very same: it is as follows^l: "O Jesus Christ, thou joyful

ⁱ Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. c. xxix. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 62.) "Ἐδοξε τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν, μὴ σιωπῆ τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἑσπερινοῦ φωτός δέχεσθαι ἀλλ' εὐθὺς φανέντος εὐχαριστεῖν· καὶ ὅστις μὲν ὁ πατήρ τῶν ῥημάτων ἐκείνων τῆς ἐπιλυχνίου εὐχαριστίας, εἰπέιν οὐκ ἔχομεν· ὁ μὲν τοι λαὸς ἀρχαίαν ἀφήσει τὴν φωνήν, καὶ οὐδενὶ πώποτε ἀσεβεῖν ἐνομήσθησαν οἱ λέγοντες, Αἰνοῦμεν Πατέρα, καὶ Υἱὸν, καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ.

^j Usserii Diatriba de Symbolis, p. 35. Vid. sub (1).

^k Smith's Account of the Greek Church, p. 302.

^l Φῶς ἱλαρὸν ἀγίας δόξης ἀθανάτου Πατρὸς, οὐρανοῦ, ἀγίου, μάκαρος, Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ· ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡλίου δύσιν, ἰδόντες φῶς ἑσπερινόν, ὑμνοῦμεν Πατέρα, καὶ Υἱὸν, καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ· Ἄξιός ἐστι ἐν πᾶσι καιροῖς

Light of the sacred glory of the immortal, heavenly, holy, blessed Father; we, now being come to the setting of the sun, and seeing the evening light, do laud and praise the Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit of God (or, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, that is God): thou art worthy to have hymns at all times sung unto thee with holy voices, O Son of God, that givest life; therefore the world glorifies thee." Bishop Ussher ^m, by mistake, says this hymn was the same as the ψαλμὸς ἐπιλύχνιος, 'the evening psalm,' mentioned in the Constitutions, lib. viii. c. xxxv. Whereas, indeed, that evening psalm was quite another thing from this evening hymn; that being one of David's psalms, as I showed before out of Chrysostom and the Constitutions themselves, and this a hymn of human composition. Neither is it the same form with the evening hymn related before out of the Constitutions, but seems more likely to be that mentioned by St. Basil; which I conceive was not a form for public, but only private devotion, to be used at home by all Christians, as a pious ejaculation or hymn to Christ, "the true Light that enlightens every man that comes into the world." But I only offer this as a conjecture, because I find not this hymn mentioned as inserted into the public offices, either by the author of the Constitutions, or St. Basil, or any other.

SECT. VI.—*Whether there were any Hymns, or Psalms, or Lessons read in the Evening Service besides Psalm cxli.*

But then it may be asked, Were there no hymns used in the evening service? Were there no lessons read, nor psalms, besides that called 'the evening psalm,' sung in the church? I answer, No doubt there were in many churches; for the

ὑμνεῖσθαι φωναῖς ὁσίαις, Ἰη̄ Θεοῦ, ζωὴν ὁ διδούς· Διὸ ὁ κόσμος σε δοξάζει.

^m Usser. l. c. Etsi Nicephoro Callisto (lib. xviii. Hist. Eccles. c. li.) non facile concesserim, hymnum hunc jam inde ab apostolis per manus ecclesie Christi fuisse traditum; esse tamen ἐπιλύχνιον ψαλμὸν illum, cujus in Constitut. Apostol. lib. viii. c. xxxv. (al. xli.) facta est mentio, non multum repugnaverim. Ut quemadmodum Græci (apud Varronem de Lingua Latina, lib. v.) quum lumen adferretur, dicere fuerunt soliti φῶς ἀγαθόν, ita et Christiani suum φῶς ἰλαρὸν ἀγίας δόξης, in laudem illius, qui est ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης Dei et Patris, canere consueverint.

customs of Churches varied in this matter: and, though the author of the Constitutions mentions them not in the rituals of the Churches he describes, yet other accounts do; for Cassian, describing the customary service of the Egyptian monasteries, saysⁿ, “ They sung twelve psalms every morning and evening in their solemn meetings, and had two lessons read, one out of the Old Testament, and the other out of the New, and had prayers also between the psalms, and sung the *Gloria Patri* at the end of the last psalm.” St. Jerome confirms this account, and adds, “ that they had a sermon made by the abbot (who was always a presbyter), every day after evening prayer.” For thus he describes their evening devotions^o: “ At nine o’clock they meet together, then the psalms are sung, and the Scriptures are read; and prayers being ended they all sit down: and one among them, whom they call their father, begins to discourse to them, whom they hear with the profoundest silence and veneration.” But it may be said, this, perhaps, was only the custom of the monasteries, and not of the Churches. In answer to which Epiphanius^p assures us it was the custom of the Church to have psalms and hymns continually both at morning and evening prayer. St. Austin also mentions hymns^q as well as prayers at evening service; which implies, that they had more psalms than one sung upon that occasion. St. Hilary, upon those words of the psalmist, “ The outgoings of the morning and evening shall praise thee,” shows the same when he says^r, “ The progression of the Church

ⁿ Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. c. vi. Ex hinc venerabilis, etc. See note (b) p. 406.

^o Hieron. Epist. xxii. ad Eustochium, c. xv. (Venet. 1766. vol. i. p. 119.) Post horam nonam in commune concurritur: psalmi resonant: Scripture recitantur ex more: et completis orationibus, cunctisque residentibus, medius, quem Patrem vocant, incipit disputare: quo loquente tantum silentium fit, ut nemo alium respicere, nemo audeat exscreare, etc.

^p Epiphani. Exposit. Fidei, n. xxiii. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 1106. A 6.) ‘Εωθινοί τε ὕμνοι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ διηλεκτεῖς γίνονται, καὶ προσευχαὶ ἐωθιναί, λυχρικοί τε ἅμα ψαλμοὶ καὶ προσευχαί.

^q Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. xxii. c. viii. (Bened. 1679. vol. vii. p. 667. C 7.) Ad vespertinos illuc hymnos et orationes cum ancillis suis et quibusdam sanctimonialibus ex more domina possessionis intravit, atque hymnos cantare cœperunt.

^r Hilar. in Psalm. lxiv. (p. 169, Paris. 1693.) Progressus ecclesie in matu-

to her morning and evening hymns with delight, is a great sign of God's mercy. The day is begun with prayers, and the day is closed with hymns to God." St. Hilary himself is said to be the author of some of those hymns, and St. Ambrose of others, which were of public use in the Church: and though some would have rejected them, because they were only of human composure, and not to be found in Scripture, yet the fourth Council of Toledo^s ordered them to be retained in the public service of the Church, together with the hymns, "Glory be to the Father," and "Glory be to God on high," which were likewise of human composition. For the Eastern Churches, the like is said by Chrysostom^t, "that they had hymns at night in their evening prayer, as well as morning." In the Gallican churches they had, besides their collects and prayers, both hymns and *antiphonas*, or 'chapters,' as they called them, collected out of the Psalms, to be said by way of responses, as appears from the Council of Agde^u. And the second Council of Tours orders^w, "that at evening prayer, which they call

tinorum et vespertinorum hymnorum delectationes maximum misericordiae Dei signum est. Dies in orationibus Dei inchoatur, dies in hymnis Dei clauditur.

^s Conc. Tolet. IV. c. xiii. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1709.) Quia nonnulli hymni humano studio in laudem Dei atque apostolorum et martyrum triumphus compositi esse noscuntur, sicut hi, quos beatissimi doctores Hilarius atque Ambrosius ediderunt, quos tamen quidam specialiter reprobant, pro eo, quod de Scripturis sanctorum canonum, vel apostolica traditione non existunt: respiciant ergo et illum hymnum ab hominibus compositum, quem quotidie publico privatoque officio in fine omnium psalmorum dicimus, 'Gloria et honor Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto, in saecula saeculorum, Amen.' Nam et ille hymnus, quem nato in carne Christo angeli cecinerunt, 'Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis;' reliqua quae ibi sequuntur, ecclesiastici doctores composuerunt. . . . Sicut igitur orationes, ita et hymnos in laudem Dei compositos, nullus vestrum ulterius improbet, sed pari modo in Gallicia Hispaniaque celebret: excommunicatione plectendi, qui hymnos rejicere fuerint ausi.

^t Chrysostom. Hom. xviii. in Acta. (Bened. vol. ix. p. 150. D 10.) Οἶόν ἐστιν ἀπελθεῖν καὶ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Θεοῦ . . . καὶ λυχνικοῖς καὶ ἑωθινοῖς ὕμνοις παραγενέσθαι;

^u Conc. Agath. c. xxx. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1388.) In conclusione matutinarum vel vespertinarum missarum, post hymnos, capitella de psalmis dicantur et plebs, collecta oratione, ad vesperam ab episcopo cum benedictione dimittatur.

^w Conc. Turon. II. c. xviii. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 857.) Patrum statuta præceperunt, ut ad sextam sex psalmi dicantur cum Alleluia; et ad duodecimam duodecim, itemque cum Alleluia.—Id. can. xxiii. Licet hymnos Ambrosianos habemus in canone, etc.

‘ the twelfth hour of prayer,’ twelve psalms should be sung, answerable to the order of morning service, which had twelve psalms, as the sixth hour of prayer had six psalms, with the additional psalm called the ‘ Hallelujah.’ ” From all which it is apparent, that a considerable number of psalms and hymns were used together with the prayers, to make up the daily course of evening as well as morning service in many Churches.

SECT. VII.—*The Lord’s Prayer used in some Churches as the Conclusion of the Daily, both Morning and Evening Service.*

And in some churches, the Lord’s Prayer was always made a part of the daily worship both morning and evening. For the Council of Gironde made a general decree for the Spanish Churches^x, “ that the Lord’s Prayer should constantly be used by every priest at the close of the matins and vespers in the daily service.” It had always been used before on Sundays in the communion office ; but it being in the very title and tenour of it, *quotidiana oratio*, a *quotidian* or ‘ daily prayer,’ they thought it proper to make it a standing part of their daily offices. And when some priests neglected to obey this order, and still confined the use of it to the Lord’s day, the fourth Council of Toledo made a decree^y, “ that all such of the clergy as contumaciously refused to use it daily, both in their public and private offices, should be degraded.”

In the French Churches, the practice was the same. For by a canon of the third Council of Orleans^z, the people are

^x Conc. Gerund. c. x. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1569.) Nobis placuit, ut omnibus diebus, post matutinas et vespas, Oratio Dominica a sacerdote proferatur.

^y Conc. Tolet. IV. c. x. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1708.) Nonnulli sacerdotum per Hispanias reperiuntur, qui Dominicam Orationem, quam Salvator noster docuit et præcepit, non quotidie, sed tantum die Dominica dicunt. . . . Quisquis ergo sacerdotum vel subjaquentium clericorum, hanc Orationem Dominicam quotidie, aut in publico aut in privato officio, præterierit, propter superbiam judicatus, ordinis sui honore privetur.

^z Conc. Aurel. III. c. xxix. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 302.) De missis nullus laicorum ante discedat, quam Dominica dicatur Oratio. Et si episcopus præsens fuerit, ejus benedictio expectetur. Sacrificia vero matutina (lege matutinarum) missarum vel vespertinarum, ne quis cum armis pertinentibus ad bellicorum usum [spectet] expetat.

obliged to stay at divine service till the Lord's Prayer was said ; and if the bishop was present, to wait for him to pronounce the benediction : which shows that it was the conclusion of the prayers, since nothing came after but the benediction. It is true, the word used for divine service in this canon is *missa* ; which might seem to mean the communion service, where the Lord's Prayer was always used. But it has been showed before, in the first chapter in this Book, that *missa* is a general name for any part of divine service ; and in this canon is particularly taken for the morning and evening sacrifice of prayers. For it immediately follows, that no one should come to the sacrifice of the morning or evening mass, that is morning or evening prayers, with his arms or weapons, which only appertained to the use of war. Besides, that in the communion service, as we shall see hereafter, the Lord's Prayer came always in the middle, and not, as here, in the conclusion of the service.

This is the substance of what I have observed concerning the several parts and order of the daily morning and evening service in the writings of the fathers and the canons of the councils, which are at present the chief rituals of the ancient Church : and I have been the more careful to separate these Offices from the great service of the Lord's Day, because they are too often confounded in the accounts of modern authors. I now proceed to the Offices and Service of the Lord's Day, which must be the subject of the two following Books.

BOOK XIV.

OF THAT PART OF DIVINE SERVICE WHICH THE ANCIENTS COMPRISED UNDER THE GENERAL NAME OF *MISSA CATECHUMENORUM*, 'THE SERVICE OF THE CATECHUMENS, OR ANTE-COMMUNION SERVICE.'

CHAPTER I.

OF THE PSALMODY OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

SECT. I.—*That the Service of the Ancient Church usually began with Psalmody.*

It has been observed before, that the ancients comprised their whole service under two general heads, to which they gave the distinguishing names of *missa catechumenorum* and *missa fidelium*, 'the service of the catechumens,' and 'the service of communicants or believers;' that is, as we would now term them, 'the ante-communion service,' and 'the communion service.' The service of the catechumens was that part of divine worship, at which the catechumens and all others who were not perfect and full communicants were allowed to be present: and it consisted of psalmody, reading the Scriptures, preaching, and prayers for such particular orders of men, as were not admitted to participate of the holy mysteries: and under these several heads we must now consider it.

The service usually began with reading or singing of psalms, as appears from that of St. Jerome, describing the service of the Egyptian monks ^a: "They meet at nine o'clock, and then the psalms are sung, and the Scriptures are read; and after prayers they all sit down, and the father preaches a sermon to them." And so Cassian represents it ^b, "that first the psalms

^a Hieron. Epist. xxii. ad Eustoch. c. xv. See note (q) p. 230.

^b Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. c. vi. Quibus (psalmis) lectiones, etc. See note (b) p. 406.

were sung, and then followed two lessons, one out of the Old Testament, and the other out of the New. Only on the Lord's day and the fifty days of Pentecost, and the Sabbath or Saturday, they read one lesson out of the Acts of the Apostles or the Epistles; and the other out of the Gospels." But probably there might be a difference in the order of reading, in different Churches: and that may reconcile the different opinions of learned men concerning the order of their service. For some think they began with reading the Scriptures; and others, with a prayer of confession. The author of the Constitutions^c, it is certain, prescribes first, the reading of the Old Testament, and then the Psalms, and after that, the Acts of the Apostles and Epistles, and last of all, the Gospels; so that the Psalms were intermingled with the lessons according to the rules and prescriptions which that author had observed in some churches. St. Basil^d speaks of "a confession made to God upon their knees; after which they rose up, and be-took themselves to sing psalms to God." But that was in their vigils, or morning prayers, before day, and most probably only a private confession, which every man made silently by himself, before they began the public service. But if we take it for a public confession, as the learned Hamon L'Estrange^e does, then it will argue, that the Eastern Churches began their morning *antelucan* service with a prayer of confession, and so went on to their psalmody, which was the great exer-

^c Constitut. lib. ii. c. lvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 295.) Μέσος δὲ ὁ ἀναγινώσκων ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ τινος ἐστὼς, ἀναγινωσκέτω τὰ Μωσέως, καὶ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναυῆ, τὰ τῶν κριτῶν καὶ τῶν βασιλειῶν, τὰ τῶν παραλειπομένων καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐπανόδου πρὸς τοῦτοις τὰ τοῦ Ἰώβ καὶ τοῦ Σολομῶνος, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐκαίδεκα προφητῶν ἀνὰ δύο δὲ γενομένων ἀναγνωσμάτων, ἕτερός τις τοὺς Δαβὶδ ψαλλέτω ὕμνους, καὶ ὁ λαὸς τὰ ἀκροστιχία ὑποψαλλέτω μετὰ τοῦτο αἱ πράξεις αἱ ἡμετέραι ἀναγινωσκέσθωσαν, καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ Παύλου, ἃς ἐπέστειλε ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καθ' ὑφήγησιν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα διάκονος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἀναγινωσκέτω τὰ εὐαγγέλια, κ. τ. λ. — Lib. v. c. xviii. Ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ συναθροιζόμενοι γρηγορεῖτε, προσευχόμενοι καὶ δεόμενοι τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῇ διανυκτερεύσει ὑμῶν, ἀναγινώσκοντες τὸν νόμον, τοὺς προφῆτας, τοὺς ψαλμοὺς, μέχρις ἀλεκτρούων κραυγῆς, καὶ βαπτίσαντες ὑμῶν τοὺς καθηγουμένους, καὶ ἀναγνόντες τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐν φόβῳ καὶ τρόμῳ, κ. τ. λ.

^d Basil. Epist. lxxiii. ad Neocæsar. Ἐκ νυκτός, etc. See note (t) p. 403.

^e L'Estrange, Alliance of Divine Offices, chap. iii. p. 75.

cise and entertainment of their nocturnal vigils. And, indeed, it was their exercise at all times in the church, as St. Austin^f notes, to fill up all vacuities, when neither the reading of the Scriptures, nor preaching, nor prayers, interposed to hinder them from it. All other spaces were spent in singing of psalms, than which there could not be any exercise more useful and edifying, or more holy and pious, in his opinion. And upon this account (if the observation of L'Estrange^g be rightly made out of Chrysostom), the people were used to entertain the time with singing of psalms, before the congregation was complete and fully assembled. I take no notice here of their psalmody at other times, at their meals, at their labours, and in their private devotions; because, though this is frequently mentioned by the ancients with great and large encomiums, yet it differed in many respects from the common psalmody; and we can draw little light or argument from that to explain the public service.

SECT. II.—*The Psalms intermixed with Lessons and Prayers in some Churches.*

As to the public psalmody of the Church, though we take it for the first and leading part of the service, yet we are not so to understand it, as if it was all performed at once, in one continued course of repeating many psalms together without intermission, but rather with some respite, and a mixture of other parts of divine service, to make the whole more agreeable and delightful; at least, it was apparently so in the practice of some Churches. For the Council of Laodicea made a decree^h, that the psalms should not be sung one immediately after another, but that a lesson should come between every psalm. And St. Austin plainly intimates, that this was the

^f Aug. Epist. exix. ad Januar. c. xviii. (Bened. 1679. vol. ii. p. 142.) Quando non est tempus, quum in ecclesia fratres congregantur, sancta cantandi, nisi quum legitur, aut disputatur, aut antistes clara voce deprecatur, aut communis oratio voce diaconi indicitur?

^g L'Estrange, Alliance of Divine Offices, chap. iii. p. 77.

^h Conc. Laodic. c. xvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1500.) Περὶ τοῦ, μὴ δεῖν ἐπισυνάπτειν ἐν ταῖς συνάξεσι τοὺς ψαλμοὺς, ἀλλὰ διὰ μέσου καθ' ἕκαστον ψαλμὸν γίνεσθαι ἀνάγνωσιν.

practice of his own Church; for, in one of his homiliesⁱ, he takes notice, first, of the reading of the Epistle, then of singing Psalm xcv. “O come, let us worship and fall down, and kneel before the Lord our Maker;” and after that, of a lesson read out of the Gospel. And in another homily, he speaks of them in the same order. “In the lesson out of the Epistle,” says he^k, “thanks are given to God for the faith of the Gentiles. In the Psalm we said, ‘Turn us again, thou Lord God of hosts, show the light of thy countenance, and we shall be whole.’ In the Gospel, we were called to the Lord’s Supper.” By comparing these two places of St. Austin together, we may observe, that it was not any particular psalm that was appropriated to come between the Epistle and Gospel, but the psalm that was in the ordinary course of reading; for the ninety-fifth is mentioned in one place, and Psalm lxxx. in the other. Mabillon has observed the same practice in the French Churches, out of the collation between the Catholics and Arians in the reign of Gundobadus, king of Burgundy (an. 499); for, in the relation of that conference, it is said^l, “that on the vigil before the day of disputation, in celebrating the divine offices, it happened that the first lesson, that was out of the Pentateuch, had those words, ‘I will harden Pharaoh’s heart,’ &c. After which the Psalms were sung; and then another

ⁱ Aug. Serm. x. de Verbis Apostoli. (Bened. 1679. vol. v. p. 339. D 9.) Hoc de apostolica lectione percepimus. Deinde cantavimus psalmum, exhortantes nos invicem, una voce, uno corde dicentes, ‘Venite, adoremus et prosternamur ei, et fleamus coram Domino, qui fecit nos.’ Posthæc, evangelica lectio decem leprosos mundatos nobis ostendit, et unum ex iis alienigenam, gratias agentem mundatori suo.

^k Ibid. Hom. xxxiii. de Verbis Domini, vol. v. p. 564. In lectione apostolica, gratiæ aguntur Domino de fide gentium. In Psalmo, diximus, ‘Deus virtutum converte nos, et ostende faciem tuam, et salvi erimus.’ In Evangelio, ad cœnam vocati sumus, etc.

^l Collat. etc. ap. Mabillon. de Cursu Gallicano, p. 399. Evenit, ut ea nocte, quum lector secundum morem inciperet lectionem a Moyse, incidit in illa verba Domini, ‘Sed ego indurabo cor ejus,’ etc. Deinde quum post psalmos decantatos recitaret ex prophetis, occurrerunt verba Domini ad Esaiam, dicentis, ‘Vade et dices populo huic: Audite audientes,’ etc. Quumque adhuc psalmi fuissent decantati, et legeret ex evangelio; incidit in verba, quibus Salvator exprobrat Judæis incredulitatem, ‘Væ tibi Corazaim,’ etc. Denique quum lectio fieret ex apostolo, pronuntiata sunt verba illa, ‘An divitiis bonitatis ejus et patientiæ et longanimitatis contemnis?’

lesson was read out of Isaiah, in which were these words, ‘Go and tell this people, Hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand.’ After the psalms were sung again, another lesson was read out of the Gospel, wherein were those words of our Saviour upbraiding the Jews with their infidelity, ‘Woe unto thee, Chorazin,’ &c. And, last of all, the Epistle was read, containing those words, ‘Despise thou the riches of his goodness?’ &c. : where it is easy to observe, that as there were four lessons read out of the Old and New Testament, so there were psalms sung between each lesson, except the last, which is not mentioned.

SECT. III.—*Which Psalms were called by a peculiar Name, Psalmi Responsorii.*

These psalms were styled by a peculiar name, *responsoria*, and *psalmi responsorii*, ‘the responsories;’ which was not a name affixed to any particular psalms, but was given to all such as happened to fall in here, in the common course of reading. The fourth Council of Toledo is to be understood of such psalms, when it speaks of responsories^m, blaming some for neglecting to use the *Gloria Patri* after them. And Gregory Turonensis often mentions them under the name of *psalmi responsorii*ⁿ, making it a part of the deacon’s office to repeat them. The ancient ritualists are not agreed about the reason of the name, why they were called *responsoria*; some saying they were so called^o, because one singing, the whole choir did answer them: whilst others say^p, they had their

^m Conc. Tolet. IV. c. xvi. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1710.) Sunt quidam, qui in fine responsoriorum, ‘Gloria’ non dicunt, etc.

ⁿ Gregor. Turon. de Vitis Patrum, c. viii. Diaconus responsorium psalmum canere cœpit.—Id. Histor. Francor. lib. viii. c. iii. (Bened. 1699. p. 378.) Jubet rex, ut diaconum nostrum, qui ante diem ad missas psalmum responsorium dixerat, canere juberem.

^o Isidor. de Offic. lib. i. c. viii. (Col. Ag. 1616. p. 392.) Responsorialia ab Italis longo ante tempore sunt reperta: et vocata hoc nomine, quod, uno canente, chorus consonando respondeat. Antea autem id solus quisque agebat: nunc unus interdum, interdum duo vel tres, communiter canunt, choro in plurimis respondente.

^p Rupert. de Offic. lib. i. c. xv. Responsorialia, quæ post lectiones canimus, nobis innuunt, sanctis monitis Dei factis nos respondere debere, ne simus similes pueris sedentibus in foro, audientibus ac dicentibus, ‘Cantavimus vobis,

name because they *answered* to the lessons, being sung immediately after them. Which seems to be the more likely reason.

SECT. IV.—*Some Psalms appropriated to particular Services.*

But we are not to imagine that these were the only psalms, which the ancients used in their psalmody. For some psalms were of constant use in the Church, as being appropriated to particular services. We have seen before ^q, that Psalm lxiii., “O God, my God, early will I seek thee,” was peculiarly styled ‘the morning psalm,’ because it was always sung at morning-service, as Psalm xcvi. is now in our liturgy. And Psalm cxli. “Let my prayer be set forth in thy sight as the incense, and let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice,” was always sung at evening-service ^r. They had also some proper psalms adapted to the nature of their communion-service, and their funeral offices, as we shall see hereafter. And in the French Church, from the time that Musæus, presbyter of Marseilles, composed his *Lectionarium*, or ‘order of reading the psalms and lessons,’ at the instance of Venerius, his bishop, the responsory psalms were all adapted to their proper times and lessons, as Gennadius informs us ^s. And this, some learned men think ^t, was at first peculiar to

et non saltastis; lamentavimus vobis, et non plorastis.’ Dicuntur enim a respondendo. Tristia namque tristibus et læta lætis debemus succinere lectionibus: siquidem neque moris est, neque decoris, ut quum lector tristis dixerit, verbi gratia, quæ sunt poenitentiae, sive lamentum aliquod Dominicæ passionis, chorus in responsorio saltet de gaudio regni et gloria resurrectionis. Sed dum lector, velut Joannes non manducans neque bibens, prædicat poenitentiam, nos itidem in responsorio ploramus: dum ille, velut Filius Hominis, manducans et bibens, cantat nobis de gaudio regni, succinentes eidem, apte saltamus. Quodque uno præcinate, tam in his, quam in ceteris hujusmodi, chorus concorditer sequitur, illud adstruit, quod apostolus obsecrat, ut ad ipsum dicamus omnes, et non sint in nobis schismata.

^q See, supra, p. 386.

^r See, supra, p. 409.

^s Gennad. de Scriptor. c. lxxix. (Antverp. 1639. p. 66.) Responsoria etiam psalmodum capitula tempore et lectionibus congruentia excerptis.

^t Stillfleet, Orig. Britan. chap. iv. p. 218. Besides the lessons and hymns, he (Musæus) methodized the psalms, so as to be read agreeably to the times and the lessons, and not in the order wherein they stand, which seems to have been peculiar to the Gallican Church.

the Gallican office, and a singular usage of the French Church. Which may be true as to the appropriating the several psalms to their proper lessons in the general course of the year; but it cannot be true, if it be meant only of particular and solemn occasions. For the Church had not only proper lessons, but proper psalms read upon greater festivals, suitable to the occasion; and that long before the time of Musæus's composing his kalendar for the Gallican Church. For St. Austin plainly informs us, that Psalm xxii. ^u "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me," &c. was always read upon the day of our Saviour's passion, in the African Church; and he seems to intimate, that the Donatists did the same, though they were so stony-hearted as not to make a just application of it. And there is little question to be made, but that as they had proper psalms for this occasion, so they had for all the other solemn festivals.

SECT. V.—*Others sung in the ordinary Course as they lay, without being appropriated to any Time or Day.*

The other psalms were sung in the ordinary course of reading, from end to end, in the same order as they lay in the book, without being appropriated to any times, or lessons, or days, except those particular psalms which were appointed as proper for each canonical hour. Cassian observes ^v, "that in Egypt, at the first beginning of the monastic life, there were almost as many types, rules, or orders about this matter, as there were monasteries, some singing eighteen psalms, imme-

^u Aug. in Psalm. xxi. Præfat. Sermon. ii. p. 43. (Antv. 1700. vol. iv. p. 71.) (vol. viii. p. 106, Basil. 1569.) *Mirror, fratres, si hodie psalmus iste legitur et in parte Donati. Rogo vos, fratres mei, confiteor vobis, novit Christi misericordia, quia sic mirror, quasi lapidei ibi sint, et non audiant. . . . Legamus illum, quantum angustia temporis patitur, etc.*

^v Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. c. ii. (Atrebat. p. 18.) *Multos comperimus per alias regiones pro mentis suæ captu, habentes quidem, ut ait apostolus, zelum Dei, sed non secundum scientiam, super hac re diversos typos ac regulas sibi-met constituisse. Quidam enim vicenos psalmos, et hos ipsos antiphonarum protelatos melodiis, et adjunctione quarundam modulationum debere dici singulis noctibus censuerunt: alii hunc modum etiam excedere tentaverunt: nonnulli xviii.; atque in hunc modum diversis in locis diversum canonem agnovimus institutum, totque propemodum typos ac regulas vidimus usurpatas, quot etiam monasteria cellasque conspeximus.*

diately one after another, others twenty, and some more. But at last, by common consent, the number for morning and evening service was reduced to twelve, which were read in one continued course ^w without any lessons coming between them: for they had only two lessons, one out of the Old Testament, and the other out of the New, and those read only when the psalms were ended." He tells us, also ^x, "that in some places they sung six psalms every canonical hour; and some proportioned the number of psalms to the number of the hour at which they met at their devotions: so that at the third hour they had only three psalms, but six at the sixth, and nine at the ninth hour; till, upon more mature deliberation, they came at last to this resolution, to have only three psalms at every diurnal hour of prayer ^y, reserving the greater number of twelve for the more solemn assemblies at morning and evening prayer." Though the custom of conforming the number of psalms to the number of hours continued in use in some parts of France, or else was taken up in the time of the second Council of Tours (an. 567), as appears from a singular canon of that Council ^z, which I have recited at large before in the last Book ^a.

SECT. VI.—*And some appointed occasionally at the Discretion of the Bishop or Precentor.*

Besides these, it was usual for the bishop or precentor to appoint any psalm to be sung occasionally in any part of the service, at discretion. As now our anthems, in cathedrals, are left to the choice of the precentor, and the psalms in metre

^w Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. c. iv. (p. 21.) Per universam Ægyptum et Thebaidem duodenarius psalmoreum numerus tam in vespertinis quam nocturnis solemnitatibus custoditur, ita duntaxat, ut post hunc [numerum] duæ lectiones, Veteris scilicet et Novi Testamenti singulæ, subsequantur.

^x Ibid. c. ii. (p. 18.) Sunt, quibus in ipsis quoque diurnis orationum officiis, id est, tertia, sexta, nonaque id visum est, ut secundum horarum modum, in quibus hæc Domino redduntur obsequia, psalmoreum etiam et orationum putarent numerum coequandum: nonnullis placuit, senarium numerum singulis diei conventibus deputari.

^y Ibid. lib. iii. c. iii. Itaque in Palestine, etc. See note (g) p. 375.

^z Conc. Turon. II. c. xix. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 357.)

^a See note (b) p. 381.

to the discretion of the minister, to choose and appoint what psalms he pleases, and what time he thinks most proper in divine service. Thus Athanasius^b tells us he appointed his deacon to sing an occasional psalm, when his church was beset with the Arian soldiers. And St. Austin^c sometimes speaks of a particular psalm, which he ordered the reader to repeat, intending himself to preach upon it: and it once happened, that the reader, mistaking one of these psalms, read another in its stead; which put St. Austin upon an extempore discourse upon the psalm that was read by mistake to the people. And when we consider that they sometimes spent whole days and nights almost in psalmody; as when St. Ambrose's church was beset with the Arian soldiers, the people within continued the whole night and day in singing of psalms^d, it will easily be imagined, that at such times they did not sing appropriated psalms, but entertained themselves with such as the bishop then occasionally appointed, or left them at large to their own choice, to sing at liberty and discretion. Sometimes the reader himself pitched upon a psalm as the necessity of affairs would allow him, or his own discretion direct him. Thus St. Austin tells us, in one of his homilies^e, "that he had preached upon a psalm, not which he appointed the reader to sing, but what God put into his heart to read, which determined his sermon to the subject of repentance;" being the fifty-first, or penitential psalm, which the reader sung of his own accord; or, rather, as St. Austin words it, "by God's direction."

^b Athanas. Apol. ii. (p. 334. D, Paris. 1698.) *Καθεσθεις ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου, προέτρεπον τὸν μὲν διάκονον ἀναγιώσκειν ψαλμὸν τοὺς δὲ λαοὺς ὑπακούειν, Ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ.*

^c Aug. in Psalm. cxxxviii. (Antverp. 1700. vol. iv. p. 128.) *Psalmum nobis brevem paraveramus, quem mandaveramus cantari a Lectore: sed ad horam, quantum videtur, perturbatus, alterum pro altero legit. Maluimus nos in errore Lectoris sequi voluntatem Dei, quam nostram in nostro proposito.— Vid. Aug. Præfat. in Psalm. xxxi. Hunc psalmum ad eam gratiam pertinere, qua Christiani sumus, testatus est apostolus Paulus: unde ipsam lectionem vobis legi voluimus.*

^d Ambros. Ep. xxxiii. ad Marcel. Soror. (Paris. 1836. vol. iv. p. 270.)

^e Aug. Hom. xxvii. ex l. (Bened. 1700. vol. v. p. 950.) *Proinde aliquid de penitentia dicere divinitus jubemur. Neque enim nos istum psalmum cantandum lectori imperavimus: sed quod ille censuit vobis utile ad audiendum, hoc cordi etiam puerili imperavit.*

Sulpicius Severus tells a remarkable story, to the same purpose, in the Life of St. Martin: he says^f, “When St. Martin was to be elected bishop, one whose name was Defensor, among the bishops, was a great stickler against him. Now it happened, that in the tumult, the reader, whose course it was to sing the psalm that day, could not come at his place in due time; and therefore another read the first psalm that he lighted upon when he opened the book, which happened to be Psalm viii. wherein were those words: ‘Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise, because of thine enemies, that thou mightest destroy the enemy and *defensor*,’ as the Gallican version then read it, *Ut destruas inimicum et defensorem*. And this, though it seemingly were but a chance thing, was looked upon as providential by the people, to overthrow the machinations of Defensor.”

SECT. VII.—*Prayers in some Places between every Psalm, instead of a Lesson.*

In some places, instead of lessons between every psalm, they allowed a short space for private prayer to be made in silence, and a short collect by the minister, which Cassian says^g was the ordinary custom of the Egyptian fathers. For they reckoned, that frequent short prayers were more useful than long-continued ones^h, “both to solicit God more earnestly by

^f Sulpic. Sever. Vit. Martin. (Lips. 1709. p. 316.) Inter episcopos qui affuerant, præcipue Defensor quidam nomine dicitur restitisse: unde animadversum est graviter illum lectione prophetica tunc notatum. Nam quum fortuito lector, cui legendi eo die officium erat, interclusus a populo defuisset, turbatis ministris, dum exspectatur qui non aderat, unus e circumstantibus sumpto psalterio, quem primum versum invenit, arripuit. Psalmus autem erat, ‘Ex ore infantium et lactentium perfecisti laudem propter inimicos tuos, ut destruas inimicum et *defensorem*.’ quo lecto clamor populi tollitur, pars diversa confunditur. Atque ita habitum est, divino nutu psalmum hunc lectum fuisse, ut testimonium operis sui Defensor audiret, quia ex ore infantium atque lactentium in Martino Domini laude perfecta, et ostensus pariter et destructus est inimicus.

^g Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. c. v. Cum sedentibus cunctis, etc. See note (b) p. 406.

^h Ibid. c. x. (Atrebat. p. 31.) Utilius censent breves quidem orationes, sed creberrimas fieri; illud quidem ut frequentius Dominum deprecantes jugiter eidem coherere possimus. Hoc vero, ut insidiantis diaboli jacula, quæ

frequent addresses, and to avoid the temptations of Satan, drawing them into lassitude and weariness, which was prevented by their succinct brevity." And, therefore, they divided the longer psalms into two or three partsⁱ, interposing prayers between every distinction.

SECT. VIII.—*The Gloria Patri added at the end of every Psalm, in the Western, but not in the Eastern Churches.*

In all the Western Churches, except the Roman, it was customary also, at the end of every psalm, for the congregation to stand, and say, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost." But in the Eastern Churches it was otherwise: for, as I have noted before^j, out of Cassian^k, in all the East they never used this glorification, but only at the end of the last psalm, which they called their *antiphona*, or Hallelujah, which was one of those psalms which had Hallelujah prefixed to it, and which they repeated by way of *antiphona*, or responsal, and then added, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost." But in the Western Churches, he says, it was used at the end of every psalm. And so we are to understand those canons of the Council of Toledo^l, which order, "Glory and honour be to the Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost," to be said at the end of the psalms and responsories: but the decretal of Vigilius^m, which orders the same at the end of the psalms, must be taken according to

infigere nobis tunc præcipue, quum oramus, insistit, succincta brevitate tentemus.

ⁱ Ibid. c. xi. (p. 33.) Et idcirco ne psalmos quidem ipsos, quos in congregatione decantant, continuata student pronuntiatione concludere: sed eos pro numero versuum duabus vel tribus intercisionibus, cum orationum interjectione divisos, distinctim particulatimque consummant, etc.

^j Book xiii. chap. x. sect. xiv. p. 405.

^k Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. c. viii. (p. 28.) Illud etiam, etc. See note (e) p. 406.—Strabo, de Reb. Eccles. c. xxv. (Max. Bibl. V. P. vol. xv. p. 195. C 8.) Dicendum, etc. See p. 448, note (e).

^l Conc. Tolet. c. xv. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1710.) In fine psalmodum, non sicut a quibusdam huc usque, 'Gloria Patri,' sed 'Gloria et honor Patri' dicatur, etc.—Can. xv. (al. xvi.) Sunt qui in fine responsoriorum 'Gloria' non dicunt, etc.

^m Vigil. Epist. ii. ad Eutherium, c. ii. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 312.) In fine psalmodum, ab omnibus Catholicis ex more dicatur, 'Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto.'

the custom of the Roman Church, to be used only at the conclusion of all. Other differences relating to the use of this doxology, and its original, shall be considered in the next chapter, in their proper place.

SECT. IX.—*The Psalms sometimes sung by one Person only.*

As to the persons concerned in this service of singing the psalms publicly in the church, we may consider them in four different respects, according to the different ways of psalmody. 1. Sometimes the psalms were sung by one person alone, the rest hearing only with attention. 2. Sometimes they were sung by the whole assembly joining all together. 3. Sometimes alternately by the congregation divided into distinct choirs, the one part repeating one verse, and the other another. 4. Sometimes one person repeated the first part of the verse, and the rest joined all together in the close of it. The first of these ways Cassian notes as the common custom of the Egyptian monasteries. For he says ⁿ, “Except him who rose up to sing, all the rest sat by on low seats in silence, giving attention to him that sang.” And though sometimes four sung the twelve psalms in one assembly, yet they did it not all together, but in course one after another ^o, each singing three psalms, and the rest keeping silence till the last psalm, which they all sung by way of *antiphona*, or alternate song, adding the *Gloria Patri* in the close.

SECT. X.—*Sometimes by the whole Assembly joining all together.*

Sometimes, again, the whole assembly joined together; men, women, and children united with one mouth and one mind in singing psalms and praises to God. This was the most ancient and general practice, till the way of alternate psalmody was brought into the Church. Thus Christ and his apostles sung the hymn at the last supper; and thus Paul and Silas at midnight sung praises unto God. Bellarmine ^p, indeed, and some

ⁿ Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. c. xii. See note (c) p. 440.

^o Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. c. v. Unus in medium, psalmos Domino cantaturus, exsurgit.—Cap. viii. See note (c) p. 406.

^p Bellarmin. de Bonis Operibus, lib. i. c. xvi. tom. iv. p. 1677. (p. 441, edit.

other writers of the Romish Church, say this custom was not in use till the time of St. Ambrose: but they plainly mistake the introduction of the alternate way of singing psalms for this more ancient way, which derives its original from the foundation of the Church. Thus St. Hilary^a, who lived before St. Ambrose, takes notice that the people all prayed, and all sang hymns together. And Chrysostom, comparing the apostolical times with his own, says^r, “Anciently they all met together, and all sang in common: and so do we at this day.” And again^s, “Women and men, old men and children, differ in sex and age, but they differ not in the harmony of singing hymns; for the Spirit tempers all their voices together, making one melody of them all.” After the same manner St. Austin^t sometimes speaks of singing the psalms between the lessons with united voices; though before his time the way of alternate psalmody was become very common in all parts of the Church.

Colon. 1615.) Augustin. (lib. ix. Confess. c. viii.) scribit, ab Ambrosio primum institutum fuisse, ut, juxta morem Orientalium, quatuor psalmi atque hymni in Mediolanensi ecclesia canerentur, atque hunc usum inde ad alias Occidentis ecclesias dimanasse, eundem usum idem Augustinus probat, tum etiam, lib. x. c. xxxiii. Sed quod ait, ‘ab Ambrosio id primum institutum,’ non ita videtur accipiendum, quasi cantus ecclesiasticus in Occidente ante Ambrosii tempora plane ignotus fuerit. Contrarium enim testantur, quæ paullo ante citavimus ex Hilario et Tertulliano. Sed fortasse loquitur Augustinus non de cantu absolute, sed de cantu totius populi. Antea siquidem psalmum cantabat unus, tantum audientibus ceteris. Unde est illud Hieronymi, ‘Dicis psalmum in ordine tuo.’ Fortasse etiam soli clerici, ut nunc fieri videmus, canebant. Ambrosius autem ad leniendum mœrorem populi in persecutione Justinæ instituit, ut totus populus caneret.

^a Hilar. in Psalm. lxxv. (Oberthür, p. 363.) (p. 174, Paris. 1693.) Audiat orantis populi consistens quis extra ecclesiam vocem, spectet celebres hymnorum sonitus, etc.

^r Chrysostom. Hom. xxxvi. in 1 Cor. (Bened. 1718. vol. x. p. 340. B 5.) Συνηέσαν τὸ παλαιὸν ἅπαντες, καὶ ἐπέψαλλον κοινῶς τοῦτο ποιοῦμεν καὶ νῦν.

^s Ibid. Hom. in Psalm. cxlv. p. 824. (Francof. vol. iii. p. 716.) Καὶ γὰρ γυναῖκες, καὶ ἄνδρες, καὶ πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ νέοι διήρηνται μὲν κατὰ τὸν τῆς ὑμνωδίας λόγον. τὴν γὰρ ἐκάστου φωνὴν τὸ Πνεῦμα κεράσαν, μίαν ἐν ἅπασιν ἐργάζεται τὴν μελωδίαν.

^t Aug. de Verb. Apost. Serm. x. (Bened. 1700. vol. v. p. 584.) Cantavimus psalmum, exhortantes nos invicem, una voce, uno corde, dicentes, ‘Venite, adoremus,’ etc.

SECT. XI.—*Sometimes alternately, by the Congregation divided into two Parts.*

This way of singing the psalms alternately was, when the congregation, dividing themselves into two parts, repeated the psalms by courses, verse for verse one after another, and not, as formerly, all together. As the other, for its common conjunction of voices, was properly called ‘symphony;’ so this, for its division into two parts, and alternate answers, was commonly called ‘antiphony,’ and sometimes *responsoria*, “the singing by responsals.” This is plain from that noted iambic ^u of Gregory Nazianzen, *σύμφωνον, ἀντίφωνον ἀγγέλων στάσιμ*, where the symphony denotes their singing alternately verse by verse by turns. Socrates ^v calls it *ἀντίφωνον ὕμνωδίαμ*, “the antiphonal hymnody;” and St. Ambrose ^w, *responsoria*, “singing by way of responsals.” For, comparing the Church to the sea, he says, “From the responsories of the psalms, and singing of men, women, virgins, and children, there results a harmonious noise like the waves of the sea.” He expressly mentions women in other places ^x, as allowed to sing in public, though, otherwise, the apostle had commanded them to keep silence in the church. St. Austin also frequently mentions ^y this way of singing by parts, or alternately by responses; and he carries the original of it in the Western Church no higher than the time of St. Ambrose, when he was under the persecution of the Arian Empress Justina, mother of the younger

^u Nazianz. Carm. xviii. de Virtute, inter Iambica. (tom. ii. p. 218, line 921.) *Σύμφωνον, ἀντίφωνον ἀγγέλων στάσιμ*.

^v Socrat. lib. vi. c. viii. (Aug. T. p. 272.) *Λεκτέον δὲ καὶ ὅθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν ἢ κατὰ τοὺς ἀντιφώνους ὕμνους ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ συνήθεια*.

^w Ambros. Hex. lib. iii. c. v. (Paris. 1836. vol. i. p. 29.) *Responsoriis psal-morum, cantu virorum, mulierum, virginum, parvulorum, consonus undarum fragor resultat*.

^x Ambros. Exposit. Psalm. i. (Paris. 1836. vol. ii. p. 43.) *Mulieres apostolus in ecclesia tacere jubet: ‘Psalmum etiam bene clamant,’ etc.*

^y Aug. Serm. in Psalm. xxvi. in Præfat. *Voces istæ psalmi, quas audivimus, et ex parte cantavimus, etc. (89.)—Id. in Psalm. xlvi. (Bened. 1700. vol. iv. p. 305.) In hoc psalmo, quem cantatum audivimus, cui cantando respondimus, ea sumus dicturi quæ nostis.*

Valentinian; at which time both he^z and Paulinus^a, who writes the Life of St. Ambrose, tell us the way of antiphonal singing was first brought into the Church of Milan, in imitation of the custom of the Eastern Churches; and that from this example it presently spread all over the Western Churches. What was the first original of it in the Eastern Church is not so certainly agreed upon by writers either ancient or modern. Theodoret says^b, “that Flavian and Diodorus first brought in the way of singing David’s Psalms alternately, into the Church of Antioch in the reign of Constantine.” But Socrates^c carries the original of this way of singing hymns to the Holy Trinity as high as Ignatius. Valesius^d thinks Socrates was mistaken; but Cardinal Bona^e and Pagi^f think

^z Ibid. Confess. lib. ix. c. vii. (Bened. 1679. vol. i. p. 162.) Tunc hymni et psalmi ut canerentur secundum morem Orientalium partium, ne populus mœroris tædio contabesceret, institutum est: et ex illo in hodiernum retentum, multis jam ac pene omnibus gregibus tuis, et per cetera orbis imitantibus.

^a Paulin. Vit. Ambros. (Paris. 1836. vol. i. p. v.) Hoc in tempore primum antiphonæ, hymni, ac vigiliæ in Ecclesia Mediolanensi celebrari cœperunt, etc.

^b Theodoret. lib. ii. c. xxiv. Οὗτοι πρῶτοι διχῆ διελόντες τοὺς τῶν ψαλλόντων χορούς.

^c Socrat. lib. vi. c. viii. (p. 272.) Ἰγνάτιος . . . ὀπτασίαν εἶδεν ἀγγέλων, διὰ τῶν ἀντιφώνων ἕμνων τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα ἕμνούντων, καὶ τὸν τρόπον τοῦ ὁράματος τῆ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρέδωκεν ὕθεν καὶ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις αὕτη ἢ παράδοσις διεδόθη.

^d Vales. ad loc. Nescio, unde hæc hauserit Socrates. Constat enim primos omnium Flavianum ac Diodorum, regnante Constantio, psallentium choros Antiochiæ bifariam divisisse, et psalmos Davidicos alternis canendos eis tradidisse: eamque rem primum Antiochiæ institutam, postea ad reliquas totius orbis ecclesias dimanasse. (Cant. p. 322.)

^e Bona de Psalm. c. xvi. sect. x. n. i. (p. 841, Antverp. 1677.) Scio, Theodoretum, Suidam, quos nonnulli recentiores sequuti sunt, ad Flavianum et Diodorum, Antiochenos monachos, qui tempore Constantii Imperatoris floruerunt, hanc institutionem referre. Verumtamen vel errasse istos dicendum est; vel non de quocumque alterno cantu, sed de solis Davidicis intelligi debent. ‘Hi enim primi,’ ait Theodoretus, ‘psallentium choro, in duas partes diviso, hymnos Davidicos alternis canendos instituerunt.’

^f Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 400, n. xiv. (Lucæ, 1738. vol. vi. p. 346.) Ea psalmodiæ species jam ante Flavianum atque Diodorum a Syris videtur usurpata. Scribit enim Theodorus (Mopsuestenus), Flavianum ac Diodorum primos omnium eam psalmodiæ speciem, quas antiphonas vocant, ex Syrorum lingua in Græcam transtulisse, et omnium prope solos hujus rei auctores cunctis orbis partibus apparuisse. Quod igitur Syri diu ante Flavianum præstiterant,

both accounts may be true, taking the one to speak of David's Psalms only and the other of hymns composed for the service of the Church. Some say the custom was first begun by Ignatius, but destroyed by Paulus Samosatensis, and revived again by Flavian. But Pagi's conjecture seems most reasonable, that Flavian only introduced this way of singing the psalms in the Greek tongue at Antioch, whereas it had been used in the Syrian language long before, as he shows out of Theodorus of Mopsuestia, and Valesius himself confirms this out of the same author, whose testimony is preserved by Nicetas^g. However this matter be as to the first original of this way of antiphonal psalmody, it is certain that from the time that Flavian either instituted or revived it at Antioch, it prevailed in a short time to become the general practice of the whole Church. St. Chrysostom^h encouraged it in the vigils at Constantinople, in opposition to the Arians. St. Basilⁱ speaks of it in his time, as the received custom of all the East. And we have seen before, how, from the time of St. Ambrose, it prevailed over all the West. And it was a method of singing so taking and delightful, that they sometimes used it, where two or three were met together for private devotion. As Socrates^j particularly remarks of the Emperor Theodosius Junior and his sisters, that they were

psalmos Davidicos lingua Syriaca antiphonatim canentes, id Flavianus ac Diodorus a Græcis Antiochensibus, psalmos Græce canentibus, fieri instituerunt.

^g Nicet. Thesaur. Orthodox. Fid. lib. v. c. xxx. (Max. Bibl. V. P. vol. xxv. p. 161. B 9.) Ceterum per id tempus Antiochiæ florebant, et virtute scientiæ que celebres habebantur Flavianus et Diodorus, quorum ille Antiocheno episcopatus, hic Tarsensi postea præfectus est. Atque ut Theodorus Mopsuestiæ scribit, illam psalmodiæ speciem, quas 'antiphonas' dicimus, illi ex Syrorum lingua in Græcam transtulerunt, ut omnium prope soli admirandi hujus operis omnibus orbis Christiani hominibus auctores apparuerunt.

^h Soerat. lib. vi. c. viii. (Cantabr. p. 322.) Ἰωάννης εὐλαβηθεὶς, μή τις τῶν ἀπλουστέρων ὑπὸ τῶν ποιούτων ψδῶν ἀφελευσθῆ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀντιτίθην αὐτοῖς τοὺς τοῦ ἰδίου λαοῦ, ὅπως ἂν καὶ αὐτοὶ ταῖς νυκτεριναῖς ὑμολογίαις σχολάζοντες, ἀμαυρώσωσι μὲν τὴν ἐκείνων περὶ τούτου σπουδὴν, βεβαίους δὲ τοὺς οἰκείους πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν πίστιν ἐργάζονται.

ⁱ Basil. Epist. lxxiii. ad Neocæsar. See note (t) p. 403.

^j Soerat. lib. vii. c. xxii. (p. 369.) Οὐκ ἀλλοιότερα δὲ ἀσκητηρίου κατέστησε τὰ βασιλῆα· αὐτὸς τοιγαροῦν ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφαῖς ὀρθρίζων, ἀντιφώνους ὕμνους εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἔλεγε.

used to sing alternate hymns together, every morning, in the royal palace.

SECT. XII.—*Sometimes by a single Precentor repeating the first part of the Verse, and the People all joining with him in the Close. Where also of Diapsalms, and Acroteleutics, and Acrostics; in Psalmody.*

Besides all these there was yet a fourth way of singing, of pretty common use in the fourth age of the Church; which was, when a single person (whom that age called a *phonascus*, ὑποβολεὺς, or *precentor*^k;) began the verse, and the people joined with him in the close. This the Greeks called ὑπηχεῖν and ὑπακούειν; and the Latins *succinere*. And it was often used for a variety in the same service with alternate psalmody. Thus St. Basil, describing the different manners of their morning psalmody, tells us^l, “They one while divided themselves into two parts, and sung alternately, answering to one another; and then again let one begin the psalm, and the rest joined with him in the close of the verse.” This was certainly in use at Alexandria in the time of Athanasius, as I have observed in the last Book^m. For both he himselfⁿ, and all the historians^o, who relate the story after him, in speaking of his escape out of the church when it was beset with the Arian soldiers, tell us he avoided the assault by setting the people to psalmody, which psalmody was of this kind; for he commanded the deacon to read the psalm, and the people ὑπακούειν, “to repeat” this clause after him, “For his mercy endureth for ever.” The common translations of Athanasius make this ὑπακούειν to signify no more than the people’s attending to what the deacon read. But Epiphanius Scholasticus, the ancient author of the

^k See Book iii. chap. vii. sect. iii.—Sidon. Apollin. lib. iv. c. xi. Psalmorum hic modulator et phonascus.

^l Basil. Epist. lxiii. ad Neocæsar. p. 96. Νῦν μὲν διχῆ, etc. See line 6 of note (t) p. 403.

^m Book xiii. chap. v. sect. vii. See, supra, p. 222.

ⁿ Athanas. (vol. i. p. 334, Paris. 1698.) Καθεσθεῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου, προ-
έτρεπον τὸν μὲν διάκονον ἀναγινώσκειν ψαλμόν· τοὺς δὲ λαοὺς ὑπακούειν,
ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ.

^o Theodoret. lib. ii. c. xiii. See note (e) p. 227. — Socrat. lib. ii. c. xi. *ibid.*
p. 156.—Sozomen. lib. iii. c. vi. *ibid.*

Historia Tripartita, having occasion to relate this very passage^p of Athanasius, rightly renders *ὑπακούειν* by *respondere*. The deacon read, and the people answered in these words, “For his mercy endureth for ever.” Valesius^q thinks it should be read *ὑπηχεῖν* instead of *ὑπακούειν*, in all those places of Athanasius and the historians after him. But there is no need of that critical correction; for both the words, among the Greeks, are of the same import, and signify ‘to make answer or responses;’ as Cotelerius, a judicious critic, has observed^r. And so the word *ὑπακούειν* is used both by Theocritus and Homer^s; so that there is no reason to dispute the use of it in this sense, in ecclesiastical writers. St. Chrysostom uses the word *ὑπηχεῖν*, when he speaks of the practice^t: “The singer sings alone; and all the rest answer him in the close, as it were with one mouth and one voice.” And elsewhere he says^u, “The priests began the psalm, and the people followed after in their responses.” Sometimes this way of psalmody was called “singing acrostics.” For, though an acrostic commonly signifies “the beginning of a verse,” yet sometimes it is taken for the “end or close” of it: as by the author^v

^p *Histor. Tripartit. lib. v. c. ii. Residens in sede præcepi, ut diaconus psalmum legeret, et populi responderent, ‘Quoniam in sæculum misericordia ejus.’*

^q *Vales. Not. in Theodoret. lib. ii. c. xiii. Τοὺς δὲ λαοὺς ὑπακούειν]* Scribendum puto *ὑπηχεῖν*, id est, ut populus succineret clausulam psalmi. Ita certe legisse videtur Epiphanius Scholasticus, qui hunc locum ita vertit: ‘Præcepi, ut diaconus psalmum legeret, et populi responderent, ‘Quoniam in sæculum misericordia ejus.’’ Id Græci proprie dicebant *ὑπηχεῖν*: sic Basilius in *Epist. lxxiii. ad Clericos Neocæsarienses. (Cantabr. p. 87.)*

^r *Coteler. Not. in Constitut. Apostol. lib. ii. c. lvii. p. 262. Male, qui Athanasium et Historiam Ecclesiasticam Theodoretii interpretati sunt, verba ὑπακούειν putaverunt esse ‘auscultare, audire;’ quum hic, et alibi, sæpe significet ‘respondere.’*

^s *Theocrit. Idyl. xiii. de Hyla, 59. Τρις δ’ ἄρ’ ὁ παῖς ὑπάκουσεν. — Vid. Homer. Odys. iv. 283. — Steph. Thesaur. tom. i. p. 1486. Ὑπηχεω . . . item succino. Philo, de Vita M. Ἐμοῦ τε λεκτέα ὑπηχεῖντος ἄνευ τῆς σῆς διανοίας.*

^t *Chrysostom. Hom. xxxvi. in 1 Cor. (Bened. vol. x. p. 342. D.) Ὁ ψάλλον ψάλλει μόνος· κὰν πάντες ὑπηχεῶσιν, ὡς ἐξ ἐνὸς στόματος ἢ φωνῆ φέρεται. — Hom. xi. in Matth. Ἄν δύο ψαλμοὺς ἢ τρεῖς ὑπηχήσαντες, κ. τ. λ. See p. 288, note (t).*

^u *Chrysostom. in Psalm. cxxxvii. (Bened. vol. v. p. 405. D 7.) Μετὰ τῶν ἱερέων καταρχομένων, προηγουμένων ἔψομαι, καὶ ἀκολουθήσω, καὶ ᾄσω σοι.*

^v *Constitut. lib. ii. c. lvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 294. E 7.) Ἀνὰ δύο δὲ γενομένων*

of the Constitutions, when he orders one to sing the hymns of David, and the people to sing after him the acrostics, or “ends of the verses.” This was otherwise called *hypopsalma* and *diapsalma*, and ἀκροτελεύτιον and ἐφύμνιον, which are all words of the same signification. Only we must observe, that they do not always denote precisely ‘the end of a verse,’ but sometimes, ‘that which was added to the end of a psalm,’ or ‘something that was repeated frequently in the middle of it,’ as the close of the several parts of it. Thus St. Austin composed a psalm for the common people to learn against the Donatists; and, in imitation of Psalm cxix., he divided it into so many parts according to the order of the letters in the alphabet (whence such psalms were called *abecedarii*), each part having its proper letter at the head of it; and the *hypopsalma*, as he called it ^w, or “answer,” to be repeated at the end of every part of it, in these words, *Omnes qui gaudetis de pace, modo verum judicate*: as the *Gloria Patri* is now repeated not only at the end of every psalm, but at the end of every part of Psalm cxix. And, in this respect, the *Gloria Patri* itself is by some ancient writers called the *hypopsalma*, or ‘epode,’ and ‘acroteleutic,’ to the Psalms; because it was always used at the end of the Psalms. Thus Sozomen, giving an account of the Arians’ management of their psalmody at Constantinople, in their morning processions, says ^x, “They divided themselves into parts, and sung after the manner of *antiphona*, or ‘alternate song;’ adding in the close their acroteleutics, framed and modelled after their own way of glorification.” Where, as Valesius rightly observes ^y, “It is

ἀναγνωσμάτων, ἕτερός τις τοῦ Δαβὶδ ψαλλέτω ὕμνους, καὶ ὁ λαὸς τὰ ἀκροστίχια ὑποψαλλέτω.

^w Vid. Augustini Psalmum contra Partem Donati, tom. vii. p. 5, seq.—Retractat. lib. i. c. xx. (vol. i. p. 32.) Omnes qui gaudetis de pace, modo verum judicate.

^x Sozom. lib. viii. c. viii. Κατὰ τὸν τῶν ἀντιφώνων τρόπον ἔψαλλον, ἀκροτελεύτια συντιθέντες πρὸς τὴν αὐτῶν δόξαν πεποιημένα. (Cantabr. p. 336.)

^y Vales. in loc. Suffridus Petrus, qui tres postremos Sozomeni libros Latine interpretatus est, ἀκροτελεύτια vertit ‘corollaria.’ Ego ‘clausulas’ vertere malui. Intelligit autem Sozomenus doxologias Arianorum, quas ad calcem hymnorum canere solebant hoc modo, ‘Gloria Patri per Filium in Spiritu Sancto,’ uti docet Philostorgius, in lib. iii. Historiæ.

plain 'acroteleutic' is but another name for the *Gloria Patri*, which they added at the end of the Psalms, but perversely modelled to favour their own heresy; not saying, 'Glory be to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost;' but 'Glory be to the Father, *by* the Son, and *in* the Holy Ghost.'" Again, Sozomen, speaking of the psalmody with which the Christians brought the body of the martyr Babylas from Daphne to Antioch, in the time of Julian, says^z, "They who were best skilled, began the psalms; and the multitude answered them with one harmonious consent, making these words the 'epode' of their psalmody, 'Confounded be all they that worship graven images, and boast themselves in images or idol-gods;'" meaning that this sentence was frequently repeated in the several pauses of their psalmody; which the ancients, we see, sometimes called an 'epode' or 'diapsalm;' like that of Psalm cvii., "Oh that men would therefore praise the Lord for his goodness, and declare the wonders that he doth for the children of men;" which, in the distinct parts of that one psalm, is four times repeated.

SECT. XIII.—*An Answer to an Objection made against the People's bearing a Part in the Psalmody.*

From all this, it is as clear as the sun at noon-day, that the people generally had a share in the psalmody of the ancient Church; and that this was not an exercise strictly confined to the canonical singers, or any particular order in the Church, but that men, women, and children were all allowed to bear a part in it, under the direction and conduct of precentors, or those who presided in this, and all other offices of the Church; therefore the reflection which I have formerly made upon Cabassutius^a I cannot choose but here again repeat—who charges this way of singing as a mere novelty and Protestant whim, because it differs from the present practice of his own Church, though it be exactly agreeable to the practice

^z Sozom. lib. v. c. xix. (p. 210, line 34.) 'Εξῆρχον δὲ τῶν ψαλμῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἱ τούτους ἀκριβοῦντες, καὶ ξυνεπήχει τὸ πλῆθος ἐν συμφωνίᾳ· καὶ ταύτην τὴν ῥῆσιν ἐπῆδεν· ὑσχύνθησαν πάντες οἱ προσκυνοῦντες τοῖς γλυπτοῖς, οἱ ἐγκαυχώμενοι τοῖς εἰδώλοις.

^a Book iii. chap. vii. sect. ii. vol. i. p. 583.

of the ancient Church in all its several methods, and in all ages since the apostles. Neither is there any one thing can be objected against it, save a single canon of the Council of Laodicea^b, which forbids all others to sing in the church, except only the canonical singers, who went up into the *ambo*, or 'reading-desk,' and sung out of a book. This I have explained to be only a temporary provincial council, designed to restore or revive the ancient psalmody, when it might be, in some measure, corrupted or neglected, and not intended to abridge or destroy the primitive liberty of the people: or, if any thing more was intended by it, it was an order that never took place in the practice of the Church: it being evident, beyond all contradiction, from what has now been said, that the people always enjoyed their ancient privilege of joining in this divine harmony, and were encouraged in it by the greatest luminaries of the Church.

SECT. XIV.—*Psalmody always performed in the Standing Posture.*

To proceed then: we are to consider further, that psalmody was always esteemed a considerable part of devotion; and upon that account was usually, if not always, performed by those that were engaged in it, in the standing posture. Cassian, indeed, seems to make an exception in the way of the monasteries of Egypt; but his exception helps to clear the contrary rule, and shows also, that their devotion was, in the main, performed in the standing posture; for he says^c, "Though by reason of their continual fastings and labour night and day, they were unable to stand all the time while twelve psalms were reading, yet they that read in course always stood up to read, and at the last psalm they all stood up^d, and repeated it

^b Conc. Laodic. c. xv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1500.) Μὴ δεῖν πλέον τῶν κανονικῶν ψαλτῶν, τῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄμβωνα ἀναβαινόντων, καὶ ἀπὸ διφθέρας ψαλλόντων, ἐτέρους τινάς ψάλλειν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ.

^c Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. c. xii. (Atrebat. p. 34.) Absque eo, qui dicturus in medium psalmos surrexerit, cuncti sedilibus humillimis insidentes, ad vocem psallentis omni cordis intentione dependeant. Ita namque jejuniis et operatione totius diei noetisque lassuescunt, ut nisi hujusemodi refectione adjuventur, ne hunc quidem numerum [psalmodiarum duodenarium] stantes implere valeant.

^d Ibid. c. viii. Illud, etc. See note (c) p. 406.

alternately, adding the *Gloria Patri* at the end." In other places, it was always the custom to stand, as is plain, not only from this exception, but from the testimony of St. Austin^e, who speaks of the psalmody as an act of devotion, which all the people performed standing in the church.

SECT. XV.—*Of the Use of Plain Song, and its Commendation, among the Ancients.*

As to the voice, or pronunciation, used in singing, it was of two sorts: the plain song, and the more artificial and elaborate tuning of the voice to greater variety of sounds and measures. The plain song was only with a little gentle inflection, and agreeable turn of the voice, with a proper accent, not much different from reading, and much resembling the musical way of reading the Psalms now in our cathedral churches. This was the way of singing at Alexandria in the time of Athanasius: for St. Austin says^f, "He ordered the reader to sing the psalm with so little inflection, or variation of the tone, that it looked more like reading than singing." And this St. Austin^g seems to intimate to have been the common way of the African Churches, as most agreeable to the slow genius of the African people: whence some of the warmer Donatists made it a matter of objection, that the Catholics sung the divine hymns of the prophets soberly in the church, whilst they sung their own psalms, of human composition, in a ranting way, and even trumpeted out, like men that were drunk, their own exhortations. St. Austin does not speak this, as if he wholly disapproved the other more artificial and melodious way of singing, but only as it was intemperately abused by many, and particularly by the Donatists. For, otherwise, he com-

^e Aug. Serm. iii. in Psalm. xxxvi. (vol. iv. p. 283.) Certe ne verum est, quod cantavi; certe verum est, quod in ecclesia stans tam devota voce personui, etc.

^f Ibid. Confess. lib. x. c. xxxiii. (Bened. 1679. vol. i. p. 187. F.) Tutius mihi videtur, quod de Alexandrino episcopo Athanasio sæpe mihi dictum commemini, qui tam modico flexu vocis faciebat sonare lectorem psalmi, ut pronuntianti vicinior esset quam canenti.

^g Ibid. Epist. exix. ad Januar. c. xviii. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 142.) Pleraque in Africa ecclesie membra pigriora sunt: ita ut Donatistæ nos reprehendant, quod sobrie psallimus, etc.

mends this way of singing, as very useful to raise the affections, when performed with a clear voice and a convenient sweetness of melody; and says^h, “It was that that melted him into tears, when he first heard it in the beginning of his conversion, in the church of St. Ambrose.”

SECT. XVI.—*Artificial and melodious Tuning of the Voice allowed in Singing, when managed with Sobriety and Discretion.*

This plainly implies, that the artificial and melodious way of singing, with variety of notes for greater sweetness, was used and allowed, as well as plain song, in the Italic Churches; and they mistake St. Austin, who think he speaks in commendation of the one, to the derogation of the other; for he professes to admire both ways for their usefulness, and particularly the more melodious way, for this, *Ut per oblectamenta aurium infirmior animus in affectum pietatis assurgat*, “That weaker minds may be raised to affections of piety, by the delight and entertainment of their ears;” and, whilst it kept within due bounds, there is nothing plainer than that it had the general approbation of pious men throughout the Church.

SECT. XVII.—*No Objection made against Psalms and Hymns of human Composition, barely as such.*

Neither was it any objection against the psalmody of the Church, that she sometimes made use of psalms and hymns of human composition, besides those of the sacred and inspired writers. For though St. Austin, as we have just heard before, reflect upon the Donatists for their psalms of human composition, yet it was not merely because they were human, but because they preferred them to the divine hymns of Scripture,

^h Aug. Confess. lib. x. c. xxxiii. (Bened. 1679. vol. i. p. 187. F 6.) Verumtamen cum reminiscor lacrimas meas, quas fudi ad cantus ecclesiæ tuæ, in primordiis recuperatæ fidei meæ, et nunc ipso quod moveor, non cantu, sed rebus quæ cantantur, cum liquida voce et convenientissima modulatione cantantur, magnam instituti hujus utilitatem rursus agnosco. Ita fluctuo inter periculum voluptatis et experimentum salubritatis: magisque adducor, non quidem irretractabilem sententiam proferens, cantandi consuetudinem approbare in ecclesia; ut per oblectamenta aurium infirmior animus in affectum pietatis adsurgat.

and their indecent way of chanting them to the grave and sober method of the Church. St. Austin himself made a psalm of many parts, in imitation of Psalm cxix., as has been observed above in this chapter, sect. xii.; and this he did for the use of his people, to preserve them from the errors of Donatus. And it would be absurd to think, that he who made a psalm himself for the people to sing, should quarrel with other psalms, merely because they were of human composition. It has been demonstrated, in the fifth chapter of the last Book, that there were always such psalms, and hymns, and doxologies, composed by pious men, and used in the Church from the first foundation of it; nor did any, but Paulus Samosatensis, except against the use of them: which he did not neither because they were of human composition, but because they contained a doctrine contrary to his own private opinions. St. Hilary and St. Ambrose made many such hymns, which, when some muttered against in the Spanish Churches, because they were of human composition, the fourth Council of Toledoⁱ made a decree to confirm the use of them, together with the doxology, "Glory be to the Father," &c., and "Glory be to God on high," threatening excommunication to any that should reject them. The only thing of weight to be urged against all this, is a canon of the Council of Laodicea^j, which forbid all *ιδιωτικούς ψαλμούς*, 'private psalms,' and all uncanonical books, to be read in the church. For it might seem, that, by private psalms, they mean all hymns of human composition; but it was intended rather to exclude apocryphal psalms, such as went under the name of Solomon, as Balsamon and Zonaras

ⁱ Conc. Tolet. IV. c. xiii. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1709.) Quia nonnulli hymni humano studio in laudem Dei, et apostolorum ac martyrum triumphos compositi esse noscuntur, sicut hi, quos beatissimi doctores Hilarius atque Ambrosius ediderunt, quos tamen quidam specialiter reprobant, pro eo quod de Scripturis sanctorum canonum, vel apostolica traditione non existunt: respuant ergo et illum hymnum, quem quotidie publico privatoque officio in fine omnium psalmorum dicimus, 'Gloria et honor Patri,' etc. . . . Sicut igitur orationes, ita et hymnos in laudem Dei compositos, nullus vestrum ulterius improbet, sed pari modo in Gallicia Hispaniaque celebret: excommunicatione plectendi, qui hymnos rejicere fuerint ausi.

^j Conc. Laodic. c. lix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1507.) "Ὅτι οὐ δὲ ἰδιωτικούς ψαλμούς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐδὲ ἀκανόνιστα βιβλία, ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ κανονικά τῆς καινῆς καὶ παλαιᾶς διαθήκης.

understand it; or else such as were not approved by public authority in the Church. If it be extended further, it contradicts the current practice of the whole Church besides, and cannot, in reason, be construed as any more than a private order for the Churches of that province, made upon some particular reasons unknown to us at this day. Notwithstanding, therefore, any argument to be drawn from this canon, it is evident the ancients made no scruple of using psalms, or hymns, of human composition, provided they were pious and orthodox for the substance, and composed by men of eminence, and received by just authority, and not brought in clandestinely into the Church.

SECT. XVIII.—*But two Corruptions severely inveighed against.*

First, Over great Niceness and Curiosity in Singing, in Imitation of the Modes and Music of the Theatre.

But there were some disorders and irregularities always apt to creep into this practice, and corrupt the psalmody and devotions of the Church, and against these the fathers frequently declaim, with many sharp and severe invectives. Chiefly they complain of the lightness and vain curiosity which some used in singing, who took their measures from the mean and practice of the theatres, introducing from thence the corruptions and effeminacy of secular music into the grave and solemn devotions of the Church. We have heard St. Chrysostom before^k complaining of men's using theatrical noise and gestures, both in their prayers and hymns: and here I shall add the reflection which St. Jerome makes upon those words of the apostle (Ephes. v. ¹) "Singing, and making melody in your hearts, to the Lord." "Let young men hear this: let those hear it, who have the office of singing in the Church, that they sing not with their voice, but with their heart, to the

^k Book xiii. chap. viii. sect. xi. See page 343.

Hieron. in Ephes. v. (Venet. vol. vii. p. 652.) Audiant hæc adolescentuli : audiant hi quibus psallendi in ecclesia officium est, Deo non voce, sed corde cantandum : nec in tragædorum modum guttur et fauces dulci medicamine colliniendas, ut in ecclesia theatrales moduli audiantur et cantica, sed in timore, in opere, in scientia Scripturarum. Quamvis sit aliquis, ut solent illi appellare *κακόφωνος*, si bona opera habuerit, dulcis apud Deum cantus est.

Lord; not like tragedians physically preparing their throat and mouth, that they may sing after the fashion of the theatre in the church. He that has but an ill voice, if he has good works, is a sweet singer before God."

SECT. XIX.—*And, Secondly, Pleasing the Ear, without raising the Affections of the Soul.*

The other vice complained of, was the regarding more the music of the words, and sweetness of the composure, than the sense and meaning of them: pleasing the ear, without raising the affections of the soul, which was the true reason for which psalmody and music was intended. St. Jerome takes notice of this corruption in the same place, giving this caution against it^m: "Let the servant of Christ so order his singing, that the words that are read may please more than the voice of the singer; that the spirit that was in Saul may be cast out of them who are possessed with it, and not find admittance in those who have turned the house of God into a stage and theatre of the people." St. Austinⁿ confesses he was for some time thus moved to a faulty complacency in the sweetness of the song, more than the matter that was sung; and then he rather wished not to have heard the voice of the singer. St. Isidore of Pelusium^o brings the charge of these abuses more especially against women, and goes so far as to say, that

^m Ibid. Sic cantet servus Christi, ut non vox canentis, sed verba placeant quæ leguntur: ut spiritus malus, qui erat in Saule, ejiciatur ab his, qui similiter ab eo possidentur, et non introducatur in eos, qui de Dei domo scenam fecere populorum.

ⁿ Aug. Confess. lib. x. c. xxxiii. (Bened. 1679. vol. i. p. 188.) Quum mihi accidit, ut me amplius cantus, quam res quæ canitur, moveat, pœnaliter me peccare confiteor, et tunc mallet non audire cantantem.

^o Isidor. lib. i. epist. xc. (Paris. 1638. p. 28.) Τὰς ἐν ἐκκλησίαις φλυαρίας καταπαῦσαι βουλόμενοι οἱ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀπόστολοι, καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν παιδευταὶ καταστάσεως, ψάλλειν ἐν αὐταῖς τὰς γυναῖκας συνετῶς συνεχώρησαν· ἀλλ' (ὡς) πάντα εἰς τὸναντίον ἐτρέπη τὰ θεοφόρα διδάγματα, καὶ τοῦτο εἰς ἐκκλισίαν καὶ ἁμαρτίας ὑπόθεσιν τοῖς πλείοσι γέγονε· καὶ κατάνυξιν μὲν ἐκ τῶν θείων ὕμνων οὐχ ὑπομένουσι τῇ δὲ τοῦ μέλους ἡδύτητι εἰς ἐρεθισμὸν παθημάτων χρώμενοι, οὐδὲν αὐτὴν ἔχουν πλέον τῶν ἐπὶ σκηνῆν ἁσμάτων λογιζόμενοι· χρεῖα τοίνυν, εἰ μέλλοιμεν τὸ τῷ Θεῷ ἀρέσκον ζητεῖν, καὶ τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον ποιεῖν, παύειν ταύτας καὶ τῆς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ψῆδῆς, καὶ τῆς ἐν πόλει μονῆς, ὡς χριστοκαπήλους, καὶ τὸ θεῖον χάρισμα μισθὸν ἀπωλείας ἐργαζομένας.

though the apostle had allowed them to sing in the church, yet the perverse and licentious use they made of this liberty, was a sufficient reason why they should be totally debarred from it. And some are of opinion, that it was abuses of this kind, in excess, and not in defect, that made the Council of Laodicea forbid all but the canonical singers to sing in the church; as thinking that they might be better regulated and restrained from such abuses by the immediate dependence they had upon the rulers of the Church. But the experience of later ages rather proves, that this was not the true way to reform such abuses; since there are greater complaints, made by considering men, of the excesses committed in Church music, after it was wholly given up to the management of canonical singers, than there were before. Witness the complaints made by Polydore Vergil^p, Maldonat^q, Durantus^r, and others in the Romish Church, and Bishop Wetenhall^s, in the Protestant communion: which it is none of my business, in this place, any further to pursue.

^p Polydor. Vergil. de Rer. Invent. lib. vi. c. ii. p. 359. (p. 108, edit. Lugd. 1594.) Hodie nihilo plus e republica nostra esse apparet, quando cantores nostri ita in templis constrepunt, ut nihil præter vocem audiatur, et qui intersunt ejusmodi vocum concentui, quo eorum aures maxime calent, contenti, de vi verborum minime curant. Unde eo ventum est, ut apud vulgus omnis fere divini cultus ratio in istis cantoribus sita esse videatur; quos bona pars populi, ut audiat, in sacras ædes velut in theatrum concurrit, eos pretio conducit, eos fovet, eos denique solos domui Dei ornamento esse existimat: tanto molliores et delicatioris in cantu flexiones et fictæ voculæ vulgus magis delectant, quam certæ et planæ: ac ei gratior est sonus, qui tremulo e gutture funditur, quam qui cum gravitate editur.

^q Maldonat. de vii. Sacramentis, tom. ii. p. 238. Nimis delectati homines musica, cœperunt minore gravitate canere et majore studio, quam decebat, in ecclesia. Qua de re conqueruntur omnes antiqui auctores, qui de hac re aliquid scribunt, etc.

^r Durant. de Ritib. lib. iii. c. xxi. (Paris. 1632. p. 969.) (p. 491, Lugd. 1675.) Hodie, dolenter refero, in ecclesiis musici, qui cantorum vice funguntur, hominum omnium dissolutissimi sunt: adeo ut adagium populo dederint, Musice vivere, hoc est, dissolute et effeminate. Hos e choro dejici optabat Lindanus, lib. iv. Panopliæ, c. lxxviii. Optabat item in ecclesiis cathedralibus eligi cantores psal-morum intelligentes, et Deum vita simul et voce moderata potius, quam incondito garritu, laudantes, etc.

^s Wetenhall, Gift of Singing, chap. i. pp. 277, 247.

CHAPTER II.

A PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE MOST NOTED HYMNS IN USE IN THE SERVICE OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

SECT. I.—*Of the Lesser Doxology, “Glory be to the Father,” &c.*

BUT there is one thing more may be of use for the better understanding the psalmody of the ancient Church, which is, to give a distinct account of the most noted hymns that made a part of her service. Among these, one of the most ancient and common was that which was called ‘the lesser doxology,’ “Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.” Concerning which we are to note, in the first place, that it was something shorter than it is now; for the most ancient form of it was only a single sentence, without a response, running in these words: “Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen.” Part of the later clause, “As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be,” was inserted some time after the first composition. This appears from the most ancient form used both in the Greek and Latin Church without those words in it. The fourth Council of Toledo (an. 633) reads it thus ^a: “Glory and honour be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen.” Where we may observe, that not only the words, “As it was in the beginning,” &c., are omitted, but the word ‘honour’ is added to ‘glory,’ according to another decree made in that Council ^b; that it should not be said, as heretofore some did, “Glory be

^a Conc. Tolet. IV. c. xiii. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1710.) In fine omnium psal-morum dicimus, ‘Gloria et honor Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto, in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.’

^b Conc. Tolet. IV. c. xv. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1710.) In fine psal-morum non sicut a quibusdam hucusque, ‘Gloria Patri,’ sed ‘Gloria et honor Patri’ dicatur, David propheta dicente, (Psalm. xxviii. 2.) ‘Adferte Domino gloriam et honorem.’ Et Joanne evangelista, in Apocalypsi, (c. v. 13.) ‘Audivi vocem cœlestis exer-citus dicentem, ‘Honor et gloria Deo nostro sedenti in throno:’ ac per hoc hæc duo sic oportet in terris dici, sicut in cœlis resonant.

to the Father," but "Glory *and honour* be to the Father:" forasmuch as the prophet David says, "Bring glory and honour to the Lord," (Psalm xxviii. 2.) And John the evangelist, in the Revelations, heard the voice of the heavenly host, saying, "Honour and glory be to our God, who sitteth on the throne," (Rev. v. 13.) From whence they conclude, that it ought to be said on earth, as it is sung in heaven. The Mosarabic liturgy, which was used in Spain a little after this time, has it in the very same form ^c. "Glory and honour be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen." Which shows, that that was the received way of using this hymn in the Spanish Churches. The Greek Church also, for several ages, used it after the same manner: only they did not insert the word 'honour,' which seems to be peculiar to the Spanish Church. Athanasius, or whoever was the author of the Treatise of Virginitie among his works, repeats it thus ^d: "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen." And Strabo says of the Greeks in general, that they omitted those words in the latter clause ^e, "As it was in the beginning." So that it is not easy to tell what time they first began to be used in it. Some say, the Council of Nice ordered them to be inserted against Arius: others, that the Church, by common consent, admitted them, in compliance with the doctrine of that Council, to confront the Arian tenet, which asserted, "that the Son was not in the beginning; and that there was a time when he was not." But if so, it is strange we should not hear of this additional part of the hymn, in any Greek or Latin writer, for above two whole centuries after. The first

^c Missa Mosarab. in Nativ. Christi, ap. Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallican. p. 453. Gloria et honor Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto, in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

^d Athanas. de Virginit. (tom. ii. p. 218. C, Paris. 1698.) Δόξα Πατρὶ, καὶ Υἱῷ, καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι καὶ ᾧ, καὶ ἀεί, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

^e Strabo de Reb. Eccles. c. xxv. (Max. Bibl. V. P. vol. xv. p. 195. C 8.) Dicendum de hymno, qui ob honorem sanctæ et unicæ Trinitatis officii omnibus interseritur, eum a sanctis patribus aliter atque aliter ordinatum. Nam Hispani (sicut superius commemoravimus) ita eum dici omnimodis voluerunt. Græci autem, 'Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto, et nunc, et semper, et in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.' Latini vero eodem ordine et eisdem verbis hunc hymnum decantant, addentes tantum in medio, 'sicut erat in principio.'

express mention that is made of it, is in the second Council of Vaison (an. 529), which says^f, “It was then so used at Rome, and in Italy, and Afric, and all the East; and therefore is now so ordered to be used in the French Churches.” Whence it is plain, it was not in the French Churches before. And there is reason to conjecture, that the *East* is here put for the *West*, by a mistake of some transcriber; since it appears from Strabo, that, in his time, the custom of the Greek Church was still otherwise: and how long it had been the custom of the Western Churches, before the time of this Council, is uncertain. The Spanish Churches, as we have seen, did not admit it till afterwards.

There goes an epistle, indeed, under the name of St. Jerome, to Pope Damasus, which, if it were genuine, would make this addition more ancient, than now it can be allowed to be: for there he advises Damasus to order^g, “that in the Roman Church, at the end of every psalm, there should be added, ‘Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost; as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.’” But this epistle is rejected as spurious by learned men of all sides—Bellarmine, Baronius, Bona, and others of the Romanists, as well as Protestants in general, because it contradicts the known practice of the Roman Church in another particular: for at Rome they did not use the *Gloria Patri*, at the end of every psalm, long after this, in the time of Walafridus Strabo^h; neither do they now by the Rubrics of the Roman Breviary, at this day: whereas, if Damasus had made those orders, as this epistle directs, the *Gloria Patri* would have been used at Rome at the end of every psalm;

^f Conc. Vas. II. al. III. c. v. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1680.) Quia non solum in sede apostolica, sed etiam per totum Orientem, et totam Africam, vel Italiam, propter hæreticorum astutiam, qui Dei Filium non semper cum Patre fuisse, sed a tempore cœpisse blasphemant, in omnibus clausulis post ‘Gloria Patri,’ etc. ‘sicut erat in principio,’ dicitur, etiam et nos in universis ecclesiis nostris hoc ita dicendum esse decernimus.

^g Hieron. Epist. ad Damas. inter Decreta Damasi, ap. Crab. tom. i. p. 383. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 363.) Precatur cliens tuus, ut vox ista psallentium in sede tua Romana, die noctuque canatur, et in fine psalmi cujuslibet sive matutinis vel vespertinis horis conjungi præcipiat apostolatus tui ordo, ‘Gloria Patri,’ etc.

^h Strabo de Reb. Eccles. c. xxv. (Max. Bib. V. P. vol. xv. p. 195.) Romani eum (hymnum) in psalmis rarius, in responsoriis iterant.

which it was not, either there or in any of the Eastern Churches, but only in France, and some few other Churches ; as we have heard before in the last chapter.

There was another small difference in the use of this ancient hymn, which yet made no dispute among Catholics, till the rise of the Arian heresy, and then it occasioned no small disturbance. The Catholics themselves, of old, were wont to say, some, “Glory be to the Father, and to the the Son, and to the Holy Ghost;” others, “Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, with the Holy Ghost;” and others, “Glory be to the Father, in or by the Son, and by the Holy Ghost.” Now these different ways of expressing were all allowed, so long as no heterodox opinion was suspected to be couched under them : as Valesiusⁱ has observed in his notes upon Socrates and Theodoret ; and St. Basil^k shows more at large in his book *De Spiritu Sancto*. But when Arius had broached his heresy in the world, his followers would use no other form of glorification but the last, and made it a distinguishing character of their party to say, “Glory be to the Father, in or by the Son and Holy Ghost :” intending hereby to denote, that the Son and Holy Ghost were inferior to the Father in substance, and, as creatures, of a different nature from him ; as Sozomen^l and other ancient writers inform us. And from this time it became scandalous, and brought any one under the suspicion of heterodoxy, to use it, because the Arians had now,

ⁱ Vales. Not. in Socrat. lib. ii. c. xxi. (Cantabr. p. 105.) Intelligit Socrates *δοξολογίας*, quæ leguntur in fine sermonum Eusebii, quas perpetuo ita concipit Eusebius, ‘Gloria non nato Patri per Filium suum unigenitum,’ etc. Atque id perspicere licet in opusculis Eusebii, quæ Jacobus Sirmondus in lucem edidit. Exempli gratia, in fine libri primi contra Sabellium hæc leguntur verba ; ‘Gloria uni non nato Deo, per unum unigenitum Deum, Filium Dei, in uno Spiritu Sancto, et nunc, et semper, et per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.’ Et sic in ceteris. . . Porro notum est, Arianos præpositionem illam, ‘per quem,’ attribuisse Filio, eo consilio, ut illum Patri subjicerent.—Id. in Theodoret. lib. ii. c. xxiv. In fine orationum et sermonum ad populum, antiqui patres fere dicebant *δι’ οὗ*, ‘per quem Omnipotenti honor et gloria,’ etc. ut videre est, tum apud Basilium in dicto loco, tum in Opusculis Eusebii Pamphili a Jacobo Sirmondo olim editis. (Cantabr. p. 106.)

^k Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. cc. vii. xxv. et xxix. tot.

^l Sozomen. lib. iii. c. xx. (Cant. 1720. p. 126.) *Οἱ δὲ ἐδόξαζον Πατέρα ἐν Υἱῷ, τῇ παρενθέσει τῆς προθέσεως, δευτερεύειν τὸν Υἱὸν ἀποφαίνοντες.*

as it were, made it the shibboleth of their party. Philostorgius, indeed, says^m, “that the usual form of the Catholics was a novelty, and that Flavian, at Antioch, was the first that brought in this form of saying, ‘Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.’ Whereas all before him, said either, ‘Glory be to the Father, by the Son, in the Holy Ghost:’ or, ‘Glory be to the Father, in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost.’” But this is no more than what one might expect from the partiality of an Arian historian; and it is abundantly confuted by the ancient testimonies which St. Basil produces in his own vindication, against some who charged him with the like innovation: in answer to which, he saysⁿ: “He did no more than what was done before by Irenæus, Clemens Romanus, the two Dionysii of Rome and Alexandria, Eusebius of Cæsarea, Origen, Africanus, Athenogenes, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Firmilian, and Meletius, and what was done in the prayers of the Church, and with the consent of all the Eastern and Western Churches.” Which would make a man amazed to hear Cardinal Bona charging St. Basil as blameworthy^o, for displeasing the Catholics in using the form of the heterodox party; when it is plain, it

^m Philostorg. lib. iii. c. xiii. “Ὅτι φησὶ τὸν Ἀντιοχείας Φλαβιανὸν, πλῆθος μοναχῶν συναγείραντα, πρῶτον ἀναβοῆσαι, Δόξα Πατρὶ, καὶ Υἱῷ, καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι τῶν γὰρ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, τοὺς μὲν, Δόξα Πατρὶ, δι’ Υἱοῦ, ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, λέγειν· καὶ ταύτην μᾶλλον τὴν ἐκφώνησιν ἐπιπολάζειν· τοὺς δὲ, Δόξα Πατρὶ, ἐν Υἱῷ, καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι. (Cantabr. p. 495.)

ⁿ Basil. de Spirit. Sancto, c. xxix. (Bened. 1721. vol. iii. p. 58.)

^o Bona, Rer. Liturgic. lib. ii. c. iii. n. ii. (Antwerp. 1677. p. 503.) Primus, qui hymnum glorificationis mutavit, Aëtius fuisse dicitur, ecclesie Antiochenae diaconus, Arianismi instaurator, sic cani instituens, ‘Gloria Patri, per Filium, in Spiritu Sancto:’ quae verba licet per se nullam hæresin contineant, subdole tamen ab Arianis usurpabantur, ut illorum æquivocatione suam impietatem celarent. Illis in sensu orthodoxo usus est Leo (serm. i. de Nativitate) dicens, ‘Agamus, dilectissimi, gratias Deo Patri per Filium ejus in Spiritu Sancto.’ At vero Basilius, quum iisdem verbis sermonem ad populum conclusisset, Catholicis displicuit, et pro illorum defensione librum apologeticum edidit, quem de Spiritu Sancto ad Amphiloichium inscripsit, sed non omnibus satisfacit. Adeo verum est oportere Catholicum doctorem irreprehensibilem esse, et a vocibus abstinere, quae communiter suspectæ habentur, et pias aures offendunt, quamvis vere sint et orthodoxæ in eo sensu, quo scribentes vel prædicantes eas concipiunt et docent. Ideo apostolus Timotheo præcepit, ut ‘depositum custodiret, et profanas vocum novitates devitaret.’

was the heterodox party that quarrelled with him for using the Catholic form of the Church. And yet, though he blames St. Basil without grounds, telling us, "that a Catholic doctor ought to be without rebuke, and abstain from terms that have a suspected sense, and offend pious ears;" yet he has nothing to say to Pope Leo, who, if either, was more certainly liable to his censure, for using the Arian form of doxology, though in a Catholic sense, in one of his Christmas sermons, which he thus words ^p, "Let us give thanks, beloved, to the Father, by his Son, in the Holy Ghost." St. Basil never used this suspected form (though he says it might be used with an orthodox meaning), but always, "Glory be to the Father, with the Son, and Holy Ghost," for which he was charged by some heterodox men as an innovator; but there was no room for Bona's censure.

Having thus stated the ancient form and modification of this hymn in its first original, and subsequent progress that it made in the Church, we are next to see to what use it was applied, and in what parts of divine service. And here we may observe, that it was a hymn of most general use, and a doxology offered to God in the close of every solemn office. The Western Church repeated it at the end of every psalm; and the Eastern Church, at the end of the last psalm; as we have seen in the former chapter. Many of their prayers were also concluded with it, as we shall find in various instances, in the following parts of this and the next Book; particularly the solemn thanksgiving, or consecration prayer at the eucharist, to which Irenæus^q and Tertullian^r refer, when they mention the close of it, ending in these words, *αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*, 'world without end. Amen:—the whole doxology commonly running thus: "To Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be all glory, worship, thanksgiving, honour, and adoration, now and for ever, throughout all ages, world without end.

^p Leo. Agamus, dilectissimi, etc. See preceding note.

^q Iren. lib. i. See note (o) p. 204.

^r Tertul. de Spectac. c. xxv. (Oberthür, vol. i. p. 29.) Quale est enim de ecclesia Dei, in diaboli ecclesiam tendere? de cœlo (quod aiunt) in cœnum? illas manus quas ad Deum extuleris, postmodum laudando histrionem fatigare? ex ore quo Amen in sanctum protuleris, gladiatori testimonium reddere, *εἰς αἰῶνας ἀπ' αἰῶνος* alii omnino dicere, nisi Deo Christo?

Amen :”—as it is in the Constitutions^s. Or, if the prayer ended, “By the intercession of Christ,” then it was, “To whom with thee,” or “With whom, unto thee and the Holy Spirit, be all honour, glory, &c. world without end. Amen^t.” This was also the ordinary conclusion of their sermons, “that we may obtain eternal life through Jesus Christ, to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all glory and power, world without end ;” and as may be seen in the Homilies of Chrysostom, Austin, Leo, and all others : of which more in the fourth chapter of this Book.

SECT. II.—*Of the Great Doxology, “Glory be to God on high.”*

Another hymn of great note in the ancient Church, was that which they commonly called ‘the angelical hymn,’ or ‘great doxology,’ beginning with those words which the angels sung at our Saviour’s birth, “Glory be to God on high,” &c. This was chiefly used in the communion service, as it is now in our Church : and there we shall speak of it again in its proper place. It was also used at morning-prayer, daily, at men’s private devotions : as I have showed before out of Athanasius and the Constitutions, where the reader may find it repeated at length, under the title of *προσευχή ἑωθινή*, ‘the morning-prayer^u.’ In the Mosarabic liturgy, it is appointed to be sung in public, before the lessons on Christmas-day. St. Chrysostom^v often mentions it, and in one place particularly observes of those who retired from the world to lead an ascetic life^x, “that they met together daily to sing their morning

^s Constitut. lib. viii. c. xii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 483.) “Ὅτι σοι πᾶσα δόξα, σέβας καὶ εὐχαριστία, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις, τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, καὶ νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀνελλειπέεις, καὶ ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

^t Ibid. c. xiii. (vol. i. p. 483. D 4.) Μεθ’ οὗ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ, αἶνος, δοξολογία, εὐχαριστία, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

^u See Book xiii. chap. x. sect. ix.

^v Chrysostom. Hom. iii. in Coloss. (Bened. 1734. vol. xi. p. 347.) Εὐχαριστοῦντες λέγομεν, Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη. ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία. — Id. Hom. ix. in Coloss. (p. 393. D 9.) Τίς ὁ ὕμνος τῶν ἄνω, ἴσασιν οἱ πιστοὶ τί λέγει τὰ χερουβιμ ἄνω ; τί ἔλεγον οἱ ἄγγελοι [κάτω] ; Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ.

^x Ibid. Hom. lxxviii. al. lxxix. in Matth. (Bened. vol. vii. p. 674. C 8.) Τί τῶν

hymns with one mouth to God, among which they sung this angelical hymn with the angels in heaven." But I have observed before, that this was not the common practice of all Churches, to sing it every day at morning prayer, but only in the communion service; or at least only upon Sundays, and Easter-day, and such greater festivals of the Church. Who first composed this hymn, adding the remaining part to the words sung by the angels, is uncertain. Some^y suppose it to be as ancient as the time of Lucian, who lived in the beginning of the second century, and is thought to mean it in one of his Dialogues, where he speaks of the 'hymn with many names,' πολυώνυμον ᾠδὴν, as used by the Christians; others take it for the *Gloria Patri*: which is a dispute as difficult to be determined, as it is to find out the first author and original of this hymn. And all I shall say further of it, is only what was said heretofore by the fourth Council of Toledo^z, against some who rejected the hymns of St. Hilary, and St. Ambrose, and others, because they were of human composition: "that, by the same reason, they might have rejected both the lesser doxology, 'Glory and honour be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost,' which was composed by men; and also this greater doxology, part of which was sung by the angels, at our Saviour's birth, 'Glory be to God on high, and on earth peace to men of good will:'" so they read it, as many other Greek and Latin writers did; but the rest that

ἀγγέλων οὗτος διέστηκεν ὁ χορὸς τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ᾄδόντων καὶ λεγάντων, Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία.

^y Smith's Account of the Greek Church, p. 226. This I conjecture to be the ᾠδὴ πολυώνυμος mentioned by Lucian, etc.

^z Conc. Tolet. IV. c. xiii. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1709, 1710.) Quia nonnulli hymni humano studio in laudem Dei atque apostolorum et martyrum triumphos compositi esse noscuntur, sicut hi, quos beatissimi doctores Hilarius atque Ambrosius ediderunt, quos tamen quidam specialiter reprobant, pro eo quod de Scripturis sanctorum canonum, vel apostolica traditione non existunt: respuant ergo et illum hymnum, ab hominibus compositum, quem quotidie publico privatoque officio in fine omnium psalmodum dicimus, 'Gloria et honor Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto, in secula seculorum. Amen.' Nam et ille hymnus, quem nato in carne Christo angeli cecinerunt, 'Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis;' reliqua quæ ibi sequuntur, ecclesiastici doctores composuerunt. Ergo nec idem in ecclesiis canendus est, quia in Scripturarum Sanctarum libris non invenitur.

follows, was composed and added to it by the doctors of the Church.

SECT. III.—*Of the Trisagion, or ‘Cherubical Hymn,’ ‘Holy, Holy, Holy,’ &c.*

A third hymn, of great note in the Church, was the ‘cherubical hymn,’ or the *trisagion*, as it was called, because of the thrice repeating “Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts,” in imitation of the seraphims in the vision of Isaiah. The original form of this hymn was in these words: “Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts, heaven and earth are full of thy glory, who art blessed for ever. Amen.” Thus it is in the Constitutions^a, and frequently in St. Chrysostom, who says always^b, “that it was in the same words that the seraphims sung it in Isaiah.” Afterward the Church added some words to it, and sung it in this form, “Ἄγιος ὁ Θεός, ἄγιος ἰσχυρός, ἄγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, “Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy upon us.” This form is ascribed by some to Proclus, bishop of Constantinople, and Theodosius Junior (an. 446); and in this form, not long after, we find it used by the fathers of the Council of Chalcedon^c, in their condemnation of Dioscorus. Which is also noted by Damascen, who says^d, the Church used this form to declare her faith in

^a Constitut. lib. viii. c. xii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 480. A.) “Ἄγιος, ἄγιος, ἄγιος, Κύριος Σαβαώθ· πλήρης ὁ οὐρανός, καὶ ἡ γῆ, τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ· ἐυλογητός εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

^b Chrysostom. Hom. i. de Verbis Esaiæ. “Ἄνω τὰ Σεραφίμ τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον ἀναβοᾷ· κάτω τὸν αὐτὸν ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀναπέμπει πληθύν· κ. τ. λ. See page 361.—Id. Hom. vi. in Seraph. See Book xv. chap. iii. sect. x. Vid. Cyril. Catech. Mystag. v. n. v. (Venet. 1763. p. 327.) Μνημονεύομεν καὶ τῶν Σεραφίμ, ἃ ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἐθέασατο Ἡσαΐας παρεστηκότα κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ταῖς μὲν δυσὶ πτέρυξι κατακαλύπτοντα τὸ πρόσωπον, ταῖς δὲ δυσὶ τοὺς πόδας, καὶ ταῖς δυσὶ πετόμενα, καὶ λέγοντα, “Ἄγιος, ἄγιος, ἄγιος, Κύριος Σαβαώθ· διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ τὴν παραδοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν Σεραφίμ θεολογίαν ταύτην λέγομεν, ὅπως κοινωνοὶ τῆς ἡμνωδίας ταῖς ὑπερκοσμίους γενώμεθα στρατιᾶς.

^c Conc. Chalced. act. i. tom. iii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 324. E.) “Ἄγιος ὁ Θεός, ἄγιος ἰσχυρός, ἄγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.

^d Damascen. de Orth. Fide, lib. iii. c. x. (Venet. 1748. vol. i. p. 218.) Ἡμεῖς τὸ, ἄγιος ὁ Θεός, ἐπὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκλαμβάνομεν, οὐκ αὐτῷ μόνῳ τὸ τῆς θεότητος ἀφορίζοντες ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν Θεὸν εἰδότες, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· καὶ τὸ, ἄγιος ἰσχυρός, ἐπὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τίθεμεν, οὐκ ἀπαμφι-

the Holy Trinity, applying the title of “Holy God to the Father, and Holy Mighty to the Son, and Holy Immortal to the Holy Ghost;” not as excluding any of the three Persons from each of these titles, but in imitation of the apostle, who says, “To us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we by him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him.” And thus this hymn continued to be applied to the whole Trinity, till Anastasius, the emperor, as some say^e, or, as others relate^f, Peter Gnapheus, bishop of Antioch, caused the words, *ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι’ ἡμᾶς*, ‘that was crucified for us,’ to be added to it; which was intended to bring in the heresy of the Theopaschites, who asserted that the Divine Nature itself suffered upon the cross, and was in effect to say, that the whole Trinity suffered, because this hymn was commonly applied to the whole Trinity. To avoid this inconvenience, one Calandio, bishop of Antioch, in the time of Zeno, the emperor, made another addition to it, of the words, “Christ, our King,” reading it thus: “Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, Christ our King, that wast crucified for us, have mercy on us;” as Theodorus Lector^g

εννόντες τῆς ἰσχύος τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ τὸ, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος τάττομεν, οὐκ ἔξω τῆς ἀθανασίας τιθέντες τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν, ἀλλ’ ἐφ’ ἐκάστης τῶν ὑποστάσεων πάσας τὰς Θεωνυμίας ἀπλῶς καὶ ἀπολύτως ἐκλαμβάνοντες, καὶ τὸν θεῖον ἀπόστολον ἐκμιμούμενοι, φάσκοντα ἡμῖν δὲ εἰς Θεὸς ὁ Πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, δι’ οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἡμεῖς δι’ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ.

^e Evagr. lib. iii. c. xlv. (Cantabr. p. 380.) Ἐνὰ δὲ τὸ Βυζάντιον, προσθήκην τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τῷ Τρισαγίῳ βουλευθέντος ποιήσασθαι, τὸ, ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι’ ἡμᾶς, μεγίστη στάσις γέγονεν, ὡς τὰ μάλιστα τῆς Χριστιανῆς θρησκείας ἀθετουμένης.

^f Damascen. de Orth. Fide, lib. iii. c. x. Ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ Τρισαγίῳ προσθήκην ὑπὸ τοῦ ματαιόφρονος Πέτρου τοῦ Γραφέως γεγενημένην, βλάσφημον ὀριζόμεθα. (p. 218.)

^g Theod. Lect. lib. ii. (Aug. T. p. 525.) Καλανδίωνα λέγει προσθήναι τῷ τρισαγίῳ, Χριστὲ βασιλεῦ, διὰ τοὺς προπεθεικότας ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι’ ἡμᾶς. — Cedren. an. 16 Zenonis. (Paris. 1647. p. 353.) Ζήνων δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνεθεὶς τῶν τυράννων, ἐξέβαλε τῆς ἐκκλησίας Ἀντιοχείας Καλανδίωνα, καὶ ἐξώρισεν εἰς Ὅασιν, Πέτρον δὲ τὸν Κναφέα κατέστησεν ἐν αὐτῇ, ὃς ἐλθὼν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, πολλὰ κακὰ ἐποίησεν. . . πρότερον δὲ προσέθηκε τῷ τρισαγίῳ, Χριστὲ βασιλεῦ, ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι’ ἡμᾶς. ὕστερον δὲ ἐλθὼν, περιεῖλε τὸ, Χριστὲ βασιλεῦ.

and other historians inform us. These last additions occasioned great confusion and tumults in the Eastern Church, whilst the Constantinopolitans and Western Churches stiffly rejected them; and some of the European provinces, the better to confront them, and maintain the old way of applying it to the whole Trinity, instead of the words “crucified for us,” expressly said, “Holy Trinity, have mercy on us;” as we find it in Ephraim Antiochenus^h, recorded in Photius.

This is the short history and account of the rise and progress of this celebrated hymn in the service of the Church, and of the heretical corruptions and interpolations that were intended to be made upon it. As to its use, it was chiefly sung in the middle of the communion service, as we shall see more expressly hereafter in the next Book; but it was sometimes used upon other occasions, as we have heard, in the Council of Chalcedon, before. And some Greek ritualistsⁱ tell us, that it was always sung before the reading of the Epistle, which was anciently a part of the service of the catechumens. But, then, they distinguish between the *trisaqion* and *epinicion*, or ‘triumphal hymn,’ calling the simple form, “Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts,” the *epinicion*, which was sung in the communion service; and the other the *trisaqion*, which was sung in the service of the catechumens: but the more ancient writers do not observe this distinction, and

^h Photius, Biblioth. Cod. cexxviii. p. 773. Προτάττει δὲ τῆς γυμνασίας τῶν ἐφημέριων ῥημάτων, δικαίαν τινὰ τοῦ τρισαγίου ὕμνου· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ Ζηνόβιος τῆς κοινῆς ἐκκλησίας ἑαυτὸν ἀπορρήξας, πρόφασιν ἐδίδου τὴν περὶ τὴν τρισάγιον δοξολογίαν καινοτομίαν· φησὶ δὲ ὁ Ἐφραίμος τὴν τοιαύτην ὕμνολογίαν, τοὺς μὲν τὴν ἀνατολὴν οἰκοῦντας, εἰς τὸν Κύριον ὕμνων Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἀναφέρειν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτάνειν ἐπισυνάπτοντας τὸ, “ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι’ ἡμᾶς.” τοὺς δὲ τὸ Βυζάντιόν τε καὶ τὴν ἐσπερίαν νεμομένους, εἰς τὴν ὑπερτάτην καὶ πανίερον πηγὴν τῆς ἀγαθότητος, τὴν ὁμοούσιον Τριάδα, τὴν δοξολογίαν ἀνάπτειν· διὸ μηδ’ ἀνέχεσθαι τούτους ἐπισυνάπτειν τὸ, “ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι’ ἡμᾶς” ἵνα μὴ πάθος τῇ Τριάδι περιάψωσιν· ἐν πολλαῖς δὲ ταῖς κατὰ τὴν πρώτην Εὐρώπην ἐπαρχίαις ἀντὶ τοῦ “ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι’ ἡμᾶς,” τὸ ἅγια Τριάς “ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς” ἐπάγειν· ἐξ ὧν ἐπιδηλοτέρων τὸν σκοπὸν τῶν εὐσεβοῦντων καθίστασθαι, ὡς εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα τὸ “ἅγιος ὁ Θεός, ἅγιος ἰσχυρὸς, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος,” ἀνάγοντες, “ἀκριβεῖ καὶ ἀκολουθῆμ λόγῳ τὸ, ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι’ ἡμᾶς παραγράφονται.”

ⁱ German. Theoria Ecclcs. (Gallandius, vol. xiii. p. 213. D 13.) Μετὰ δὲ τὸν τρισαγίου ὕμνον ἀναγινώσκειται βιβλίον ἀποστολικόν.

therefore I have here put both forms under the common name of the *trisagion*. He that would see this history more at large, may consult Christianus Lupus^k upon the Council of Trullo, and Mr. Allix¹, who has written a peculiar treatise upon the subject.

SECT. IV.—*Of the Hallelujah, and Halleluatic Psalms.*

Next to the *trisagion*, there is frequent mention made among the ancient writers, of singing the Hallelujah; by which they sometimes mean the repetition of this single word, which signifies “Praise the Lord,” which they did in imitation of the heavenly host, singing and saying, again and again, Hallelujah. (Rev. xix.) Sometimes they mean one of those psalms, which were called ‘Halleluatic psalms^m,’ because they had the Hallelujah prefixed before them in the title, such as the hundred and forty-fifth, and those that follow to the end. The singing of these was sometimes called ‘singing the Hallelujah;’ as has been observed out of Cassianⁿ, more than once, in the foregoing parts of this and the former Book. But the more common acceptation of Hallelujah is for the singing of the word itself, by a frequent solemn repetition of it upon certain days, and in special parts of divine service; it being a sort of invitatory, or mutual call, to each other, to praise the Lord. Therefore, as St. Austin observes^o, “they always used it in the Hebrew language, because that was the known signification of it.” And so it was in our first liturgy, though now we say, “Praise ye the Lord;” with a response of the people, “The

^k Lup. Not. in can. lxxi. Trullan.

¹ Allix de Trisagio. (Rothomagi, 1674. 4to.)

^m Aug. in Psalm. cv. (Bened. 1679. vol. v. p. 1191. C.) Hoc adserunt, quod omnes Halleluatici psalmi habeant in fine Halleluia, non omnes in capite.—Id. in Psalm. cxviii. (Basil. vol. viii. p. 1322.†) Procemium in psalmum octonarium, vel alphabeticum vel Halleluaticum.

ⁿ Cassian. lib. ii. c. v. Duodecimum (psalmum) sub Halleluia responsione consummans.—Cap. xi. Ut in responsione Halleluia nullus dicatur psalmus, nisi is, qui in titulo suo Halleluia inscriptione prænotatur.

^o Aug. Ep. clxxviii. † Sciendum est, Amen et Halleluia, quod nec Latino nec Barbaro licet in suam linguam transferre, Hebræo cunctas gentes vocabulo decantare.—Id. Hom. xvi. ex l. (p. 449. Basil. †) Nunc ergo, fratres carissimi, exhortamur vos, ut laudetis Deum: et hoc est, quod nos omnes dicimus, ‘Halleluia, laudate Deum.’

Lord's name be praised." Anciently there was no dispute about the lawfulness of the hymn itself, but some variation, and some dispute there was about the times of using it. St. Austin says^p, "In some Churches it was never sung but upon Easter-day, and the fifty days of Pentecost;" but, in other Churches, it was used at other times also. Vigilantius contended fiercely against St. Jerome, that it ought never to be sung but only upon Easter-day^q. And in this he seems to have followed the practice of the Church of Rome, where Sozomen assures us^r, it was never sung but once a-year, and that was upon Easter-day: insomuch that it was the common form of an oath among the Romans, "As they hoped to live to sing Hallelujah on that day." Cardinal Bona^s and Baronius^t

^p Aug. Epist. cxix. ad Januar. c. xvii. (Bened. 1679: vol. ii. p. 141.) Ut Halleluia per solos dies quinquaginta cantetur in ecclesia, non usquequaque observatur: nam et aliis diebus varie cantatur alibi atque alibi.—Id. Epist. lxxxvi. (p. 75.) Alioquin quod nullus, non dico Christianus, sed nec insanus dicere auderet, dies illi quinquaginta post Pascha usque ad Pentecosten, quibus non jejunatur, erunt secundum istum a sacrificio laudis alieni, quibus tantummodo diebus in multis ecclesiis, in omnibus autem maxime cantatur Halleluia, quam vocem laudis esse, nullus Christianus, quamlibet imperitus, ignorat. (p. 57.)—Id. in Psalm. cvi. (p. 1204.) Halleluia quod nobis cantare certo tempore solemniter moris est, secundum ecclesie antiquam traditionem: neque enim et hoc sine sacramento certis diebus cantamus. Halleluia certis quidem diebus cantamus, sed omni die cogitamus.—Serm. cli. de Tempore. (vol. v. p. 1048. F 6.) Tempus lætitiæ et quietis et regni, quod significant dies isti, significamus per Halleluia. Quid est Halleluia? Laudate Deum. Sed nondum habemus laudes: in ecclesia frequentantur laudes Dei post resurrectionem; quia nobis erit perpetua laus post resurrectionem nostram. (P. 730.)

^q Hieron. cont. Vigilant. c. i. (Venet. vol. ii. p. 387.) Exortus est subito Vigilantius, qui dicat . . . numquam nisi in Pascha Alleluia cantandum.

^r Sozom. lib. vii. c. xix. (Cantabr. p. 307, lin. 14.) Πάλιν αὐ ἐκάστον ἔτους ἄπαξ ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὸ ἀλληλουῖα ψάλλουσι, κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν τῆς πασχαλίου ἑορτῆς ὡς πολλοῖς Ῥωμαίων ὄρκον εἶναι, τοῦτον τὸν ἕμνον ἀξιοθῆναι ἀκοῦσαι τε καὶ ψάλλαι.

^s Bona de Psalm. c. xvi. sect. vii. n. iv. (Antverp. 1677. p. 830.) Quidam, sequenti Sozomenum, existimantur ecclesiam Romanam in die duntaxat Dominice resurrectionis cecinisse *Alleluia*: cujus erroris antesignanus fuisse videtur Vigilantius, quem idcirco D. Hieronymus acriter reprehendit.

^t Baron. an. 384, n. xxiii. (Lucæ, 1738. vol. v. p. 578.) Quod ad Romanæ ecclesie consuetudinem pertinet; hallucinatur plane Sozomenus, dum ait, 'In ea non nisi semel in anno cani solitum Alleluia:' nam Vigilantium hæresiarum ejus institutionis auctorem fuisse, conatumque eam Hierosolymis introducere, testatur Hieronymus, in eo quem adversus eundem Vigilantium scripsit commentario.

are very angry at Sozomen for this; but Valerius honestly defends him^u, forasmuch as Cassiodore, who was a Roman, reports the same in his *Historia Tripartita*. But we must note, that anciently in those Churches where it was most frequented, there were some exceptions in point of time and season; for, in the time of Lent, it was never used, as appears from St. Austin, who says^x, “that was a time of sorrow,” and, therefore, from the beginning of Lent till Easter-day they always omitted it; the ancient tradition of the Church being only to use it at certain seasons. The fourth Council of Toledo^y forbids the use of it not only in Lent, but upon other days of fasting, as particularly upon the first of January, which was then kept a fast in the Spanish Church; because the heathen observed it with great superstition of many idolatrous rites and practices. In the same council, the Hallelujah is mentioned under the name of *laudes*^z, and appointed to be sung after the reading of the Gospel; which, as Bona^a and Mabillon^b observe, was according to the Mosarabic rite;

^u Vales. in Sozom. lib. vii. c. xix. (Cambr. 1720. p. 307.) “Ἀπαξ ἐν Ῥώμῃ] Reprehendit hoc Baronius ad ann. Christi 384, n. xxiii. Verum argumenta quibus id probare nititur, parum firma mihi videntur. Proinde auctoritatem Sozomeni hic sequi malim, maxime quum Cassiodorus ejus verba retulerit in *Historia Tripartita*. Qui profecto numquam id fecisset, nisi hunc morem vetustum fuisse scisset ecclesie Romanæ, ut in ea semel tantum Alleluia caneretur, die scilicet Paschæ.

^x Aug. in Psalm. cx. (Bened. 1679. vol. iv. p. 1243.) Venerunt dies, ut jam cantilemus Halleluia, etc.—Id. in Psalm. cxlviii. (vol. iv. p. 1672.) Propter hæc duo tempora, unum quod nunc est in tentationibus et tribulationibus hujus vitæ, alterum quod tunc erit in securitate et exultatione perpetua, instituta est nobis etiam celebratio duorum temporum, ante Pascha et post Pascha . . . Illud tempus in jejuniis et orationibus exercemus; hoc vero tempus, relaxatis jejuniis, in laudibus agimus. Hoc est enim Halleluia, quod cantamus: quod Latine interpretatur, ut nostis, ‘Laudate Dominum.’

^y Conc. Tolet. IV. c. xi. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1709.) In omnibus quadragesimæ diebus (quia tempus non est gaudii sed mœroris) Alleluia non decantetur . . . Hoc enim ecclesie universalis consensio roboravit. In temporibus quoque reliquis, id est, kalendis Januarii, quæ propter errorem gentilitatis aguntur, omnino Alleluia non decantabitur.

^z Ibid. c. xi. Laudes ideo evangelium sequuntur propter gloriam Christi, quæ per idem evangelium prædicatur.

^a Rer. Liturgic. lib. ii. c. vi. n. iv. (Antverp. 1677. p. 527.) Ad ritum Mosarabicum, quo tunc Hispania utebatur, et longo post tempore viguit, pertinet citatus canon.

^b Mabillon. de Liturgic. Gallican. lib. i. c. iv. n. xii. Garsias Loaisa ‘laudum’

for in other Churches it was sung between the Epistle and the Gospel. It was also sung at funerals, as St. Jerome acquaints us in his epitaph of Fabiola, where he speaks ^c “ of the whole multitude singing psalms together, and making the golden roof of the church shake with echoing forth the Hallelujah.” The author, under the name of Dionysius ^d, speaks of it also as used in the confection of the chrism, or holy oil, to be used in the unction of confirmation. St. Austin says ^e, “ It was sung every Lord’s day at the altar, for the same reason that they prayed standing, as a memorial of Christ’s resurrection, and as a figure of our future rest and joyfulness, to signify that our business in the life to come will be nothing else but to praise God, according to that of the psalmist ; ‘ Blessed are they that dwell in thy house, O Lord, they will be always praising thee : ’ ” the meaning of Hallelujah being nothing else but ‘ Praise the Lord,’ as both he and others represent it ^f. In the second Council of Tours ^g, it is appointed to be sung immediately after the Psalms, both at the sixth hour—that is, noon day—and the twelfth hour, that is, evening prayer. But whether they mean the shorter Hallelujah, or one of those psalms called the ‘ Halleluatic Psalms,’ of which St. Austin and Cassian speak, is not very easy to determine.

nomine (in Conc. Tolet.) intelligit hymnum trium puerorum. At certum est, Alleluia significari hoc loco. Isidorus, (de Div. Offic. c. xiii.) ‘ Laudes,’ inquit, hoc est, Alleluia canere, etc.

^c Hieron. Epist. xxx. c. iv. Sonabant, etc. See note (x) p. 251.

^d Dionys. de Hierarch. Eccles. c. iv. (Venet. 1755. vol. i. p. 222.) Τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς τῶν θεολόπτων προφητῶν ἐπιπνοίας μελωδῆμα, φασὶν οἱ τὰ Ἑβραίων εἰδότες, τὸ αἶνος Θεοῦ δηλοῦν, ἢ τὸ Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον, κ. τ. λ. — Add. Paraphrasin Pachymeræ, ibid. p. 454, fin. Τοῦτο δὲ λέγει, ὅτι τὸ ἀλληλουῖα ἐν τῇ τοῦ μύρον ἱεροουργίᾳ.

^e Aug. Epist. cxix. ad Januar. c. xv. (Bened. 1679. vol. ii. p. 139. F.) Omnibus diebus Dominicis ad altare stantes oramus, quod signum est resurrectionis, et Halleluia canitur, quod significat actionem nostram futuram non esse, nisi laudare Deum, sicut scriptum est ; ‘ Beati qui habitant in domo tua, Domine ; in sæcula sæculorum laudabunt te.’

^f Vid. Justin. Quæst. ad Orthodox. quæst. l. (1742. p. 460.) Ἐρμηνεία ἐστὶ τοῦ μὲν Ἀλληλουῖα τὸ, ὑμνήσατε μετὰ μένους τὸ Ὄν.

^g Conc. Turon. II. c. xviii. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 357. C 4.) Patrum statuta præceperunt, ut ad sextam sex psalmi dicantur cum Alleluia : et ad duodecimam duodecim, itemque cum Alleluia.

Isidore says ^h, “ It was sung every day in Spain, except upon fast-days; though it was otherwise in the African Churches.” St. Jerome says it was used in private devotion ⁱ, “ For even the ploughman, at his labour, sung his Hallelujahs.” And this was the signal, or call, among the monks ^j to their ecclesiastical assemblies: for one went about and sung Hallelujah, and that was the notice to repair to their solemn meeting. Nay, Sidonius Apollinaris seems to intimate ^k, that the seamen used it as their ‘signal,’ or *celeusma*, at their common labour, making the banks echo while they sung Hallelujah to Christ. I only observe further, that in the church Hallelujah was sung by all the people; as appears not only from what is said before by St. Jerome, that “ the church echoed with the sound of it;” but also from that of Paulinus, in his epistle to Severus ^l, *Alleluja novis balat ovile choris*, “ The whole sheepfold of Christ sings Hallelujah in her new choirs.” And St. Austin, alluding to this, says ^m, “ It was the Christians’ sweet *celeusma*, or ‘call,’ whereby they invited one another to sing praises unto Christ.”

SECT. V.—*Of the Hosanna, and the Evening Hymn, and Nunc Dimittis, or the Song of Symeon.*

I do not here insist upon the Hosanna, or the evening

^h Isidor. de Offic. lib. i. c. xiii. (Col. Agr. 1616. p. 394.) In Africanis ecclesiis non omni tempore, sed tantum dominicis diebus et quinquaginta post Domini resurrectionem Alleluia cantatur: verum apud nos secundum antiquam Hispaniarum traditionem, præter dies jejuniorum et quadragesimæ, omni tempore canitur Alleluia.

ⁱ Hieron. Epist. xvii. ad Marcellam. (Venet. 1766. vol. i. p. 208.) Quocunque te verteris, arator, stivam retinens, Alleluia decantat.

^j Id. Epist. xxvii. Epitaph. Paulæ, c. xvi. (p. 712.) Post Alleluia cantatum, (quo signo vocabantur ad Collectam,) nulli residere licitum erat.

^k Sidon. Apol. lib. ii. ep. x. (Max. Bibl. V. P. vol. vi. p. 1086.)

Curvorum hinc chorus helciariorum,
Responsantibus Alleluia ripis,
Ad Christum levat amnicum celeusma,
Sic sic psallite, nauta, vel viator.

^l Paulin. Epist. xii. ad Severum.

^m Aug. de Cantic. Novo, c. ii. (Bened. 1679. vol. vi. p. 591.) Adsit nostra tutela, Christi gratia: celeusma nostrum dulce cantemus Halleluia: ut leti ac securi ingrediamur sempiternam ac felicissimam patriam.

hymn, because it does not appear that either of these was used in the service of the catechumens. The Hosanna was but a part of the great doxology, "Glory be to God on high;" and only used in the communion service, where we shall speak of it hereafter. And the evening hymn has been mentioned before in the former Bookⁿ, where we have given an account of the daily evening service, and showed it to be rather a private hymn than any part of the public worship of the Church. In it was contained the *Nunc dimittis*, or song of Symeon; "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word," &c. But whether any of this was used in public, or only by Christians in their private devotions in their families, at their setting up of lights, is what (I ingenuously confess) I am not yet able, from any ancient records, to determine. For though there is frequent mention of the *λυχνασία* among the Greeks, and of the *lucernarium* among the Latins, as of a public office for vespers, or evening prayers; yet I will not, without clearer proof, assert that this hymn was a part of that office, but leave it to further disquisition and inquiry. The only thing we find more of the *Nunc dimittis* is in the Life of Maria Ægyptiaca^o, who died about the year 525: of whom it is said, "that a little before her death she received the eucharist, repeated the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, and sung the *Nunc dimittis*, 'Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word.'" But this was only an act of private devotion; and whether it was then received into the public offices of the Church, remains uncertain.

SECT. VI.—*Of the Benedicite, or the Song of the Three Children.*

But we are more certain of the use of the hymn called *Benedicite*, or song of the three children in the burning fiery furnace. For not only Athanasius directs virgins to use it in

ⁿ Book xiii. chap. xi. sect. v. (Vide supra, p. 413.)

^o Vita Mariæ Ægypt. ap. Durant. de Ritibus, lib. i. c. xv. n. ix. (p. 59, edit. Lugd. 1675.) In Mariæ Ægyptiacæ Vita, quam Paulus, Ecclesiæ Neapolitanæ diaconus, conscripsit, legitur, Mariam Ægyptiacam, sanctissimam feminam, graviter ægotantem, Zosimum abbatem rogasse, eucharistiam sanctis vasculis inclusam sibi deferre, quam quum, Symbolo et Dominica Oratione recitatis, sumsisset, dixit, 'Nunc dimittis,' etc.

their private devotions^p, but the fourth Council of Toledo says^q, “ It was used in the Church over all the world ;” and therefore orders it to be sung by the clergy of Spain and Galicia, every Lord’s day, and on the festivals of the martyrs, under pain of excommunication. L’Estrange^r thinks this is the first time there is any mention made of this hymn, as of public use in the Church : but Chrysostom lived two hundred years before this Council, and he makes the same observation as the Council does^s, “ That it was sung in all places throughout the world, and would continue to be sung in future generations.” The *Lectioarium Gallicanum*, published by Mabillon^t, appoints this hymn to be sung after the reading of the prophets, much after the same manner as it is now ordered to be sung between the first and second lesson in the liturgy of our Church.

SECT. VII.—*Of the Magnificat, or Song of the Holy Virgin.*

The use of the *Magnificat*, or song of the Holy Virgin: “ My soul doth magnify the Lord,” &c. is not quite so ancient: for the first time we meet with it as prescribed for public use, is in the rule of Cæsarius Arelatensis and Aurelian^u, who order

^p Athanas. de Virginit. (vol. ii. p. 122. edit. 1698.) Διάφανμα λέγετε· Εὐλόγηϊτε πάντα τὰ ἔργα Κυρίου τὸν Κύριον.

^q Conc. Tolet. IV. c. xiv. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1710.) Hymnum quoque trium puerorum, in quo universa cœli terræque creatura Dominum collaudat, et quem ecclesia Catholica per totum orbem diffusa celebrat, quidam sacerdotes in missa Dominicorum dierum, et in solemnitatibus martyrum canere negligunt: proinde hoc sanetum Concilium instituit, ut per omnes ecclesias Hispaniæ vel Galliæ [*Galliciæ*] in omnium missarum solemnitate idem in pulpito [*publico*] decantetur: communionem amissuri, qui et antiquam hujus hymni consuetudinem, nostramque definitionem excesserint.

^r L’Estrange, Alliance of Divine Offices, chap. iii. p. 79.

^s Chrysostom. Quod nemo læditur nisi a seipso. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 462. E 3.) Ὡδὴν πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀδομένην καὶ ἀσθησομένην εἰς τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα γενεάς.

^t Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallican. lib. ii. (Paris. 1685. p. 108.) Hoc canticum in aliquibus differt ab eo, quod Romanus ordo præscribit in sabbatis quatuor temporum. Aliter in Lectionario nostro habetur in sabbato sancto. Ex his intelligimus, lectionem ex apostolo non continuo post prophetiam lectam fuisse in Ordine Gallicano: etc.

^u Ap. Mabillon. de Curs. Gallican. p. 407. Ad hæc Cæsarius et Aurelianus.

it to be sung in the French Churches at morning service. And that was about the year 506.

SECT. VIII.—*When first the Creed began to be sung as a Hymn in the Church.*

Some learned persons reckon the singing of the Creed into the psalmody of the Church, and speak of it as an ancient custom: but herein they mistake, by suffering themselves to be imposed upon by modern authors. Bishop Wetenhall says^w, “It is no improbable conjecture, that the hymn which the primitive Christians are said by Pliny to have sung to Christ as God, was their Creed; and that it is certain the Nicene Creed has been sung in the Church, in a manner from the very compiling of it.” For this he cites Platina, in the Life of Pope Mark, who affirms, “that it was ordained by that pope, that, on all solemn days, immediately after the Gospel, the Creed should be sung with a loud voice, by the clergy and people, in that form wherein it was explained by the Nicene Council.” When yet it is certain, on the other hand, that the Creed was never so much as barely repeated in the Roman Church, in time of divine service, till the year 1014, when Benedict the Eighth brought it into use, to comply with the practice of the French and Spanish Churches; as has been showed at large in a former Book^x, where we have noted, that it was never read publicly in the Greek Church, but once a-year, till Peter Fullo brought it into the Church of Antioch (an. 471); and Timotheus into the Church of Constantinople (an. 511); from whose example it was taken by the third Council of Toledo (an. 589); and brought into custom in the Spanish Churches. After which, it was four whole centuries before it gained admittance in the Church of Rome. So little reason is there to depend upon the authority of modern authors, in cases where they plainly contradict the testimony of more ancient and credible writers. And this is a good argument,

in matutinis laudibus canticum ‘Magnificat,’ et hymnum ‘Gloria in excelsis’ pro diebus Paschalibus præcipiunt, itemque pro singulis Dominicis et majoribus festivitibus.

^w Wetenhall, Gift of Singing, chap. iii. p. 330.

^x Book x. chap. iv. sect. xvii. (vol. iii. p. 369.)

as Bishop Stillingfleet well urges it^y, to show the differences betwixt the old Gallican and Roman Offices; and that the Church of England did not follow precisely the model of the Roman Offices, but those that were more anciently received in the general practice of the Gallican and British Churches.

SECT. IX.—*Of the Author and Original of the Hymn
Te Deum.*

There remains one hymn more, the *Te Deum*, which is now in use among us, the author and original of which is variously disputed. The common opinion ascribes it to St. Ambrose and St. Austin jointly; others to St. Ambrose singly^z, because he is known to have composed hymns for the use of the Church. Two things are chiefly said in favour of these opinions, which have no real weight or force in them. 1. That the Chronicle of Dacius, one of St. Ambrose's successors, says he composed it. 2. That it is approved as his hymn, in the fourth Council of Toledo (an. 633). But to the first, it is replied by learned men, that the pretended *Chronicon* of Dacius is a mere counterfeit, and altogether spurious. Mabillon^a proves it to be at least five hundred years younger than its reputed author: whence the story that is so formally told in it, is concluded to be a mere fiction and invention of later ages. The story is this, as Spondanus, a favourer of it, reports it out of Dacius^b: "That when St. Austin was baptized by St. Ambrose, whilst they were at the font, they sung this hymn by inspiration, as the Spirit gave them utterance, and so published it in the sight and audience of all the people." But the authority of the story resting merely upon the foundation of

^y Stillingfleet, Orig. Britan. chap. iv. p. 237. From which discourse it will appear, that when the British, or Gallican, and Roman differed, our Church had not followed the Roman, but the other.

^z Comber, on Liturgy, p. 180.

^a Mabillon. Analect. Veter. tom. i. p. 5. (p. 487, edit. Paris. 1723.)

^b Spondan. Epitom. Baron. (Paris. 1613. p. 452.) an. 388, n. ix. † [Chronicon illud, quod in bibliotheca Ambrosiana adservatur, variorum est scriptorum, quum producat usque ad annum Christi 1067, et Dacius imperante Justiniano obierit.] In quibus fontibus, prout Spiritus Sanctus dabat eloqui illis, 'Te Deum laudamus,' cantantes, cunctis qui aderant, audientibus et videntibus, ediderunt.

—Ex Chronico Dacii, lib. i. c. x.

this fabulous writer, there is no credit to be given to it. Neither is there any greater weight to be laid upon what is alleged from the Council of Toledo : for the Council only says, “ that some hymns were composed for the use of the Church, by St. Hilary and St. Ambrose,” without any particular mention of this hymn ; so that it might as well be ascribed to St. Hilary and St. Ambrose, for any thing that is said in that Council. The truth of the matter is, that it was composed by a French writer about a hundred years after St. Ambrose’s death, for the use of the Gallican Church. Pagi says ^c, Gavantus found it in some MSS. ascribed to St. Abundius ; and others have the name of Sisebutus prefixed to it. Bishop Ussher ^d found it in two MSS. ascribed to Nicetius, bishop of Triers, who lived about the year 535 : and he is now, by learned men, generally reputed the author of it. The learned Benedictines, who lately published St. Ambrose’s works, judge St. Ambrose not to be the author of it, and Dr. Cave ^e, though he was once of a different judgment, yet, upon maturer consideration, subscribes to their opinion ^f. Wherefore, the most rational conclusion is that of Bishop Stillingfleet ^g, “ that

^c Pagi, Critic. in Baron. 388, n. xi. (Lucæ, vol. vi. p. 24.) Gavantus, in Rubric. Breviarii, (sect. v. c. xix.) adserit, in antiquissimo Breviario MS. collegii Aniciani de urbe isti cantico præferri hunc titulum, ‘ Hymnus S. Abundii.’ In antiquo Breviario Chori Monasterii Cassinensis descripto paullo post an. 1086, hoc canticum inscribitur, ‘ Hymnus Sisebuti Monachi.’

^d Usser. de Symb. p. 2. In ea de hymnorum collectione, Nicetium Deum laudavisse legimus, dicentem, ‘ Laudate, pueri, Dominum, laudate nomen Domini. Te Deum laudamus, te Dominum confitemur,’ et quæ sequuntur in hymno illo decantatissimo, qui B. Ambrosio vulgo tribuitur : . . . In Latino-Gallico quoque psalterio, circa tempora Hen. I. exarato, inscribitur iste ‘ Hymnus Sancti Nicetii,’ (Hibernicæ nostræ traditioni satis consentaneæ) sive Trevirensis hic intelligendus fuerit Nicetius, sive Lugdunensis, sive quis alius, etc.

^e Cave, Histor. Litterar. (p. 150, Genev. 1693.) Hymnus ‘ Te Deum,’ cœlitus, ut fertur, delapsus, et inter baptizandum Augustinum ab Ambrosio et Augustino alternis versiculis recitatus. Videtur vero ab Ambrosio eo tempore compositus, quo Ariani, omnia susque deque miscentes, ecclesiam militari manu obsederunt, ut fatiscentes Catholicorum animos refocillaret.

^f Ibid. (Basil. vol. i. p. 263.) (p. 49, Genev. 1699.) Hymni xii. quos Ambrosio adjudicari posse censent clarissimi editores (Benedictini), veterum auctoritate hac in parte nixi. Ab hoc censu relegant hymnum ‘ Te Deum laudamus,’ qui Ambrosii esse nullo idoneo testimonio probari potest, et fabulam pro origine habere videtur.

^g Stillingfleet, Orig. Britan. chap. iv. pp. 221, 222. In an old collection of

it was composed by Nicetius, and that we must look on this hymn as owing its original to the Gallican Church ;” since not long after the time of Nicetius, it is mentioned in the rule of St. Benedict, cap. xi. ; and the Rule of Cæsarius Arelatensis, cap. xxi. ; and the Rule of Aurelian ; where they prescribe the use of it ; but Menardus^h is confident there is no mention of this hymn in any writers of credit before them.

SECT. X.—*The Hymns of St. Ambrose.*

But though St. Ambrose cannot be allowed to be the author of this hymn, yet there is no doubt to be made but that he composed hymns for the use of the Church, some of which are yet extant. For St. Austin mentions one of his evening hymns in several placesⁱ, *Deus Creator omnium*, &c. : which hymns, and an old Latin and French psalter, mentioned by Archbishop Ussher, this hymn [‘Te Deum laudamus’] is attributed to St. Nicetius. And there were two of that name in the Gallican Church ; the former of which might probably be the author of it. The one was bishop of Triers . . . and the other of great fame too, and bishop of Lyons. . . I see no reason against the former Nicetius, since Menardus confidently affirms there is no mention of this hymn in any writers before. And, therefore, we may look on this hymn as owing its original to the Gallican Church.

^h Menard. Not. in Gregor. Sacramentor. (Bened. 1705. vol. iii. p. 585. E 6.) Hoc institutum vulgo refertur ad SS. Ambrosium et Augustinum, qui in ejusdem S. Augustini baptismo hunc hymnum ex tempore ediderint et decantaverint : proferturque hujus opinionis auctor et adsertor S. Dacius, episcopus Mediolanensis, in Chronico, qui floruit tempore Justiniani imperatoris, ejusque meminit S. Gregorius, lib. iii. dial. c. iv. Sed quidquid sit de veritate hujus historie, certum est hoc Chronicon non esse hujus Dacii, quia probari non potest ullum Chronicon ab eo scriptum fuisse, nedum citatum : tum quia non redolet stylum temporum illorum ; tum quia falsum est, quod ibi continetur, quod S. Augustinus, ‘audiens Sanctum Ambrosium de incarnatione ad populum tractantem et prædicantem, tremens ac pallens, omnibus qui aderant videntibus, obriguerit : ac etiam finita monitione, quam ad populum B. Ambrosius ministrabat, primus ad eum Augustinus pervenerit,’ etc. Adversatur enim S. Augustini et Possidii scriptis, nec potuit in mentem viri alicujus eruditi ac sapientis viri, qualis fuit hic Dacius, venire. Quare ante S. Benedictum et Teridium, S. Cæsarii Arelatensis episcopi discipulum, qui de hoc hymno in suis regulis loquuti sunt, nullus veterum illius mentionem fecit.

ⁱ Aug. Confess. lib. ix. c. xii. (Bened. 1679. vol. i. p. 169.) Dormivi et evigilavi, et non parva ex parte mitigatum inveni dolorem meum ; atque ut eram in lecto meo solus, recordatus sum veridicos versus Ambrosii tui : Tu es enim

Deus, Creator omnium,
Polique rector, etc.

I forbear to relate here at length, because I have done it in the former Book^j. Again St. Austin, in his *Retractations*^k, speaks of another hymn composed by St. Ambrose, upon the repentance of Peter, after the crowing of the cock, part of which he there relates; and says it was used to be sung by many in his time. Du Pin^l thinks most of those hymns which are now the daily office of the Roman service, are taken from St. Ambrose; but that the rest are in a different style, and owing to other authors. Particularly that the hymn *Vexilla Regis prodeunt* is none of his, which is now used in the Romish Church in the fourth week of Lent, so notorious for their kneeling down to the cross, and worshipping it in these words^m: “Hail, cross, our only hope, in this time of passion, increase the righteousness of the pious, and grant pardon of sins to the guilty.” We are sure this could not be the composition of St. Ambrose, nor any writer of that age; being so much the reverse of the practice of the ancient Church, in whose hymns, or other devotions, there is not the least footstep of worshipping the cross, or any material image of God, as has been demonstrated in a former part of this workⁿ, where the history of images has been handled *ex professo*, in considering the way of adorning the ancient churches.

—Id. de Musica, lib. vi. c. ii. (Bened. 1679. vol. i. p. 513. D.) Quamobrem tu, cum quo mihi nunc ratio est, familiaris meus, ut a corporeis ad incorporea transeamus, responde, si videtur, quum istum versum pronuntiamus, ‘Deus, Creator omnium,’ etc.—It. c. xvii. (p. 538.) Quare ille versus, a nobis propositus, ‘Deus Creator omnium,’ non solum auribus sono numeroso, sed multo magis est animæ sententiæ sanitate et veritate, gratissimus.

^j Book xiii. chap. v. sect. vii. note (j) p. 248.

^k Aug. *Retract.* lib. i. c. xxi. (Bened. 1679. vol. i. p. 32.) Cantatur ore multorum in versibus Beatissimi Ambrosii, ubi de gallo gallinaceo ait, ‘Hoc, ipsa petra ecclesiæ canente, culpam diluit.’

^l Du Pin, *Biblioth.* cent. iv. (Paris, 1689. vol. ii. pt. i. p. 859.) Celles qui sont pour l’office de tous les jours me paroissent plus certaines que les autres. On peut y joindre les Hymnes sur les six jours de la création. Il est certain que le ‘*Vexilla Regis*’ n’est point de lui, etc.

^m *Breviar. Roman.* Hebdom. iv. quadragesimæ, Die sabbati.

O crux, ave, spes unica,

Hoc Passionis tempore,

Auge piis justitiam,

Reisque dona veniam.

or,

Piis adauge gratiam,

Reisque dele crimina.

ⁿ Book viii. chap. viii. sect. vi. vol. ii. p. 511.

SECT. XI.—*The Hymns of St. Hilary, Claudianus Mamercus, and others.*

There were many other hymns, and some whole books of hymns, composed by other writers of the Church, of which we have little remaining besides the bare names: and, therefore, it will be sufficient just to mention them. St. Jerome says^o, “St. Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, composed a book of hymns:” and these, we are sure, were, many years after his death, of famous note and use in the Spanish Churches, being ratified and confirmed in the fourth Council of Toledo^p. But none of these are come to our hands, except a morning hymn prefixed before his works^q, which he sent with his epistle to his daughter Abra. It is a prayer to Christ for preservation from the perils of day and night, savouring of ancient piety, and concluding with the common glorification of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Sidonius Apollinaris^r says also that Claudianus Mamercus collected the psalms, and hymns, and lessons, proper for the festivals in the Church of Vienne, in France, and made some hymns of his own; one of which he highly commends for its elegancy, loftiness, and sweetness, as exceeding any of the ancient lyrics, in the greatness of its composure and historical truth^s. Savaro says^t, in his notes upon the place, that it is

^o Hieron. de Scriptor. Eccles. (Venet. 1766. vol. ii. p. 933.) Est ejus et ad Constantium libellus . . . et liber hymnorum.

^p Conc. Tolet. IV. c. xii. See note (i) p. 443.

^q Hilar. Epist. ad Fil. Abram. (Bened. 1693. p. 1214.) Interim tibi hymnum matutinum et serotinum misi, ut memor mei semper sis. The hymn begins thus: ‘Lucis largitor splendide,’ and ends with these words of the doxology:—

Gloria tibi, Domine,
Gloria Unigenito,
Cum Spiritu Paraclito,
Nunc et per omne sæculum.

^r Sidon. lib. iv. ep. xi. (Max. Bibl. V. P. vol. vi. p. 1096.)

Psalmorum hic modulator et phonaseus,
Ante altaria, fratre gratulante,
Instructas docuit sonare classes.
Hic solemnibus annis paravit,
Quæ quo tempore lecta convenirent.

^s Ibid. lib. iv. ep. iii. (p. 1093. E 9.) Jam vero de hymno tuo si percuntere, quid sentiam, commaticus est, copiosus, dulcis, elatus, et quoslibet lyricos dithyrambos-amœnitate pœtica et historica veritate supereminet.

^t Savaro in huic locum: Qui canitur in ecclesia, Dominica, in passione

the same which is now in the Roman Breviary : and because it answers the character which Sidonius gives it, and has none of the superstition of a modern composure in it, (such as the *Vexilla Regis*, fathered upon St. Ambrose,) I think it not improper to transcribe it in the margin here ^u, for the use of the learned reader :—and say further, that if every thing in the Roman Breviary had been in this strain, it had much more resembled the piety and simplicity of the ancient hymns, and been free from those marks of superstition and idolatry, which now it labours under, by mixing the follies of the modern superstitious admirers of the worship of the Virgin Mary and the cross, which were so great a deviation from the ancient worship, and stood so much in need of reformation. There were many other hymns for the use of particular Churches, composed by learned men, as Nepos, and Athenogenes, and Ephraem Syrus, not to mention those spoken of by Pliny and Tertullian, and frequently by Eusebius ; not those which Paulus Samosatensis caused, in his anger, to be cast out of the Church of Antioch ; not those which Sozomen ^w says were

Domini, ad laudes, et incipit, ‘Pange, lingua, gloriosi prælium certaminis,’ etc. (p. 241.)

^u Breviar. Roman. Domin. v. quadragesimæ, sive in passione Domini ad matutinum : (Prati, 1821. p. 213.)

Pange, lingua, gloriosi	Ipsè lignum tunc notavit,	Missus est ab arce Patris
Lauream certaminis,	Damna ligni ut solveret.	Natus, orbis conditor :
Et super crucis tropæo	Hoc opus nostræ salutis	Atque ventre virginali
Dic triumphum nobilem,	Ordo depoposcerat,	Carne amictus prodiit.
Qualiter Redemptor orbis	Multiformis proditoris	Vagit infans inter arcta
Immolatus vicerit.	Ars ut artem falleret ;	Conditus præsepia :
De parentis protoplasti	Et medelam ferret inde,	Membra pannis involuta
Fraude factor condolens,	Hostis unde læserat.	Virgo mater alligat ;
Quando pomi noxialis	Quando venit ergo sacri	Et Dei manus pedesque
In necem morsu corrui,	Plenitudo temporis,	Stricta cingit fascia.
Gloria et honor Deo		Sempiterna sit beatæ
Usquequaque altissimo,		Trinitati gloria :
Una Patri Filioque,	or,	Æqua Patri, Filioque,
Inclyto Paracleto,		Par decus Paracleto,
Cui laus est et potestas		Unius Trinique nomen
Per æterna sæcula. Amen.		Laudet universitas.

^w Sozom. lib. vii. c. xxiii. (Cantabr. p. 313.) Καὶ πανσάμενοι μαίνεσθαι, μετεμελοῦντο· καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ παροῦσι τοῖς ἀγγελλομένοις κακοῖς ἔστανόν τε καὶ ἐδάκρουν, καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἰκέτευσον πρᾶναι τοῦ κρατοῦντος τὴν ὀργήν, μελψδίαίς τισὶν ὀλοφυρτικῶς πρὸς τὰς λιτὰς κεχηρημένοι ἠνίκα δὴ καὶ

made upon a special occasion, when the people of Antioch had incensed Theodosius by throwing down his statues; which were both sung in the Church, and before Theodosius himself, by the singing boys, as he sat at table. Of all which we have no further account but only the bare mention of them in their several authors. As for those composed by Gregory Nazianzen, Paulinus, Prudentius, and other Christian poets, they were not designed for public use in the Church, but only to antidote men against the poison of heresies, or set forth the praises of the martyrs, or recommend the practice of virtue in a private way: for which reason I take no notice of them in this place, being only concerned to give an account of such hymns as related to the ancient psalmody, as a part of the public service of the Church. And so I have done with the first part of their worship in the *missa catechumenorum*, or ‘service of the catechumens.’

CHAPTER III.

OF THE MANNER OF READING THE SCRIPTURES IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE OF THE CHURCH.

SECT. I.—*Lessons of the Scripture sometimes mixed with Psalms and Hymns, and sometimes read after them.*

NEXT to the psalmody and hymns, we are to take a view of their way of reading the Scriptures, which was another part of the service of the catechumens, at which (as has been observed before) all sorts of persons were allowed to be present for instruction. Which is an argument of itself, sufficient (if there were no other) to prove, that they were always read in a known tongue: of which I need say no more here, because it has been so fully evinced by great variety of arguments in the

Φλαβιανός ὁ Ἀντιοχείων ἐπίσκοπος, πρεσβευόμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐτι τοῦ βασιλέως χαλεπαίνοντος, πέπεικε τοὺς παρὰ τὴν βασιλικὴν τράπεζαν ἄδειν εἰωθότας νέους, τὰς ἐν ταῖς λιταῖς τῶν Ἀντιοχείων ψαλμωδίας εἰπεῖν ἐφ’ ᾧ λέγεται φιλανθρωπία διαχυθέντα τὸν βασιλεῖα, κρατηθῆναι τῷ ἐλέφ, καὶ αὐτίκα τὴν ὀργὴν ἐκβαλεῖν, καὶ σπείσασθαι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, δάκρυσι βρέξαντα τὴν φιάλην, ἣν ἔτυχε κατέχων.

last Book. What we are now to observe further, relates to the manner and circumstances of this service. Where, first of all, it is proper to remark, that though many times the Psalms, and lessons, and hymns, were so intermixed, (as now they are in our liturgy,) that it is hard to tell which came first in order, or with which the service began; yet, in some places, it was plainly otherwise; for the Psalms were first sung all together, only with short prayers between them; and then the lessons were read by themselves, to such a number as the rules of every Church appointed. Of which I have given sufficient proof out of Cassian and St. Jerome, in the beginning of the last chapter, which may supersede all further confirmation in this place.

SECT. II.—*The Lessons read both out of the Old and New Testament, except in the Church of Rome, where only Epistle and Gospel were read.*

The next thing worthy of our observation, is the number of the lessons, which were always two, at least, and sometimes three or four; and those partly out of the Old Testament, and partly out of the New. Only the Church of Rome seems to have been a little singular in this matter; for, as Bishop Stillingfleet^a observes, out of Walafridus Strabo^b, and others of her old ritualists, for four hundred years, till the time of Pope Celestine, they had neither Psalms nor lessons out of the Old Testament read before the sacrifice, but only Epistle and Gospel. In other Churches, they had lessons out of the Old Testament, as well as the New. Cassian says^c, “In Egypt,

^a Stillingfleet, Orig. Britan. chap. iv. p. 220. How he (Baronius) can justify the ancient use of the singing psalms at Rome, either before or after Damasus's time, till Celestine was pope, I cannot imagine, if the pontifical book say true; for that expressly affirms, “that Celestine appointed David's Psalms to be sung *antiphonatum* before the sacrifice, and that it was not done before, but only the Epistles of St. Paul and the holy Gospel were read.” Which words are repeated by Alcuinus, Amalarius, Rabanus Maurus, Walafridus Strabo, Beruo Augiensis, and several other ritualists and historians.

^b Strabo, de Reb. Eccles. c. xxii. (Max. Bibl. V. P. vol. xv. p. 191: E 2.) Antiphonas ad introitum dicere Cælestinus Papa xlv. instituit, sicut legitur in Gestis Pontificum Romanorum, quum ad ejus usque tempora, ante sacrificia lectio una apostoli tantum et evangelii legeretur.

^c Cassian, lib. ii. c. vi. Quibus lectiones, etc. See note (b) p. 406, at bottom.

after the singing of the Psalms, they had two lessons read, one out of the Old Testament, and the other out of the New; only on Saturdays and Sundays, and the fifty days of Pentecost, they were both out of the New Testament, one out of the Acts of the Apostles, or the Epistles, and the other out of the Gospels." The author of the Constitutions speaks of four lessons^d, two out of Moses and the Prophets, besides the Psalms; and then two out of the Epistles, or Acts of the Apostles, and the Gospels. Again^e, he mentions the reading of the Prophets on Sundays; and, in another place^f, the Law and the Prophets, the Psalms and the Gospels. And, again, the Law and the Prophets^g, and the Epistles, and the Acts, and the Gospels. So Justin Martyr, describing the business of the Christian assemblies on the Lord's day, speaks of the reading of the writings of the prophets, as well as the apostles^h. In like manner, Chrysostom, reproving some who were very negligent at church, saysⁱ, "Tell me what prophet was read to-day, what apostle?" implying, that the one was read as well as the other. Particularly he tells us that the Book of Genesis was

^d Constitut. lib. ii. c. lvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 294. D.) Μέσον δ' ὁ ἀναγνώστης ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ τινος ἐστῶς, ἀναγινωσκέτω τὰ Μωσέως, καὶ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναυῆ, καὶ τὰ τῶν κριτῶν, καὶ τῶν βασιλειῶν, τὰ τῶν παραλειπομένων, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐπανάδου πρὸς τούτοις τὰ τοῦ Ἰώβ, καὶ τοῦ Σολομῶνος, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἑκαταεκάτα προφητῶν ἀνὰ δύο δὲ γινομένων ἀναγνωσμάτων, ἕτερός τις τοῦς τοῦ Δαβὶδ ψαλλέτω ἕμνους, καὶ ὁ λαὸς τὰ ἀκροστίχια ὑποψαλλέτω μετὰ τοῦτο αἱ πράξεις αἱ ἡμέτεραι ἀναγινωσκέσθωσαν, καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ Παύλου, ἃς ἐπέστειλε ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καθ' ὑφήγησιν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα διάκονος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἀναγινωσκέτω τὰ εὐαγγέλια, κ. τ. λ.

^e Ibid. lib. ii. c. lix. (vol. i. p. 330. C.) Ἐν ἧ (ἡμέρᾳ κυριακῇ) προφητῶν ἀνάγνωσις, καὶ εὐαγγελίου κηρυκία, καὶ θυσίας ἀναφορά, καὶ τροφῆς ἱερᾶς δωρεά.

^f Ibid. lib. v. c. xix. (vol. i. p. 366. C.) Ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ συναθροιζόμενοι γρηγορεῖτε προσευχόμενοι καὶ δεόμενοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐν τῇ διανυκτερεύσει ὑμῶν, ἀναγινώσκοντες τὸν νόμον, τοὺς προφῆτας, τοὺς ψαλμοὺς, μέχρις ἀλεκτρούνων κραυγῆς, καὶ βαπτίσαντες ὑμῶν τοὺς κατηχουμένους, καὶ ἀναγνόντες τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐν φόβῳ, καὶ τρόμφῳ.

^g Ibid. lib. viii. c. v. (vol. i. p. 463. A.) Μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν, τῶν τε ἐπιστολῶν ἡμῶν, καὶ τῶν πράξεων, καὶ τῶν εὐαγγελίων, ἀσπασάσθω ὁ χειροτονηθεὶς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

^h Justin. Mart. Apol. i. (1742. p. 83.) See note (b) p. 354.

ⁱ Chrysostom. Hom. xxiv. in Roman. (Bened. vol. ix. p. 697. E 6.) Ὁ μάτην ἐνταῦθα εἰσελθὼν, εἰπέ τις προφήτης, τίς ἀπόστολος σήμερον διελέχηθ' ἡμῖν, καὶ περὶ τίνων.

always read in Lent ; of which more by-and-by, in the following observation. St. Basil, in one of his homilies on baptism in Lent^j, takes notice of the several lessons that were read that day, besides the Psalms, whereof one was out of Isaiah i., the second out of Acts ii., and the third out of Matt. xi. And, in another homily^k, he speaks of the Psalms and Proverbs, and Epistles and Gospels, as read that day. Maximus Taurinensis, in one of his homilies upon the Epiphany, says^l, “ The lessons were out of Isaiah lx., Matt. ii., and John i., for that festival.” St. Austin sometimes only mentions Epistle and Gospel ; but, in other places, he expressly mentions the reading of the Prophets, and particularly mentions the prophet Micah^m, and those words of chap. vi. “ What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?” which were the theme for his discourse upon the lesson for the day. In the French Churches,

^j Basil. Hom. xiii. de Bapt. (Bened. 1721. vol. ii. p. 114.) Σὺ δὲ, διὰ προφητῶν διδασκόμενος, Λούσασθε, καθαροὶ γίνεσθε· διὰ ψαλμῶν νοουθετούμενος, Προσέλθετε πρὸς αὐτὸν, φωτίσθητε· δι’ ἀποστόλων εὐαγγελιζόμενος, Μετανοήσατε καὶ βαπτισθήτω ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ λήψεσθε τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος· ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου προσλαμβανόμενος, λέγοντος, Δεῦτε πρὸς με πάντες οἱ κοπιῶντες, καὶ πεφορτισμένοι, κἀγὼ ἀναπαύσω ὑμᾶς. ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα σήμερον συνέδραμε πρὸς τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν, κ. τ. λ.

^k Basil. Hom. xxi. in Laëzizis. (Bened. 1721. vol. ii. p. 587. B.) Ἐπιπέλασθε μοι τὰς μνήμας τῶν ἐξ ἑθνητοῦ παραγνωσθέντων ὑμῶν λογίων πνευματικῶν, διδασκαλίας ψυχοφελείας, θεραπείας ψυχῶν· μνήσθητε τῶν ψαλμικῶν διδαγμάτων· συναγάγετέ μοι τὰς παροιμιώδεις ὑποθήκας· ἐρευνήσατε τῶν ἱστοριῶν τὸ κάλλος· πρόσθετε τούτοις τὰς ἀποστολικὰς παραινέσεις· ἐπιπᾶσιν, οἰονεὶ κορωνίδα, ἐπέθετε τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν ῥημάτων τὴν μνήμην, κ. τ. λ.

^l Maxim. Taurin. Hom. iv. in Epiphan. (Max. Bibl. Patr. V. P. vol. vi. pp. 10, 11.) Ait Prophetarum præcipuus Esaias, sicut audistis, fratres carissimi, ‘ Illuminare, illuminare Hierusalem,’ etc. . . . Ait namque Beatissimus Matthæus Evangelista, ‘ Ecce Magi ab oriente advenerunt, dicentes,’ etc. . . . Judæus Christum videt, invidet, sicut lectum est, ‘ In sua venit, et sui eum non receperunt.’

^m Aug. Hom. cccxxvi. de Temp. (Bened. 1700. vol. v. p. 190.) Memini, superiore Dominico quod proniserim. Quum enim de sancto propheta quod lectum fuerat, aliquid exponere voluissem ; lectum autem fuerat, quærenti homini quibus sacrificiis placaret Deum ; renuntiatum esse, Nihil ab illo Deum quærere, nisi facere iudicium et justitiam, et diligere misericordiam, paratumque esse ire cum Domino Deo suo. (Max. Bibl. V. P. vol. vi. p. 10 and 11, at top.)

there is still more evidence for this practice: for Cæsarius Arelatensis, in one of his homilies, cited by Mabillon, uses this argument to the people, why they should stay the whole time of divine serviceⁿ: “Because the lessons were not so properly called *Missa*, or ‘divine service,’ as was the oblation, or consecration, of the body and blood of Christ; for they might read at home, or hear others read, the lessons, whether out of the prophets, or apostles, or evangelists; but they could not hear or see the consecration any where else but only in the house of God.” Where it is plainly implied, that the lessons were then read in the church, as well out of the Prophets as the Epistles and Gospels. And so in the relation of the conference between the Catholics and Arians, in the time of Gundobadus, king of Burgundy, which we have had occasion to mention before, out of the same learned writer^o, it is said, that in the vigil held the night before the conference, four lessons were read, one out of Moses, another out of the prophet Isaiah, a third out of the Gospel, and the last out of the Epistles. And in the old *Lectionarium Gallicanum*, published by Mabillon, there is always a lesson out of the Old Testament before the Epistle and Gospel. And on the *Sabbatum Sanctum*, or ‘Saturday before Easter^p,’ there are no less than twelve lessons appointed out of Genesis, Exodus, Joshua, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and Jonah, beside the Epistle and Gospel which follow after. It further appears, from the Canons of the Council of Laodicea^q, and the third Council of Car-

ⁿ Cæsarius Arelat. de non Recedendo ab Ecclesia, etc. ap. Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallican. lib. i. c. iv. n. iv. (Paris. 1685. p. 28.) Non tunc fiunt missæ, quando divinæ lectiones in ecclesia recitantur, sed quando munera offeruntur, et corpus vel sanguis Domini consecratur: nam lectiones, sive propheticas, sive apostolicas, sive evangelicas, etiam in domibus vestris aut ipsi legere, aut alios legentes audire potestis; consecrationem vero corporis et sanguinis Domini non alibi nisi in domo Dei audire vel videre poteritis.

^o See note (1) p. 423.

^p Lection. Gallican. ap. Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallic. lib. ii. pp. 137—140.

^q Conc. Laodic. c. lix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1507.) “Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικοὺς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐδὲ ἀκανόνιστα βιβλία, ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ κανονικὰ τῆς καινῆς καὶ παλαιᾶς διαθήκης. — Can. lx. “Ὅσα δεῖ βιβλία ἀναγινώσκεισθαι τῆς Παλαιᾶς Διαθήκης· α’ Γένεσις κόσμου. β’ Ἐξοδος ἐξ Αἰγύπτου. γ’ Δευτερικόν. δ’ Ἀριθμοί. ε’ Δευτερονόμιον. ς’ Ἰησοῦς Ναυῆ. ζ’ Κριταί. ρούθ. η’ Ἐσθήρ. θ’ Βασιλειῶν α’, β’. ι’ Βασιλειῶν γ’, δ’.

thage^r, and St. Cyril's Catechetical Discourses, that all the books of the Old Testament were then read in the Church, as well as the New; for they give us catalogues of what books might, or might not, be read in the Church; among which all the books of the Old Testament are specified as such as were then actually read in the public service; and Cyril^s allows his catechumens to read no other books in private but the books of the Old and New Testament, which he thought they might safely read, because they were both publicly read in the Church.

SECT. III.—*Proper Lessons for certain Times and Festivals.*

The next observation to be made is, upon their method of reading the Scriptures; which seems always to be done by some rule, though this might vary in different Churches. St. Austin^t tells us there were some lessons so fixed and appro-

ια' Παραλειπόμενα α', β'. ιβ' Ἐσδρας α', β'. ιγ' Βίβλος Ψαλμῶν ρν'. ιδ' Παροιμίαι Σολομῶντος. ιε' Ἐκκλησιαστής. ις' Ἄσμα ἁσμάτων. ιζ' Ἰώβ. ιη' Δώδεκα Προφήται. ιθ' Ἡσαίας. κ' Ἱερემίας καὶ Βαροῦχ, Θρηνοὶ καὶ Ἐπιστολαί. κα' Ἰεζεκὴλ. κβ' Δανιήλ. Τὰ δὲ τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης, ταῦτα· Εὐαγγέλια τέσσαρα, κατὰ Ματθαῖον, κατὰ Μάρκον, κατὰ Λουκᾶν, κατὰ Ἰωάννην. Πράξεις Ἀποστόλων. Ἐπιστολαὶ καθολικαὶ ἑπτὰ, οὕτως· Ἰακώβου μία, Πέτρου δύο, Ἰωάννου τρεῖς, Ἰούδα μία, Ἐπιστολαὶ Παύλου δεκατέσσαρες· πρὸς Ῥωμαίους μία, πρὸς Κορινθίους δύο, πρὸς Γαλάτας μία, πρὸς Ἐφεσίους μία, πρὸς Φιλιππησίους μία, πρὸς Κολοσσαεῖς μία, πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς δύο, πρὸς Ἑβραίους μία, πρὸς Τιμόθεον δύο, πρὸς Τίτον μία, πρὸς Φιλήμονα μία.

^r Conc. Carth. III. c. xlvi. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1178.) Placuit, ut præter scripturas canonicas, nihil in ecclesia legatur sub nomine divinarum scripturarum. Sunt autem canonicæ scripturæ, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium, Jesus Nave, Judicum, Ruth, Regnorum libri quatuor, Paralipomenon libri duo, Job, Psalterium Davidicum, Salomonis libri quinque, libri duodecim Prophetarum, Isaias, Jeremias, Ezechiel, Daniel, Tobias, Judith, Esther, Esdræ libri duo, Macchabæorum libri duo. Novi autem Testamenti, evangeliorum libri quatuor, Actuum Apostolorum liber unus, Pauli apostoli epistolæ tredecim, ejusdem ad Hebræos una: Petri apostoli duæ, Joannis apostoli tres, Judæ apostoli una, et Jacobi una, Apocalypsis Joannis, liber unus.

^s Cyril. Catech. iv. n. xxii. (Venet. 1763. p. 69. D.) Τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάντα ἔξω κείσθω ἐν δευτέρῳ· καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐν ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ἀναγινώσκειται, ταῦτα μηδὲ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἀναγινώσκει, καθὼς ἤκουσας.

^t Aug. Exposit. in I Epist. Joh. in Præfat. (Bened. 1679. vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 326.) tom. ix. p. 235. (p. 575. edit. Basil. 1569.) Meminit Sanctitas vestra Evangelium secundum Joannem, ex ordine lectionum, nos solere tractare: sed

priated to certain times and seasons, that no others might be read in their stead. And he particularly instances in the festival of Easter, when, for four days successively, the history of Christ's resurrection ^u was read out of the four Gospels. On the day of his Passion ^x, they read the history of his sufferings out of St. Matthew's Gospel only. And all the time between Easter and Pentecost, he says ^y, "they read the Acts of the Apostles." This last particular is frequently mentioned by St. Chrysostom, who has a whole sermon to give an account of the reasons of it. There he takes notice of many things together relating to this matter of reading the lessons by rule and order. First, he tells us ^z "how, by the appointment of the Church, on the day of our Saviour's passion all such Scriptures were read as had any relation to the cross; then how, on the great

quia nunc interposita est sollemnitas sanctorum dierum, quibus certas ex Evangelio lectiones oportet in Ecclesia recitari, quæ ita sunt annuæ, ut aliæ esse non possint; ordo ille quem susceperamus, necessitate paullulum intermissus est, non amissus.

^u Aug. Serm. cxxxix. de Tempore. In die sancto Paschæ. (vol. v. p. 1001.) Per hos dies, sicut recolit Caritas Vestra, sollemniter leguntur Evangelicæ lectiones, ad resurrectionem Domini pertinentes.—Serm. cxl. eodem die. (Ibid. p. 989.) Hesterno die, id est, nocte, lecta est ex Evangelio resurrectio Salvatoris. Lecta est autem ex evangelio secundum Matthæum. Hodie vero, sicut audistis pronuntiare lectorem, recitata est nobis Domini resurrectio, sicut Lucas evangelista conscribit.—Serm. exci. eodem die. † Resurrectio Domini nostri Jesu Christi ex more legitur, his diebus, ex omnibus libris sancti evangelii.—Serm. exciv. Feria tertia Paschæ. † Resurrectio Domini nostri Jesu Christi et hodie recitata est: sed de altero libro Evangelii, qui est secundum Lucam. Primo enim lecta est secundum Matthæum; hesternæ autem die, secundum Marcum; hodie, secundum Lucam.—Serm. cxlviii. Feria quarta Paschæ. (vol. v. p. 1026.) Et hodie lectio recitata est de his quæ facta sunt post resurrectionem Domini, secundum evangelistam Johannem. (See Augustin. vol. v. p. 997. F 2; and p. 1024. E.)

^x Ibid. Serm. cxliii. de Tempore, (p. 915, edit. Basil.) Passio, quia uno die legitur, non solet legi, nisi secundum Matthæum.

^y Ibid. Tract. vi. in Joan. tom. ix. (Bened. 1679. vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 337. G.) Actus Apostolorum testes sunt: ille liber canonicus omni anno in ecclesia recitandus. Anniversaria sollemnitate post passionem Domini, nostis illum librum recitari: ubi scriptum est, quomodo conversus sit Apostolus, et ex persecutore prædicator factus.

^z Chrysostom. Hom. lxxiii. Cur in Pentecoste Acta legantur. (Bened. 1718. vol. iii. p. 88. A 10.) Ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ σταυροῦ τὰ περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ πάντα ἀναγινώσκομεν. ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ πάλιν, ὅτι παρεδόθη ἡμῶν ὁ Κύριος, ὅτι ἐσταυρώθη, ὅτι ἀπέθανε τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ὅτι ἐτάφη.

Sabbath, or Saturday before Easter, they read all such portions of Scripture as contained the history of his being betrayed, crucified, dead, and buried." He adds also ^a, "that on Easter-day they read such passages as gave an account of his resurrection; and on every festival the things that related to that festival." But it seemed a difficulty, why then the Acts of the Apostles, which contain the history of their miracles done after Pentecost, should not rather be read after Pentecost than before it? To this he answers, "that the miracles of the apostles, contained in that book, were the great demonstration of our Saviour's resurrection; and, therefore, the Church appointed that book to be read always between Easter and Pentecost, immediately after our Saviour's resurrection, to give men the evidences and proofs of that holy mystery, which was the completion of their redemption: so that though the lessons for other festivals related the things that were done at those festivals, yet, for a particular reason, the Acts of the Apostles, which contained the history of things done after Pentecost, were read before Pentecost, because they were more proper for the time immediately following our Saviour's resurrection." And upon this account it became a general rule over the whole Church to read the Acts at this time, as not only Chrysostom testifies here, but in many other places of his writings. In his Homily upon those words, "Saul yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples," (Acts ix.) he gives this reason why he could not preach in

^a Chrysostom. Hom. lxxiii. Cur in Pentecoste Acta legantur. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 89. D 7.) "Ὡσπερ γὰρ τὰ περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἀναγινώσκομεν, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει ὁμοίως, καὶ τὰ ἐν ἐκάστῃ ἑορτῇ γεγονότα τῇ αὐτῇ πάλιν ἀναγινώσκομεν, οὕτως ᾄδει καὶ τὰ θαύματα τὰ ἀποστολικὰ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν ἀποστολικῶν σημείων ἀναγινώσκεσθαι τίνος οὖν ἔνεκεν οὐ τότε αὐτὰ ἀναγινώσκομεν, ἀλλ' εὐθέως μετὰ τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν, ἀκούσετε μετὰ ἀκριβείας τὴν αἰτίαν ἕπασαν. μετὰ τὸν σταυρὸν εὐθέως ἀνάστασιν καταγγέλλομεν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῆς δὲ ἀναστάσεως ἀπόδειξις ἐστὶ τὰ σημεία τὰ ἀποστολικὰ, τῶν δὲ σημείων ἀποστολικῶν διδασκαλεῖον ἐστὶ τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον· ὃ τοίνυν μάλιστα πιστοῦται τὴν ἀνάστασιν τὴν δεσποτικὴν, τοῦτο μετὰ τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὴν ζωηφόρον ἀνάστασιν εὐθέως οἱ πατέρες ἐνομοθέτησαν ἀναγινώσκεσθαι διὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν, ἀγαπητοί, μετὰ τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν εὐθέως ἀναγινώσκομεν τὰ σημεία τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἵνα ἔχωμεν σαφῆ καὶ ἀναμφισβήτητον τῆς ἀναστάσεως τὴν ἀπόδειξιν.

order upon every part of that book^b: “Because the law of the Church commanded it to be read after Pentecost, and the reading of it to conclude with the end of the present festival.” In another place he says^c, “It was appointed by law to be read on that festival, and not usually read in any other part of the year.” And in another place he gives this reason why he broke off his sermons upon Genesis in the Passion Week^d, “Because the intervention of other solemnities obliged him to preach then upon other subjects, agreeable to what was read in the Church, as against the traitor Judas, and upon the passion, and our Saviour’s resurrection; at which time he took in hand the Acts of the Apostles, and preached upon them from Easter to Pentecost.” Cassian^e says, the same order was observed among the Egyptians. And it appears from the ancient *Lectionarium Gallicanum*, that it was so in the French Churches; for there, almost on every day between Easter and Pentecost, except the rogation days and some few others, two lessons are ordered to be read out of the Apocalypse, and the Acts of the Apostles. Whence it may be concluded further, that the reading of the Apocalypse was also, in a great measure, appropriated to this season in the Gallican Church. And so it was in the Spanish Churches by an order of the fourth Council of Toledo, which enjoins the reading of it^f, in this interval, under pain of excommunication. In Lent they usually read the Book of Genesis, as is plain from Chrysostom, whose famous Homilies, called *ἀνδριάντες*, because they are about the statues of the emperor, which the people of Antioch had sedi-

^b Ibid. Hom. xlvii. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 102. B.) Τῶν πατέρων ὁ νόμος κελεύει μετὰ τὴν Πεντηκοστὴν ἀποτίθεσθαι τὸ βιβλίον, καὶ τῷ τέλει τῆς ἑορτῆς ταύτης συγκαταλύεται καὶ ἡ τοῦ βιβλίου ἀνάγνωσις.

^c Chrysostom. Hom. xlviii. in Inscriptionem Altaris, Act. xvii. (Bened. 1718. vol. iii. p. 54. B 7.) Σήμερον βουλόμεθα ἀπὸ τῶν Πράξεων τῶν Ἀποστόλων εἰπεῖν. . . . δεῖ τοίνυν ἐξετάσαι, τίς ὁ γράφας, καὶ πότε ἔγραψε, καὶ περὶ τίνων, καὶ τίνος ἔνεκεν τῇ ἑορτῇ ταύτῃ νενομοθέτηται αὐτὸ ἀναγινώσκεισθαι· τάχα γὰρ οὐκ ἀκούετε διὰ παντὸς τοῦ ἔτους ἀναγινωσκομένου τοῦ βιβλίου.

^d Ibid. Hom. xxxiii. in Genes. See p. 273, note (h).

^e Cassian. lib. ii. c. vi. See part of note (b) p. 406. In die vero sabbati, etc.

^f Conc. Tolet. IV. c. xvii. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1711. A 12.) Si quis Apocalypsin a Pascha usque ad Pentecosten missarum tempore in ecclesia non predicaverit, excommunicationis sententiam habebit.

tiously thrown down, were preached in Lent. And in one of these he says ^g, “ He would preach upon the book that had been read that day, which was the Book of Genesis ; and the first words, ‘ In the beginning, God created heaven and earth,’ were the subject of his discourse.” In another sermon, preached upon the same text in the beginning of Lent, he says ^h, “ The words had been read in the lesson that day.” And for this very reason, he preached two whole Lents upon the Book of Genesis, because it was then read, of course, in the church ; for the thirty-two first of those homilies were preached at Constantinople in Lent, in the third year after he was made bishop (ann. 400, or 401) ; but the festivals of the Passion, and Easter, and Pentecost, coming on, this subject was interrupted, and he preached upon other subjects, as he himself tells us ⁱ, suitable to those occasions. Afterward he resumed his former work, and finished his Comment upon Ge-

^g Chrysostom. Hom. vii. ad Popul. Antioch. (Bened. Paris. 1837. vol. ii. p. 100. E 8.) Τὸ σήμερον ἡμῖν ἀναγνωσθὲν μεταχειρισθῆναι βιβλίον καὶ εἰ δοκεῖ, τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ προοίμιον, ὃ δοκεῖ μάλιστα, μηδὲ ἕχνος ἐμφαίνειν παραμυθίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθόλου παρακλητικῶν ἀλλοτριουῖσθαι λόγων, εἰς μέσον προθεῖς, ὃ λέγω, ποιήσω φανερόν. Τί ποτ’ οὖν ἐστι τὸ προοίμιον; Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, κ. τ. λ.

^h Ibid. Serm. i. in Genes. (Bened. 1718. vol. iv. p. 645. D.) Λεπτοτέρων κατατολμῆσωμεν νοημάτων, περὶ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ γῆς, καὶ θαλάττης, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ τῆς κτίσεως φιλοσοφοῦντες σώματος ταῦτα γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀνεγνώσθη σήμερον.

ⁱ Ibid. Hom. xxxiii. in Genes. (Bened. vol. iv. p. 232. C 6.) Ἀνέβη δὲ Ἀβρὰμ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάντα τὰ αὐτοῦ, καὶ Δὼτ μετ’ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ἐνταῦθα τὸν λόγον καταλύσαντες, τὰς μεταξὺ πάσας ἡμέρας εἰς τὴν περὶ τῶν κατεπειγόντων διδασκαλίαν αὐτὸν μετηγάγομεν. Vid. etiam p. 369, cit. lib. xiii. c. v. sect. ii. — Severian. Gabalens. Hom. i. in Genes. ap. Combefis. Auctar. Noviss. p. 214. Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. Οἶδα μενοῦν, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι τὰ λεπτὰ ταῦτα ζητήματα δυσχερῆ φαίνεται ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν διανοίαις· ἀλλὰ δεῖ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ νηστείας νηφούσαις μᾶλλον ταῖς ψυχαῖς περὶ τῶν βαθυτέρων νοημάτων διαλέγεσθαι. — Aug. Serm. lxxi. de Tempore. (Bened. 1700. vol. v. p. 10.) Lectio illa, fratres carissimi, in qua beatus Abraham Isaac filium suum in holocaustum legitur obtulisse, ideo in ordine suo, diebus quadragesimæ, non recitatur ; quia, sicut ipsi nostis, in vigiliis Paschæ propter sacramentum Dominicæ passionis reservatur. Et quia tunc non est in spatio, ut de ista possit aliquid dici, nunc, si videtur, expositionem ejus, secundum quod eam patres nostri, inspirante Domino, tractaverunt, Caritatis vestræ auribus, quantum possumus, breviter intimemus.

nesis, in thirty-two sermons more, in the year ensuing: which makes it plain, that Genesis was then read in Lent, as the Acts were in Pentecost; and that Chrysostom conformed his discourses according to the order of reading then established in the Church. It appears further from St. Ambrose, that the Book of Job and Jonah were both read in the Passion Week; for, speaking of a sermon which he made to the people at this time, he says^k, “Ye have heard, children, the Book of Job read, which is, in course, appointed to be read at this time.” And again, says he^l, “The Book of Jonah was read;” that is, as Pagi critically remarks^m, on the third day of the Passion Week. And that this was an ancient rule of the Church, appears from Origen’s Comment upon Job, which, St. Jerome saysⁿ, St. Hilary translated into Latin; for there he not only tells us^o, that the Book of Job was read in the Church in the Passion Week, but also gives us the reason of it, because it was a time of fasting and abstinence; a time, in which they that fasted and abstained, had, as it were, a sort of fellow-suffering with admirable Job; a time in which men, by fasting and abstinence, followed after the passion of Christ Jesus our Lord: and because the passion of Job was, in a great measure,

^k Ambros. Epist. xxxiii. ad Marcellin. Soror. (Paris. 1336. vol. iv. p. 268.) Audistis, filii, librum Job legi, qui solemnī munere est decursus et tempore.

^l Ibid. p. 162. Sequenti die, lectus est de more liber Jonæ.

^m Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 387, n. v. (Luceæ, vol. v. p. 618.) Postea ait ‘Sequenti die’ (nempe feria tertia, die xxxi. Martii, non autem feria secunda, ut putavit Baronius) ‘lectus est de more Jonæ,’ etc.

ⁿ Hieron. cont. Vigilant. † In conventu ecclesiæ, in diebus sanctis legitur passio Job, in diebus jejunii, in diebus abstinentiæ, in diebus, in quibus tamquam compatiuntur ei, qui jejunant et abstinent, admirabili illo Job, in diebus, in quibus in jejuniō et abstinentia sanctam Domini nostri Jesu Christi passionem sectamur: ut terribilem ejus passionem transeuntes ad beatam ejus resurrectionem venire mereamur, compassi nunc, ut et conregnemus, condolentes modo in tempore passionis, ut et congaudeamus post hoc in tempore resurrectionis. Quam passionem Dominus noster Jesus Christus ad terras veniens in humano corpore sustinuit pro omnium hominum salute, ut per passionem sane mortem interficeret, per resurrectionem vero suam recidivam vitam cunctis ostenderet. Cujus passionis atque resurrectionis Domini formam atque exemplum quia Job passio in multis gerebat, sicut ei, qui diligentius requisierunt, repererunt, merito etiam nunc in diebus passionis, in diebus sanctificationis, in diebus jejunii, beati Job passio legitur, meditatur atque scrutatur.

^o Orig. in Job. lib. i. p. 366. (p. 227. E, F, edit. Paris. 1604.)

a type and example of the passion and resurrection of Christ, therefore the history of Job's passion was with good reason read and meditated upon, in these days of passion, these days of sanctification, these days of fasting. Thus far Origen; but, in the *Lectionarium Gallicanum*^p, there is no mention of the Book of Job, but only of Jonah, on the *Sabbatum magnum*, or 'Saturday before Easter-day^q.' St. Jerome seems to say, that the prophet Hosea was also read on the vigil of our Saviour's Passion; for he mentions a long discourse of Pierius, which he had read, made by that martyr on the beginning of that book, in an elegant but extemporary style, on the vigil before the Passion. St. Chrysostom^r, in one of his homilies upon the Gospel of St. John, which he was then expounding, advises his auditors "to read at home, in the week days before, such portions of the Gospel as they knew were to be read and expounded on the Lord's day following in the church," which implies some certain rule and order. So that, though we have not any complete *lectionarium*, or 'calendar of lessons,' now remaining, yet we are sure their reading of Scripture was some way methodized and brought under rule, especially for the greater solemnities and festivals of the church. The first calendar of this kind is thought by some to be Hippolytus's *Canon Paschalis*, which, as I have showed before^s, no less men than Scaliger and Gothofred take to be a rule appointing lessons proper for the festivals. But Bucherius and others give another account of it, which leaves the matter uncertain.

^p *Lectiones Gallic.* ap. Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallic. p. 139. *Lectio Jonæ prophetæ.* Tempore illo factum est verbum Domini ad Jonam, filium Amathi, dicens, 'Surge, vade in Niniven,' etc.

^q Hieron. Procem. in Hoseam, ad Pammach. (Venet. vol. vi. p. 23.) Pierii legi tractatum longissimum, quem in exordio hujus prophetæ (Hosæ) die vigiliarum Dominicæ passionis, extemporaliter et disertis sermone, profudit.

^r Chrysostom. Hom. x. in Joan. al. xi. (Bened. 1718. vol. viii. p. 62. B.) *Τί ποτ' οὖν ἐστίν, ὑπερ αἰτοῦμαι ὑμᾶς; κατὰ μίαν σαββάτων, ἢ καὶ κατὰ σάββατον, τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐν ὑμῖν ἀναγνωσθῆσεσθαι τῶν εὐαγγελίων περικοπήν, ταύτην πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν μετὰ χεῖρας λαμβάνων ἕκαστος οἶκοι καθήμενος ἀναγνωσκέτω συνεχῶς, καὶ πολλάκις περισκοπέτω μετὰ ἀκριβείας τὰ ἐγκείμενα, καὶ βασανίζέτω ταῦτα καλῶς· καὶ τί μὲν σαφές, τί δὲ ἄδηλον σημειούσθω· τί δὲ αὐτῶν ἐναντίον εἶναι δοκοῦν, οὐκ ὄν δέ· καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς διακωδωνίσαντες, οὕτως ἀπαντᾶτε πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόασιν.*

^s Book xiii. chap. v. sect. vi.

There goes also, under the name of St. Jerome, a book, called his *Comes* or *Lectionarium*. But critics^t of the best rank reckon this a counterfeit, and the work of a much later writer, because it mentions lessons out of the prophets and Old Testament; whereas, in St. Jerome's time, as we have noted before, there were no lessons read besides Epistles and Gospels in the Church of Rome. However, some time after, there were several books of this kind composed for the use of the French Churches. Sidonius Apollinaris says^u, Claudius Mamercus made one for the Church of Vienne (an. 453). And Gennadius says^v, Musæus made another for the Church of Marseilles about the year 458. But both these are now lost; and the oldest of this kind is the *Lectionarium Gallicanum*, which Mabilion lately published from a manuscript, which he judges, by the hand, to be above a thousand years old, but wrote after the time of Gregory the Great, because it mentions the festival of Genovefa^w, who is supposed to live after his time. But though

^t Stillingfleet, Orig. Britan. chap. iv. (Lond. 1685. p. 229.) Nothing but the Epistle and Gospel were read at Rome, as is showed already; which manifests that the book under St. Jerome's name, called the 'Lectionarius,' or 'Comes,' must be counterfeit; because therein lessons out of the prophets are set down: and the authorities of Berno Augiensis, Micrologus, and Radulphus Tungrensis, which are the best Pamelius could find, are not great enough against so plain evidence to the contrary, to prove this 'Lectionarius' to have been made by St. Jerome. And he confesses, that Amalarius several times only mentions the 'Auctor Lectionarii' without St. Jerome's name, who lived a good while before them.—Cave, Hist. Litt. (Basil. 1741. vol. i. p. 274.) Comes sive Lectionarius exstat apud Pameliū Liturgicorum, tom. ii. Præfationem hujus libri extulit Dacherius, Spicileg. tom. xiii. Hunc Comitē multo, quam editus sit a Pamelio, ampliorem se habuisse, testatus est Cornelius Scultingius. Citatur sub Hieronymi nomine, tituloque Comitē et Lectionarii in Micrologo, c. xxv.; Bernone Augiensi, c. i.; Hugone de S. Victore, de Offic. Eccles. lib. ii. c. xi. Plura de hoc libro habet Cardinalis Bona, (Rer. Liturgic. lib. ii. c. vi. sect. ii.) qui illum Hieronymo, sed levi quidem argumento nixus, adserere conatur.

^u Sidon. lib. iv. ep. xi.

Hic solemnibus annis paravit,

Quæ quo tempore lecta convenirent.—See p. 470, note (r).

^v Gennad. de Scriptor. c. lxxix. (Bened. Veron. vol. ii. p. 981.) Excerpsit de scripturis lectiones totius anni festivis diebus aptas; responsoria psalmodum capitula, temporibus et lectionibus congruentia.

^w Lection. Gallic. ap. Mabil. p. 114. Legenda infesto S. Genovevæ virginis, etc.

we have no more ancient calendar now remaining, yet the authorities alleged before do indisputably evince the thing itself, that the lessons of Scripture were generally appropriated to times and seasons, according as the festivals required : and for the rest, they were either read in order as they lie in the Bible, as Mabillon ^x shows from the rules of Cæsarius and Aurelian : or else were arbitrarily appointed by the bishops at discretion, as sometimes particular psalms were upon emergent occasions, according to the observation that has been made in speaking of that subject ^y. St. Austin ^z says expressly, he sometimes ordered a lesson to be read agreeable to the subject of the Psalm upon which he was preaching. And Ferrarius ^a gives

^x Mabillon. de Curs. Gallic. p. 406, n. 34. Qua ratione ordinata fuerint Massiliæ divina officia, non liquet : at de Arelatensi ritu conjectare possumus ex regulis Cæsarii et Aureliani, qui longe diversum a Lugdunensi modum præscribunt. Ambo vero duos tantum Nocturnos passim in Vigiliis nocturnis adsignant, et lectiones uterque Missas appellant. Et tria quidem folia ad unamquamque exigit Cæsarius ; tres aut quatuor paginas, pro mensura libri, Aurelianus.

^y See page 427.

^z Aug. in Psalm. xc. Serm. ii. p. 412. (Bened. 1700. vol. iv. p. 729.) Propterea fecimus ipsam lectionem evangelii recitari, ubi Dominus tentatus est, per ea verba psalmi, quæ hæc audistis.

^a Ferrar. de Ritu Concion. lib. i. c. xvii. Inscriptio capitis hæc est : ‘ Pro communi ac determinata alicujus diei lectione, sive apostolica sive evangelica, seligebatur aliquando peculiaris aliqua et tempori maxime congruens particula, quam tractandam susceperent concionatores.’ Ipsum caput sic habet : ‘ Vere nos hæc quidem hæctenus.’ Verum tamen si quis dixerit, pro communi ac determinata alicujus diei, sive ex evangelio, sive ex apostolo, lectione, fecisse aliquando concionatores, ut peculiaris aliqua lectio fuerit, quæ esset congruens et accommodata ei argumento, quod ipsi tractandum suscepissent ; non is, mea quidem sententia, a vero longe abibit. Etenim apud Augustinum, in Serm. exxi. de Diversis, ita scriptum invenias : (vol. v. p. 988.) ‘ In memoria retinentes pollicitationem nostram, congruas etiam ex evangelio et apostolo fecimus recitari lectiones.’ Et in sermone xxiii. de Verbis Domini secundum Matthæum, ait : (vol. v. p. 349.) ‘ Hesterno die qui adfuitis, promissionem nostram tenetis : quæ hodie non solum vobis sed pluribus etiam qui conveniunt, Domino adjuvante, reddenda est. Quæ sint decem virgines, quarum sint quinque prudentes, et quinque stultæ, non facile indagari potest. Verumtamen secundum ea, quæ continet ipsa lectio, quam Caritati vestræ etiam hodie volui recitari,’ etc. Et in tractatu xii. in Joannis Evangelium : (vol. iii. p. 279.) ‘ Meminit Caritas vestra, Dominico præterito, quantum Dominus adjuvare dignatus est, disseruisse nos de spiritali regeneratione ; quam lectionem vobis iterum legi fecimus, ut quæ tunc non dicta sunt, in Christi nomine adjuvantibus orationibus vestris impleamus.’ (p. 307.) Chrysologus etiam hoc eleganter

several other instances, both out of St. Austin^b and Chrysologus^c, to the same purpose, which need not here be repeated.

SECT. IV.—*By whom the Scriptures were anciently read in the Church.*

The next question may be concerning the persons, by whom the Scriptures were publicly read in the church; which is a question that has been, in some measure, answered before, in speaking of the order of Readers^d: where I showed, that for the first two centuries, before the order of Readers was instituted, it is probable the Scriptures were read by the deacons; or else, in imitation of the Jewish Church, by such as the bishop or president, for that time, appointed. But, in the time of St. Cyprian, it was the peculiar office of the Readers, which were become an inferior order of the clergy, to read all the lessons of Scripture, and even the Gospel, as well as other parts; as appears from several of Cyprian's epistles^e. Here I must add, that in after-ages, the reading of the Gospel was, in some Churches, confined to the office of the deacons and presbyters; for so the author of the Constitutions words it^f:

expressit in serm. lxvi. 'Duas hodie a duobus evangelistis editas ita recitare fecimus lectiones, ut sermoni nostro vester intellectus occurreret, paterent abdita,' etc. Et in sermone exviii. 'Quoniam tota spes fidei Christianæ in resurrectione constituta est mortuorum, ne quisquam de ea ausus sit dubitare; beati Pauli, assententis eam auctoritate, rebus, exemplis, latissimam recitare vobis fecimus lectionem.' etc. (p. 352.)

^b See preceding note (a).

^c Chrysolog. Duas hodie, etc. See preceding note (a).

^d Book iii. chap. v. vol. i. p. 372.

^e Cyprian. Ep. xxxiv. al. xxxix. (Oxon. 1682. p. 77.) Hunc ad nos, fratres dilectissimi, cum tanta Domini dignatione venientem, testimonio et miraculo ejus ipsius, qui se persequutus fuerat, illustrem, quid aliud quam super pulpitem, id est, super tribunal ecclesiæ oportebat imponi, ut loci altioris celsitate subnixus, et plebi universæ, pro honoris sui claritate conspicuus, legat præcepta et evangelium Domini, quæ fortiter ac fideliter sequitur?—Ep. xxxiii. (Paris. 1633. p. 65.) Merebatur talis clericæ ordinationis posteriores gradus et incrementa majora, non de annis suis, sed de meritis æstimandus; sed interim placuit, ut ab officio lectionis incipiat: quia et nihil magis congruit voci, quæ Dominum gloriosa prædicatione confessa est, quam celebrandis divinis lectionibus personare: post verba sublimia, quæ Christi martyrium proloquuta sunt, evangelium Christi legere, unde martyres fiunt.

^f Constitut. lib. ii. c. lvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 294. E 7.) 'Ἀνὰ δύο δὲ γενομένων

“After the other lessons are read by the Readers, let a deacon or a presbyter read the Gospels.” And so St. Jerome reminds Sabinianus^g, the deacon, how he read the Gospels in the church. And Socrates^h notes the same of Sabbatius, a presbyter in the Novatian Church. Sozomen saysⁱ, “At Alexandria, the Gospel was read only by the archdeacon; in other places, by the deacons; in others, only by the presbyters; and on the greater festivals, by the bishop, as at Constantinople on Easter-day.” In the French Churches it was the ordinary office of deacons: as appears from that canon of the Council of Vaison, which says^j, “that if the presbyter was sick, the deacon might read a homily;” giving this reason for it, that “they who were thought worthy to read the Gospels of Christ, were not unworthy to read the expositions of the holy fathers.” Yet, in the Spanish Churches, the ancient custom continued, that the Readers read the Gospel as well as other lessons; which may be collected from that canon of the first Council of Toledo^k, which allows no one that had done public penance ever to be ordained, unless it were to the office of a Reader, in case of great necessity, and then he should read neither the Epistle nor the Gospel. Which implies, that other Readers, who were never under penance, read both the Gospel

ἀναγνωσμάτων, ἕτερός τις τοῦ Δαβίδ ψαλλέτω ὕμνους . . . καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα διάκονος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἀναγινωσκέτω τὰ εὐαγγέλια.

^g Hieron. Epist. xlvi. ad Sabinian. (Venet. 1766. vol. i. p. 1090.) Evangelium Christi, quasi diaconus, lectitabas.

^h Socrat. lib. vii. c. v. (Cantab. 1720. p. 350.) Ἐν ἡμέρᾳ συνάξεως, τοῦ εὐαγγελίου περιοχὴν ἀναγινώσκων, κ. τ. λ.

ⁱ Sozom. lib. vii. c. xix. (Cantabr. p. 308.) Ταύτην δὲ ἱερὰν βίβλον ἀναγινώσκει ἐνθάδὲ μόνος ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος· παρὰ δὲ ἄλλοις, διάκονοι ἐν πολλαῖς δὲ ἐκκλησίαις οἱ ἱερεῖς μόνοι· ἐν δὲ ἐπισήμοις ἡμέραις, ἐπίσκοποι, ὡς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν τῆς ἀναστασίμου ἑορτῆς.

^j Conc. Vasens. II. c. ii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1680.) Si digni sunt diacones quod Christus in evangelio loquutus est legere: quare indigni judicentur sanctorum Patrum expositiones publice recitare?

^k Conc. Tolet. I. c. ii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1223.) Pœnitentes non admittantur ad clerum, nisi tantum si necessitas aut usus exegerit, et tunc inter lectores deputentur, ita ut evangelia et apostolum non legant.—Vid. c. iv. ibid. ubi sic legitur. Subdiaconus, defuncta uxore, si aliam duxerit, ab officio, in quo ordinatus fuerat, removeatur, et habeatur inter ostiarios, vel inter lectores; ita ut evangelium et apostolum non legat.

and all other lessons ; as Albaspinæus¹, in his notes, rightly observes upon it.

SECT. V.—*Whether the Epistle and Gospel were read twice : first, to the Catechumens, and then to the Faithful, at the Altar.*

But in one thing that learned person seems to be mistaken, when he supposes reading of the Gospel to have been in the communion service^m ; for anciently the Scriptures, and even the Gospel itself, were only read in the service of the catechumens. Cardinal Bona, indeed, saysⁿ, “ The ancient custom was to read the Gospel only to the faithful,” and that the Council of Orange, in France^o, and the Council of Valentia, in Spain^p, were the first that ordered it otherwise. But nothing is plainer, than that the reading of the Gospel was always before the sermon, and the sermon was always before the communion service began, in the presence of the catechumens, and before their dismissal ordinarily, being designed chiefly for their instruction ; therefore, though some ill custom might have crept into the Churches of France and Spain, excluding the catechumens from hearing the Gospel and the sermon, which those Councils endeavoured to correct, yet that is far from proving it to be the ancient custom, to confine the hearing of the Gospel to the faithful only. And a man cannot

¹ Albaspin. Not. in Conc. Tolet. I. c. ii. (Ibid. p. 1241. B.) *Liquido ex his constat, lectores non evangelium tantum sed et lectiones pronuntiasse.*

^m Albaspin. Not. in c. iv. Conc. Carth. III. (p. 1185. C.) *Vetus ille mos invaluerat, ut non diaconi, sed lectores epistolas et evangelia in solemnī missæ sacrificio pronuntiarent.*

ⁿ Bon. Rer. Liturgic. lib. ii. c. vii. n. i. (Antverp. 1677. p. 529.) *In Concilio Arausicano primo, tempore Leonis I. (c. xviii.) statutum est, ut evangelia, quæ solis fidelibus antea legebantur, deinceps etiam catechumenis legerentur. Idem decrevit Concilium Valentinum in Hispania.*

^o Conc. Arausican. I. c. xviii. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 1450.) *Evangelia deinceps placuit catechumenis legi apud omnes provinciarum nostrarum ecclesias.*

^p Conc. Valent. c. i. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1617. E.) *Ut sacrosancta evangelia ante munerum illationem in missa catechumenorum, in ordine lectionum, post apostolum legantur : quatenus salutaria præcepta Domini nostri Jesu Christi, vel sermonem sacerdotis, non solum fideles, sed etiam catechumeni, ac pœnitentes, et omnes qui ex diverso sunt, audire licitum habeant.*

look into the homilies of St. Austin or St. Chrysostom, but he will find this mistake every where confuted: for they always speak of reading the Gospel before the homily, and the homily made in the presence of the catechumens. And the contrary supposition is merely owing to a common prejudice and conceit, that the ancient service was in all things like the modern, where the Gospel is twice read, first among the lessons, and then with the Epistle, by itself, in the communion service: whereas anciently they were both read in the ordinary course of the lessons, in that part of the service only, which was properly called ‘the service of the catechumens.’

SECT. VI.—*The Solemnity and Ceremonies of Reading the Lessons. Where first of the Salutation Pax vobis, before Reading.*

The next thing worthy our observation, is the solemnity and ceremony with which the ancients appointed the Scriptures to be read. The reader, before he began to read, was commonly used to say, *Pax vobis*, “Peace be with you;” which was the usual form of salutation at the entrance of all offices in the Church. St. Cyprian plainly alludes to this ^q, when speaking of a new reader whom he had ordained to the office the Lord’s day before, he says, *Auspicatus est pacem, dum dedicat lectionem*, “He began to use the salutation, ‘Peace be with you,’ when he first began to read.” I know none of the commentators that take notice of this custom in Cyprian, or make any remark upon the phrase; but this is evidently the sense of it, and so the learned Albaspinæus understands it ^r. This custom seems to have continued in Afric, till the third Council of Carthage made an order to the contrary ^s, that the readers should

^q Cyprian. Epist. xxxiii. al. xxxviii. ad Cler. Carth. (Oxon. 1682. p. 75.) (p. 223, lin. 1, edit. Fell. Amstelod.)

^r Albaspin. Not. in Conc. Carth. III. c. iv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1185. D.) Antequam evangelii pronuntiandi initium faceret olim lector, elata voce proferebat, ‘Pax vobis,’ perinde atque hodierno die diaconus dicit, ‘Dominus vobiscum.’ Hoc idem epistola D. Cypriani iisdem verbis probatur, ‘Interim vobis hoc die auspicatus est pacem, dum dedicat lectionem,’ quibus D. Cyprianus verbis alloquutum et salutatum populum ait ab Aurelio, quum primo ei evangelii recitandi potestas esset facta, et pacem et benedictionem Christi Domini fidelibus condonasse.

^s Conc. Carth. III. c. iv. Ut lectores populum non salutent.

no longer salute the people. This form of salutation, "Peace be with you," to which the people usually answered, "And with thy spirit," was commonly the office of a bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, in the performance of their several functions in the church, as is noted by Chrysostom^t in many places. And, therefore, this Council took away this power from the readers, and put it into the hands of the deacons, or the other superior ministers of the Church. So that, as the reader had used to say before reading, "Peace be with you," this canon only ordered that it should be said by some other minister: for that it was used either by the reader, or some other minister, before he began to read, appears from St. Austin, who, writing against the Donatists, says^u, "Nothing could be more perverse than their own practice, who, before the reader began to read the Epistle, said to him, 'Peace be with thee;' and yet separated from the peace of those Churches to which the Epistles were written."

SECT. VII.—*This Salutation sometimes used by the Bishop immediately before the Reader began to read.*

St. Austin, in another place, mentions the bishop's using this form of salutation as soon as he came into the church, immediately before the reader began to read the lessons, which in Afric, in those days, was the first part of the service, with a responsory psalm between every lesson. "I went to church," says he^v: "I saluted the people; [that is, said, 'Peace be unto you;'] and then, silence being made, the solemn lessons of the Holy Scripture were read in order." This custom of

^t Chrysostom. Hom. xviii. in 2 Cor. (Bened. vol. x. p. 568. C 8.) "Ὅταν εἰρήνης πάλιν μεταλαμβάνειν καὶ μεταδιδόναι δέη, κ. τ. λ. — Hom. iii. in Coloss. (Bened. 1718. vol. xi. p. 347.) 'Ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις εἰρήνην, ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς, ἐν ταῖς λιταῖς, ἐν ταῖς προσήσεσι, καὶ ἕπαξ, καὶ δις, καὶ τρίς, καὶ πολ- λάκις αὐτὴν δίδωσιν ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προεστὼς, εἰρήνη ἡμῖν, ἐπιλέγων.

^u Aug. Ep. clxv. (Bened. 1679. vol. ii. p. 121. C 7.) Quid perversius et insanius, quam lectoribus easdem epistolas legentibus dicere, 'Pax tecum;' et ab earum ecclesiarum pace separari, quibus ipsæ epistolæ scriptæ sunt?

^v Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. xxii. c. viii. (Bened. 1679. vol. vii. p. 672. B.) Procedimus ad populum, plena erat ecclesia, personabat vocibus gaudiorum, 'Deo gratias, Deo laudes,' nemine tacente, hinc atque inde clamantium. Salutavi populum, et rursus eadem ferventiore voce clamabant. Facto tandem silentio, Scripturarum divinarum sunt lecta solemnia.

saluting the people in this form is also mentioned by Chrysostom in several places. “When we are come into the church,” says he ^x, “we say immediately, ‘Peace be unto you,’ according to this law; and ye answer, ‘And with thy spirit.’” Again ^y, “The bishop, at his entrance into the church, says always, ‘Peace be unto you,’ as a proper salutation when he comes into his Father’s house.” And in another place ^z, “When the bishop enters the church, he immediately says, ‘Peace be with you all.’ When he begins his sermon, he says again, ‘Peace be with you all.’” Now, considering that this was the common salutation at the beginning of all offices, and that the Scriptures began to be read as soon as the bishop came into the church, it is plain that such a form of salutation was always used by one or other before the reading of the Scriptures.

SECT. VIII.—*The Deacon enjoined Silence, before the Reader began, and required attention. As the Reader also did before every Lesson, saying, “Thus saith the Lord.”*

St. Chrysostom takes notice of two other customs relating to this matter, as introductory to the reading and hearing the Scriptures with greater advantage; that is, the deacon’s enjoining silence and requiring attention; and the reader himself, after the naming any lesson, saying, “Thus saith the Lord.” “The deacon,” says he ^a, “who is the common minister of the Church, first stands up, and cries with a loud voice, *Πρόσχωμεν*, ‘Let us give attention:’ this he repeats several times; and after that, the reader names the prophet, Isaiah suppose, or any other; and before he begins to read, he also cries aloud, *Τάδε λέγει Κύριος*, “Thus saith the Lord.” So again, in another place ^b, “When the reader rises up and

^x Chrysostom. Hom. xxxiii. in Matth. (Bened. vol. vii. p. 373. B 11.) *Κοινῇ πᾶσι τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπιλέγομεν εἰσιόντες εὐθέως, κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἐκείνου.*

^y Ibid. Hom. xxxvi. in 1 Cor. (Bened. vol. x. p. 340. B 9.) *Εἰρήνην καὶ νῦν ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προεστὼς ἐπέυχεται, ὡς εἰς πατρῶαν οἰκίαν εἰσιών.*

^z Chrysostom. Hom. iii. in Coloss. (Bened. 1734. vol. xi. p. 348.) *Ὅταν εἰσέλθῃ ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προεστὼς, εὐθέως λέγει, Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν· ὅταν ὁ μιλῶν, Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν, κ. τ. λ.*

^a Ibid. Hom. xix. in Acta Apostol. See note (h) p. 291.

^b Ibid. Hom. iii. in 2 Thessal. (vol. xi. p. 527.) *Ὅταν ἀναστὰς ὁ ἀναγινώσκων*

says, ‘ Thus saith the Lord,’ and the deacon stands up, and commands all men to keep silence, he does not say this to honour the reader, but God who speaks to all by him.” This enjoining of silence is spoken of by St. Ambrose ^c and others ; but it differed from another act of the deacon’s under the same name, *silentium indicere*, which was ‘ calling upon the people to fall to their private prayers ;’ of which we shall have occasion to say more in the next Book, chap. i.

SECT. IX.—*At the naming of the Prophet, or Epistle, the People, in some places, said, Deo gratias, and Amen, at the end of it.*

Mabillon observes ^d, “ that at the naming of the lessons out of the Prophets or Epistles, the people sometimes said, *Deo gratias*, ‘ Thanks be to God,’ as it is in the Mosarabic Liturgy.” But we have little notice of this elsewhere. Only St. Austin says ^e, “ It was a very common phrase among the monks, when they met a brother-Christian, to say, *Deo gratias*, ‘ Thanks be to God ;’ for which the Circumcellions, or Agonistici, as they called themselves, among the Donatists, were wont to insult them, though they themselves often used to say *Deo laudes*, which in their mouth was more to be dreaded than the roaring of a lion.” It appears, also, from the Acts of Eraclius’ election to be his successor, that it was a usual acclamation upon many other occasions : for as soon as he had nominated Eraclius to be his successor, the people cried out for a long time together ^f, *Deo gratias, Christo laudes*, “ Thanks be to

κων λέγει, Τάδε λέγει Κύριος καὶ ὁ διάκονος ἐστὼς ἐπιστομίζη πάντας, οὐ τῷ ἀναγνώσκοντι τιμὴν ποιῶν τοῦτό φησιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ δι’ ἐκείνου πᾶσι διαλεγομένῳ.

^c Ambros. Præfat. in Psalmos. (Paris. 1836. vol. ii. p. 43.) Quantum laboratur in ecclesia, ut fiat silentium, cum lectiones leguntur? etc. See note (v) p. 490.

^d Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallic. lib. i. c. ii. n. x. p. 11. (Paris. 1685.) Audito populi responso, legit prophetiam, ad cujus titulum populus respondet, ‘ Deo gratias,’ et in fine, ‘ Amen.’

^e Aug. in Psalm. cxxxii. (Bened. 1700. vol. iv. pt. i. p. 1111.) Agonistici appellantur. Utinam ergo milites Christi essent, et non milites diaboli, a quibus plus timetur ‘ Deo laudes,’ quam fremitus leonis. Hi etiam insultare nobis audent, quia fratres, quum vident homines, ‘ Deo gratias’ dicunt.

^f Aug. Ep. cx. de Actis Eraclii. (vol. ii. p. 789. E 10.) A populo acclamatum est trigesies sexies ; ‘ Deo gratias, Christo laudes.’

God, praise be to Christ.” What, therefore, was so common upon other occasions, might very probably be said, by way of acclamation, at the naming of the lessons of the Holy Scriptures. Grotius says ^g, “It was also customary, at the end of the Epistle, for the people to answer, ‘Amen:’ and that hence it was, that at the end of all St. Paul’s Epistles, the word, ‘Amen,’ was added by the Church.” I know not upon what grounds he asserts this: and, therefore, I shall let it rest upon the authority of that learned man, without affirming or denying his assertion.

SECT. X.—*At the reading of the Gospel all stood up, and said, in some Places, “Glory be to thee, O Lord.”*

At the reading of the Gospel, it was a general custom for all the people to stand up: and some of the middle-age Ritualists take notice of their saying, “Glory be to thee, O Lord,” at the naming of it. The author of the Homily *De Circo vel Hippodromo*, under the name of St. Chrysostom, says ^h, “When the deacon goes about to read the Gospel, we all presently rise up, and say, ‘Glory be to thee, O Lord.’” But as that homily is known to be none of Chrysostom’s, we cannot certainly say, it was the custom in his days. But the custom of rising up at the reading of the Gospel, is certainly as old as Chrysostom: for he speaks of it in one of his homilies on St. Matthew ⁱ: “If the letters of a king are read in the theatre with great silence; much more ought we to compose ourselves and stand up with attentive ears, when the letters, not of an earthly king, but of the Lord of angels, are read to us.”

The author of the Constitutions mentions the same ^k:

^g Grotius, Adnotat. in Philemon. vol. v. 25. ‘Αμήν, ‘Amen.’] Est vox, quam ecclesia respondebat lectis epistolis. Ideo omnibus Pauli epistolis cœpit adscribi.

^h Chrysostom. Hom. lii. de Circo. See page 288, note (s).

ⁱ Ibid. Hom. i. in Matth. (Bened. vol. vii. p. 18. A 6.) Εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ θεάτρῳ πολλῆς σιγῆς γενομένης, τότε τὰ τοῦ βασιλείως ἀναγινώσκειται γράμματα πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ὑπαντας δεῖ κατεστᾶλθαι, καὶ ὀρθαῖς ταῖς ἀκοαῖς ἐστάναι· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιγείου τινός, ἀλλὰ τοῦ τῶν ἀγγέλων Δεσπότου τὰ γράμματα ἀναγινώσκεισθαι μέλλει.

^k Constitut. lib. ii. c. lvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 296.) “Ὅταν ἀναγινωσκόμενον ᾗ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, πάντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ οἱ διάκονοι, καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς στηκέτωσαν μετὰ πολλῆς ἡσυχίας.

“When the Gospel is read, let the presbyters, and deacons, and all the people, stand with profound silence.” And so Isidore of Pelusium¹: “When the true Shepherd appears at the opening of the holy Gospels, then the bishop himself rises up, and lays aside his pastoral habit, or authority, signifying thereby, that then the Lord himself, the author of the pastoral function, his God and his Master, is present.” This was every where observed, except at Alexandria, where it is noted by Sozomen, as a singular thing in that Church^m, “that the bishop did not use to rise up, when the Gospel was read.” And Cassian observes it as no less singular in the monks of Egyptⁿ, that, excepting the reader, who always stood up, the rest sat upon low seats, both when the Psalms and the lessons out of the Old or New Testament were reading. Which was only indulged them because of their excessive watchings, and fastings, and labours. In other places, sitting at the Gospel was reckoned a corruption and abuse: insomuch that Philostorgius tells us^o, “that Theophilus, the Arian bishop, who went to the Indies, corrected it as an indecency that had crept in there against the rules of the Church.” And Anastasius did the same at Rome, as is said in his Life^p, by the author of the Pontifical. For he made a decree, that as often as the Holy Gospels were read, the priests should not sit, but stand in a bowing posture. In Afric, the general custom was not only to stand at the Gospel, but at all the other lessons

¹ Isidor. Pelusiot. lib. i. ep. cxxxvi. (Paris. 1638. p. 41, at bottom.) *Ἦνίκα αὐτὸς ὁ ἀληθινὸς ποιμὴν παραγίνηται, διὰ τῆς τῶν εὐαγγελίων τῶν προσκνητῶν ἀναπτύξεως, καὶ ὑπανίσταται καὶ ἀποτίθεται τὸ σχῆμα τῆς μιμήσεως ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, αὐτὸν δηλῶν παρεῖναι τὸν Κύριον, τὸν τῆς ποιμαντικῆς ἡγεμόνα, καὶ Θεὸν καὶ Δεσπότην.*

^m Sozom. lib. vii. c. xix. (Cantabr. p. 307.) *Ἐγένον δὲ κάκεινο παρὰ Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι τούτοις· ἀναγινωσκομένων γὰρ τῶν εὐαγγελίων, οὐκ ἐπανίσταται ὁ ἐπίσκοπος· ὃ παρ’ ἄλλοις οὗτ’ ἔγνω οὗτ’ ἀκήκοα.*

ⁿ Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. c. xii. Hunc canonicum, etc. See note (g) p. 407.]

^o Philostorg. lib. iii. c. v. (Cantabr. p. 488.) *Κάκειθεν εἰς τὴν ἄλλην ἀφίκετο Ἰνδικὴν, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς οὐκ εὐαγῶς δρωμένων ἐπανωρθώσατο· καὶ γὰρ καθεζόμενοι τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν ἀναγνωσμάτων ἐποιούντο τὴν ἀκρόασιν, καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ, ὧν μὴ θεῖος θεσμὸς ἐπιστάτει, διεπράττοντο.*

^p Pontifical. Vit. Anastas. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1190.) *Hic constituit, ut quotiescumque sancta evangelia recitarentur, sacerdotes non sederent, sed curvi starent.*

out of Scripture: for they gave equal honour to every part of the word of God, insomuch as that their sermons, and homilies, and whatever was rehearsed in the Church, was heard standing; as we shall see more in the next chapter. Here, it will be sufficient to observe, that Cyprian's readers not only stood up to read, but that all the people stood about them, when they read the Scriptures^q. And in St. Austin's time, the custom was the same: for he says^r, "The longest lessons were then heard by all sorts and sexes standing, except only such as, through some infirmity in their feet, or weakness of body, were disabled; who, upon that account, were indulged sitting, but no others whatsoever." Bona thinks there was no certain answer made^s when the Gospel was ended. For some said only, "Amen," as it is in the Mosarabic Liturgy, and the Rule of St. Benedict. Which Alexander Hales interprets the same as saying, "God grant we may persevere in the doctrine of the Gospel." Others said, *Deo gratias*, "Thanks be to God;" and others, *Laus tibi Christe*, "Praise be to thee, O Christ." But all this is said only out of the middle-age writers; whilst there is a perfect silence as to this matter, in the more ancient writers of the Church.

^q Cyprian. Ep. xxxiv. al. xxxix. (Oxon. 1682. p. 68.) (p. 224, edit. Fell. Amstelod.) Hos lectores interim constitutos sciatis, quia oportebat lucernam super candelabrum poni, unde omnibus luceat, et gloriosos vultus in loco altiore constitui, ubi ab omni populo circumstante conspecti, incitamentum gloriæ videntibus præbeant.

^r Aug. Hom. xxvi. ex l. (Bened. 1700. vol. vi. p. 357.) Quando passiones prolixæ aut certe aliquæ lectiones longiores leguntur, qui stare non possunt, humiliter et cum silentio sedentes, attentis auribus audiant quæ leguntur, etc. Note, that this homily is, by Mabillon and the Benedictines, in their new edition, ascribed to Cæsarius Arelatensis. If it be his, it proves the custom of standing to hear the lessons to have been according to the usage of the French Churches.

^s Bona, Rev. Liturgic. lib. ii. c. vii. n. iv. (Antwerp. 1677. p. 533.) Lecto evangelio, olim dixisse 'Amen,' Belet, in Explicatione Divinorum Officiorum, c. xxxix., et Durandus, lib. iv. c. xxiv., testes sunt; quod etiam in missa Mozarabum et in regula Sancti Benedicti, c. xi. præscribitur. Alensis item 4 p. Summæ in Tractat. de Offic. Missæ, 'Perlecto,' inquit, 'evangelio dicunt adsistentes Amen, quasi dicant, Faciat nos Deus perseverare in doctrina evangelii. Alii dicunt 'Deo gratias,' in gratiarum actionem pro beneficio tantæ doctrinæ et tam salutaris. Nunc dicimus, 'Laus tibi, Christe.'

SECT. XI.—*Lights carried before the Gospel in the Eastern Churches.*

There was one ceremony more ancient, which St. Jerome makes peculiar to the Eastern Churches, which was the carrying lights before the Gospel, when it was to be read. He says †, “they had no such custom in the Western Church, either as burning candles by day, at the monuments of the martyrs (as Vigilantius falsely accused them); nor at any other time, save only when they met in the night, to give light to their assemblies; but in the Eastern Church it was otherwise: for, without any regard to the relics of the martyrs, whenever the Gospel was read, they lighted candles, partly to demonstrate their joy for the good news which the Gospel brought; and partly, by a corporeal symbol, to represent that light of which the psalmist speaks, ‘Thy word is a lamp to my feet, and a light unto my paths.’” I know no other author, beside St. Jerome, that mentions this; and, as far as his authority will prevail, it may be credited, and no further. Dr. Cave^u judges it might not be much elder than his time: however it was, it

† Hieron. cont. Vigilant. c. iii. (Venet. 1767. vol. ii. p. 393.) Cereos autem non clara luce accendimus, sicut frustra calumniaris, sed ut noctis tenebras hoc solatio temperemus. . . . Absque martyrum reliquiis per totas Orientis ecclesias, quando legendum est evangelium, accenduntur luminaria, jam sole rutilante: non utique ad fugandas tenebras, sed ad signum lætitiæ demonstrandum. Unde et virgines illæ evangelicæ semper habent accensas lampades suas. Et ad apostolos dicitur, ‘Sint lumbi vestri præcincti, et lucernæ ardentes in manibus vestris.’ Et de Joanne Baptista, ‘Ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens:’ ut sub typo luminis corporalis illa lux ostendatur, de quo in Psalterio legimus, ‘Lucerna pedibus meis,’ &c.

^u Cave, Prim. Christ. book i. chap. vii. (Lond. 1698, p. 135.) By reason of the darkness of these places, and their frequent assembling there in the night, to avoid the fury of their enemies, they were forced to use lights and lamps in their public meetings. But they who make this an argument to patronize their burning of lamps and wax candles in their churches at noon day (as it is in all the great churches of the Roman communion), talk at a strange rate of wild in consequence. I am sure St. Hierom, when charged with it, denied that they used any in the day time, and never but at night, when they rose up to their night devotions. He confesses, indeed, it was otherwise in the Eastern Churches, where, when the Gospel was to be read, they set up lights as a token of their rejoicing for those happy and glad tidings that were contained in it, light having been ever used as a symbol and representation of joy and gladness: a custom probably not much elder than his time.

is no argument to patronize the burning of lamps and wax-candles, without the same reason, in churches at noon-day.

SECT. XII.—*Three or four Lessons sometimes read out of the Gospels on the same Day.*

It is further observable, that in some Churches, upon some solemn occasions, they had three or four lessons read out of the Gospels on the same day. St. Austin says^v, “he would have had four lessons read out of the four Gospels on the day of our Saviour’s passion; but the people were disturbed at it, as what they had not been accustomed to; so he was forced to waive it.” But the custom prevailed in the French Churches. For in the old *Lectionarium Gallicanum*, published by Mabillon^w, the lessons of several festivals are thus appointed: on the feast of Epiphany, there is one lesson out of St. Matthew ii. for morning service; and three more out of Matthew, Luke, and John, for the communion service. So on the Παρασκευή, or ‘day of our Saviour’s passion,’ there is one lesson of the Gospel for morning service, another for the second, another for the third, another for the sixth, another for the ninth hours of prayer^x, collected out of the four Gospels, ‘by way of harmony,’ or *catena*. Whence we may observe, that the old Gallican Liturgy, from whence our English service is thought chiefly to be derived, and not from the Roman^y, by learned men, had distinct offices for morning and communion service, and distinct Gospels for each service, on solemn days, as ours now has for all the festivals, which probably were designed,

^v Aug. Serm. cxliiii. de Tempore. (Bened. 1700. vol. v. p. 683.) Passio, quia uno die legitur, non solet legi, nisi secundum Matthæum. Volueram aliquando, ut per singulos annos secundum omnes evangelistas etiam passio legeretur: factum est: non audierunt homines, quod consueverant, et perturbati sunt.

^w Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallican. p. 116. Legenda in Epiphania ad missam. Lectio sancti evangelii secundum Matthæum. ‘Tempore illo venit Dominus Jesus in Cana Galilææ, in Jordane ad Joannem, ut baptizaretur;’ &c. Matth. c. iii. v. 13, ad fin. cap. Tum continue subjungitur: ‘Et ipse Jesus erat incipiens quasi annorum triginta, ut putabatur, filius Joseph,’ ex Lucæ c. iii. v. 23: postea consequenter ex Joannis c. ii. v. 1: ‘Et die tertio nuptiæ factæ sunt in Cana Galilææ,’ ad v. 11.

^x Ibid. pp. 134, 135.

^y Vid. Stillingfleet, Orig. Britan. chap. iv. (Lond. 1840. pp. 239, &c.) See note (y) p. 465.

at first, for distinct offices, though they are now commonly read together in the greatest part of our churches.

SECT. XIII.—*Of longer and shorter Lessons, and their distinct Use, according to Durantus.*

There is another distinction made by some, between the longer and shorter lessons. The longer lessons are said by Durantus^z to be used at the long nocturnal or antelucan service; and the lesser, at the other canonical hours of prayer: so that this distinction could have no place till the canonical hours were settled in the Church; which was not till the fourth or fifth century, as has been showed in another place^a. Radulphus Tungrensis, whom Durantus cites, speaks somewhat of this distinction in his time, and says^b, “The lesser sort of lessons were called, vulgarly, *capitula*, ‘chapters,’ and designed for the praise of God;” which makes it more probable that these lesser lessons were no other than the psalms, or antiphonal hymns, collected out of the Psalms for the service of the several hours of devotion; which are expressly called *capitella de Psalmis*, ‘chapters out of the Psalms,’ by the Council of Agde^c, and were the same as antiphonal hymns, collected out of the Psalms, and to be said alternately by way

^z Durant. de Ritib. lib. iii. c. xviii. nn. iv. v. (Paris. 1632. p. 950.) In nocturno officio leguntur lectiones, partim ex sacris libris Veteris vel Novi Testamenti, partim ex homiliis et gestis Sanctorum: in diurno vero officio, loco lectionum leguntur capitula, hoc est, breves lectiones. De quibus capitulis mentio fit in Concilio Agathensi, c. xxi. Canon. convenit, de Consecr. distinct. v. ‘Et quia convenit, ordinem ecclesiæ æqualiter ab omnibus custodiri,’ etc. Et paulo post: ‘Et in conclusione matutinarum vel vespertinarum missarum, post hymnos, capitella de psalmis dicantur, et plebs, collecta oratione, ad vesperam ab episcopo cum benedictione dimittatur.’ De eisdem capitulis agit Radulph. Tungrens. de Can. Observ. propos. xiii. in hæc verba: ‘Sicut ad vigiliis noctis leguntur lectiones magnæ; ita ad laudes, et vespervas, et ad quinque parvas horas dicuntur parvæ lectiones, quas Benedictus appellat in sua regula Lectiones: communi tamen usu sæculari,’ ait Radulph. ‘appellantur capitula.’ Idem Radulph. propos. viii. ‘In lectionibus,’ inquit, ‘tam majoribus, quæ in nocturnis vigiliis leguntur, quam parvulis, quæ dicuntur ad alias horas, et capitula appellantur, laudem Dei agimus et pronuntiamus.’

^a Book xiii. chap. ix. sect. viii. See p. 374 of this volume.

^b Radulph. de Canon. Observant. propos. viii. xiii. See note (z).

^c Conc. Agath. c. xxx. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1388.) In conclusione matutinarum vel vespertinarum missarum, post hymnos capitella de psalmis dicantur, etc.

of responses: so that, whatever may be said of the middle ages, there seems to be no ground for this distinction of greater and lesser lessons in the ancient service, save only as we take the reading of the Psalms for lessons of Scripture.

SECT. XIV.—*What might, or might not, be read by way of Lessons in the Church.*

It is true, indeed, St. Austin, in one of his homilies ^d, which Mabillon and the Benedictines, in their late edition, ascribe to Cæsarius, bishop of Arles, speaks of longer and shorter lessons; but it is not in relation to the long morning service, and the shorter service or the canonical hours, but upon a quite different occasion. For there it is supposed, that beside the lessons of Scripture, sometimes other lessons were read out of the Homilies of the Fathers, or the Acts of the Martyrs; which, because they were sometimes very prolix, an indulgence was therefore granted to infirm persons to sit down to hear them read. And this leads us to a new observation and further remark upon the ancient practice, that, in some Churches at least, other things were allowed to be read, by way of lesson and instruction, beside the Canonical Scriptures; such as the Passions of the Martyrs on their proper festivals, and the Homilies of the Fathers, and the epistles and tracts of pious men, and the Letters Communicatory of one Church to another; with other things of the like nature. That the Passions of the Martyrs were sometimes read among the lessons in the church, appears not only from the aforesaid Homily of Cæsarius or St. Austin, but from a rule made in the third Council of Carthage ^e, which forbids all other books to be read in the church besides the canonical Scripture, except the Passions of the Martyrs on their anniversary-days of commemoration. Eusebius ^f probably collected the Passions of the Martyrs for

^d Aug. Hom. xxvi. ex l. (Bened. 1700. vol. vi. p. 357.) Quando aut passionibus prolixæ, aut certe aliquæ lectiones longiores leguntur, qui stare non possunt, humiliter et cum silentio sedentes, attentis auribus audiant, quæ leguntur.

^e Conc. Carth. III. c. xlvii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1177.) Liceat legi passionibus martyrum, quum anniversarii eorum dies celebrantur.

^f Euseb. lib. v. c. iv. speaks of these collections: "Ὅτι γὰρ φίλον, καὶ ταῦτα ῥᾴδιον πληρέστατα διαγῶναι, μετὰ χειρὸς ἀναλαβόντι τὸ σύγγραμμα, ὃ

this very purpose, as Paulinus, bishop of Nola, did after him ; which Joannes Diaconus^g says were used to be read in the churches. Thus Gelasius says^h, “ The Acts of Pope Sylvester were read in many of the Roman churches ; though not in the Lateran, because they were apocryphal, and written by an unknown author.” And Mabillonⁱ gives several other such instances out of Avitus and Ferreolus ; and in the old *Lectionarium Gallicanum*, which he published, there are frequently lessons appointed out of St. Austin and others, upon the festivals of St. Stephen and the Holy Innocents, and Julian the martyr, on Epiphany, and the festivals of St. Peter and St. Paul. Whence some learned men^j conjecture, not improbably, that such sort of histories and passions of the martyrs had particularly the name of *legenda*, ‘ legends :’ for though now that name be commonly taken in a worse sense, for fabulous history, because many lives of saints and martyrs were written by the monks of later ages in a mere fabulous and romantic way ; yet, anciently, it had a good signification ; and in its original use, denoted only such acts and monuments of the martyrs, as were allowed by authority to be read in the church. The curious reader may find frequent references,

καὶ αὐτὸ τῆ τῶν μαρτύρων συναγωγῆ πρὸς ἡμῶν, ὡς γοῦν ἔφην, κατέλεκται. (Cant. 214. 16.)

^g Joan. Diac. Prefat. ad Vit. Gregor. Magni. Nuper ad vigiliis beati Gregorii, Romani pontificis, Anglorum gentis apostoli, lectione de Paulino, civitatis Nolane præsule, consuetudinaliter personante, etc.

^h Gelas. Decret. ap. Crab. Conc. tom. i. p. 992. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1263. D.) Actus beati Sylvestri, apostolicæ sedis præsulis, licet ejus, qui conscripsit, nomen ignoretur, a multis tamen, in urbe Romana, Catholicis legi cognovimus, et pro antiquo usu multæ hæc imitantur ecclesiæ.

ⁱ Mabillon. de Cursu Gallicano, p. 403.—Idem (Avitus) in fragmento vi. meminit lectæ passionis sanctorum Agaunensium in eorum Festivitate, p. 407. Præter ea Ferreolus Ucetiensis antistes in Regulæ suæ c. xviii. ‘ Gesta martyrum,’ inquit, ‘ id est, passiones sanctorum fidelium, quæ quorundam compaginata studio et sermone, digesta sunt, tempore quo nobis diem migrationis eorum anni meta cursus sui legibus representat, recenseri in Oratorio audientibus cunctis omnino decernimus.’

^j Vid. Chamier. Panstratia, tom. i. de Canon. lib. iv. c. vi. sect. iii. Concilium Carthagin. III. eo ipso capite, quod ab adversariis solet citari, primo non vetat quidquam legi præter ea, quæ sunt in canone, sed legi sub nomine Divinæ Scripturæ. Secundo ad finem addit, ‘ Liceat etiam legi passionibus martyrum, quum anniversarii dies eorum celebrantur.’ Unde opinor eis ‘ legendarum’ nomen inditum.

made by St. Austin in his homilies^k, to such lessons read out of the Passions of the Martyrs on their anniversary-days in the church: as also in the homilies of Pope Leo^l and others, which it is needless to recite in this place.

But, besides the Passions of the Martyrs and homilies relating to them, there were also many other pious books read by way of moral exhortation in many Churches. Thus, Eusebius says^m, the book called *Hermes Pastor* was anciently read in the church. He says the same of Clemens Romanus's first Epistle to the Corinthiansⁿ, that it was read in many churches, both in his own time and the ages before him. And Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, says^o, "they read not only that epistle of Clemens, but another written by Soter, bishop of Rome, which they would always continue to read." Sozomen says^p, "The book called the Revelations of Peter, was read once a-year, on Good Friday, in many of the churches of Palestine." Athanasius^q testifies the same of the book called *Διδαχὴ Ἀπο-*

^k Vid. Aug. Serm. xii. de Sanctis. (Bened. 1679. vol. v. p. 1112.) In passione, quæ nobis hodie recitata est, etc.—Id. Serm. xlv. de Diversis, p. 181. Serm. lxxiii. p. 282. Serm. xciii. p. 1261. Serm. ci. cii. ciii. cv. cix. de Diversis, in edit. Paris. 1637.

^l Leo, Serm. de Maccabæis, (Max. Bib. V. P. vol. vii. p. 1053. F 4.) Causam solemnitatis hodiernæ, dilectissimi, plenissime sacræ historiæ lectione didicistis, etc.

^m Euseb. lib. iii. c. iii. (Aug. T. p. 81.) "Ὁθεν ἤδη καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίαις ἰσμεν αὐτὸ [βιβλίον τοῦ Ποιμένου] δεδημοσιευμένον.

ⁿ Hieron. de Scriptor. c. x. (Venet. vol. ii. p. 845.) Asserunt (Herman) auctorem esse libri, qui appellatur Pastor, et apud quasdam Græciæ ecclesias etiam publice legitur.

^o Euseb. lib. iii. c. xvi. (Cant. p. 107.) Τούτου δὴ οὖν τοῦ Κλήμεντος ὁμολογουμένη μία ἐπιστολὴ φέρεται, μεγάλη τε καὶ θαυμασία ἦν ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας τῇ Κορινθίων διευπώσατο, στάσεως τηνικαδε κατὰ τὴν Κόρινθον γενομένης· ταύτην δὲ καὶ ἐν πλείσταις ἐκκλησίαις ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινῶ δεδημοσιευμένην πάλαι τε καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔγνωμεν. — Id. lib. iv. c. xxiii. (p. 187. 6.) Τὴν σήμερον κυριακὴν ἀγίαν ἡμέραν διηγάζομεν, ἐν ᾗ ἀνεγνώκαμεν ἱμῶν τὴν ἐπιστολήν· ἦν ἕξομεν αἰεὶ ποτε ἀναγινώσκοντες νοουθετῆσθαι, ὡς καὶ τὴν προτέραν ἡμῖν διὰ Κλήμεντος γραφεῖσαν.

^p Sozom. lib. vii. c. xix. (Cantabr. p. 308, lin. 25.) Οὕτω γοῦν τὴν καλουμένην ἀποκάλυψιν Πέτρον, ὡς νόθον παντελῶς πρὸς τῶν ἀρχαίων δοκιμασθεῖσαν, ἐν τισιν ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Παλαιστίνης εἰσέτι νῦν ἄπαξ ἐκάστου ἔτους ἀναγιγνωσκόμενην ἔγνωμεν, ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ Παρασκευῆς, ἣν εὐλαβῶς ἄγαν ὁ λαὸς νηστεύει ἐπὶ ἀναμνήσει τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους.

^q Athan. Epist. ad Ruffin. (Paris. 1698. vol. i. p. 963, at bottom.) "Ἐνεκά γε πλείονος ἀκριβείας προστίημι, καὶ τοῦτο γράφων ἀναγκάϊως ὡς ὅτι ἐστὶ

στόλων, 'The Doctrine of the Apostles.' And St. Jerome says^r, "The homilies of Ephraim Syrus were in such honour, as to be read in the church after the reading of the Scriptures." St. Austin assures us^s, "that the Acts of the Collation of Carthage were read always in the church in Lent." And in one of his epistles^t, he desires of Marcellinus Comes, that the Acts of the Trial of the Donatists, who were convicted of the murder of the Catholics, might be sent him, to be read in all the churches of his diocese. And it is remarkable, that in the accounts we have of the burning of the Bible in the Diocletian persecution, there is sometimes mention^u made of burning the salutary or communicatory letters which were sent from one Church to another. St. Austin adds further^v, "that when any one received a signal mercy from God, the relation of it was many times read publicly in the church :"^w of which he gives several instances in his own and other churches of Afric. And St. Chrysostom says^w, Sometimes

καὶ ἕτερα βιβλία τούτων ἔξωθεν οὐ κανονιζόμενα μὲν, τετυπωμένα δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναγινώσκεισθαι τοῖς ἄρτι προσερχομένοις καὶ βουλομένοις κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον σοφία Σολομῶνος, καὶ σοφία Σιράχ, καὶ Ἑσθήρ, καὶ Ἰουδῆθ, καὶ Τοβίας, καὶ Διδαχὴ καλουμένη τῶν Ἀποστόλων, καὶ ὁ Ποιμὴν.

^r Hieron. de Scriptor. c. cxv. Ephraim, Edessensæ ecclesiæ diaconus, multa Syro sermone composuit, et ad tantam venit claritudinem, ut post lectionem Scripturarum publice in quibusdam ecclesiis ejus scripta recitentur. (Venet. vol. ii. p. 943.)

^s Aug. de Gestis cum Emerito. (Bened. 1700. vol. ix. p. 426.) Si omnia gesta vobis legere velimus, quamquam presentibus vobis fratrem et coepiscopum meum Deuterium obstringo, ut quemadmodum fit apud Carthaginem, apud Thagastem, apud Constantinam, apud Hipponem, apud omnes diligentes ecclesias, sic etiam deinceps facere non pigrescat : ut annis omnibus per jejuniorum dies, id est, quadragesima ante Pascha, quando vobis maxime jejunantibus plus vacat audire, eadem gesta collationis per annos singulos, universa a capite in finem ex ordine recitentur.

^t Aug. Ep. clviii. (Bened. 1679. vol. ii. p. 419.) Gesta quæ promisit Præstantia tua, vehementer expecto, et in ecclesia Hipponensi jamjam cupio recitari, ac, si fieri poterit, per omnes ecclesias etiam in diocesi constitutas.

^u Gesta Purgat. Felicis et Cæciliani ad calcem Optati, p. 276. (p. 96. B, edit. Galland. Paris. 1679.) Inde cathedram tulimus, et epistolas saluatorias, et ostia omnia combusta sunt secundum sacrum præceptum.

^v Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. xxii. c. viii. (Bened. 1679. vol. vii. p. 671. C.) Libelli eorum, qui beneficia percipiunt, recitantur in populo, etc.

^w Chrysostom. Hom. iii. in 2 Thess. (vol. xi. p. 528. A 3.) Ἄν μὲν τις παρὰ

the emperor's letters were read in the church, and heard with great attention; which he urges as an argument, why men should hear with reverence the writings of the prophets, because they come from God, and their epistles are from heaven. Such circular epistles also as were sent from one Church to another, to notify the time of keeping Easter (which were called 'heortastical, or festival epistles'), were generally published in their churches^x. But these I mention not as lessons, but only hint the custom incidentally, corresponding to that of our reading briefs for charity, or the circular letters of bishops, or notifying holidays, or banns of marriage, or things of the like kind relating to the public.

SECT. XV.—*Those which we now call 'Apocryphal Books,' were anciently read in some Churches, but not in all.*

As to those books which we now call 'apocryphal,' they were read in some Churches, but not in all. For in the Church of Jerusalem they were utterly forbidden, as appears plainly from Cyril's Catechisms, where he directs the catechumens^y "to read no apocryphal books, but only such books as were securely read in the Church." And then he specifies what books were then read in the Church, viz., all the canonical books which are now in our Bibles, except the Revelations, without any mention at all of the apocryphal books; which is a certain argument that they were not allowed to be read in the Church of Jerusalem, as I have more fully demonstrated in another place^z. The like determination was made for some

βασιλέως ἦκη, πάντες προσέχετε· παρά δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἦκει, καὶ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν φθέγγεται ὁ προφήτης, καὶ οὐδεὶς ὁ προσέχων.

^x Vid. Cassian. Collat. x. c. ii. (p. 383.) Intra Ægypti regionem mos iste antiqua traditione servatur, ut peracto Epiphaniorum die . . . epistole Pontificis Alexandrini per universas dirigantur Ægypti ecclesias, quibus et initium Quadragesimæ et dies Paschæ non solum per civitates omnes, sed etiam per universa monasteria designentur.

^y Cyril. Catech. iv. n. xxii. (Venet. 1763. p. 68. E 6.) Πρὸς τὰ ἀπόκρυφα μηδὲν ἔχε κοινόν· ταύτας μόνας μελέτα σπουδαίως, ἄς καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ μετὰ παρρησίας ἀναγινώσκομεν· πολὺ σου φρονιμώτεροι ἦσαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι, καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἐπίσκοποι, οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προστάται, οἱ ταύτας παραδόντες. . . .—P. 69. "Ὅσα ἐν ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ἀναγινώσκειται, ταῦτα μὴδὲ κατὰ στυγὸν ἀναγίνωσκε.

^z Book x. chap. i. sect. vii. (vol. iii. p. 267.)

other Churches by the Council of Laodicea^a which forbids all but the canonical books to be read in the church; and likewise specifies what she means by ‘canonical books,’ viz. Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Esther, four books of Kings, two of Paralipomena or Chronicles, two of Esdras, the Book of one hundred and fifty Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Job, twelve Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations and Epistles of Baruch, Ezekiel, Daniel, the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the seven Catholic Epistles, fourteen Epistles of St. Paul; where none of the apocryphal books nor the Revelations are mentioned, which is a plain evidence that none of them were read in the churches of that district, After the same manner the author of the Constitutions^b, giving orders about what books of the Old Testament should be read in the church, mentions the five books of Moses, and Joshua, and Judges, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah (which he means by the histories of their return from Babylon), the books of Job and Solomon, the sixteen Prophets and the Psalms; but says nothing of any of the apocryphal books; which argues, that he did not find them to be read in the rituals of those Churches, whence he made his Collections.

However, in other Churches they were allowed to be read^c with a mark of distinction, as books of piety and moral instruction, to edify the people; but they neither gave them the name of ‘canonical books,’ nor made use of them to confirm articles of faith. This is expressly said by St. Jerome: and Ruffin^d, who was presbyter of Aquileia, delivers the same as

^a See note (q) p. 476.

^b Constitut. lib. ii. c. lvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 293. E.) ‘Ο ἀναγνώστης ἐφ’ ὑψηλοῦ τινος ἐστῶς, ἀναγινωσκέτω τὰ Μωσέως καὶ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναυῆ, τὰ τῶν Κριτῶν καὶ τῶν Βασιλειῶν, τὰ τῶν Παραλειπομένων καὶ τὰ τῆς ἑπανόδου· πρὸς τοῦτοις τὰ τοῦ Ἰώβ καὶ τοῦ Σολομώνος, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἑκκαίδεκα προφητῶν· ἀνὰ δύο δὲ γενομένων ἀναγνωσμάτων, ἕτερός τις τοῦ τοῦ Δαβὶδ ψαλλέτω ὕμνους, κ. τ. λ.

^c Hieron. Præfat. in Libros Salomonis. Sicut ergo Judith, et Tobie, et Maccabæorum libros legit quidem ecclesia, sed eos inter canonicas Scripturas non recipit, sic et hæc duo volumina (Sapientiam et Ecclesiasticum) legit ad ædificationem plebis, non ad auctoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam.

^d Ruffin. in Symbolo ad calcem Cypriani. (Oxon. p. 26.) Sciendum tamen est,

the ancient tradition and practice of that Church when these books were neither reckoned canonical, nor yet, in the worst sense, apocryphal, but called ‘ecclesiastical,’ because they were read in the church, but not used to confirm matters of faith. Among these he reckons the Wisdom of Solomon, and Ecclesiasticus, and Tobit, and Judith, and Maccabees, and *Hermes Pastor*, and the book called the Two Ways, or the Judgment of Peter. Athanasius^e also ranks these books, not among the canonical, but among those that might at least be read to or by the catechumens: among which he reckons Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus, and Tobit, and Judith, and Esther, and the Doctrine of the Apostles, and the Shepherd, that is, *Hermes Pastor*. So in the *Lectionarium Gallicanum*, published by Mabillon, there are lessons appointed out of Tobit, and Judith, and Esther, particularly in the rogation-week, for several days together.

SECT. XVI.—*And in some Churches, under the Title of ‘Canonical Scripture,’ taking that word in a larger Sense.*

In some Churches, these books were also read under the general name of ‘canonical Scripture,’ taking that word in a large sense, for such books as were in the rule, or canon, or catalogue of books authorized to be read in the Church. Thus, at least, we must understand the canon of the third Council of Carthage^f, which ordered, “that nothing but the canonical

quod et alii libri sunt, qui non canonici, sed ecclesiastici a majoribus appellati sunt: ut est Sapientia Solomonis, et alia Sapientia, quæ dicitur filii Sirach. Ejusdem ordinis est libellus Tobiae, et Judith, et Maccabæorum libri. In Novo vero Testamento libellus, qui dicitur Pastoris sive Hermatis, qui appellatur Duæ Viæ, vel Judicium Petri; quæ omnia legi quidem in ecclesiis voluerunt, non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam.

^e Athanas. Epist. Heortastic. (vol. i. p. 963.) See note (q) p. 501. — It. Synops. Scriptur. (1698. vol. ii. pp. 128, 129.) Ἐκτός ἐξ τούτων εἰσι πάλιν ἕτερα βιβλία, τῆς αὐτῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης, οὐ κανονιζόμενα μὲν, ἀναγιγνωσκόμενα δὲ μόνον τοῖς κατηχουμένοις ταῦτα· Σοφία Σολομῶνος, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· Ἀγαπήσατε δικαιοσύνην, οἱ κρίνοντες τὴν γῆν. Σοφία Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Σιρᾶχ, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· Πᾶσα σοφία παρὰ Κυρίου, καὶ μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἐστιν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα· Ἐσθήρ, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· Ἔτους δευτέρου βασιλείουτος Ἀρταξέρξου, κ. τ. λ. Ἰουδῆθ, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· Ἔτους δωδεκάτου τῆς βασιλείας Ναβουχοδονόσου, κ. τ. λ. Τωβίτ, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· Βίβλος λόγων Τωβίτ, κ. τ. λ.

^f Conc. Carth. III. c. xlvii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1177.) *Præter Scripturas*

writings should be read in the church, under the name of the Divine Scriptures;" among which canonical Scriptures there are reckoned Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, under the name of Solomon, together with Tobit, Judith, Esther, and the Maccabees. St. Austin seems to have followed this canon, making all these books canonical, but giving preference to some above the other, as they were more or less generally received by the Churches. In his book of Christian Doctrine^g, he calls all the apocryphal books 'canonical;' but he does not allow them so great authority as the rest, because they were not generally received as such by the Churches. He says^h, "The Books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus were none of Solomon's, but yet received into authority by the Western Church." By which he must mean the Roman Church, where Pope Innocent had received themⁱ. For in the Eastern Church, their canonical authority was always rejected: and in many of the Western Churches: for neither Ruffin, at Aquileia, nor Philastrius, at Brixia, in Italy^j, nor Hilary, in Poitiers, in France, grant

canonicas nihil in ecclesia legatur sub nomine Divinarum Scripturarum. Sunt autem canonicæ Scripturæ, id est, Genesis, etc. . . . Salomonis libri quinque, Tobias, Judith, Hester, Esdræ libri duo, Maccabæorum libri duo.

^g Aug. de Doctrin. Christian. lib. ii. c. viii. (Bened. 1700. vol. iii. p. 18. B.) Tenebit hunc modum in Scripturis canonicis, ut eas, quæ ab omnibus accipiuntur ecclesiis Catholicis, quas plures gravioresque accipiunt, præponat eis quas pauciores minorisque auctoritatis ecclesiæ tenent.

^h Ibid. de Civit. Dei, lib. xvii. c. xx. (Bened. 1679. vol. vii. p. 483.) Non esse ipsius, non dubitant doctiores: eos tamen in auctoritatem, maxime Occidentalis, antiquitus recepit ecclesia.

ⁱ Innocent. Epist. iii. ad Exuper. c. vii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1256.) Qui vero libri recipiantur in canone Sanctarum Scripturarum, brevis adnexus ostendit. Hæc sunt ergo quæ desiderata moneri voce voluisti: Moysis libri v. id est, Genesis, Exodi, Levitici, Numeri, Deuteronomii: et Jesu Nave unus, Judicium unus. Regnorum libri iv. simul et Ruth. Prophetarum libri xvi. Salomonis libri v. Psalterium. Historiarum, Job liber unus, Tobie unus, Esther unus, Judith unus, Maccabæorum duo, Paralipomenon duo, etc.

^j Philostorg. de Hæres. c. xl. de Apocryphis, (Bibl. Patr. Max. p. 711, edit. Lugd. 1677.) Hæresis est etiam, quæ Apocrypha, id est, secreta dicitur; quæ solum prophetas et apostolos accipit, non Scripturas canonicas, id est, legem et prophetas, Vetus scilicet et Novum Testamentum. Et quum volunt solum illa Apocrypha legere studiose, contraria Scripturis canonicis sentiunt, atque paulatim dogmatizant contra eas, dantes sententias contra legem et prophetas, contraque disputationes beatissimorum apostolorum consulta ponentes, e quibus sunt maxime Manichæi, Gnostici, Nicolaitæ, Valentiniani, et alii

them^k any authority in the canon of Scripture. Nay, Hilary of Arles expressly told St. Austin^l, “That the Churches of France were offended at him, because he had used a proof out of the Book of Wisdom, which was not canonical.” And it is remarkable, that at Rome itself, Gregory the Great, having occasion to quote a text out of Maccabees, makes a prefatory excuse for alleging a text out of a book that was not canonical^m, but only published for the edification of the Church. And even St. Austin himselfⁿ, in answer to the French divines, pleads no further for the Divine authority of the Book of Wisdom, which he had cited as canonical, but that it was so received by the Christians of Afric before him. Which by his own rule, laid down before in his book of Christian Doctrine, did not make it, in the highest sense, canonical; because it was rejected by all the Churches of the East, and a great part of the West, from the authority of canonical Scripture. So that though these books were read in the African Church,

quam plurimi, qui Apocrypha prophetarum et apostolorum, id est, actus separatos habentes, canonicas legere Scripturas contemnunt. Propter quod statutum est ab apostolis et eorum successoribus, non aliud legi in ecclesia debere Catholica, nisi Legem, et Prophetas, et Evangelia, et Actus Apostolorum, et Pauli tredecim epistolas, et septem alias, Petri duas, Joannis tres, Judæ unam, et Jacobi unam, quæ septem Actibus Apostolorum conjunctæ sunt. Scripture autem absconditæ, id est, Apocrypha, et legi debent morum causa a perfectis, non ab omnibus legi debent, qui non intelligentes multa addiderunt et tulerunt, quæ voluerunt hæretici.

^k Hilar. Prolog. in Psalm. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 145.) (p. 9, Paris. 1693.) Et ea causa est, ut in viginti duos libros lex Testamenti Veteris deputetur: ut cum litterarum numero convenirent. Qui ita secundum traditiones veterum deputantur, ut Moysi sint libri quinque, cetera . . . Quibusdam autem visum est, additis Tobia et Judith, viginti quatuor libros secundum numerum Græcarum litterarum connumerare, Romana quoque lingua media inter Hebræos Græcosque collecta.

^l Ibid. Arelat. Epist. ad Aug. (Bened. 1700. vol. ii. p. 627. C.) Illud etiam testimonium, quod posuisti, ‘Raptus est, ne malitia mutaret intellectum ejus,’ tamquam non canonicum definiunt omittendum.

^m Gregor. Magn. Moral. in Job. lib. xix. c. xiii. (Bened. 1705. vol. i. p. 622.) Qua de re non inordinate agimus, si ex libris, licet non canonicis, sed tamen ad ædificationem ecclesiæ editis, testimonium proferamus.

ⁿ Aug. de Prædestinat. lib. i. c. xiv. (Bened. 1700. vol. x. p. 534. A.) Non debuit repudiari sententia libri Sapientiæ, qui meruit in ecclesia Christi, de gradu lectorum ecclesiæ Christi tam longa annositate recitari, et ab omnibus Christianis, ab episcopis usque ad extremos laicos, fideles, pœnitentes, catechumenos, cum veneratione divinæ auctoritatis audiri.

under the name of ‘canonical Scripture,’ yet they were not esteemed of equal authority with the rest, because they were reputed by all the world beside as apocryphal, or, as some call them, ‘ecclesiastical’ only, being such as were allowed to be read in the church for moral instruction and edification, but not used to confirm articles of faith. And this is the account which Cajetan himself gave of the practice of the Church, before the Council of Trent defined a new canon of Scripture. He says °, “They are not canonical, that is, regular, to confirm articles of faith: yet they may be called ‘canonical,’ that is regular, for the edification of the people, as being received and authorized in the canon of the Bible, only for this end.” And, with this distinction, he thinks we are to understand both St. Austin and the Council of Carthage, all whose sayings are to be reduced to the rule of St. Jerome. But if any think that St. Austin, or the African Church, meant more, it may be said, their authority is of no weight against the general consent of the whole Church in all ages besides, from the first settling of the canon, down to the Council of Trent; the proof of which consent is so fully and unanswerably made out by Bishop Cosins in that excellent book, called his Scholastical History of the Canon of Scripture, where he produces the testimonies of the writers of every age distinctly in their order, that little more can be added to it^p, and it is wholly needless

° Cajetan. in fine Comment. in Hist. Vet. Test. Ad Hieronymi limam reducenda sunt tam verba conciliorum quam doctorum. Et juxta illius sententiam libri isti non sunt canonici, id est, regulares, ad firmandum ea quæ sunt fidei: possunt tamen dici canonici, id est, regulares, ad ædificationem fidelium, utpote in canone Bibliæ ad hoc recepti et auctorati. Cum hac distinctione discernere poteris dicta Augustini, et scripta in provinciali Concilio Carthâginensi.

P To the testimonies cited by Bishop Cosins, the learned reader may add this of Franciscus Georgius Venetus, a Franciscan, who lived a little before the Reformation: Problem. in Scriptur. tom. vi. sect. v. problem. clxxxiv. Paris. 1622, 4to. ‘Cur Raphael venit in comitatum Tobie?’ Respond. ‘Quamvis historia sit sine certo auctore, nec in canone habeatur, tamen quia admittitur legenda in ecclesia tamquam vera, hujus quoque rei rationem assignare conabimur.’ Here he plainly rejects the Book of Tobit out of the Canon, and speaks of it no otherwise than as of a common history, which was allowed to be read in the church. Which words are so displeasing to the curators of the Roman Index Expurgatorius, that they order it to be struck out, with many other passages of the same author, where he reflects on the Vulgar translation as

to detain the reader upon that subject ; it being sufficient to our present purpose to have observed, that these books of controverted authority were read, either under the name of ‘ apocryphal,’ or ‘ ecclesiastical,’ or ‘ canonical,’ in most of the ancient Churches.

SECT. XVII.—*A short Account of the Translations of Scripture used in the ancient Church.*

There is one thing more which it will not be improper to give a short account of, before we put an end to this chapter : that is, of the translations of Scripture that were commonly used in the ancient Church. I mean not here to prove again (what has been abundantly done before in the last Book), that the Scriptures were translated and read in the vulgar language in every Church : but the thing I would observe in this place, is only this : that they generally read the translations of the Septuagint, where the Greek was the vulgar language : or else such translations into other languages, as were derived from it. For they had no translation of the Bible from the Hebrew, till the time of St. Jerome in the Latin Church, but only such as were made from the Greek translation of the Septuagint. The Septuagint was used all over the Greek Church, except, perhaps, that part of Syria where Syriac was the most vulgar language, that is, in Osdroene and Mesopotamia, where they had a Syriac translation made from the Hebrew, not long after the time of the apostles. This was called ‘ the old translation,’ in opposition to another, which was made from the Septuagint in after ages. In all other parts of the East, the Septuagint was the common translation. But this, by tract of time, and variety of copies, was much corrupted ; upon which account it was revised and corrected by several learned men, which laboured in this work, particularly by Origen, and Hesychius the Egyptian and Lucian of Antioch, two martyrs, who suffered in the Diocletian persecution. Hence, as St. Jerome

corrupt and false, and corrects its errors from the original Hebrew, of which he was a considerable master, though in other things he had his failings.—Vid. Index Libror. Prohibitorum et Expurgandorum, per Sotomajor. p. 417, Matriti, 1677, fol.

informs us^a, there came to be three famous exemplars, or editions, of the Septuagint, used in the Eastern Churches. Alexandria and Egypt followed the copy revised by Hesychius. Constantinople and all the Asiatic Churches, as far as Antioch, used that of Lucian. The Churches of Palestine and Arabia read the copy corrected by Origen, and published by Eusebius and Pamphilus. And so between these three editions, the whole world was divided. Origen did two things further in this matter. 1. He published an edition of the Bible, which he called his *Hexapla*, because it was in six columns: the first was the Hebrew, in Hebrew characters; the second, the Hebrew, in Greek characters; the third, the translation of Aquila the Jew; the fourth, the translation of Symmachus; the fifth, the translation of the Septuagint; and the sixth, the translation of Theodotion the Ebionite. To these he afterward added two other translations found at Nicopolis and Jericho: and these made up his *Octapla*. And, in process of time, he published another lesser edition, containing only the four translations of the Septuagint, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, which he called his *Tetrapla*.

^a Hieron. Præfat. in Librum Paralipomenon. (Venet. vol. ii. p. 522.) Alexandria et Ægyptus, in Septuaginta suis, Hesychium laudat auctorem. Constantinopolis usque ad Antiochiam Luciani martyris exemplaria probat. Mediæ inter has provinciæ Palæstinos codices legunt, quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt: totusque orbis hac inter se trifaria varietate compugnat.

[†] Euseb. lib. vi. c. xvi. (Cantabr. p. 275.) Τοσαύτη δὲ εἰσήγετο τῷ Ὀριγένει τῶν θεῶν λόγων ἀπὸ κριβωμένη ἐξέτασις, ὡς καὶ τὴν Ἑβραϊκὰ γλωτταν ἐκμαθεῖν τὰς τε παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐμφερομένας πρωτοτύπους αὐτοῖς Ἑβραίων στοιχείοις γραφὰς, κτῆμα ἴδιον ποιήσασθαι ἀνιχνεύσαι τε τὰς τῶν ἐτέρων παρὰ τοὺς ἐβδομήκοντα τὰς ἱερὰς γραφὰς ἡρμηνευκότων ἐκδόσεις· καὶ τινὰς ἐτέρας παρὰ τὰς καταμαζευμένας ἑρμηνείας ἐναλλαττούσας, τὴν Ἀκύλου, καὶ Συμμάχου, καὶ Θεοδοτίωνος ἐφευρεῖν, ἃς οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν ἔκ τινων μυθῶν τὸν πάλαι λανθανούσας χρόνον ἀνιχνεύσας, εἰς φῶς προήγαγεν· ἐφ' ᾧ δὲ τὴν ἀδηλόγητα, τίνος ἄρ' εἶεν οὐκ εἶδώς, αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον ἐπεσημύνατο, ὡς ἄρα τὴν μὲν εὐροίαν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀκτίω Νικηπόλει τὴν δὲ ἐν ἐτέρῳ τόπῳ τοιῶδε· ἐν γὰρ μὴν τοῖς Ἑξαπλοῖς τῶν ψαλμῶν μετὰ τὰς ἐπισήμους τέσσαρας ἐκδόσεις, οὐ μόνον πέμπτην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕκτην καὶ ἐβδόμην παραθεῖς ἑρμηνείαν, ἐπὶ μιᾷς αὐθις σεσημειώται· ὡς ἐν Ἱεριχοῦ εὐρημένης ἐν πίθῳ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Ἀντωνίου, τοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβήρου· ταύτας δὲ ἀπάσας ἐπὶ ταυτὸν συναγαγὼν, διελὼν τε πρὸς κῶλον, καὶ ἀντιπαραθεῖς ἀλλήλαις μετὰ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς Ἑβραίων σημειώσεως, τὰ τῶν λεγομένων Ἑξαπλῶν ἡμῖν ἀντίγραφα καταλέλοιπεν· ἰδίως τὴν Ἀκύλου, καὶ

2. He published the *Septuagint*, with the additions of Theodotion mixed with it, to supply the places where it was defective, which additions he marked with an asterisk, to distinguish them; and such places as were redundant in the Septuagint, and not to be found in the Hebrew, nor in Theodotion, he also marked with an obelisk, straight line, for distinction also. But this mixing of the two translations together, in process of time, occasioned some confusion; and St. Jerome complains of it as a bold undertaking^s; and therefore he set about a new edition and translation of the Septuagint^t, for the use of the Latin Church. Hitherto all Churches used the translation of the Septuagint, except the Syrian Churches, as was said before, and except the one Book of Daniel, which, in all Churches, was read according to the translation of Theodotion (as the same St. Jerome informs us in several places^u, particularly in his

Συμμάχου, καὶ Θεοδοτίωνος ἔκδοσιν ἅμα τῇ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ἐν τοῖς τετραπλοῖς ἐπικατασκευάσας.

^s Hieron. Præfat. in Paralipomenon. (Venet. 1770. vol. ii. p. 522.) Origenes non solum exempla composuit quatuor editionum, e regione singula verba describens, ut unus dissentiens statim, ceteris inter se consentientibus, arguatur: sed quod majoris audaciæ est, in editione Septuaginta, Theodotionis editionem miscuit, asteriscis videlicet designans, quæ minus fuerant, et virgulis quæ ex superfluo videbantur apposita. Si igitur aliis licuit non tenere, quod semel susceperant, et post septuaginta cellulas, quæ vulgo sine auctore jactantur, singulas cellulas aperuere: hocque in ecclesiis legitur, quod Septuaginta nescierunt: cur me non suscipiant Latini mei, qui, inviolata editione veteri, ita novam condidi, ut laborem meum Hebræis et (quod his majus est) apostolis auctoribus probem?

^t Ibid. Præfat. in Josue. (Venet. vol. ix. p. 355.) Et ut in primis quod sæpe testatus sum, sciat me non in reprehensionem veterum nova eudere, sicut amici mei criminantur; sed pro virili parte, offerre linguæ meæ hominibus (quos tamen nostra delectant), ut pro Græcorum ἑξαπλοῖς, quæ et sumtu et labore maximo indigent, editionem nostram habeant. Et sicubi in antiquorum voluminum lectione dubitarint, hæc illis conferentes, inveniant quod requirunt: maxime quum apud Latinos tot sint exemplaria, quot codices; et unusquisque pro arbitrio suo vel addiderit vel subtraxerit, quod ei visum est: et utique non possit verum esse, quod dissonat.

^u Ibid. Quare Daniele juxta Theodotionis traditionem ecclesiæ susceperunt? — Id. Comment. in Dan. c. iv. (vol. v. p. 646.) Exceptis lxx. translatoribus, qui hæc omnia, nescio qua ratione, præterierunt, tres reliqui *collegam* interpretati sunt. Unde judicio magistrorum ecclesiæ, editio eorum in hoc volumine repudiata est, et Theodotionis vulgo legitur: quæ et Hebræo et ceteris translatoribus congruit. — Id. Apolog. cont. Ruffin. lib. ii. c. ix. (p. 519. C, edit. Paris.) De Daniele breviter respondebo . . . me docuisse

Preface upon Daniel ^v), because, by some means or other, the Septuagint translation of that book was more corrupt than any other part of Scripture. But there were abundance of faults in that translation in other places, partly by the design of the interpreters (who added some things of their own, and left out others, and often changed the sense at pleasure, especially in texts that had any relation to the Holy Trinity, as St. Jerome shows at large in his Preface upon the Pentateuch ^w, where he exposes the story of their having distinct cells, and their being esteemed inspired writers); and partly from the great variety of copies, and the great corruptions that were crept into them, by the ignorance or negligence of transcribers; and this both in the Septuagint copies themselves, and the Latin translations that were made from them. Upon this account, St. Jerome, by the instigation of Chromatius and Heliodorus, and other pious bishops of the Latin Church, set about a translation of the Psalms and Old Testament from the original Hebrew: but this met with great opposition for some time: for though many applauded it, and read it in the churches, yet others opposed it: and Ruffin and others bitterly inveighed against it, as reflecting on the Church, which had used and recommended the Septuagint, and the translations made from it, ever since the time of the apostles. St. Austin himself dissuaded him from the undertaking ^x; and when it was finished, he would

lectorem, ecclesias Christi hunc prophetam juxta Theodotionem legere et non juxta Septuaginta translatores.

^v Ibid. Præfat. in Daniele. (vol. iii. p. 695.) Daniele prophetam juxta Septuaginta interpretes Domini Salvatoris ecclesie non legunt, utentes Theodotionis editione: et cur hoc acciderit, nescio . . . Hoc unum adfirmare possum, quod multum a veritate discordet, et recto judicio repudiatus sit.

^w Hieron. Præfat. in Pentateuch. (Venet. vol. ix. p. 3.) Denique, ubicumque sacratum aliquid Scriptura testatur, de Patre, et Filio, et Spiritu Sancto, aut aliter interpretati sunt, aut omnino tacuerunt; ut et regi satisfacerent et arcana fide inon vulgarent. Et nescio quis primus auctor septuaginta cellulas Alexandriæ mendacio suo exstruxerit, quibus divisi eadem scriptitarint.

^x Aug. Epist. xix. ad Hieron. (Bened. 1679. vol. ii. p. 202. G 3.) De interpretatione tua jam mihi persuasisti, qua utilitate Scripturas volueris transferre de Hebræis, ut scilicet ea que a Judæis prætermissa vel corrupta sunt, proferres in medium. (p. 203.) Ideo autem desidero interpretationem tuam de Septuaginta, ut et tanta Latinorum interpretum, qui qualescumque hoc ausi sunt, quantum possumus imperitia careamus: et hi qui me invidere putant utilibus laboribus tuis, tandem aliquando, si fieri potest, intelligant, propterea

not suffer it to be read in his diocese, for fear of giving scandal to the people; telling him^v, further, what a tumult had been raised in one of the Churches of Africa, by a bishop's introducing his translation, which he was forced to lay aside again, for fear all his people should have deserted him: but in other places he met with a kinder reception: for, by degrees, it came to be used by learned men in their Expositions. Gregory the Great makes use of both translations^z, calling St. Jerome's 'the new translation,' and the other 'the old;' which was otherwise called the *Itala*, and *Vulgata*, and *Communis*, because it was the most common and vulgar translation used in all the Latin and Italic Churches. The present vulgar Latin translation is supposed by learned men neither to be the ancient vulgar, nor St. Jerome's new one, but a mixture of both together^a. The Psalms, in the present vulgar, are not from the Hebrew, but are of St. Jerome's translation from the

me nolle tuam ex Hebræo interpretationem in ecclesiis legi, ne contra Septuaginta auctoritatem, tanquam novum aliquid proferentes, magno scandalo perturbemus plebes Christi, quarum aures et corda illam interpretationem audire consueverunt, quæ etiam ab apostolis approbata est.

^v Ibid. Epist. x. ad Hieron. (p. 161. A 5.) Quidam frater noster episcopus, quum lectitari instituisset in ecclesia, cui præest, interpretationem tuam, movit quiddam longe aliter abs te positum apud Jonam prophetam, quam erat omnium sensibus memoriæque inveteratum. Factus est tantus tumultus in plebe, maxime Græcis arguentibus et inelamantibus calumniam falsitatis, ut cogere-
retur episcopus (ea quippe civitas erat) Judæorum testimonium flagitare. Utrum autem illi imperitia an malitia, hoc esse in Hebræis codicibus responderunt, quod et Græci et Latini habebant atque dicebant. Quid plura? Coactus est homo velut mendositatem corrigere, volens, post magnum periculum, non remanere sine plebe.

^z Gregor. Magnus, Epist. ad Leandr. ante Moral. in Job. in fine. (1705. vol. i. p. 6 E.) Novam translationem dissero: sed quum probationis causa exigit, nunc novum, nunc veterem per testimonia adsumo: ut quia sedes apostolica, cui Deo auctore præsideo, utraque utitur, mei quoque labor studii ex utraque fulciatur.

^a Walton. Prolegom. (sect. x. n. 3, p. 240. Cambr. 1828.) Certum est, in omnibus Vulgatam non esse Hieronymi: nam præter *Psalms* et ea, quæ ex vetere Vulgata vel ex Theodotione addidit, ut in additionibus ad *Estheram* et *Danielem* est videre, etiam in reliquis libris ubique multa occurrunt, quæ Hieronymi non esse cuilibet clarum est: nam in multis convenit cum vetere Vulg. sive lxx. ubi versio Sept. ab Hebr. differt: sæpe cum Theodotione, Symmacho, et Aquila: sæpissime etiam aliter habet, quam Hieronymus in operibus suis vertendum censuit: unde puram Hieronymi non esse, sed mixtam, facile est colligere.

Septuagint of Lucian's Emendation. The other books come nearer the Hebrew than they do to the Septuagint, which shows they have something of St. Jerome's translation. But the Psalms were always read at Rome according to the old version: and continued so to be used till Pope Pius V. ordered St. Jerome's version, with emendations from the Septuagint, to be put in its place. And so the old translation of the Psalms came to be called the 'Roman Psalter;' and St. Jerome's new translation the 'Gallican Psalter,' because it was immediately received in the Gallican Church. This is observed both by Mabillon^b and Bona^c out of Berno Augiensis and Strabo, who say, "The French and Germans took the new translation of the Psalms, corrected from the Septuagint, by St. Jerome, whilst the Romans continued to use the old

^b Mabillon. de Cursu Gallican. (Paris. 1685. pp. 395, 396.) In primis Galli antiquitus peculiari Psalterii versione usi sunt, scilicet ea, quæ a sancto Hieronymo emendata est. Audiendus hac de re Walafridus Strabo de Rebus Ecclesiasticis, c. xxv. 'Psalms autem quum secundum lxx. interpretes Romani adhuc habeant; Galli et Germanorum aliqui secundum emendationem, quam Hieronymus pater de lxx. editione composuit, Psalterium cantant: quam Gregorius Turonensis episcopus a partibus Romanis mutuam, in Galliarum dicitur ecclesias transtulisse.' De re ipsa eadem est Bernonis Augiensis abbatis sententia: de tempore vero, quo hæc versio a Gallis recepta est, hic cum Walafrido non consentit. Bernonis verba eo lubentius refero, quod accepta sint ex ejus epistola inedita ad Meginfridum et Bennonem, ubi de Hieronymo agens: 'Inter cetera,' inquit, 'ex emendata lxx. interpretum translatione Psalterium ex Græco in Latinum vertit, illudque cantandum omnibus Gallie ac quibusdam Germaniæ ecclesiis tradidit. Et ob hoc Gallicanum Psalterium appellavit, Romanis adhuc ex corrupta vulgata editione Psalterium canentibus: ex qua Romani cantum composuerunt, nobisque usum cantandi contradiderunt. Unde accidit, quod verba, quæ in diurnis vel in nocturnis officiis canendi more modulantur, intermiscantur, et confuse nostris psalmis inserantur, ut a minus peritis haud facile possit discerni, quid nostræ vel Romanæ conveniat editioni,' etc.

^c Bona, Rer. Liturgic. lib. ii. c. iii. n. iv. (Antverp. 1677. p. 506.) Priore editione pura, qualis erat ante S. Hieronymum, utebantur olim omnes ecclesie Occidentales; Romana præsertim cum omnibus suburbicariis, ut constat ex antiquorum patrum commentariis in Psalmos; donec idem Psalterium ab ipso Hieronymo interpolatum primum quidem in Gallia, nescio quo tempore, unde Gallicanum nuncupatum est; deinde in aliis regionibus introductum fuit. In omnibus autem urbis Romæ ecclesiis vetus illud permansit usque ad Pium V. qui ipsum sustulit, et in sola Basilica Vaticana reliquit, in qua nunc etiam religiosissime recitatur, et novissime sublatis mendis quæ irreperant, pristinae integritati restitutum est.

vulgar corrupt edition: which is still read in the Vatican Church at Rome, and the Ambrosian Church at Milan, and St. Mark's at Venice:" and Bona is so free as to say ^d, " he thinks it had been more for the honour and benefit of the Church, to have kept still to the old version of the Psalter, since now there is a great disagreement between the Breviary and the Missal, whilst the same Psalms are sung different ways; in the Missal, according to the old translation; and in the Breviary, according to the new one;" which he speaks of as a mistake, but tenderly; because, though it was a deviation from the old rule observed in Gregory's *Sacramentarium*, and the *Missa Mosarabica*, and the Ambrosian Liturgy, yet it was Pope Pius's order that made the correction.

I might here have added several other things relating to the ancient way of dividing the several books of Scripture into chapters, and verses, and canons, and sections, and sub-sections, very much differing from the present way of dividing them into chapter and verse. But because observations of this kind are very intricate of themselves, and have no relation to the service of the Church, which is the subject in hand, I shall omit them here, with many other miscellany rites of the same nature, which will be more proper to be explained in a critical discourse by themselves; and now proceed to the next part of the service of the Church, in the *missa catechumenorum*, which was the sermon or homily, immediately after the reading of the Psalms and other Scriptures, before any prayers were made either for particular orders of men, such as catechumens, energumens, penitents, &c., or for the general state of Christ's Church.

^d Bona, Rer. Liturgic. lib. ii. c. iii. n. v. (Antwerp. 1677. p. 506.) Inconveniēns et merito visum est, quod idem psalmus et idem canticum aliis verbis in [Missa, aliis in] Officio cantaretur. Hæc autem dissonantia, ablato nunc veteri Psalterio, sæpe occurrit. Cæterum ista hoc loco notare libuit, non ut quemquam carperem, sed ne prisca ecclesiæ disciplina ignoraretur.

CHAPTER IV.

OF PREACHING, AND THE USAGES RELATING TO IT, IN THE
ANCIENT CHURCH.

SECT. I.—*All Sermons anciently called Homilies, Disputations, Allocutions, Tractatus, &c.*

IMMEDIATELY after the reading of the Psalms and lessons out of the Scriptures, before the catechumens were dismissed, followed the sermon, which the bishop, or some other appointed by him, made to the people. This being done in the presence of the catechumens, was, therefore, usually reckoned a part of the *missa catechumenorum*, or ‘ante-communion service.’ Such discourses were commonly termed ‘homilies,’ from the Greek *ὁμιλίαι*, which signifies indifferently ‘any discourse of instruction to the people, whether composed by the preacher himself, or read out of a book composed by another;’ though we now generally restrain it to the latter sense in our modern way of speaking. Among the Latins they were frequently called *tractatus*, as appears from many passages of Cyprian, Optatus, St. Ambrose, St. Austin, St. Jerome, Gaudentius, Chrysologus, and many others collected by Ferrarius^a, which I think it needless to recite: only I shall observe one thing, that this word signifies any exposition or handling of Scripture, as well by way of writing as preaching; and in both senses, the *tractatores*, the ‘preachers and expositors of Scripture,’ were opposed to the *canonici et authentici*, the ‘prophets, evangelists, and apostles,’ who wrote by inspiration, and whose authority was absolutely infallible and authentic; which could not be said of any expositors, however excellent or learned, who dictated their thoughts without any such peculiar assistance. This distinction is often inculcated by St. Austin: “I confess,” says he, writing to St. Jerome^b, “I have learned to

^a Ferrar. de Ritu Concion. lib. i. c. ii. pp. 2—6. (Paris. 1664. 8vo.)

^b Aug. Epist. xix. ad Hieron. c. i. (Bened. 1679. vol. ii. p. 190. F 3.) Ego fateor Caritati tue, solis eis Scripturarum libris, qui jam ‘canonici’ appellantur, didici hunc timorem honoremque deferre, ut nullum eorum auctorem scribendo aliquid errasse firmissime credam. Ac si aliquid in eis offendero literis, quod

pay this reverence and honour only to those books of Scripture which are called canonical, that I most firmly believe none of the authors of them was guilty of any error in writing; and if I find any thing in those books which seems contrary to truth, I make no doubt but that it is either a corruption of the copy, or that the translator did not hit the sense, or that I myself do not understand it. But I read all others with this caution and reserve, that however eminent they be for piety and learning, I do not believe what they say to be true, merely because it was their opinion; but because they persuade me, either by those canonical authors, or by probable reason, which carries the appearance of truth." So again, in his book, *De Catechizandis Rudibus*^c, he distinguishes the inspired writers by the name of 'canonical,' from all others whom he calls 'tractators and expositors of Scripture;' as Claudianus Mamertus speaks of all expositors under the name of 'tractators,' but of the holy penmen themselves under the title of 'authentics^d.' St. Austin^e and St. Jerome^f often speak of preaching under the

videatur contrarium veritati; nihil aliud, quam vel mendosum esse codicem, vel interpretem non adsequutum esse quod dictum est, vel me minime intellexisse, non ambigam. Alios autem ita lego, ut quantalibet sanetitate doctrinaque præpolleant, non ideo verum putem, quia ipsi ita senserunt; sed quia mihi vel per illos auctores canonicos, vel probabili ratione, quod a vero non abhorreat, persuadere potuerunt.

^c Aug. de Catech. Rudibus, c. viii. (Bened. 1700. vol. vi. p. 197.) Nec ipse sane inutiliter interrogatur, quibus rebus motus sit, ut velit esse Christianus: ut si libris ei persuasum esse videris, sive canonicis, sive utilium Tractatorum, de his aliquid in principio loquaris, collaudans eos pro diversitate meritorum canonicæ auctoritatis et exponentium solertissimæ diligentie.

^d Mamert. de Statu Animæ, lib. ii. c. x. Sed nunc locus et tempus est, ut sicut a philosophis ad tractatores ad authenticos gradum consequar, ita, etc. — Id. lib. i. c. ii. Post authenticorum plurimos tractatores, etc.

^e Aug. Tractat. lxxxix. in Johan. (Bened. 1700. vol. iii. p. 524.) Quomodo id fieri possit, si adjuvante Domino per nos demonstrari potest; quia hæc disputatio est jam claudenda, nunc non potest. — Id. Confess. lib. v. c. xiii. (Bened. 1679. vol. i. p. 118.) Studiose audiebam disputantem (Ambrosium) in populo, non intentione qua debui, sed quasi explorans ejus facultatem, utrum conveniret famæ suæ, an major minorve proflueret, quam predicabatur; et verbis ejus suspendebam intentus.

^f Hieron. Epist. xxii. ad Eustoeh. c. xv. (Venet. vol. i. p. 119. D.) Post horam nonam in commune concurritur, psalmi resonant, Scripturæ recitantur ex more. Et completis orationibus, cunctisque residentibus, medius, quem Patrem vocant, incipit disputare. Quo loquente, tantum silentium fit, ut

name of ‘disputations;’ Tertullian ^g calls them ‘allocutions,’ dividing the whole service into these four parts,—reading the Scriptures, singing the Psalms, making allocutions, and sending up prayers. Among the Greeks they are frequently called λόγοι, which answers to the Latin word *sermones*, and the English ‘sermons.’ The most ancient name is that of *evangelium*, and εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, appropriated more peculiarly to the preaching of the apostles, and therefore seldom or never ascribed to any others by ecclesiastical writers. A more general name in Scripture is that of διδασκαλία, ‘doctrine and teaching:’ whence preachers of the word are called διδάσκαλοι, ‘doctors and teachers,’ by St. Paul (1 Cor. xii. 28, 29), which Vincentius Lirinensis observes to be the same as *tractatores* in after ages ^h. St. Paul also uses the word κήρυγμα for ‘preaching’ (1 Cor. ii. 4), and in many other places of his Epistles ⁱ: and so it is sometimes used by ecclesiastical writers after him. But we must carefully note, that more commonly the words κηρύσσειν and κήρυγμα among the Greeks, as also *prædicatio* and *prædicare* among the Latins, signify a very different thing, viz. that part of the deacon’s office which he performed as the common κήρυξ, or *præco* of the Church, dictating the usual forms of prayer to the people, in which they were to join; and calling upon them, as their guide and director, in all other parts of divine service. This I have had occasion to speak more largely of in a former Book ^j, where we have particularly considered the ordinary office of deacons, and showed that they had no authority, in ordinary cases, either to preach, or consecrate the eucharist, or baptize; but whatever they did of

nemo alium respicere, nemo audeat exsercare. Dicentis laus in fletu est audientium, etc.

^g Tertul. de Anima, c. ix. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 340.) Jam vero prout Scripturæ leguntur, aut Psalmi canuntur, aut adlocutiones proferuntur, aut petitiones delegantur.—So frequently, in Gregory the Great, the sermon is called simply ‘locutio.’—Hom. v. (tom. i. Opp. p. 1205. D, edit. Paris. 1705.) In ea locutione, quæ ad vos nudius tertius facta est.—Hom. ix. Caritati vestræ colloquimur, eidem omnipotenti Deo gratias referentes, quia post tot opaca sylvarum, tandem læti ad campos exivimus, in quibus liberis gressibus locutionis nostræ intrepidum pedem ponamus. (p. 1249. B.)

^h Vincent. Commonitor. c. xl. Doctores, qui Tractatores nunc appellantur.

ⁱ Vid. 1 Cor. i. 21. xiv. 15. 2 Tim. iv. 17. Tit. i. 3.

^j Book ii. chap. xx. sects. x. xi. (vol. i. p. 293.)

this kind was either in case of great necessity, or by special commission and direction : and, therefore, those ancient canons, which speak of their predication^k, are not to be understood of their preaching sermons, but of their proclaiming to the people such directions in performing divine offices, as they were concerned to give them by virtue of their office as the common heralds and criers of the Church.

SECT. II.—*Preaching, the proper Office of Bishops and Presbyters, in ordinary Cases, and not of Deacons.*

The deacons indeed, in cases of exigence, were allowed to read the homilies of the fathers, as they did the lessons of Scripture : which is the reason assigned by the Council of Vaison^l for permitting them so to do, when the presbyter was sick or infirm ; for “ if deacons were worthy to read what Christ has spoken in the Gospel, why should they be thought unworthy to rehearse publicly the expositions or homilies of the fathers ? ” But, excepting such cases, we very rarely find any permission, so much as to read a homily, granted them ; for preaching, anciently, was one of the chief offices of a bishop : insomuch that in the African Churches a presbyter was never known to preach before a bishop in his cathedral church till St. Austin’s time ; but the bishop always discharged this office himself, and St. Austin was the first presbyter, in that part of the world, that ever was allowed to preach in the presence of his bishop, as has been showed out of Possidius^m, the writer of his life, in a former Book. It is true, in the Eastern Churches, presbyters were sometimes allowed to preach in the great church before the bishop ; but that was

^k Conc. Ancyran. c. ii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1456.) Πεπαῦσθαι αὐτοὺς πάσης τῆς ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας, τῆς τοῦ ἄρτου ἢ ποτήριον ἀναφέρειν, ἢ κηρύσσειν. — Conc. Tolet. IV. c. xxxix. al. xl. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1716.) Unum orarium oportet Levitam gestare in sinistro humero, propter quod orat, id est, prædicat.

^l Conc. Vasens. II. c. ii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1630.) Si presbyter, aliqua infirmitate prohibente, per se ipsum non potuerit predicare, sanctorum Patrum homilie a diaconibus recitentur. Si enim digni sunt diaconi, quæ Christus in evangelio loquutus est, legere ; quare indigni judicentur, sanctorum Patrum expositiones publicè recitare ?

^m See vol. i. p. 83, note (m).

not to discharge him of the duty, for still he preached a sermon at the same time after them, as we shall see from the practice of Chrysostom and Flavian at Antioch, and other examples hereafter.

In the lesser churches of the city, and country about, this office was devolved upon presbyters, as the bishop's proper assistants; and the deacons, except in the fore-mentioned cases, were not authorized to perform it: so that this office of preaching the Gospel was then esteemed the proper office of bishops and presbyters, the bishop discharging it personally in his cathedral church, in conjunction with his presbyters, or alone, without them; and vicariously, by his presbyters, where he could not be present, in the lesser churches. There are a great many serious passages in the ancient records relating to this matter, as well in the imperial laws as the canons of the Church, and the writings of the most considerable fathers, partly impressing this as a necessary duty of the episcopal and pastoral function, and partly complaining of the neglect of it, and partly threatening censures and punishments to the offenders. St. Chrysostom, on those words to Timothy, "A bishop must be apt to teach," διδακτικόν, saysⁿ, "Other qualifications, such as those, 'He must be sober, vigilant, of good behaviour, given to hospitality,' &c., may be in subjects; but, because a bishop ought to have those qualifications that belong to rulers, the apostle therefore added, 'He must be apt to teach;' for this is not required of subjects, but is most especially required of those who have the office of governing committed to them." And, again, on those words to Titus, "Holding fast the faithful word, as he hath been taught (or, 'which relates to teaching,' τοῦ κατὰ διδασχὴν λόγου), that he may be able, by sound doctrine, both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers," he says, "St. Paul converted the world, not so much by his miracles as by his continual preaching:

ⁿ Chrysostom. Hom. x. in 1 Tim. iii. (Bened. 1718. vol. xi. p. 599. D.)
 Σώφρονα, κόσμιον, φιλόξενον· ταῦτα ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἔχουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ, δεῖ γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἴσους εἶναι, δεικνύς τὸ τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐξαίρετον, ἐπήγαγε διδακτικόν· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκέτι ὁ ἀρχόμενος ἀπαιτεῖται· μάλιστα γὰρ τοῦτο πάντων προσεῖναι δεῖ τῇ ταύτῃ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένῃ.

and, therefore, a bishop must be able to exhort by sound doctrine; that is, to preserve his flock, and overthrow its enemies. And unless he be such a one, all is lost: for he that knows not how to oppose the enemy, and captivate every thought to the obedience of Christ, and pull down the vain imaginations of men, as he knows not how to teach according to sound doctrine, so he ought to be far from the teaching throne^o," *πόρρω ἔστω θρόνου διδασκαλικοῦ*: where it is observable, that Chrysostom therefore calls the bishop's throne, 'the throne of doctrine,' or 'teaching throne,' because preaching sound doctrine was so necessary a part of the bishop's office, that he could not be without it. St. Ambrose, likewise, describing the office of a bishop, does it chiefly by styling it 'the office of teaching:' complaining modestly of his own hard fate, in being forced against his will to take upon him the office of the priesthood^p; that is, to be made a bishop; which obliged him to teach others before he had well learned himself: for he was made bishop of a catechumen. Sidonius Apollinaris^q makes the same description of the office of a bishop, complain-

^o Ibid. Hom. ii. in Tit. (Bened. vol. xi. p. 739. F.) *Ὁὐχ ὀρᾶς Παῦλον τρεψάμενον τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν, καὶ μείζονα ἰσχύσαντα καὶ Πλάτωνος, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων; ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων, φησὶν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων μόνον· εἰ γὰρ ἐπέλθοις τὰς πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων, πολλαχοῦ αὐτὸν εὐρήσεις ἀπὸ τῆς διδασκαλίας κρατοῦντα καὶ πρὸ τῶν σημείων ἵνα δυνατὸς ᾗ, καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τῇ ὑγαινοῦσῃ, τουτέστι, πρὸς φυλακὴν τῶν οἰκείων, πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν, καὶ τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας ἐλέγχειν· τούτου γὰρ μὴ ὄντος, πάντα οἴχεται· ὁ γὰρ οὐκ εἰδὼς μάχεσθαι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, καὶ αἰχμαλωτίζειν πᾶν νόημα εἰς τὴν ὑπακοὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ λογισμοὺς καθαιρεῖν, ὁ οὐκ εἰδὼς ἂ χρηὶ περὶ ὀρθῆς διδάσκειν διδασκαλίας, πόρρω ἔστω θρόνου διδασκαλικοῦ.*

^p Ambros. de Offic. lib. i. c. i. titul. capitis. *Episcopi proprium munus, docere populum.*—Cap. ii. (Paris. 1836. vol. iii. p. 137.) *Quum jam effugere non possumus officium docendi, quod nobis refugientibus imposuit sacerdotii necessitudo. . . . Homines discunt prius, quod doceant, et ab illo accipiunt, quod aliis tradant. Quod ne ipsum quidem mihi accidit. Ego enim raptus, de tribunalibus atque administrationis infulis ad sacerdotium docere vos coepi, quod ipse non didici. Itaque factum est, ut prius docere inciperem, quam discere.*

^q Sidon. lib. v. ep. iii. (Galland. vol. x. p. 505. B 3.) *Indignissimo tantæ professionis pondus impactum est; qui miser ante compulsus docere, quam discere, et ante presumens bonum prædicare, quam facere, tamquam sterilis arbor, quum non habeam opera pro pomis, spargo verba pro foliis.* (1609. p. 320.)

ing, in the like modest way, with St. Ambrose, of the weight of the profession that was laid upon his shoulders, when, by being made a bishop against his will, he was forced to teach before he had learned, and preach good to others, before he had done any himself. Like a barren tree, when he had no works to show for fruit, he was forced to scatter words for leaves : meaning the necessity of preaching, that was laid upon him by taking the office of a bishop. St. Cyril of Alexandria, in like manner, calls the office of a bishop^r ἀξίωμα διδασκαλικόν, ‘the dignity or honour of teaching.’ And in the sixth General Council, where Maximus, bishop of Antioch, was degraded for his heresy, he is said to be removed from the throne of teaching^s:” that is, from the episcopal office, of which preaching was a special ingredient. The rule of the Apostolical Canons is^t, “that a bishop who neglects his clergy or his people, and teaches them not the rules of piety, shall be suspended, and if he persists in his neglect, shall be deposed : for it was his office to teach the clergy as well as the people, and to expound the Scriptures to them ; whence St. Jerome gives it as part of the character of Gregory Nazianzen , “that he was an eloquent teacher, and the master under whom he learned the Scriptures, as he explained them.” Some would have excused themselves by saying, “they would teach the people by their example.” To which St. Jerome replies^x, “that a bishop’s innocent conversation, without preaching,

^r Cyril. Epist. ad Monachos in Conc. Ephes. part i. c. xxviii. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 423. A.) Εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔλοιτο ταῦτα πράξει, ἀλλότριον αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ ξένον τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν ἐπισκόπων καὶ τοῦ διδασκαλικοῦ ἀξιώματος,

^s Conc. VI. General. act. xii. (Labbe, vol. vi. p. 937. C.) Οὐδαμῶς ὁ θεῖος κανὼν παραδέχεται τοῦ λοιποῦ εἰς διδασκαλικὸν καθίσαι θρόνον.

^t Can. Apost. c. lvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 37.) Ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἀμελῶν τοῦ κλήρου, ἢ τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ μὴ παιδεύων αὐτοὺς τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ἀφοριζέσθω· ἐπιμένων δὲ τῇ ῥαθυμίᾳ, καθαιρείσθω.

^u Hieron. de Scriptor. c. cxvii. (Venet. vol. ii. p. 943.) Vir eloquentissimus, præceptor meus, quo Scripturas explanante didici.

^x Ibid. Epist. lxxxiii. ad Oceanum. (Venet. vol. i. p. 423.) Sacerdotis innocens, et absque sermone conversatio, quantum exemplo prodest, tantum silentio nocet. Nam et latratu canum, baculoque pastoris, luporum rabies deterrenda est.—Id. Epist. ii. ad Nepot. (vol. i. p. 262. D.) Quod Aaron et filios ejus, hoc episcopum et presbyteros esse, noverimus. . . . Recordemur sæpe, quod apostolus Petrus præcipiat sacerdotibus, ‘Pascite eum, qui in vobis est, gregem Domini,’ etc.

did as much harm by its silence, as it did good by its example; for the barking of the dogs is as necessary as the shepherd's staff, to terrify and beat off the fury of the wolves." Athanasius gives a very pathetic exhortation to Dracontius, a bishop newly ordained^y: "Now that you are made bishop," says he, "the people expect that you should bring them food from the doctrine of the Scriptures: but if, while they expect it, they suffer want, and you only feed yourself, what excuse will you have, when the Lord Jesus shall come, and find his sheep starving for want of food?" St. Austin, in one of his homilies upon the anniversary of his ordination^z, represents this part of a bishop's office with great concern, as a matter in which he was deeply interested, and nearly affected. First, he tells his people what a burthen was laid upon him by God, in the Prophet Ezekiel, chap. xxxiii. which was the lesson appointed for that solemnity, wherein were these words, so full of terror: "I have made thee a watchman. If I say to the sinner, Thou shalt surely die, and thou holdest thy peace, and he die in his sins, he indeed dies justly, and according to his desert, in his sins; but his blood will I require at thy hands," &c. Upon which he makes this reflection with regard to his own office: "I am a steward: if I lay not out my lord's money, but keep

^y Athan. Epist. ad Dracont. (tom. i. p. 264. Paris. 1698.) Πρὶν μὲν λάβης τὴν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς χάριν, οὐδεὶς ἐγίνωσκέ σε γενόμενον δὲ λοιπὸν, οἱ λαοὶ προσδοκῶσι φέρουτά σε τροφήν αὐτοῖς, τὴν ἐκ τῶν γραφῶν διδασκαλίαν ὅταν τοῖνυν οἱ προσδοκῶντες λιμώττωσι, σὺ δὲ σαυτὸν μόνον τρέφης, καὶ ἔλθῃ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, ἡμεῖς τε αὐτῷ παραστῶμεν, ποῖαν σχοίης ἀπολογία, ὁρῶντος αὐτοῦ τὰ ἴδια πρόβατα λιμώττοντα;

^z Aug. Serm. xxv. ex l. (Bened. 1700. vol. v. p. 913. C.) Erogator sum. Si non erogem, et pecuniam servem, terret me evangelium. Possem enim dicere, quid mihi est tædio esse hominibus, dicere iniquis: Inique agere nolite, sic agite, sic agere desistite? quid mihi est oneri esse hominibus? Accepi, quomodo vivam, quomodo jussus sum, quomodo præceptus sum; adsignem quomodo accepi; de aliis me reddere rationem quo mihi? Evangelium me terret. Nam ad istam securitatem otiosissimam nemo me vinceret. Nihil est melius, nihil dulcius, quam divinum scrutari, nullo strepente, thesaurum: dulce est, bonum est. Prædicare, arguere, corripere, ædificare, pro uno quoque satagere magnum onus, magnum pondus, magnus labor. Quis non refugiat istum laborem? Sed terret evangelium. Processit quidam servus, et ait Domino suo, 'Sciebam te hominem molestum, metere ubi non seminasti: servavi pecuniam tuam, nolui eam erogare, tolle quod tuum est. Si aliquid minus est, indica: si integrum est, noli mihi molestus esse.' Ait autem ille, 'Serve nequam, ex ore tuo te condemnabo: quare non dedisti pecuniam meam ad mensam, et ego veniens cum usuris utique exegissem illam.'

it by me, the Gospel terrifies me. I might say, indeed, What have I to do to be troublesome unto men, to say to the wicked, Do not thus, do thus, desist from doing evil? What have I to do to be thus troublesome unto men? I have received, how I ought to live myself, as I am enjoined, as I am commanded. I will return what I have received. What have I to do to give account of others? But the Gospel terrifies me. There is nothing more pleasant than to seek after the divine treasure in quiet. This is sweet and good; but to preach, to reprove, to correct, to edify, to take the care of every other man upon myself, this is a great burden, a great weight, a great labour. Who would not fly from such a labour? But the Gospel terrifies me. There we read of a certain servant, who said to his lord, ‘I knew thee to be a hard man, reaping where thou hast not sowed; therefore I kept thy money,’ I would not lay it out. ‘Take that which is thine.’ To whom the Lord answered, ‘Out of thine own mouth will I condemn thee, O thou wicked servant: thou oughtest to have given my money to the bank, that when I came I might have received mine own with usury.’” The curious reader may find a great deal more, to the same purpose, in St. Basil’s Epistles ^a, and Gregory Nazianzen’s Complaints ^b, and those of Cyprian ^c, which I care

^a Basil. Ep. lxi. (Bened. 1721. vol. iii. p. 181.) . . . ὥστε καὶ ποιμένας ἀναδεικνύουσι τοὺς τοῖς ἴχνεσι τῶν πατέρων ἀκολουθοῦντας, καὶ τὸν λαὸν τοῦ Κυρίου μεθ’ ἐπιστήμης ποιμαίνοντας . . . —Ep. clxxxv. (p. 156.) Περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐκεῖνα παραινεῖν ἔχομεν, ὅτι προσήκει πᾶσαν ἀποθεμένους κατήφειαν, ἑαυτῶν γενέσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν πρόνοιαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας διαναστῆναι ὅπως ἂν ὁ ἅγιος Θεὸς ἐπιμεληθῇ τοῦ ἰδίου ποιμνίου, καὶ παράσχοιτο ἡμῖν ποιμένα κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέλημα, ποιμαίνοντα ἡμᾶς μεθ’ ἐπιστήμης. —Ep. cexcliii. Οὐχὶ γελᾶται τὸ μέγα τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον, ὡς ἄνευ λαοῦ καὶ κλήρου ἐπισκόπων περιερχομένων, καὶ ὄνομα ψιλὸν περιφερόντων, οὐδὲν δὲ κατορθούντων εἰς προκοπὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ σωτηρίας;

^b Nazianz. Orat. i. de Fuga. (Paris. 1630. p. 15. D.) Αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν τοῦ λόγου διανομήν, ἵνα τελευταῖον εἶπω τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ἡμετέρων, τοῦ θείου λέγω καὶ ὑψηλοῦ, καὶ ὃ νῦν πάντες φιλοσοφοῦσιν, εἰ μὲν τις ἄλλος θαρρῆϊ, καὶ πάσας διανοίας ὑπολαμβάνει, θαυμάζω τοῦτον ἐγὼ τῆς συνέσεως, ἵνα μὴ λέγω τῆς εὐθείας. —Id. Orat. xxxii. (p. 519. B.) Οἱ δὲ τῆς ὠδίνος ἐγγύς, ὅσοι τὸ μὲν ἀσεβῆς φεύγουσι, τὸ δὲ εὐσεβῆς οὐ παρῆρησιάζονται, εἴτε οἰκονομία τινὶ χρώμενοι περὶ τὸν λόγον, εἴτε δειλία πρὸς τοῦτο καταφεύγουσι. —Id. Tractat. de Episcopis, tom. ii. p. 304. A. Quod ad orationem attinet, pedes esto, rusticoque dicendi et imperito genere utitor, etc.

^c Cyprian. de Lapsis. (Oxon. 1682. p. 123.) (p. 89, Fell. Amstelod.) Epis-

not here to transcribe. But nothing is more remarkable than what is said by St. Chrysostom, in his homily upon the man who was to account to God for ten thousand talents, where he thus represents the account which bishops must make to God^d: “Not only secular magistrates,” says he, “but ‘the rulers of the Church,’ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προεστῶτες, must render an account of their government and administration; and they, above all others, shall suffer bitter and grievous punishment: for they, who are entrusted with the ministry of the word, shall be examined most strictly and severely in the next world, whether they have not, through sloth or envy, neglected to speak any thing which they ought to have spoken; and whether they have demonstrated, by their works and labour, that they have delivered all things faithfully, and concealed nothing that was profitable unto men.” Again, “He that has obtained the office of a bishop, by how much he is exalted to greater dignity, so much the more ample account shall he be required to give, not only of his doctrine or teaching, and care of the poor, but also of his examination and trial of those who are ordained, with a thousand other things of the like nature.” Where it is evident, that teaching is reckoned as necessary a part of the bishop’s function as ordination. And as he proves the one from those words of St. Paul to Timothy, “Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other men’s sins;” so he proves the other from those words of the same apostle to the Hebrews^e, “Obey them that have the rule over

copi plurimi, quos et hortamento esse oportet ceteris et exemplo, divina procuratione contenta, procuratores rerum secularium fieri, derelicta cathedra, plebe deserta, per alienas provincias oberrantes, negotiationis questuosæ nundinas aucupari.

^d Chrysostom. Hom. i. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 7. C 6.) Οὐχ οἱ ἔξωθεν δὲ μόνον ἄρχοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προεστῶτες τῆς οἰκείας ἀρχῆς ὑφ-έξουσι τὸν λόγον· καὶ μάλιστα οὗτοί εἰσιν, οἱ ἐπὶ πλέον τὰς πικρὰς καὶ βαρείας εὐθύνας ὑπέχοντες· καὶ γὰρ ὁ τοῦ λόγου τὴν διακονίαν ἐγκεχειρισμένος ἐξετασθήσεται μετὰ ἀκριβείας ἐκεῖ, εἰ μήτε ὄκνη, μήτε φθόνῳ παρῆδὲ τι τῶν δεόντων εἰπεῖν, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐπέδειξεν, ὅτι πάντα διεστείλατο, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔκρυψε τῶν συμφερόντων πάλιν ὁ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν λαχὼν, ὅσῳ πρὸς μείζονα ὄγκον ἀναβέβηκε, τοσούτῳ πλείονα ἀπαιτηθήσεται λόγον, οὐχὶ διδασκαλίας μόνον καὶ πενήτων προστασίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ χηροτοπιῶν δοκιμασίας, καὶ μυρίων ἐτέρων.

^e Chrysostom. de Sacerdot. lib. vi. c. i. (Bened. 1718. vol. i. p. 421. A 3.) Οὐ

you, and submit yourselves unto them: for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account" (Heb. xiii. 17); which, as he truly observes, is an argument full of terror. St. Chrysostom has abundance more, to the same purpose, in those excellent books of the priesthood, which were composed on purpose to describe the offices and duties of a bishop: among which he reckons the laborious work of making continual homilies and set discourses to the people^f. And whereas some were ready to plead, that a good life was the main thing required, to excuse their want of knowledge, and study, and preaching, and disputing, he answers^g, "That both these qualifications were required: they must not only do, but teach the commands of Christ, and guide others by their word and doctrine, as well as their practice. Each of these had their part in the episcopal office, and were necessary to assist one another, in order to consummate men's edification." With much more to the same purpose, which I here omit, because I have more fully represented it in another Book^h, where I had occasion to treat of the general duties of the ecclesiastical function.

What is thus pathetically pressed by private men, is more authoritatively enjoined by the laws of the Church and State. both concurring to enforce this duty. The Council of Lao-

γάρ μέχρις αἰσχύνης ἢ ζημίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰώνιος ἐκδέχεται κόλασις· τὸ γὰρ, πείθεσθε τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν καὶ ὑπέκτετε· ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἀγρυπνοῦσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν, ὡς λόγον ἀποδώσοντες· εἰ καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ νῦν σιωπήσομαι· ὁ γὰρ φόβος ταύτης τῆς ἀπειλῆς συνεχῶς κατασειέι μου τὴν ψυχὴν.

^f Ibid. lib. v. c. i. (vol. i. p. 415.) Ἐπεὶ τόγε πρᾶγμα αὐτὸ σωτηρίας τε καὶ πολλῶν γίνεται πρόξενον ἀγαθῶν, ὅτ' ἂν τοὺς διακονουμένους εὖρη σπουδαίους τε ἀνδρας καὶ αγαθοῦς· τί οὖν τοῦτο ἐστιν; ὁ πολλὸς πόνος, ὁ περὶ τὰς διαλέξεις τὰς κοινῇ πρὸς τὸν λαὸν γινομένης ἀναλισκόμενος.

^g Chrysostom. de Sacerdot. lib. iv. c. viii. (Bened. vol. i. p. 413. E 7.) Οὗτος ὁ τελειώτατος τῆς διδασκαλίας ὄρος, ὅτ' ἂν καὶ δι' ὧν πράττουσι, καὶ δι' ὧν λέγουσι, τοὺς μαθητευομένους ἐνάγωσι πρὸς τὸν μακάριον βίον, ὃν ὁ Χριστὸς διετάξατο· οὐ γὰρ ἀρκεῖ τὸ ποιεῖν πρὸς τὸ διδάσκειν· καὶ οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ λόγος, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σωτῆρος· ὃς γὰρ ἂν, φησι, ποιήσῃ καὶ διδάξῃ, οὗτος μέγας κληθήσεται· εἰ δὲ τὸ ποιῆσαι, διδάξαι ἦν, περιττῶς τὸ δεύτερον ἔκειτο. Καὶ γὰρ ἤρκει εἰπεῖν, ὃς ἂν ποιήσῃ μόνον· νῦν δὲ τῷ διελεῖν ἀμφοτέρα, δείκνυσιν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν τῶν ἔργων ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ τοῦ λόγου, καὶ ἀλλήλων δεῖται ἑκάτερα πρὸς τελείαν οἰκοδομήν.

^h Book vi. chap. iii. sect. ii. vol. ii. p. 141.

diceaⁱ speaks of it as a customary thing for the bishop to make always a sermon before the catechumens were dismissed. And the Council of Valentia, in Spain, does the same, when it orders, that catechumens, and penitents, and even heathens, should be allowed to hear the bishop's sermon^j, because they had experienced how that by this means many infidels had been brought over to the faith. These councils do not so much enjoin bishops to preach, as presuppose it to be their constant and general practice. But the Council of Trullo speaks more expressly by way of injunction^k, “that the rulers of Churches, τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προεστῶτας, ought every day, but especially on the Lord's day, to teach all the clergy and people the words of truth and godliness, gathered out of the Holy Scriptures.” And in the imperial laws there are several edicts of the secular power to the same purpose. In the Theodosian Code, there is one jointly made by the three Emperors, Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, which bears this title, *De Munere seu Officio Episcoporum in Prædicando Verbo Dei*, ‘Of the Duty and Office of Bishops in Preaching the Word of God.’ And the body of the edict^l charges all those with sacrilege, who either confound the sanctity of the divine law by ignorance, or violate it by neglecting to preach it. And the same law now stands inserted into the Justinian Code^m under the charge of sacrilege, both in the title and body of it also. In another law of Arcadius and Honoriusⁿ, bishops are styled the men

ⁱ Conc. Laodic. c. xix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1500.) Περὶ τοῦ δεῖν ἰδίᾳ πρῶτον μετὰ τὰς ὁμιλίας τῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ τῶν κατηχουμένων εὐχὴν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι.

^j Conc. Valent. c. i. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1617. E.) Quatenus salutaria præcepta Domini nostri Jesu Christi, vel sermonem sacerdotis, non solum fideles, sed etiam catechumeni, ac pœnitentes, et omnes, qui ex diverso sunt, audire licitum habeant. Sic enim pontificum prædicatione audita, nonnullos ad fidem attractos evidenter seimus.

^k Conc. Trull. c. xix. (Labbe, vol. vi. p. 1151.) Ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προεστῶτας ἐν πάσαις μὲν ἡμέραις, ἐξαίρετως δὲ ταῖς κυριακαῖς, πάντα τὸν κληρὸν καὶ τὸν λαὸν ἐκδιδάσκειν τοὺς τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγους, ἐκ τῆς θείας γραφῆς ἀναλεγόμενους τὰ τῆς ἀληθείας νοήματά τε καὶ κρίματα.

^l Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episcopis, leg. xxv. Qui divinæ legis sanctitatem, aut nesciendo confundunt, aut negligendo violant et offendunt, sacrilegium committunt.

^m Cod. Justin. lib. ix. tit. xxix. de Crimine Sacrilegii, leg. i.

ⁿ Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xl. de Pœnis, leg. xvi. Ad episcoporum sane culpam (ut cetera) redundabit, si quid forte in ea parte regionis, in qua ipsi

who in their several districts are to govern the people, by instilling into them the doctrines of the Christian religion; and more especially the principles of subjection and obedience to civil magistrates, which were often violated by the tumultuous practices of the monks, who were under their inspection. And in another law^o of Theodosius, all heretics are forbidden either to teach or hear their profane doctrines in their unlawful assemblies; more particularly they who were called bishops among them, should not presume to teach the faith which they themselves had not, nor ordain ministers when they themselves were really none. This supposes that the offices of ordination and preaching were equally the duties of Catholic bishops; and that the pretence in heretical bishops to perform them was mere usurpation. And upon the whole it appears, that as preaching was an office originally invested in bishops, as supreme pastors of the flock of Christ, so, by all the rules and laws of Church and State, and all the ties of religion, they were obliged to perform this duty with all assiduity and diligence, as we find they generally did out of the sense of the great obligation that was laid upon them. And some of the Romish Church (where this part of the episcopal function was for many years scandalously neglected) have earnestly wished and laboured for the restoration and revival of it. Habertus pleads hard for it, and says one thing particularly remarkable, to excite those to whom he writes^p, “That he could aver, upon certain experience in France, that there was more weight in the words of every bishop to the people, than in six hundred of the most eloquent and elaborate discourses of other men.” But I return to the ancient Church.

populos Christianæ religionis doctrinæ insinuatione moderantur, ex his, quæ fieri hæc lege jubemus, a monachis perpetratum esse cognoverint, nec vindicaverint.

^o *Ibid. lib. xvi. tit. v. de Hæreticis, leg. xxiv. Nusquam profana præcepta vel docere vel discere: ne antistites eorundem audeant fidem insinuare, quam non habent, et ministros creare, quod non sunt.*

^p *Habert. Archieratic. part. vii. observat. v. p. 91. Id scio expertusque esse, plus esse momenti in unius episcopi verbo ad populum, quam in sexcentis aliorum quantumvis exultis orationibus ac elaboratis.*

SECT. III.—*The singular Practice of the Church of Rome, in having no Sermons for several Ages, noted out of Sozomen and Cassiodore.*

It being thus certain, from what has been related, that the work of preaching was ordinarily performed by bishops themselves in their own church, either in conjunction with their presbyters or without them; it is very wonderfully strange, and even astonishing and surprising, to hear what Sozomen^a relates of the Church of Rome in his time, that they had no sermons either by the bishop or any other; which was contrary to the custom of all other Churches. For at Alexandria, the bishop alone preached without his presbyters from the time of Arius: and in other Churches it was done by the bishop and presbyters together: but in the Church of Rome by neither the one nor the other. Pagi^r and Quesnel^s think Sozomen must needs be mistaken, and that being a Greek, he took this report up by uncertain rumour; because Pope Leo, in whose time Sozomen lived, not only preached constantly to the people, but declared it his duty so to do; professing that he was afraid^t it should be imputed to him as a crime, if he was wanting in this part of his office and ministry. But Valesius^u, on the other hand, is very confident that Sozomen's

^a Sozom. lib. vii. c. xix. (Cant. p. 307, 19.) Οὔτε δὲ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, οὔτε ἄλλος τις ἐνθαδὲ ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας διδάσκει παρά δὲ Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι μόνος ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἐπίσκοπος· φασὶ δὲ τοῦτο οὐ πρότερον εἰωθὸς ἐπιγενέσθαι, ἀφ' οὗ Ἄρειος, πρεσβύτερος ὢν, περὶ τοῦ δόγματος διαλεγόμενος ἐνεωτέρισε.

^r Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 57, sect. iii. (Lucæ, vol. i. p. 420.)

^s Quesnel. Dissert. vi. de Jejunio Sabbati, et Dissert. i. de Vita Leonis.

^t Leo, Serm. iii. de Epiphania. (Max. Bib. V. P. vol. vii. p. 1005.) Quamvis sciam, dilectissimi, quod sanctitatem vestram hodiernæ festivitatis causa non lateat, eamque secundum consuetudinem Evangelicus vobis sermo reserverit; tamen ut nostri nihil desit officii, loqui de eadem, quod Dominus donaverit, audebo.

^u Vales. in Sozom. lib. vii. c. xix. (Cantabr. p. 307.) Mirum est, quod heic ait Sozomenus, Romæ nec episcopum, nec alium quemquam, in ecclesia sermonem habuisse ad populum. Nec est, quod quis suspicietur, heic Sozomenum falli. Nam Cassiodorus, qui Romæ vixerat, et Romanam ecclesiam frequentaverat, hunc morem ecclesiæ Romanæ retulit in Historia sua Tripartita. Quod procul dubio facturum non erat, si id falsum esse comperisset. Exstant quidem sermones Leonis papæ, quos Romæ habuit ad populum. Verum id recentius est Sozomeno. Nec ante Leonem papam sermones ullius Romani pontificis ad populum habitos proferri posse existimo. Objiciet fortasse aliquis sermonem

relation is true, because Cassiodore, who was a senator and consul, and *præfectus prætorio* at Rome, has the same out of Sozomen in his *Historia Tripartita* without any correction: and he says further, that no one can produce any sermons preached to the people by any bishop of Rome before those of Leo, which were not preached till after Sozomen wrote his history. I will not pretend to decide this controversy among these learned men, but only say, that however it was in Sozomen's time, it seems to have been otherwise in the days of Justin Martyr, when he presented his apology to Antoninus Pius and the senate of Rome, where he lived and wrote at that time: for there, describing the business of the Christian assemblies on the Lord's day, he expressly says ^v, "that, after the reading of the writings of the apostles and prophets, the *προεστῶς*, 'the bishop or president of the assembly,' made a sermon to exhort and excite the people to the imitation of the good things they had heard read out of them." Where it must reasonably be supposed that, writing at Rome, and to the Roman senate, he spake at least of the usual custom and practice of the Roman Church. And if it was otherwise in the time of Sozomen, some alteration must have happened in the interval. Perhaps they might have taken up the custom of reading the homilies of famous writers among the lessons, or immediately after, by the deacon (as I have showed before, they read in some churches the homilies of Ephraim Syrus, and the books of Clemens Romanus and Hermas Pastor ^w;

Liberii papæ, quem habuit Romæ in ecclesia B. Petri, die natalis Dominici, præsentè Bononiensi episcopo, ad Marcellinam sororem Ambrosii et alias virgines, quæ tunc virginitatem in ecclesia profitebantur. Quem tractatum Ambrosius totum descripsit in lib. iii. de Velandis Virginibus. Sed responderi potest, hunc Liberii sermonem non fuisse ad populum, sed exhortationem duntaxat, et allocutionem ad Marcellinam virginem. Atqui Sozomenus hoc loco de sermonibus loquitur, qui fiebant ad populum inter Missarum solemnias, quas Græci 'homilias' vocant. Certe verbum *διδάσκειν* proprie de iis sermonibus dicitur. Præterea etsi concedamus, sermonem tunc a Liberio habitum esse; nihil hoc facit adversus Sozomenum. Id enim extra ordinem factum est a Liberio in gratiam Marcellinæ. Sozomenus vero loquitur de more recepto atque usitato in ecclesia Romana.

^v Justin. Apol. i. (1742. p. 83. D 5.) *Εἶτα πανσαμένου τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος, προεστῶς διὰ λόγου τὴν νοουθεσίαν καὶ πρόκλησιν τῆς τῶν καλῶν τούτων μιμήσεως ποιῆται.*

^w Chap. iii. sect. xiv. See above, p. 501.

and in the old *Lectionariums* there are frequently lessons appointed out of the homilies of St. Austin, St. Ambrose, and others, as it is now in the Roman Breviary) : and this might supply the place of a sermon, till Leo brought up the ancient way of preaching in the Roman Church again, which was afterwards discontinued for five hundred years together, till Pius Quintus, like another Leo, revived the practice, as we are told by Surius, one of their own writers ^x.

SECT. IV.—*Whether Laymen were ever allowed to preach in the Ancient Church.*

But there is another question must be resolved with relation to the ancient Church, that is, Whether laymen were ever allowed, by authority, to make sermons to the people? That they did it in a private way, as catechists, in their catechetical schools at Alexandria, and other places, there is no question. For Origen read lectures in the catechetical school of Alexandria, before he was in orders ^y, by the appointment of Demetrius; and St. Jerome says ^z, “There was a long succession of famous men in that school, who were called ‘ecclesiastical doctors’ upon that account. But this was a different thing from their public preaching in the church. Sometimes the monks, who were only laymen, took upon them to preach publicly in the church: but this was opposed and censured as a usurpation of an office that did not belong to them.” All monks, anciently, considered only as monks, were no more than laymen, as I have fully showed in another place ^a: and, therefore, as monks, they had no title to any part of the ecclesiastical office, or function. Particularly St. Jerome says ^b,

^x Surius, Hist. ap. Blondell. Apolog. pro Sentent. Hieronymi, p. 58. Nunc pauciores e Romanæ ecclesiæ communicatoribus præsules, paucissimi vero presbyteri, docendi labore defunguntur: inter urbicos pontifices vix unus ab anno Domini M. aliquoties (si Surio Commentat. Rer. in Orbe Gestar., singulari testi, fides) concionatus Pius V. obstupescentem miraculi novitate Roman perculit.

^y Euseb. lib. vi. c. iii. “Ἔτος δ’ ἦγεν ὀκτωκαίδέκατον, καθ’ ὃ τοῦ τῆς κατηγορήσεως πρόεστη διδασκαλείου. (Cant. p. 260, l. 15.)

^z Hieron. de Scriptor. c. xxxvi.

^a See vol. ii. p. 254.

^b Hieron. contra Vigilant. (vol. ii. p. 400.) Monachus non docentis, sed plangentis, habet officium.

The office of a monk was not to teach, but to mourn. And, that the case of the monks and clergy was very different from each other^c: the clergy are those that feed the sheep, the monks are among those that are fed.” And, therefore, when some monks in the Eastern parts about Antioch, presuming on their own qualifications and knowledge, took upon them to preach publicly in the churches, Pope Leo wrote two letters to Maximus, bishop of Antioch, and Theodoret, to engage them to lay a restraint upon them, telling them^d, “that besides the priests of the Lord, none ought to presume to take upon them the power of teaching or preaching, whether he were monk or layman, whatever knowledge he could pretend to.” Yet, in some cases, a special commission was given to a layman to preach, and then he might do it by authority of the bishop’s commission for that time. Thus Eusebius says^e, “Origen was approved by Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus, of Cæsarea, to preach and expound the Scriptures pub-

^c Ibid. Epist. i. ad Heliodor. (Venet. vol. i. p. 34.) *Alia monachorum est causa, alia clericorum: clerici pascunt oves; ego pascor.*

^d Leo, Epist. lx. al. lxii. ad Maximum Antiochen.—Ibid. Epist. lxi. al. lxiii. ad Theodorium Episcopum Cyri. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 1348. C 9.) *Adjicientes et illud, quod nobis propter improbitatem monachorum quorundam regionis vestre verbo mandastis per vicarios nostros, et hoc specialiter statuentes, ut præter Domini sacerdotes nullus audeat prædicare, seu monachus, sive ille sit laicus, qui cujuslibet scientiæ nomine glorietur.*

^e Euseb. lib. vi. c. xix. (Cantab. p. 283.) *Ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τὰς διατριβάς ἐποιεῖτο ἔνθα καὶ διαλέγεσθαι, τὰς τε θείας ἐρμηνεύειν γραφὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἱ τῆδε ἐπίσκοποι, καίτοι τῆς τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου χειροτονίας οὐδέπω τετυχηκότα, αὐτὸν ἠξίουν ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ γένοιτ’ ἂν ἔκδηλον, ἀφ’ ὧν περὶ τούτου Δημητρίῳ γράφοντες, Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοπος καὶ Θεόκτιστος ὁ Καισαρείας, ὧδέ πως ἀπολογοῦνται προσέθηκε δὲ τοῖς γράμμασιν, ὅτι τοῦτο οὐδέποτε ἠκούσθη, οὐδὲ νῦν γεγένηται, τὸ, παρόντων ἐπισκόπων, λαϊκοὺς ὁμιλεῖν· οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅπως προφανῶς οὐκ ἀληθῆ λέγων· ὅπου γοῦν εὐρίσκονται οἱ ἐπιτήδειοι πρὸς τὸ ὠφελεῖν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς, καὶ παρακαλοῦνται τῷ λαῷ προσομιλεῖν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγίων ἐπισκόπων· ὡσπερ ἐν Λαράνδοις Εὐέλπις ὑπὸ Νέωνος· καὶ ἐν Ἰκονίῳ Παυλῖνος ὑπὸ Κέλσου· καὶ ἐν Συνάδοις Θεόδωρος ὑπὸ Ἀττικοῦ.—Eriphanius (Hæres. lxiv. n. ii.) seems to say he was then a presbyter; but it must be a mistake. Τὴν Παλαιστίνην, τουτέστι τῆς Ἰουδαίας κατοικεῖν γῆν εἶλετο. ἀνελθὼν γοῦν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ ὡς τοιοῦτος ἐξηγητῆς, καὶ λόγιος, προὔτρεπετο ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱερατείου φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ πρεσβυτερίου κατηξιώσθαι τὸ πρὶν, πρὶν ἢ τοῦ θῆσαι· προτρεπόμενοι [al. προτρεπομένων] ὡς ἔφην, αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰπεῖν, κ. τ. λ. (p. 525. C 6.)*

licly in the church, when he was only a layman. And when Demetrius, of Alexandria, made a remonstrance against this, as an innovation that had never been seen or heard of before, that a layman should preach to the people in the presence of bishops, Alexander replied in a letter, and told him he was much mistaken: for it was a usual thing, in many places, where men were well qualified to edify the brethren, for bishops to entreat them to preach to the people. As Euelpis was requested by Neon, at Laranda; and Paulinus, by Celsus, at Iconium; and Theodorus, by Atticus, at Synada." These had all special directions from their bishops to preach: and, therefore, whatever other irregularity or novelty there might be in the thing, it was not liable to the charge of usurpation. Hallier, a famous Sorbonne doctor, is of opinion ^f, "that they might do it by permission; and he thinks this may be deduced from that canon of the fourth Council of Carthage ^g, which forbids a layman to teach in the presence of the clergy, except they request him to do it." If this relate to public teaching in the church, it implies, that they might do it by special indulgence and concession. The ancient author of the Comment upon the Epistles, under the name of St. Ambrose, says ^h, "that in the beginning of Christianity, for the augmentation and increase of the Church, a general commission was granted unto all, both to preach the Gospel, and baptize, and explain the Scriptures in ecclesiastical assemblies. But when the Church had spread itself into all places, buildings were erected, and rulers and other officers were appointed, that no one among the clergy should presume to meddle with any office, which he knew was not committed to his trust."

^f Hallier de Hierarch. Ecclesiast. lib. i. c. vii. p. 67. Laicis, non nisi ex indulgentia, illud attingere debere.—Id. p. 79, ibid.

^g Conc. Carth. IV. c. xeviii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1207.) Laicus, presentibus clericis, nisi ipsis jubentibus, docere non audeat.

^h Ambros. Comment. in Ephes. iv. (Paris. 1661. vol. iii. p. 504. L 9.) Ut cresceret plebs et multiplicaretur, omnibus inter initia concessum est et evangelizare et baptizare, et scripturas in ecclesia explanare. At ubi omnia loca circumplexa est ecclesia, conventicula constituta sunt, et rectores, et cetera officia in ecclesiis sunt ordinata, ut nullus de clero auderet, qui ordinatus non esset, presumere officium, quod seiret non sibi creditum vel concessum. Hinc ergo est, unde nunc neque diaconi in populo predicant, neque clerici vel laici baptizant.

And hence it was that deacons, in his time, did not preach to the people ; nor the inferior clergy or laymen, baptize. What he says of the apostles' days, must rest upon his authority : if he means an unlimited commission to all in general, without previous qualifications, and examination of them, his opinion is certainly singular. But if he means only, that all who had extraordinary measures of spiritual gifts, were allowed to exercise those gifts, sometimes in preaching in public assemblies, without any external ordination, besides the gift of the spirit of prophecy ; that is no more than what the best interpreters of those words of St. Paul (1 Cor. xiv. 31), “Ye may all prophesy one by one,” commonly allow : that is, all who had the gift of prophecy, not every Christian, might use the word of exhortation in the churchⁱ. But then as such extraordinary gifts of the spirit of prophecy were in a manner peculiar to the apostolical age, this could not be a rule to the following ages of the Church. And, therefore, when once these gifts were ceased, the Church went prudently by another rule, to allow none but such as were called by an ordinary commission to perform this office, except where some extraordinary natural endowments (such as were in Origen), answering in some measure to those spiritual gifts, made it proper to grant a licence to laymen to exercise their talents for the benefit of the Church. Or else when necessity imposed the duty on deacons to perform the office of preaching, when the bishop and presbyters were, by sickness or other means, debarred from it. For the foresaid author plainly says, “that deacons in his time did not ordinarily *predicare in populo*, ‘preach to the people ;’” as being an office to which they had no ordinary commission. And the same is said by the author of the Constitutions^j, and many

ⁱ Estius in 1 Cor. xiv. 31. (Colon. 1631. p. 377.) Non omnes fideles : quia jam dixerat, c. xii. ‘ Num quid omnes prophetæ ?’ sed omnes prophetiæ donum habentes ; ut sensus sit ; ‘ Quamvis ex spiritu prophetico loquamini, mirari tamen non debetis, quod jubeam priorem tacere, et loquendi vices alteri concedere. Nam in potestate vestra est eum servare ordinem, ut singulatim, alius post alium, etiam omnes prophetetis.’ Certe in eo, quod dicit ‘ omnes,’ permittere videtur, ut aliquando plures tribus in uno conventu prophetent. Vid. et Beza in h. l.

^j Constitut. lib. iii. c. xx. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 526.) Ἄλλὰ μόνον τὸν μὲν πρεσβύτερον διδάσκειν, ἀναφέρειν, βαπτίζειν, εὐλογεῖν τὸν λαόν· τὸν δὲ διάκονον

others. Therefore, since deacons were not allowed this power, but only in some special cases, it is the less to be wondered, that, after the ceasing of spiritual gifts, it should generally be denied to laymen.

SECT. V.—*Women never allowed to Preach.*

As to women, whatever gifts they could pretend to, they were never allowed to preach publicly in the church, either by the apostle's rules, or those of succeeding ages. The apostle says expressly, "Let your women keep silence in the churches; for it is not permitted unto them to speak: but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law" (1 Cor. xiv. 34); and, "If they will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home: for it is a shame for women to speak in the church." And again (1 Tim. ii. 11), "Let the women also learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence." And this rule was always strictly observed in the ancient Church. The same Council of Carthage, which allows laymen to teach by permission, expressly forbids women to do it in any case^k: "Let not a woman, however learned or holy, presume to teach men in a public assembly." But they might teach women in private, as private catechists, to prepare catechumens for baptism. For the same Council of Carthage^l requires this as one qualification in deaconesses when they were ordained, that they should be so well instructed and expert in their office as to be able to teach the ignorant and rustic women how to make their responses to the interrogatories

ἐξυπηρετεῖσθαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις· τουτέστι, διακονεῖν οὐ μὴν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ διενεργεῖν.—Vigil. Epist. ad Rustic. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 554. D.) Adjeicistis etiam exsecranda superbia, quæ nec leguntur, nec sine sui pontificis jussione aliquando ordinis vestri homines præsumserunt, auctoritatem vobis prædicationis contra omnem consuetudinem vel canones vindicare.

^k Conc. Carth. IV. c. xcix. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1207.) Mulier, quamvis docta et sancta, viros in conventu docere non præsumat.

^l Ibid. c. xii. (p. 1201.) Viduæ vel sanctimoniales, quæ ad ministerium baptizandarum mulierum eliguntur, tam instructe sint ad officium, ut possint apto et sano sermone docere imperitas et rusticas mulieres, tempore quo baptizandæ sunt, qualiter baptizatori interrogatæ respondeant, et qualiter, accepto baptisate, vivant.

which the minister should put to them in baptism, and how to order their conversation afterward. And the author of the Short Notes upon St. Paul's Epistles, under the name of St. Jerome, says ^m, "that deaconesses were thus employed in all the Eastern Churches, both to minister to their own sex in baptism, and in the ministry of the word to teach women privately, but not in public." This matter was carried much further in many heretical assemblies; for they ordained women priests, which the author of the Constitutions ⁿ calls a heathenish practice; for the Christian law allowed of no such custom. Tertullian says ^o, "They allowed women to teach and dispute in their assemblies, and to exorcize demoniacs, and administer baptism; all which was expressly," he says ^p, "against the rule of the apostle (1 Cor. xiv. 35), which is so far from allowing them to teach, that it does not allow them to ask questions or dispute publicly in the church." And whereas some pretended the authority of St. Paul for this, from a book called the Acts of Paul and Thecla, he says, "that was a spurious book, and the author of it was convict,

^m Hieron. Comment. in Rom. xvi. 1. (Venet. vol. xi. p. 215.) Sicut etiam nunc in Orientalibus diaconissæ mulieres in suo sexu ministrare videntur in baptismo, sive in ministerio verbi, quia privatim docuisse feminas invenimus, etc.

ⁿ Constitut. lib. iii. c. ix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 316. C.) Εἰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς προλαβοῦσι διδάσκειν αὐταῖς οὐκ ἐπετρέψαμεν, πῶς ἱερατεῦσαι ταύταις παρὰ φύσιν τις συγχωρήσει; τοῦτο γὰρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ ἀγνόημα, θηλείαις θεαῖς ἱερείας χειροτονεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ τῆς Χριστοῦ διατάξεως.

^o Tertul. de Præscript. c. xli. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 477.) Ipsæ mulieres hæreticæ, quam proceces! quæ audeant docere, contendere, exorcismos agere, curationes repromittere, fortasse an et tinguere?

^p Tertul. de Baptismo, c. xvii. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 54.) Petulantior mulieris, quæ usurpavit docere, utique non etiam tinguendi jus sibi pariet, nisi si quæ nova bestia evenerit similis pristinæ: ut quemadmodum illa baptismum auferebat, ita aliqua per se eum conferat. Quod si quæ Paulo perperam adscripta sunt, [exemplum Teclæ] ad licentiam mulierum docendi tinguendique defendunt; sciant, in Asia presbyterum, qui eam scripturam construxit, quasi titulo Pauli de suo cumulans, convictum atque confessum id se amore Pauli fecisse, loco decessisse. Quam enim fidei proximum videretur, ut is docendi et tinguendi daret feminæ potestatem, qui ne discere quidem constanter mulieri permisit? 'Taceant,' inquit, 'et domi maritos suos consulant.'—Id. de Veland. Virgin. c. ix. (vol. ii. p. 107.) Non permittitur mulieri in ecclesia loqui, sed nec docere, nec tinguere, nec offerre, nec ullius virilis muneris, ne duo sacerdotalis officii sortem sibi vindicarent.

and confessed the forgery, and was censured for it by the Church.” The Montanists were a noted sect for giving this liberty to women, under pretence of inspiration by the Spirit ; so that they had not only their prophetesses, such as Prisca and Maximilla, the first followers of Montanus, but also their women-bishops and women-presbyters, as Quintilla and Priscilla, who, as Epiphanius^q and St. Austin^r inform us, were dignified among the Pepuzians (a subdivision of the Montanists) with the highest offices of the priesthood. Epiphanius^s brings the same charge against the Collyridians (so called from their offering *collyria*, or ‘cakes,’ in sacrifice to the Virgin Mary), against whom he disputes at large, not only for their idolatry in offering sacrifice to her, but also for their presumption in putting women into the priest’s office ; which was a thing never done among the people of God from the beginning of the world : and if it had been allowed to any, would doubtless have been granted to the Virgin Mary. Firmilian, in his letter to Cyprian^t, mentions another such woman among the Cataphrygians, “ who pretended, by the spirit of prophecy, to preach, and pray, and baptize, and offer the eucharist in their

^q Epiphanius. Hæres. xlix. Pepuz. n. ii. (p. 418. D.) ‘Επίσκοποί τε παρ’ αὐτοῖς γυναῖκες, καὶ πρεσβύτεροι γυναῖκες.

^r Aug. Hæres. xxvii. Pepuzian. (Bened. 1679. vol. viii. p. 10.) Tantum dantes mulieribus principatum, ut sacerdotio quoque apud eos honorentur.

^s Epiphanius. Hæres. lxxviii. Antidicomar. n. xxiii. (Colon. 1682. p. 1054. D.) ‘Ὡς εἰς ὄνομα τῆς ἀειπαρθένου κολλυρίδα τινὰ ἐπιτελεῖν, καὶ συνάγεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, καὶ εἰς ὄνομα τῆς ἀγίας παρθένου ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον τι πειρᾶσθαι ἀθεμίτῳ, καὶ βλασφήμῳ ἐπιχειρεῖν πράγματι, καὶ εἰς ὄνομα αὐτῆς ἱεροουργεῖν διὰ γυναικῶν ὅπερ τὸ πᾶν ἐστὶν ἀσεβὲς, καὶ ἀθεμίτον, ἡλλοιωμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ κηρύγματος τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.—Id. Hæres. Collyridan. iii. ii. iii. (p. 1059.) Καὶ οὐδαμοῦ γυνὴ ἱεράτευσεν· ἐλεύσομαι δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Καινὴν Διαθήκην· εἰ ἱερατεύειν γυναῖκες Θεῷ προσετάσσοντο ἢ κανονικόν τι ἐργάζεσθαι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἔδει μᾶλλον αὐτὴν τὴν Μαρίαν ἱερατεῖαν ἐπιτελεῖσαι ἐν Καινῇ Διαθήκῃ.

^t Firmil. Epist. lxxv. ad Cyprian. (Oxon. 1682. p. 222.) (p. 323, Amstelod.) Emersit subito quedam mulier, que in extasi constituta, propheten se præferret, et quasi Sancto Spiritu plena, sic ageret. . . . Atqui illa mulier, que prius per præstigias et fallacias dæmonis, multa ad deceptionem fidelium moliebatur, inter cetera quibus plurimos deceperat, etiam hoc frequenter ausa est, ut et invocatione non contemptibili sanctificare se panem et eucharistiam facere simularet, et sacrificium Domino, non sine sacramento solite prædicationis offerret ; baptizaret quoque multos usitata et legitima verba interrogationis usurpans, ut nihil discrepare ab ecclesiastica regula videretur.

public assemblies:" so that this was a common practice among the heretics, but always refuted and opposed by the Church of God, which always kept strictly to the apostle's rule, not to suffer a woman to teach publicly in the church, whatever sanctity or learning she could pretend to; but to reserve this office to men, for whom it was originally appointed.

SECT. VI.—*Two or three Sermons sometimes in the same Assembly.*

Having thus examined what persons were allowed to execute this office, we are next to inquire after what manner it was performed. And here we may observe, that they had sometimes two or three sermons preached in the same assembly; first by the presbyters, and then by the bishop, who usually, when present, closed up this part of the service with his paternal exhortation. The author of the Constitutions gives this rule about it^u: "When the Gospel is read, let the presbyters, one by one, but not all, speak the word of exhortation to the people, and last of all the bishop, who is the governor or pilot of the ship." And that thus it was in the Eastern Churches, whose customs that author chiefly represents, appears evidently from St. Chrysostom's sermons, which he preached when he was presbyter at Antioch. For in these he plainly speaks of Flavian the bishop, as designing to preach after him, whom he usually complimented in some such form as this^v: "It is now time for me to keep silence, that our master may have time to speak." And again^w, "Let us remember these things, and now attend to the more perfect admonition of our good master." It would be as endless, as it is needless, to relate all the

^u Constitut. lib. ii. c. lvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 295. A 3.) "Όταν ἀναγινωσκόμενον ἦ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, πάντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ οἱ διάκονοι, καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς στηκέτωσαν μετὰ πολλῆς ἡσυχίας . . . καὶ ἐξῆς παρακαλείτωσαν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τὸν λαόν, ὁ καθεὶς αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἅπαντες· καὶ τελευταῖος πάντων ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ὃς ἔοικε κυβερνήτην.

^v Chrysostom. Hom. ii. de Verbis Iesaiæ. (Bened. vol. vi. p. 111. B 7.) Γενέσθω οὖν ἡμῖν καιρὸς τοῦ σιγῆσαι, ἵνα γένηται καιρὸς τῷ διδασκάλῳ τοῦ λαλήσαι.

^w Ibid. Hom. iii. ibid. (vol. vi. p. 120. A 5.) Ταῦτα φυλάσσουντες, ἀναχωρήσαμεν οἴκαδε· μᾶλλον δὲ ταῦτα φυλάσσουντες, δεξώμεθα καὶ τὴν τελειωτέραν τοῦ καλοῦ διδασκάλου παραίνεσιν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἡμέτερα, οἷα ἂν εἶη, ἔχει τὰ τῆς νεότητος δείγματα· τὰ δὲ τούτου, οἷα ἂν ἦ, πλείονα κεκόσμηται τῷ φρονήματι.

passages that occur in Chrysostom^x or other writers, such as St. Basil^y, Gregory Nyssen, Theodoret, St. Austin, and St. Jerome^z, who particularly reflects upon the contrary practice in some Churches (meaning Egypt and Africa), where the bishops allowed none to preach but themselves; which he thought was an indecent contempt of their presbyters, as if they either envied or disdained to hear them, when yet the apostolical rule was, “If any thing be revealed to another that

^x Ibid. Hom. xxxi. de Philogonio. (Bened. 1718. vol. i. p. 497. B 4.) ‘*Ἄλλ’ ὅμως ἐφ’ ἐτέραν ἀναγκαίαν ὑπόθεσιν ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν ἐπείγεται διὰ τοῦτο τῷ κοινῷ πατρὶ, καὶ ζηλωτῇ τοῦ μακαρίου Φιλογονίου ταῦτα καταλιπόντες εἰπεῖν, ἅτε ἀκριβέστερον ἡμῶν εἰδοῦσι τὰ ἀρχαῖα πάντα, πρὸς ἐτέραν δημηγορίας ὁδὸν βαδιούμεθα.*—Hom. xlviii. de Romano. (Bened. 1837. vol. ii. p. 742.) ‘*Ἐβουλόμην ἄχρι τέλους ἐγχορεῦσαι τῇ τοῦ μάρτυρος ὑποθέσει· ἄλλ’ ὁ τῆς συμμετρίας ἐπέστη καιρὸς, καὶ μοι σιωπᾶν ἐγκελεύεται ὑμῖν τε γὰρ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν ἰκανὰ τὰ ῥηθέντα, καὶ ἀναγκαῖα τοῦ πατρὸς τὰ διδάγματα πρὸς τὸν τῶν ῥηθέντων ἀπαρισμόν.*—Hom. liii. de Pœnit. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 316. C 4.) *Ταῦτα ἀρκεῖ πρὸς διόρθωσιν· διόπερ ἀνάγκη καταπαῦσαι τὸν λόγον· καὶ γὰρ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς φωνῆς ἐπιθυμῷ ἀκοῦσαι.*—[† Vid. Hom. lix. de Babylla, p. 721. Hom. xxxi. (al. xxxiii.) de Natali Christi, tom. v. p. 476. Hom. xlvii. et lxxvi. ibid. Hom. in Psalm. xlviii. p. 813. Hom. xxxvi. in 1 Cor. p. 652.]

^y Basil. Hom. xviii. in Barlaam. (Bened. 1721. vol. ii. p. 141.) ‘*Ἀλλὰ τί παιδικαῖς ἐλαττώ τὸν ἀριστεῖα ψελλίσμασι; ταῖς μεγαλοπρεπεστέραις τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ὕμνων παραχωρήσωμεν γλώτταις, τὰς μεγαλοφρονότερας τῶν διδασκάλων ἐπ’ αὐτῷ καλέσωμεν σάλπιγγας· ἀνάστητέ μοι νῦν ὦ λαμπροὶ τῶν ἀθλητικῶν κατορθωμάτων ζωγράφοι, τὴν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κολοβωθεῖσαν εἰκόνα ταῖς ὑμετέραις μεγαλύνετε τέχναις, κ. τ. λ.*—Gregor. Nyssen. in sui Ordinatio. (Paris. 1638. vol. ii. pp. 40, 41.) *Οὐκ οὖν μηκύνωμεν ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ προοίμιον, ἐνασχολούμενοι τῷ θαύματι τῶν προλαβόντων· ἤδη κεκορησμένοι ἐστὲ, ἥδη ἐπλουτήσατε· ὁ δὲ κόρος ἀπὸ γλυκασμάτων ἐστίν· τοῦτοις γὰρ ὑμᾶς ὁ προλαβὼν λόγος ἐτιθήνατο.*—Theodoret. in 1 Cor. xiv. (Hal. 1771. vol. iii. p. 262.) *Ἀὕτη μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος ἡ τάξις ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις μεμένηκε, καὶ τῶν διδασκάλων οἱ μὲν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πανηγύρει, οἱ δὲ ἐν ἐτέρᾳ τῷ λαῷ διαλέγονται.*—Aug. Sermon. in Psalm. xciv. (Bened. 1679. vol. v. p. 1022.) *Ego vellem, fratres, ut patrem nostrum potius audiremus: sed et hoc bonum est, ut patri obediamus.*—Id. in Psalm. xciv. (p. 1031.) *Dominus et frater meus Severus adhuc differt lætitiā nostrā de sermone, quem nobis debet.*—Id. in Psalm. exxxi. (p. 1471.) *Justum quidem erat, carissimi, ut fratrem potius audiremus collegam meum, præsentem omnibus nobis. Et modo non negavit, sed distulit. Et ideo hoc indico Caritati vestræ, ut prior obtemperarem jubenti. Extorsit enim mihi, ut esset modo auditor meus, eo sane pacto, ut et ego sim ipsius.*

^z Hieron. Epist. ii. ad Nepot. (Venet. vol. i. p. 262. E.) *Pessimæ consuetudinis est in quibusdam ecclesiis, tacere presbyteros, et præsentibus episcopis non loqui, quasi aut invadeant, aut non dignentur audire, etc.*

sitteth by, let the first hold his peace : for ye may all prophesy, one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted" (1 Cor. xiv. 30, 31). When two or more bishops happened to be present in the same assembly, it was usual for several of them to preach one after another, reserving the last place for the most honourable person ; as St. Jerome^a tells us, that Epiphanius and John, bishop of Jerusalem, preached together in the church of Jerusalem. And nothing was more common than this practice at Constantinople, where a multitude of bishops were often present to attend the court, or advise with the patriarch about the affairs of the Church.

SECT. VII.—*Sermons every Day in some Times and Places.*

In some places they had sermons every day, especially in Lent, and the festival days of Easter. St. Chrysostom's homilies upon Genesis were preached in a running course of two Lents, one day after another, as any one may perceive that peruses them. His famous homilies *De Statuis* were preached in Lent, after the same manner ; and it were easy to note some scores of passages in his other sermons, especially in his first, third, and fifth volumes^b, which make mention of their being preached successively one day after another. St. Jerome observes the same practice among the monks of Egypt^c, where it was customary every day, after the singing of the Psalms, and reading

^a Ibid. contr. Joann. Jer. (vol. ii. p. 418.) Recordare, quæso, illius diei, quando ad horam septimam invitatus populus spe sola, quasi postea auditurus Epiphanium esset, detinebatur, quid tunc concionatus sis. Nempe contra Anthropomorphitas, qui simplicitate rustica Deum habere membra, quæ in divinis libris scripta sunt, arbitrantur, furens et indignans loquebaris : oculos et manus et totius corporis truncum, in senem dirigebas, volens illum suspectum facere stultissimæ hærescos. Postquam lassus ore arido, resupinaque cervice ac trementibus labiis conticuisti, et tandem totius populi vota completa sunt ; quid tibi fecit delirus et fatuus senex ? surrexit, ut se indicaret pauca dicturum esse, salutataque et voce et manu ecclesia, 'Cuneta,' inquit, 'quæ loquutus est collegio frater, ætate filius meus, contra Anthropomorphitarum hæresin, bene et fideliter loquutus est,' etc.

^b Chrysostom. [† tom. i. hom. ix. xxv. xxxii. xl. xlii. xlii. xlix. lxxi.—tom. iii. in Psalm. xliv. et l. hom. i. ii. iv. v. de Verbis Esaie.—tom. v. hom. ii. de Lazaro, hom. xxx. xxxiv. xlvi. lvi. lxii. lxiii., etc.]

^c Hieron. Epist. xxii. ad Eustoch. c. xxv. Post horam, etc. See note (q) p. 230.

of the Scriptures, and repeating of their prayers, for the father (that was the title of the presbyter that presided over them) to make them a sermon, to elevate their minds to the contemplation of the glory of the next world, which made every one of them, with a gentle sigh, and eyes lift up to heaven, to say within himself, “ Oh that I had wings like a dove, for then would I flee away and be at rest !” Pamphilus, in his Apology for Origen, relates the same thing of him^d, “ that he was used to make sermons extempore almost every day to the people.” And a man cannot look into St. Austin’s Homilies, but he will find references made almost everywhere to the sermon made *heri, et hesterno die*, ‘ the day before^e ;’ which either denotes some day in the weekly course, or, at least, some festival of a martyr. For the festivals of the martyrs were always kept with great solemnity, and they never omitted to make a panegyrical homily upon those days, to excite the people to imitate the virtue of the martyrs : as appears from St. Austin’s sermons *De Sanctis*, and abundance throughout St. Chrysostom’s works upon such occasions^f. In France, also, Cæsarius, the famous bishop of Arles, preached almost every day ; for he is said, by the writer of his Life^g, to have made homilies to

^d Pamphil. Apol. pro Origen. inter opera Origen. tom. i. p. 756. Tractatus pene quotidie habebat in ecclesia, etc.

^e Aug. Serm. ii. in Psalm. lviii. (Bened. 1679. vol. v. p. 569.) Hesternus sermo protractus debitorem me in hodiernum reliquit.—Serm. in Psalm. lxiii. (p. 618.) Hesterno die multa audivit Caritas Vestra, nec hodie tamen huic festivitati negare potuimus nostram servitutem.—Serm. ii. in Psalm. lxviii. (p. 700.) Posterior pars psalmi, de quo hesterno die loquuti sumus Caritati Vestre, hodie nobis explicanda remanserat.—Serm. ii. in Psalm. lxx. (p. 733.) Commendavimus hesterno die titulum ejus, etc.—Serm. ii. in Psalm. xc. (p. 970.) Sicut non dubito meminisse Caritatem Vestram, qui hesterno die sermoni adfuisistis, psalmum, quem cœperamus exponere, ne ad terminum perveniret, angustia temporis impedivit. Hoc, qui heri adfuisistis, recordamini : qui non adfuisistis, agnoscite.—Serm. ii. in Psalm. ci. (p. 1101.) Hesterno die audivimus cujusdam pauperis gemitum in oratione, etc. Et passim in sermonibus de Tempore et de Sanctis.

^f Chrysostom. Serm. de Philogonio (Bened. vol. i. p. 492), de Juventio (vol. ii. p. 578), de Pelagia (vol. ii. p. 585), Ignatio (vol. ii. p. 592), Romano (vol. ii. p. 611), Meletio (vol. ii. p. 519), Juliano (vol. ii. p. 671), Luciano (vol. ii. p. 524), Bernice (vol. ii. p. 634), Eustathio (vol. ii. p. 603), etc. — Aug. Serm. in Psalm. lxxxi. See also what has been observed before of their preaching on Saturdays and the Stationary days, in the former Book.

^g Cyprian. Tolonensis Vit. Cæsarii, c. iv. ap. Mabillon. de Cursu Gallicano,

the people, frequently, both at morning and evening prayer, that none of them might have the excuse of ignorance to plead in their behalf; and the Council of Trullo^h has a canon to promote this practice.

SECT. VIII.—*Sermons twice a Day in many Places.*

And this leads us to another observation proper to be made in this matter: which is, that in many places they had sermons twice a day, for the better edification of the people. Mr. Thorndikeⁱ and Hamon L'Estrange^j make a little question of this, as to the extent of the practice. The former says, "There are examples of preaching, as well evening as morning, in the ancient Church, but only at particular times, and on particular occasions, and therefore he is not satisfied of any rule or custom of the Church." The other says, "The custom only prevailed at Cæsarea, in Capadocia, where St. Basil lived, and at Cyprus." St. Basil preached some of his homilies upon the *Hexaemeron*, at evening prayer^k. But, he thinks, Socrates^l confines the custom to those places, because he speaks of it as a peculiar usage of those places to have sermons made by bishops and presbyters on Saturdays and Sundays, at candle-light, in the evening. Bishop Wetenhall was of a different judgment^m: he thinks that in cities, and greater churches, it was usual for the pastors to preach on Sundays, both morning and afternoon; and he supports his opinion from several testimonies of Chrysostom,

(Paris. 1685. p. 404.) *Frequenter etiam ad Matutinos et Lucernarium proper advenientes recitabat homilias, ut nullus esset, qui se de ignorantia excusaret.*

^h See above, p. 527, note (k).

ⁱ Thorndike, of Religious Assemblies, chap. x. p. 405.

^j L'Estrange, of Divine Offices, chap. iv. p. 98.

^k Vid. Basil. in *Hexaemeron*. hom. ii. (Bened. 1721. vol. i. p. 12.) *Μικροῖς ἔωθεν ἐνδιατρίψαντες ῥήμασι, τοσοῦτον ἀποκεκρυμμένον τὸ βάθος τῆς διανοίας εὐρομεν, ὥστε τῶν ἐφεξῆς παντελῶς ἀπογνῶναι.*—Hom. vii. (p. 69.) *Γένοιτο δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐν τῇ μεταλήψει τῆς τροφῆς ἐπιτραπέζια διηγήματα, ὅσα τε ἔωθεν ὑμῖν, καὶ ὅσα κατὰ τὴν ἐσπέραν ἐπῆλθεν ὁ λόγος.*—Hom. ix. (p. 80.) *Πῶς ὑμῖν ἢ ἔωθινῇ τῶν λόγων τράπεζα κατεφάνη;*

^l Socrat. lib. vi. c. xxi. (Cambr. p. 339.)

^m Wetenhall, Duty of Preaching, chap. iii. p. 779.

who entitles one of his homilies ⁿ, “ An exhortation to those who were ashamed to come to sermon after dinner.” And, in another ^o, he inveighs against them, who condemned his usage of preaching after dinner, as a new and strange custom ; telling them that he had much more reason to condemn that wicked custom then prevailing among some, to rise from table to sleep. In another place he defends his practice from our Saviour’s long sermon to his disciples after his last supper ^p. And in another homily, preached to the people of Antioch ^q, he highly commends them for coming to church in the afternoon in a full audience. All these are cited by Wetenhall ; to which may be added what he says in his homily of Satan’s Temptations ^r, that the bishop attended his sermons, which he preached both morning and afternoon ; for that sermon was preached in the afternoon, the same day that he had preached his twenty-first sermon to the newly-baptized, as he there expressly tells us.

ⁿ Chrysostom. Hom. x. in Genes. (Bened. vol. v. p. 71.) Προτροπή πρὸς τοὺς ἐρυθριῶντας μετὰ τὴν ἐστίασιν παραβαλεῖν τῇ συνάξει κατὰ τὴν ἐσπέραν.

^o Ibid. Hom. i. de Lazaro. (Bened. vol. i. p. 719.) Οἶδα, ὅτι πολλοὶ καταγνώσκονται τῶν λεγομένων, ὡς καινὴν τινα καὶ παράδοξον συνήθειαν εἰσαγόντων τῷ βίῳ· ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ μειζόνως τῆς πονηρᾶς καταγνώσομαι συνηθείας, τῆς νῦν κατεχούσης ἡμᾶς· ὅτι γὰρ μετὰ τροφὴν καὶ τράπεζαν, οὐχ ὕπνον, οὐδὲ εὐνήν, ἀλλ’ εὐχὰς καὶ θείων γραφῶν ἀνάγνωσιν διαδέχεσθαι χρῆ.

^p Ibid. Hom. ix. ad Popul. Antioch. (Paris. 1837. vol. ii. p. 114. D 4.) Ὁ τραπέζης, ὡς ἔοικε, μετασχὼν αἰσθητῆς, ἐνόμισεν ἀνάξιον εἶναι μετὰ τροφὴν αἰσθητῆν ἐπὶ θείων λογίων ἀκρόασιν ἐλθεῖν· ἀλλ’ οὐ δικαίως τοῦτο νομίζουσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν, εἰ τοῦτο ἦν ἄτοπον, τοὺς μακροὺς καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνήλωσεν ὁ Χριστὸς λόγους, μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐκεῖνο τὸ μυστικόν.

^q Ibid. Hom. x. (Paris. 1837. vol. ii. p. 124.) Χαίρω καὶ συχαίρω πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, ὅτι τὴν παραίνεσιν ἡμῶν, ἣν ὑπὲρ τῶν μὴ νηστευόντων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπολιμπανομένων ἐποιησάμεθα πρώην, εἰς ἔργον ὑμεῖς ἐξηνέκατε· καὶ γὰρ πολλοὺς οἶμαι τῶν ἡριστηκότων παρεῖναι τήμερον, καὶ τὸν καλὸν ἡμῖν σύλλογον τοῦτον πληροῦν.

^r Ibid. Hom. xxv. de Diabolo Tentatore. (Paris. 1837. vol. ii. p. 306.) Ὁ μὲν Ἰσαὰκ ἐπιθυμήσας ποτὲ ἄριστον ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ παιδὸς φαγεῖν, τὸν παῖδα εἰς τὴν θήραν ἐξέπεμψεν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας· οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ἰσαὰκ ἐπιθυμήσας ἄριστον ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων χειρῶν λαβεῖν, οὐχ ἡμᾶς ἐξέπεμψεν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἔδραμε τράπεζαν· τί τοῦτου φιλοστοργότερον γένοιτ’ ἂν ; τί δὲ ταπεινότερον ; ὃς οὕτω θερμὴν ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν ἀγάπην κατηξίωσεν, καὶ τοσοῦτον καταβῆναι ἠνέσχετο ; διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς, καὶ τὸν τόνον τῆς φωνῆς, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν πολλῶν καταβαλόντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἐωθινής διαλέξεως, ἰδόντες τὴν πατρικὴν ὕψιν, εὐθέως ἐπελαθόμεθα τῆς ἀσθενείας, ἀπεθέμεθα τὸν ὄκνον· κ. τ. λ.

So, again, it appears, that the fifteenth and nineteenth Homilies to the people of Antioch, against oaths, were preached on the same day ^s. And his Homily, of bearing reproof patiently, was an evening sermon; for there he thus addresses himself to the people ^t: “Be not weary, though the evening now be come upon us: for all our discourse is in defence of Paul; that Paul, who taught his disciples, three years, night and day.” In his Homily upon Elias and the widow, he says ^u, “one of his Lent discourses was broken off by the evening coming upon them.” And in one of his Homilies upon Genesis ^x, he as plainly intimates, that he was then preaching an evening sermon, for he makes this apostrophe to the people: “I am expounding the Scriptures, and ye all turn your eyes from me to the lamps, and him that is lighting the lamps. What negligence is this, so to forsake me, and set your minds on him? For I am lighting a fire from the Holy Scriptures; and in my tongue is a burning lamp of doctrine. This is a greater and a better light than that; for we do not set up a light like that moistened with oil, but we inflame souls, that are watered with piety, with a desire of hearing.” The whole allusion and similitude shows, that he was preaching an evening sermon when candles were lighting, which gave him the hint to draw the comparison between the material light of the lamps, and the spiritual light of the Scriptures. And in his third homily, of

^s Chrysostom. Hom. xv. ad Popul. Antioch. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 151.)

^t Ibid. Hom. iii. de Ferendis Reprehen. (Bened. 1718. vol. iii. p. 125. A 7.) Ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ ἀποκάμητε, κὰν ἐσπέρα καταλάβοι ὑπὲρ γὰρ τοῦ Παύλου πᾶς ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος, Παύλου τοῦ τριετίαν νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν τοὺς μαθητὰς διδάσκοντος.

^u Ibid. Hom. liv. in Heliam et Viduam. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 328.) Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις, αἷς ἐνηστεύομεν ἅπαντες, τοὺς περὶ τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης πολλάκις ἐλόμενος κινῆσαι λόγους, ἐξεκρουόμεν, τῆς ἐσπέρας καταλαμβάνουσης, καὶ τοῦ λόγου διακοπούσης τὸν δρόμον.

^x Ibid. Serm. iv. in Genes. (Bened. vol. v. p. 662. C.) Περὶ γραφῶν ὑμῖν διηγούμεθα, ὑμεῖς δὲ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀποστήσαντες ἡμῶν, πρὸς τὰς λαμπάδας καὶ τὸν τὰς λαμπάδας ἄπτοντα μετεστήσατε καὶ πόσης τοῦτο ῥαθυμίας, ἡμᾶς ἀφέντας τούτῳ προσέχειν; πῦρ ἀνάπτω κἀγὼ τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γλώττης τῆς ἡμετέρας λαμπάδιον καίεται, τὸ τῆς διδασκαλίας τοῦτο μεῖζον καὶ βέλτιον τὸ φῶς ἐκείνου τοῦ φωτός· οὐ γὰρ δὴ θρυαλλίδα διάβροχον ἐλαίῳ, καθάπερ οὗτος, ἐξάπτομεν, ἀλλὰ ψυχὰς ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ ἀρδομένας τῇ τῆς ἀκροάσεως ἀνάπτομεν ἐπιθυμίᾳ.

repentance, to name no more, he says^y, “ he would continue his discourse to the evening, ἕως ἑσπέρας, that he might finish the subject he was then handling.” From all which it is apparent, this was no occasional usage in St. Chrysostom’s church, but his constant and ordinary practice. And in the Latin Church we sometimes meet with examples of this kind, though not so frequent. St. Austin not only preached every day, but sometimes twice on the same day: as is evident from the two sermons on Psalm lxxxviii.; in the latter of which he says^z, “ he had preached before in the morning, and remained in their debt for the afternoon.” Gaudentius also, bishop of Brixia, speaks of his having preached twice on the vigil before Easter^a. And, it is probable, the same solemnity was observed, in like manner, in other places: for at this solemnity, especially, they made a distinction in their sermons, preaching one to the catechumens, and another to the neophytes, or ‘ persons newly baptized;’ as Gaudentius says, in the same place, that his second sermon was preached to the neophytes. The like is said by St. Ambrose^b, and Theodoret^c, and St. Austin^d, as I have had occasion to show in another place, in speaking of the distinction that was made between the cate-

^y Chrysostom. Hom. iii. de Pœnit. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 342. E 7.) Οὐκ ἀφίσταμαι ἕως ἑσπέρας, ἕως οὗ αὐτὸ λύσω.

^z Aug. Sermon. ii. in Psalm. lxxxviii. (Bened. 1679. vol. v. p. 945.) Ad reliqua psalmi, de quo in matutino loquuti sumus, animum intendite, et pium debitum exigit.

^a Gaudent. Tractat. iv. (Max. Bibl. V. P. vol. v. p. 949.) Carnalem Judaicæ Paschæ observantiam, spiritualibus typis refertam, trino jam tractatu docuimus; semel hesterno die et bis in vigiliis.—Id. Tract. v. Oportebat in illa nocte vigiliarum, secundo tractatu . . . congrua neophytis explanari.

^b Ambros. de Mysteriori, c. i. (Paris. 1836. vol. iii. p. 332.) De moralibus quotidianum sermonem habuimus, quum vel patriarcharum gesta, vel verborum legerentur præcepta; ut his informati atque instituti adsuesceretis majorum ingredi vias, eorumque iter carpere, ac divinis obedire oraculis; quo renovati per baptismum, ejus vitæ usum teneretis, quæ ablutos deceret. Nunc de mysteriis dicere tempus admonet, atque ipsam sacramentorum rationem edere: quam ante baptismum si putassemus insinuandam nondum initiatis, prodidisse potius quam edidisse æstimaremur.

^c Theodoret. Quæst. xv. in Num. (Hal. 1769. vol. i. p. 230.) Ἀσήμεως διὰ τοὺς ἀμνήτους περὶ τῶν θείων διαλεγόμεθα μυστηρίων τούτων δὲ χωριζομένων, σαφῶς τοὺς μεμνημένους διδάσκομεν.

^d Aug. Sermon. i. ad Neophyt. (in Append. tom. x. p. 842.) Dimissis jam catechumenis, vos tantum ad audiendum retinuimus, etc.

chumens and the faithful^e. To the former they preached upon moral subjects; to the latter, upon mystical points of religion, and abstruser articles of faith; therefore St. Austin says, in another place^f, “there were some points which required more intent auditors, and, therefore, the preacher was not to hasten them, but defer them to another opportunity.” And in another homily, upon Easter-day^g, he excuses the shortness of it, because he was to preach again to ‘the infants,’ as they then called all persons newly baptized. Cyril’s Mystical Catechisms were of this kind; and, probably, those mystical homilies of Origen, whereof he wrote two books, mentioned by Ruffin^h and St. Jerome, were of the same nature. However, we have seen sufficient evidence otherwise for more sermons than one upon the same day, upon many occasions.

SECT. IX.—*Not so frequent in Country Villages.*

But this is chiefly to be understood of cities and large churches. For in the country parishes there was not such frequent preaching. St. Chrysostom saysⁱ, “They that lived in the city, enjoyed continual teaching; but they that dwelt in the country, had not such plenty: therefore God compensated this want of teachers with a greater abundance of martyrs; and so ordered it, that more martyrs lay buried in the country than in the city: where, though they could not hear the tongues of their teachers continually, yet they always heard

^e Book i. chap. iv. sect. viii. vol. i. p. 37.

^f Aug. Tractat. lxii. in Johan. (Bened. 1679. vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 670. A 7.) Intentior flagitatur auditor: et ideo eum præcipitare non debet, sed differre potius disputator.

^g Ibid. Hom. lxxxii. de Diversis. (vol. v. p. 973.) Satis sint vobis pauca ista, quoniam et post laboraturi sumus, et de sacramentis altaris hodie infantibus disputandum est.

^h Ruffin. Invect. ii. cont. Hieron. cited by Valesius. Not. in Euseb. lib. vi. c. xxiv. Scripsit in Genesin libros xiii., Mysticarum homiliarum libros duos.

ⁱ Chrysostom. Hom. lxxv. de Martyribus. (Bened. 1718. vol. ii. p. 651. D.) Οἱ μὲν τὰς πόλεις οἰκοῦντες συνεχοῦς ἀπολαύουσι διδασκαλίας· οἱ δὲ ἐν ἀγροικίᾳ ζῶντες, οὐ τοσαυτῆς μετέχουσι ἀφθουσίας· τὴν περιάν τοίνυν τῶν διδασκόντων ἐν τῇ δαψυλείᾳ τῶν μαρτύρων παραμυθούμενος ὁ Θεὸς, ὠκονόμησε πλείους παρ’ ἐκείνους ταφῆναι μάρτυρας· οὐκ ἀκούουσι διδασκάλων γλώττης ἐκείνοι διηλεκῶς, ἀλλὰ μαρτύρων φωνῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου διαλεγόμενης αὐτοῖς καὶ μείζονα ἰσχὺν ἐχούσης.

the voice of the martyrs speaking to them from their graves, and that with greater force of eloquence and persuasion than living teachers could do," as he there goes on after his manner to describe it. There were sometimes great assemblies held at these monuments of the martyrs: for, on their anniversary festivals, the whole city went forth to celebrate their memorials in the churches where they lay buried; as Chrysostom tells us both here and in other places^j: but, at other times, their chief resort for preaching was to the city churches. It was not till the beginning of the sixth century that preaching was generally set up throughout the country parishes in the French Church: but about that time, an order was made by the Council of Vaison (an. 529^k), "that, for the edification of all the Churches, and the greater benefit of the whole body of the people, presbyters should have power to preach, not only in the cities, but in all the country parishes: and if the presbyter was infirm, a deacon should read one of the homilies of the Holy Fathers." So that, in this respect, the state of the present Church may be reckoned happier than that of the ancient Church; since there is scarce a country parish among us but has a sermon preached every Lord's day throughout the year, by a presbyter, or deacon.

SECT. X.—*Of their different Ways of Preaching.*

The next thing to be observed is, their different sorts of sermons, and different ways of preaching. I have already

^j Chrysostom. Hom. lxxii. de S. Droside. (Bened. 1837. vol. ii. p. 822.) "Ενδον μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐνδιατρίβοντας οὐ σφόδρα εἰκὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα μελετᾶν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν ἐξελλόντας ἔξω τειχῶν, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τάφους τούτους ἐλθόντας, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κατοικομένων θεασαμένους, ἀνάγκη πᾶσα καὶ ἐκόντας καὶ ἄκοντας τούτους, ἀπὸ τῆς ὕψεως δεξασθαι τοὺς λογισμοὺς, καὶ δεξαμένους ὑψηλοτέρους γενέσθαι, καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὰ βιωτικά πράγματα συμπαθείας ἀπαλλαγῆναι.—Id. (p. 823. A.) Διὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τὸν γενναῖον τοῦτον θαυμάζω πατέρα, ὅτι γαληνῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιλαβόμενος ἐνταῦθα ἡμᾶς ἐξήγαγε, προηγουμένης δὲ καὶ ὀδηγούσης τῆς μακαρίας Δροσίδος, ἧς τὴν μνήμην ἐπιτελοῦμεν.

^k Conc. Vasens. II. c. ii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1680.) Hoc etiam pro ædificatione omnium ecclesiarum, et pro utilitate totius populi nobis placuit, ut non solum in civitatibus, sed etiam in omnibus parochiis verbum faciendi daremus presbyteris potestatem: ita ut si presbyter, aliqua infirmitate prohibente, per se ipsum non potuerit prædicare, sanctorum patrum homiliæ a diaconibus recitentur.

noted some difference to have been made between sermons to the catechumens and sermons to the faithful¹; but that was chiefly in the matter and subject of them. What I observe here, relates more to the manner and method of preaching, in which respect they were distinguished into four kinds. 1. Exposition of Scripture. 2. Panegyric discourses upon the saints and martyrs. 3. Sermons upon particular times, occasions, and festivals. 4. Sermons upon particular doctrines, and moral subjects, to illustrate the truth against heresy, and recommend the practice of virtue, in opposition to immorality and ungodliness. There are examples of all these kinds in St. Chrysostom's and St. Austin's homilies, the two great standards and patterns of preaching, in the Greek and Latin Church. St. Austin has some homilies upon whole books of Scripture, as those upon the Psalms, and St. John's Gospel. He has others styled *De Sanctis*, which are panegyrics upon the saints and martyrs: others styled *De Tempore*, which are upon the festivals and great solemnities of the Church, such as the Nativity, Epiphany, Lent, Passion, Easter, Pentecost, and the Lord's days throughout the year: others, styled *De Diversis*, which are a miscellany upon doctrinal points and moral subjects. So, likewise, in Chrysostom, we have his homilies, by way of exposition, on the whole Book of Genesis, the Psalms, the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John, and all St. Paul's Epistles. Then, again, his panegyrics upon the saints and martyrs; his homilies upon the noted festivals, Easter, Pentecost, &c.; and, lastly, his moral and doctrinal discourses upon various subjects, repentance, faith, charity, humility, the truth of the Christian religion, the divinity of Christ, and such important subjects as the occasion of the times, and the opposition of Jews, Gentiles, and heretics, required him to discourse upon, in a plain and familiar way to the people. His homilies, by way of exposition of any book of Scripture, usually consist but of two parts. An exposition of some portion of a chapter, and an *ethicon*, or 'moral conclusion,' upon some useful subject, which the last part of the words expounded gave him the hint or occasion to discourse upon. But his other homilies are commonly introduced with a useful preface, not relating

¹ See sect. viii.

always to the subject that was to follow, but such as the occasional necessities of his auditory, either in matters of reproof or commendation, seemed to require. But, in both these ways, he excelled in this, that he always expounded the Scripture in its most natural and genuine sense (not giving way to tropological descants, as too many others did), and made such useful observations and reflections upon it, as were pertinent and proper, which he applied to his hearers with the strongest reasoning, and utmost force of divine eloquence, becoming the seriousness and gravity of a Christian orator. It is a just character which a late learned critic gives him^m; and, there-

^m Du Pin. Biblioth. vol. ii. p. 38, edit. Paris. 1693. Ce père est un des plus éloquens orateurs Chrétiens, et son éloquence est d'autant plus estimable, qu'elle est sans affectation et sans contrainte. Il a une fertilité et une abondance de paroles et de pensées qui lui est tout à fait naturelle; quoi qu'il ne se soit pas attaché, comme St. Gregoire de Naziance et St. Basile, à une pureté Attique, il y a néanmoins beaucoup d'élévation et de grandeur dans son stile. Sa diction est pure et agréable, son discours est orné d'une variété admirable de pensées et de figures, il amplifie sa matière par un nombre infini de tours différens; il est ingénieux à trouver des convenances, et fertile en exemples et en comparaisons; son éloquence est populaire et très-propre à la predication; son stile est naturel, facile, et grave; il évite également et la négligence et la trop grande affectation; il n'est ni trop simple ni trop fleuri; il est poli sans être effeminé; il employe fort à propos toutes les figures dont les bons orateurs ont coutume de se servir: mais il ne s'étudie point à faire de fausses pointes, ni à faire entrer dans son discours des pensées des poètes et des auteurs prophanes, ni à divertir par des railleries. Sa composition est noble, ses expressions élevées, sa méthode juste, ses pensées sublimes; il parle en bon père et en bon pasteur; il adresse souvent la parole à son peuple, et lui parle avec une bonté et une charité dignes d'un saint évêque. Il enseigne les principales vérités du Christianisme avec une clarté admirable; il divertit par l'artifice merveilleux et la disposition agréable de ses pensées, et il persuade par la force et par la solidité de ses raisonnemens. Ses instructions sont faciles, ses descriptions et ses narrations agréables, ses mouvemens si doux et si insinuans, que l'on prend plaisir à se laisser persuader. Ses discours, quelques longs qu'ils soient, n'ennuyent jamais, on y trouve toujours de nouveaux agrémens qui réveillent l'esprit du lecteur. Il n'a point néanmoins de faux brillant, ni de figures inutiles; son unique but est de convertir ses auditeurs, ou de les instruire des vérités qui leur sont nécessaires. Il néglige toutes les réflexions qui ont plus de subtilité que d'utilité; il ne s'engage point à résoudre des questions difficiles, ni à donner des sens mystiques pour faire montre de son esprit et de son éloquence; il n'approfondit point les mystères, et ne s'efforce point de les pénétrer: il se contente de proposer d'une manière aisée des vérités palpables et sensibles, qu'on ne peut ignorer sans courir risque de son salut. Il s'attache particulièrement aux points de mo-

fore, I think it not improper here to transcribe it for the encouragement of all young students to read him. " His eloquence is popular, and very proper for preaching ; his style is natural, easy, and grave ; he equally avoids negligence and affectation ; he is neither too plain, nor too florid ; he is smooth, yet not effeminate ; he uses all the figures that are usual to good orators very properly, without employing false strokes of wit ; and he never introduces into his discourse any notions of poets or profane authors ; neither does he divert his auditory with jests. His composition is noble, his expressions elegant, his method just, and his thoughts sublime. He speaks like a good father and a good pastor ; he often directs his words to the people, and expresses them with a tenderness and charity becoming a holy bishop. He teaches the principal truths of Christianity with a wonderful clearness, and diverts with a marvellous art, and an agreeable way of ranging his notions ; and persuades by the strength and solidity of his reasons. His instructions are easy ; his descriptions and relations pleasant ; his inducements so meek and insinuating, that one is pleased to be so persuaded. His discourses, how long soever, are not tedious : there are still some new things, that keep the reader awake ; and yet he hath no false beauties nor useless figures. His only aim is to convert his auditors, or to instruct them in necessary truths ; he neglects all reflections that have more of subtlety than profit ; he never busies himself to resolve hard questions, nor to give mystical senses, to make a show of his wit or eloquence ; he searches not into mysteries, neither endeavours to comprehend them ; he is contented to propose, after an easy way, palpable and sensible truths, which none can be ignorant of without danger of failing of salvation. He particularly applies himself to moral heads, and very seldom handleth speculative truths ; he affects not to appear learned, and never boasts of his erudition ; and yet, whatever the sub-

rale ; il est rare qu'il s'arrête à considérer des vérités spéculatives ; il n'affecte point de paroître sçavant, il ne fait point valoir son érudition : et cependant de quelque chose qu'il parle, il en parle en des termes si forts, si propres, et si choisis, qu'il est aisé de voir qu'il a une érudition consommée dans toutes sortes de matières, mais principalement dans la véritable théologie.

ject be, he speaks with terms so strong, so proper, and well chosen, that one may easily perceive he had a profound knowledge of all sorts of matters, and particularly of true divinity." This is the character which that judicious critic gives that famous and eloquent preacher: and he that will diligently peruse his homilies (especially those of his first and fifth volumes, which contain his most elaborate discourses, as also those on St. Matthew, St. John, and St. Paul's Epistles, where he excels in his moral applications) will find his sermons to answer the character that is given of them, only making some allowances for the different way and method then used, not so agreeable to the model of sermons in the present age. I had once some thoughts of publishing a volume of his select discourses, which I translated for my own entertainment, when I was unfortunately cut off from other studies for a whole year: but because they are not altogether of the present stamp, and many men have a different taste and relish of things, I choose rather to encourage men to read them in the original, where they may select what they find proper for their use, or imitation. As for those who can endure to read nothing but what is either modern, or dressed up in the modern dress, I neither court them to read Chrysostom, nor any other ancient father: but to others, who can be at pains to peruse, and judiciously select, the beauties of style, the strains of piety, and the flights of divine and manly eloquence, that almost every where display themselves in this author, I dare venture to say, they will never think their time lost, nor find themselves wholly disappointed in their expectation. St. Basil's homilies come the nearest to St. Chrysostom's in solidity of matter, beauty of style, ingenuity of thought, and sharpness and vivacity of expression. A vein of piety runs equally through them both; and, by some, St. Basil's are reckoned to come nearer to the Attic purity and perfection. Next after these, the two Gregories, Nyssen and Nazianzen, are esteemed the greatest masters of divine eloquence; though the latter is rather luxuriant and tedious by his too frequent and long similitudes and digressions. Those of Ephraim Syrus were also of great repute in the ancient Church, having the honour to be read as lessons after the reading of the Scriptures, in many churches, as has

been noted before, out of St. Jeromeⁿ. They are highly commended by Sozomen^o and Photius^p, for the beauty of their style, and sublime thoughts, which were not wholly lost by being translated out of Syriac into Greek. Gregory Nyssen is more copious in his praise^q; and he more particularly observes, that his discourses of morality were so full of compassionate and affecting expressions, that they were able to move the hardest heart. “For who that is proud,” says he, “would not become the humblest of men, by reading his discourse of humility? Who would not be inflamed with a divine fire by reading his treatise of charity? Who would not wish to be chaste in heart and spirit, by reading the praises he has given to virginity? Who would not be frightened to hear the dis-

ⁿ Hieron. de Scriptor. c. cxv. See note (r) p. 502.

^o Sozomen. lib. iii. c. xvi. (Cant. 119. l. 13.) Οὕτω γοῦν τῶν μὲν, εἴ τις πρὸς τὴν Σύρων ἢ ἐτέραν γλωτταν μεταβάλλοι τὰ γράμματα, καὶ τὴν καρκεϊάν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἀφέλοιτο τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν γλωττισμάτων, αὐτίκα φωρᾶται, καὶ τῆς προτέρας ἀπορρεῖ χάριτος· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν Ἐφραϊμ λόγων οὐχ οὕτως· περιόντος τε γὰρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰσέτι νῦν, ἃ συνεγράψατο πρὸς Ἑλληνίδα φωνὴν ἐρμηνεύουσι καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἀποδεῖ τῆς ἐν ψ̄ πέφυκεν ἀρετῆς· ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑλλην ἀναγινωσκόμενος, ἐπίσης τῷ Σύρος εἶναι θαυμάζεται.

^p Phot. Cod. cxvii. Ἐν τούτοις τοῖς παραινετικοῖς λόγοις τοῦ ἁγίου, θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις, ὅσον μὲν ἐμβαθύνεται τὸ πείθον, ὅσον δ' αὐτῶν ἀποστάζει τὸ ἠδύνον, καὶ ὅλως εἰς ὅσον βρῦει τὸ ἦθος· ἢ γὰρ λέξει καὶ τὰ σχήματα, οὐ θαυμαστὸν εἰ πρὸς τὸ κοινότερον τῆς ὁμιλίας καὶ ἡμελημένον νέουκεν οὐ γὰρ εἰς τὸν γεννήτορα τῶν νοημάτων, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν ταῦτα μεταφρασάμενον, ἢ αἰτία διαβαίνει· ἐπεὶ οἴγε τῆς Σύρας φωνῆς τὴν ἀκρίβειαν ἠσκημένοι, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ταῖς λέξεσι καὶ τοῖς σχήμασιν αὐτὸν ἴσασιν εὐδοκίμησαι, ὡς ἀμφήριστον εἶναι, πότερον διὰ ταῦτα, ἢ διὰ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς νοῦν, ἢ τοσαύτη χάρις καὶ δύναμις τῶν ἐκείνου πρόεσι λόγων. οὐ θαυμαστὸν οὖν ἢ τῆς φράσεως ταπεινότης· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο θαυμαστὸν, ὡς καὶ διὰ χυδαίότητος τοιαύτης ῥημάτων τηλικαύτη σωτηρία καὶ ὠφέλεια τοῖς προσέχουσι προχέεται.

^q Nyssen. Vit. Ephraim Syri. (Paris. 1638. vol. iii. p. 603. C 8.) Τίς ἐντυχὼν αὐτοῦ τῷ περὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης λόγῳ, οὐ πᾶσαν μὲν εὐθὺς οἴησιν ἐκμιμήσει· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ παντὸς ταπεινότερον ἑαυτὸν ἐκκηρύξει; τίς τοῖς περὶ ἀγάπης ἐπιβαλὼν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἀγάπης προκινδυνεύσαι σπουδάσει; τίς τοῖς περὶ παρθενίας προσομιλήσας, οὐχ ἀγνὸν ἑαυτὸν ψυχῇ τε καὶ σώματι Θεῷ ἀγωνίσεται παραστήσαι; τίς τοῖς περὶ κρίσεως, ἦτοι δευτέρας Χριστοῦ ἐλεύσεως ἐγκύψας, οὐ παρίστασθαι τῷ ἐκείθεν κριτηρίῳ νομίσει; καὶ σύντρομος γενόμενος τὴν τελευταίαν ἤδη ἀπόφασιν κατ' αὐτοῦ ἔξενεχθήσεσθαι δοκῆσει; οὕτως γὰρ παρέστησε τὸ μέλλον τοῦ Θεοῦ δικαστήριον ὁ αἰδῆμος καὶ προφητικώτατος οὗτος ἀνὴρ, ὡς μηδὲν μὲν ἕτερον ὑπολείπεσθαι γνώσεως, μόνον δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ, καὶ τῷ πείρᾳ καταμαθεῖν.

course he has made upon the last judgment, wherein he has represented it so lively, that nothing can be added to it but the real appearance of judgment itself?" This is a character that would tempt any man to look into them: it is disputed now among the critics, whether these homilies that go under his name, be his genuine offspring? Some utterly reject them; and they who say most in their defence, own that they may have lost something of their native beauty and majesty, by being translated, first out of Syriac into Greek, and then out of Greek into Latin. And, therefore, I will not so confidently assert they deserve the character which Gregory Nyssen gives of those that were so much admired in his time. As for those of Origen, and others who followed him, though they have some flights of rhetoric, and a vein of piety in them, yet they are so full of allegorical and tropological interpretations, that they are neither good expositions, nor good homilies, and fall far short of the majesty and simplicity of those of Chrysostom. Among the Latins, those few moral discourses we have of Cyprian's, whether homilies or treatises, are excellent in their kind. And so are many of St. Austin's and St. Ambrose, and Leo the Great, and Petrus Ravennas, who, for his eloquence, had the name of Chrysologus, or the Latin Chrysostom; though his eloquence is of a different kind, being more like that of Seneca, than of Tully or Demosthenes, whom Chrysostom copied after.

SECT. XI.—*Of Extempore Discourses frequent among the Ancients.*

But of all these we must observe another distinction, that though many of them were studied and elaborate discourses, penned and composed beforehand; yet some were also extempore, spoken without any previous composition, and taken from their mouths by the *ταχυγράφοι*, or 'men who understood the art of writing short-hand' in the church. Origen was the first that began this way of preaching in the church. But Eusebius says^r, "He did it not till he was above sixty years

^r Euseb. lib. vi. c. xxxvi. (Cantab. p. 299.) Ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐξήκοντα φασὶν ἔτη τὸν Ὀριγένην γερόμενον ἄτε μεγίστην ἤδη συλλεξάμενον ἐκ τῆς μακρᾶς παρασκευῆς ἕξιν, τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ λεγομένας αὐτῷ διαλέξεις

old ; at which age, having got a confirmed habit of preaching by continual use and exercise, he suffered the *ταχυγράφοι*, or ‘notaries,’ to take down his sermons which he made to the people, which he never would allow before.” Pamphilus, in his apology for Origen ^s, speaks the matter a little more plainly ; for he makes it an instance of his sedulity in studying and preaching the word of God, that he not only composed a great number of laborious treatises upon it, but preached almost every day extempore sermons in the church, which were taken from his mouth by the notaries, and so conveyed to posterity by that means only. The catechetical discourses of St. Cyril are supposed to be of this kind ; for at the beginning of every one almost, it is said in the title to be *σχεδιασθεΐσα*, which Suidas and other critics expound ‘an extempore discourse.’ St. Jerome says, Pierius thus expounded the Scripture ^t. St. Chrysostom also sometimes used this way of preaching, being of a ready invention and fluent tongue. Sozomen says ^u, “After his return from banishment, the people were so desirous to hear him, that he was forced to go up into the episcopal

ταχυγράφοις μεταλαβείν ἐπιτρέψαι οὐ πρότερόν ποτε τοῦτο γενέσθαι συγκεχωρηκότα.

^s Pamphil. Apol. pro Origen. inter opera Origen. tom. i. p. 756. Quod præ ceteris Verbo Dei et doctrinæ operam dederit, dubium non est ex his, quæ ad nos laboris et studii ejus certissima designantur indicia ; præcipue vero per eos tractatus, quos pene quotidie in ecclesia habebat extempore, quos et describentes notarii ad monumenta posteritatis tradebant. Dr. Cave reckons his homilies upon Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, to be all extempore. Vid. Histor. Litter. (Basil. 1741. vol. i. p. 116 ; p. 57. B, edit. Genev.) Alias homilias meditate conscriptas edidit : alias ex tempore recitatis actuariis excipi permisit. Priores variis temporibus elucubravit : extemporales vero omnes (quæ litteris mandatæ sunt) post lx. ætatis annum pronuntiatæ sunt. Ex utroque genere multæ exstant. Homiliarum mysticarum in Genesin libri ii. Commentariorum in Genesin libri xiii. . . . Exstant Latine (a Ruffino versæ) homiliæ xvii., diversæ a mysticis. Extemporales fuisse videntur. . . . Homiliæ in Exodum xii., a Ruffino versæ. Extemporales videntur. . . . Homiliæ in Leviticum xvi. exstant ex Ruffini versione. Extemporales videntur. . . . Homiliæ in Numeros xxviii. exstant ex Ruffini versione, et extemporales fuisse videntur.

^t Hieron. Proœm. in Hosea. (Venet. vol. vi. p. 23.) Pierii quoque legi tractatum longissimum, quem in exordio hujus prophetæ, die vigiliarum Dominicæ passionis, extemporaliter et diserto sermone profudit.

^u Sozomen. lib. viii. c. xviii. (Cantab. p. 349. l. 37.) Ἐπιτρέψαι δὲ, καὶ σὺν τῷ ταχυγράφῳ διεξῆλθε λόγον.

throne, and make an extempore discourse to them," which is now extant ^v in his second tome in Latin. Suidas also gives him this character ^w, "that he had a tongue flowing like the cataracts of Nile, whereby he spake many of his panegyrics upon the martyrs extempore, without any hesitation." And it appears from several of his sermons, that he often took occasion in the middle of his discourse, from some accidental hint that was casually given, to turn his eloquence from the subject in hand, and make some extempore apostrophe to the people, either of praise and commendation, or of reproof and correction, as the occasion of the thing required, as in that sermon we have already mentioned, sect. viii., where he takes occasion, from the people's turning their eyes to see the lighting of the candles, to reprove their negligence ^x in turning away their attention from him, who was holding forth to them a greater light from the Holy Scriptures. And there are many other such apostrophes and occasional reflections throughout his homilies, which must needs be extempore, because the occasion of them could not be foreseen, being they were pure contingencies, and things altogether accidental. But Chrysostom was not the only man whose fluency enabled him to make extempore discourses. For Ruffin, speaking in praise of Gregory Nazianzen and St. Basil, says ^y, "There were several of their sermons extant which they spake extempore in the church, twenty of which he himself had translated into Latin." Socrates gives the same account of Atticus, "that though, whilst he was a presbyter, he was used to preach composed and studied sermons, yet afterwards, by industry and continued exercise, having gained confidence and a freedom or fluency of speaking, he preached extempore to the people ^z;" and his sermons were so well received by his

^v Chrysostom. Sermo post Reditum. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 411.)

^w Suidas, voce Ἰωάννης, tom. i. p. 1258. (tom. ii. p. 130, edit. Kusteri, Cant. 1705.) Τὰς τῶν μαρτύρων δὲ πανηγύρεις ἐπηύξησεν ἐν τῷ σχεδιάζειν ἀνεμποδίστως, καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν αὐτοῦ καταρῆν ὑπὲρ τοὺς Νειλῶους καταρράκτας.

^x Chrysostom. Hom. iv. in Genes. See note (x) p. 544.

^y Ruffin. Histor. lib. ii. c. ix.

^z Soerat. lib. vii. c. ii. (Cantab. p. 348. l. 20.) Πρώτερον μὲν ἡνίκα ἐν τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ἐπάττετο, ἐκμαθὼν οὖς καὶ ἐπόνει λόγους, ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας

auditors, that they took them down in writing^a. Sozomen, indeed, gives a different account of them; for he says^b, “His performances were so mean, that though they had a mixture of heathen learning in them, yet his auditors did not think them worth writing.” However, they both seem to agree in this; that whatever characters they bare, they were extempore discourses^c. Sidonius Apollinaris seems to give the like account of Faustus, bishop of Riez, in France; for he says^d, “Some of his discourses were *repentance*, and others, *elucubrata*,” that is, the one spoken off hand; and the others, elaborate and studied. And there is nothing more certain, than that St. Austin did often use the extempore way; for he sometimes preached upon places of Scripture that were accidentally read in the church, and which he knew nothing of before he came thither; of which we have an undeniable instance in one of his homilies, where he tells us^e, “he was determined to preach upon a certain psalm about repentance, which he thought nothing of, before the reader chanced to read it of his own accord in the church.” And in another place he tells us^f, “when he had appointed the reader to read a certain psalm upon which he intended to preach, the reader in some hurry read another in its room; and this obliged him to preach an extempore sermon upon that psalm,

ἐδίδασκε μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα σὺν τῇ φιλοπονίᾳ καὶ παρῤῥησίᾳ κτησάμενος, ἐξ αὐτοσχεδίου καὶ πανηγυρικωτέραν τὴν διδασκαλίαν ἐποιεῖτο.

^a [Not. Cl. Binghamus hic Socratem non inspexisse videtur: nam prorsus contrarium dicit, et idem ac Sozomenus: statim enim addit: Οὐ μὴν τοιοῦτοι ἦσαν οἱ λόγοι, ὡς καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀκροατῶν σπουδάζεσθαι ἢ γραφῆ παραδίδοσθαι. *Grisch.*]

^b Sozom. lib. viii. c. xxvi. (p. 362. l. 35.) Μέτριος δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας λόγους, ὡς μῆτε γραφῆς ἀξίους νομίζεσθαι τοῖς ἀκροαταῖς, μῆτε παιδείας παντελῶς ἀμοίρους.

^c [Nihil hac de re dicit Sozomenus. *Grisch.*]

^d Sidon. lib. ix. Epist. iii. ad Faustum Regiensem. (Galland. vol. x. p. 543. C 2.) Licet prædicationes tuas, nunc repentinas, nunc, cum ratio poposcisset, elucubratas, raucus ploror audierim, etc. — Gennadius (de Scriptor. c. xl.) gives the same account of Maximus Taurinensis.

^e Aug. Serm. xxvii. ex l. See note (e) p. 428.

^f Ibid. in Psalm. cxxxviii. (Bened. 1700. vol. iv. p. 1146. B.) Psalmum nobis brevem paraveramus, quem mandaveramus cantari a lectore: sed ad horam, quantum videtur, perturbatus, alterum pro altero legit. Maluimus nos in errore lectoris sequi voluntatem Dei, quam nostram in nostro proposito.

that was so accidentally read in the church." Possidius also, in his Life, mentions a sermon wherein he left his subject that he was discoursing upon, to dispute against the Manichees ^g, which he had no thoughts to have done when he first began to preach; but he reckoned it was the providence of God that directed him so to do, to cure the error of some latent Manichee in the congregation. And it is very probable, that many of his sermons upon the Psalms were extempore, because he so often uses the phrase, *Quantum Deus donaverit*, "as God should enable him to speak;" which seems to imply, that he spake without any previous study or composition. It is evident his sermon on Psalm lxxxvi. was of this kind; for he says ^h, "he would explain it as God should enable him, seeing it was appointed by his holy father the bishop then present. But such a sudden appointment would have been an oppression, were it not that the prayers of the proponent gave him continual assistance." For, indeed, they looked upon it as so necessary a work to preach continually, that when they had not time to compose beforehand, they doubted not but that the grace of God, and a peculiar assistance of the Spirit, would concur with their honest endeavours in such sudden undertakings. Nay, Gregory the Great, who also used this way in explaining some of the most difficult books of Scripture,

^g Possid. Vit. Aug. c. xv. (Bened. 1700. vol. x. p. 179. E.) Scio non solus ipse [Possidius] verum etiam alii fratres et conservi, qui nobiscum tunc intra Hipponensem ecclesiam cum eodem sancto viro vivebant, nobis pariter ad mensam constitutis eum dixisse, 'Advertistis hodie in ecclesia meum sermonem, ejusque initium et finem contra meam consuetudinem processisse, quoniam non eam rem terminatam explicuerim, quam proposueram, sed pendentem reliquerim?' Cui respondimus: 'Ita nos in tempore miratos fuisse scimus et recognoscimus.' At ille, 'Credo,' ait, 'quod forte aliquem errantem in populo Dominus per nostram oblivionem et errorem doceri et curari voluerit, in cujus manu sunt et nos et sermones nostri. Nam quum propositæ quæstionis latebras pertractarem, in alio sermonis excursu perrexi; atque ita non conclusa vel explicata quæstione, disputationem terminavi magis adversum Manichæorum errorem, unde nihil dicere decreveram, disputans, quam de iis quæ asserere proposueram.

^h Aug. in Psalm. lxxxvi. (Bened. 1700. vol. v. p. 690. E.) Hic psalmus, quantum Dominus donare dignatur, cum vestra Caritate tractandus, modo est propositus a beatissimo presente Patre nostro. Repentina propositio me gravaret, nisi me continuo proponentis oratio sublevaret.

as particularly Ezekiel, scruples not to sayⁱ, “that he often found those obscure places of Scripture, which he could not comprehend in his private study, to flow in upon his understanding, when he was preaching in public to his brethren.”

SECT. XII.—*What meant by Preaching by the Spirit.*

And in regard to this, they are wont frequently to mention the assistance of the Spirit, both in composing and preaching their sermons. Thus Chrysostom says in one of his sermons^j, “when he had the happiness to see a large auditory and a table well furnished with guests, that then he expected the grace of the Spirit to sound in his mind.” In another^k, “I do not think that I spake those words of myself; but God that foresaw what would happen, put those words into my mind.” And again, speaking of the preaching of Flavian his bishop, he says^l, “it was not human thought that poured forth his discourse, but the grace of the Holy Spirit; as it was not the nature of the vine, but the power of Christ that made the water wine.” St. Austin also often speaks of such illapses and assistances of the Spirit in preaching; which he sometimes calls “the gift of God^m,” sometimes “the revelation of the Spiritⁿ,” and sometimes “the help of God,” and “his divine

ⁱ Gregor. Mag. Hom. xix. in Ezech. (Bened. Paris. 1705. vol. i. p. 1319.) Non hoc temeritate adgredior, sed humilitate. Scio enim, quia plerumque multa in sacro cloquio, quæ solus intelligere non potui, coram fratribus meis positus intellexi.

^j Chrysostom. Hom. xxiii. de Verbis Apostol. Habentes eandem spiritum, etc. (Bened. 1718. vol. iii. p. 261. A 4.) Ἐπεὶ οὖν πλήρης ἡμῖν ἡ τράπεζα, προσδοκῶ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Πνεύματος χάριν ἐνηχῆσαι ἡμῶν διανοίᾳ.

^k Ibid. Hom. ii. ad Popul. Antioch. (Paris. 1837. vol. ii. p. 29. A.) Οὐκ οἶμαι ταῦτά ἀπ’ ἔμαντοῦ εἰρηκέναι, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὰ μέλλοντα προειδότης εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐμβεβληκέναι τὰ ῥήματα.

^l Ibid. Hom. ii. de Verbis Iesaiæ. (Bened. 1718. vol. vi. p. 111. C 2.) Τὸ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐκείνο γεγονός σήμερον μετὰ τὸν ἐλάττονα γὰρ οἶνον ὁ βελτίων εἰσκομίζεται καὶ καθάπερ ἐκείνον οὐκ ἄμπελος ἔτεκε τότε, ἀλλ’ ἡ δύναμις ἐποίησε τοῦ Χριστοῦ οὕτω καὶ τούτου τὸν λόγον οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνῃ προχέει διάνοια, ἀλλ’ ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος χάρις.

^m Aug. Serm. xvii. de Verbis Apost. (Bened. 1700. vol. v. p. 533. A.) Hesternæ die de justificatione nostræ, quæ nobis est a Domino Deo nostro, sermo productus est, ministrantibus nobis, donante illo, audientibus vobis.

ⁿ Ibid. Serm. xv. de Verb. Apost. Ad apostolicam lectionem aures et animum attendat Sanctitas vestra, adjuvando nos adfectu vestro apud Dominum

assistance °.” In one place more particularly, speaking of his unwillingness to preach before certain bishops when he was but young, he brings them in making this answer ^p; “If thou art in want of words, ask and it shall be given thee; for it is not ye that speak, but ye minister what is given unto you.” If a man would disingenuously interpret these and the like expressions of the ancients, he might make them seem to countenance that preaching by the Spirit, which some so vainly boast of, as if they spake nothing but what the Spirit immediately dictated to them, as it did to the apostles, by extraordinary inspiration; which were to set every extempore as well as composed discourse upon the same level of infallibility with the Gospel: which sort of enthusiasm the ancients never dreamed of: for, notwithstanding the assistance of the Spirit they speak of, they always put a wide difference between the apostle’s preaching and their own, styling the one infallible and authentic, as we have heard before ^q, out of St. Austin and others, and themselves only fallible expositors of the Scripture. All therefore they pretended to from the assistance of the Spirit, was only that ordinary assistance which men may expect from the concurrence of the Spirit with their honest endeavours, as a blessing upon their studies and labours; that whilst they were piously engaged in his service, God would not be wanting to them in such assistance as was proper for their work; especially if they humbly asked it with sincerity by fervent supplication and prayer.

SECT. XIII.—*What Sort of Prayers were used before Sermons, and in, and after them.*

And upon this account it was usual for the preacher many times to usher in his discourse with a short prayer for such divine assistance, and also to move the people to pray for him.

Deum nostrum, ut ea que ille nobis revelare dignatur, ad vos apte atque salubriter proferre possimus. (Bened. 1700. vol. v. p. 562. F.)

° Aug. Serm. xiv. Hodie, adjuvante Domino, placuit nobis hinc eloqui.

^p Ibid. Serm. xvi. de Tempore. (Bened. 1700. vol. v. append. p. 133. C.) Si sermo deest, pete et accipies. Non enim vos estis, qui loquimini: sed quod donatur vobis, hoc ministratis nobis.—In ‘Doctrina Christiana,’ lib. iv. c. xv., he has more to the same purpose. See note (s) seq.

^q Ibid. Epist. xix. ad Hieron. See note (b) p. 516.

St. Austin, in the aforesaid homily, having mentioned the assistance of the Spirit, immediately adds^r, “Whither shall I betake myself, thus violently pressed in these straits, but to the footstool of charity, or grace of the Holy Spirit? And to that I make now my supplication, that he would grant me ability to speak something worthy of him, whereby I may at once fulfil my ministry, and satisfy your desire.” And in his book of Instructions of the Christian Orator^s, where he prescribes many excellent rules for preaching, he lays down this, among others, “that the Christian orator should pray both for himself, and others, before he begins to teach; that he may be able to speak those things that are holy, just, and good; and that his auditors may hear him with understanding, with willingness, and with an obedient heart. To this end, before he looses his tongue to speak, he should lift up his thirsting soul to God, that he may be able to discharge what he has imbibed, and pour forth to others that wherewith he has filled himself: and this the rather, because both we, and all our words, are in the hand of God, who teaches us both what to speak, and after what manner to speak; and, therefore, though ecclesiastical men ought to learn what they are to teach, and to get the faculty of speaking, yet when the hour of speaking comes, they should imagine that what our Lord says, belongs to every good soul^t, ‘Take no thought how or what ye shall

^r Aug. Hom. xlvi. de Tempore. (vol. v. append. p. 190.) His coartatus angustiis, quo me conferam, nisi ad sancta vestigia caritatis? eamque deprecator, ut donet mihi aliquid dignum de se dicere, quod et meum suppleat ministerium, et vestrum satiet desiderium.

^s Ibid. de Doctrin. Christian. lib. iv. c. xv. (Bened. 1679. vol. iii. p. 76.) Noster eloquens, orando pro se, ac pro illis quos est adloquutus, sit orator antequam diator. Ipsa hora jam ut dicat accedens, priusquam exserat proferentem linguam, ad Deum levet animam sitientem, ut eructet quod biberit, vel quod impleverit fundat. Quum enim de unaquaque re, quæ secundum fidem dilectionemque tractanda sunt, multa sint quæ dicantur, et multi modi quibus dicantur ab eis, qui hæc sciunt; quis novit, quid ad præsens tempus, vel nobis dicere, vel per nos expediat audiri, nisi qui corda omnium videt? Et quis facit, ut quod oportet, et quemadmodum oportet, dicatur a nobis, nisi in ejus manu sunt et nos et sermones nostri?

^t Ibid. (p. 77.) Ad horam vero ipsius dictionis, illud potius bonæ menti cogitet convenire, quod Dominus ait, ‘Nolite cogitare, quomodo aut quid loquamini: dabitur enim vobis in illa hora, quid loquamini: non enim vos estis qui loquimini, sed Spiritus Patris vestri, qui loquitur in vobis.’ Si ergo loquitur

speak ; for it shall be given to you in that hour what ye shall speak ; for it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you.' If, therefore, the Holy Spirit speak in them, who are delivered up to persecutors for the name of Christ, why should he not also speak in those who preach Christ to them that are disposed to learn him?" I have related this passage at length, both because it shows us to what degree they depended on the Spirit's assistance in preaching, and also what sort of prayers those were which they commonly made before sermon, viz. not the common prayers of the Church (as some mistake, who measure all usages of the ancient Church by the customs of the present), but these short prayers for the assistance and conduct of the Spirit, to direct both them and the people in speaking and hearing. And wherever we meet with any mention of prayer before sermon, it is to be understood only of this short sort of prayers in ancient writers ; such as that of St. Austin's, in one of his homilies upon the Psalms, which begins with these words^u : " Attend to the Psalm, and the Lord grant us ability to open the mysteries that are contained in it." He begins another thus^v ; " My lords and brethren (meaning the bishops then present), and the Lord of all by them, have commanded me to discourse upon this Psalm, that you may understand it, so far as the Lord shall grant us understanding ; and may he, by your prayers, assist me, that I may speak such things as I ought to speak, and such as ye ought to hear, that the word of God may be profitable to us all." In this sense we are to understand St. Chrysostom, when he says^w, " We must first

in eis Spiritus Sanctus, qui persequentibus traduntur pro Christo, cur non in eis, qui tradunt discentibus Christum ?

^u Aug. in Psalm. xci. (1700. vol. v. p. 737. A.) Attendite ad psalmum : det nobis Dominus aperire mysteria, quæ heic continentur.

^v Ibid. in Psalm. cxxxix. (1700. vol. v. p. 1158. C.) Jusserunt domini fratres, et in ipsis Dominus omnium, ut istum psalmum adferam ad vos intelligendum, quantum Dominus donat. Adjuvet orationibus vestris, ut ea dicam quæ oportet me dicere, et vos audire : uti omnibus nobis sit utilis sermo divinus.

^w Chrysostom. Hom. xxviii. de Incomprehens. Dei Natura. (Bened. 1718. vol. i. p. 469. D.) Πρότερον εὐχῆ καὶ τότε λόγος· οὕτω καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι φασίν· " ἡμεῖς δὲ τῷ προσευχῇ καὶ τῷ διανοίᾳ τοῦ λόγου προσκαρτερήσομεν· " οὕτω καὶ ὁ Παῦλος ποιῆ ἐν τοῖς προοιμίῳις τῶν ἐπιστολῶν εὐχό-

pray, and then preach." So St. Paul does, praying, in the prefaces of his epistles, "that the light of prayer, as the light of a candle, may lead the way to his discourses." Such is that prayer, which St. Ambrose is said to use before his sermons^x: "I beseech thee, O Lord, and earnestly entreat thee, give me an humble knowledge, which may edify; give me a meek and prudent eloquence, which knows not how to be puffed up, or vaunt itself upon its own worth and endowments above its brethren. Put into my mouth, I beseech thee, the word of consolation, and edification, and exhortation, that I may be able to exhort those that are good, to go on to greater perfection; and reduce those that walk perversely, to the rule of thy righteousness, both by my word and by my example. Let the words which thou givest to thy servant, be as the sharpest darts and burning arrows, which may penetrate and inflame the minds of my hearers to thy fear and love." But this seems rather to have been a private prayer of St. Ambrose between God and himself, as Bishop Wetenhall^y and Mr. Thorndike^z understand it; who yet are mistaken in one thing, when they suppose that the common prayers of the Church came before the sermon, and that there were no other prayers before sermon but those: for nothing is more certain, than that the common prayers did not begin till the sermon was ended; and yet there were such short prayers for grace and assistance, as we are speaking of, peculiarly adapted to the business of preaching and hearing, and not respecting any other subject. And sometimes the people's prayers were required to be joined with them: as appears from that of St. Austin, in one of his

μενος, ἴν' ὡσπερ λύχνου φῶς, οὕτω τὸ τῆς εὐχῆς φῶς προοδοποιήσῃ τῆ λόγῳ.

^x Ambros. Orat. ap. Ferrarium de Concionibus Veter. lib. i. c. viii. (Veron. 1731. p. 40.) Obsecro, Domine, et suppliciter rogo, da mihi semper humilem scientiam, quæ ædificet; da mitissimam et sapientem eloquentiam, quæ nesciat inflari, et de suis bonis super fratres extolli. Pone, quæso, in ore meo verbum consolationis, et ædificationis, et exhortationis, per Spiritum Sanctum tuum, ut bonos ad meliora valeam exhortari, et eos, qui perverse gradiuntur, ad tuæ rectitudinis lineam revocare verbo et exemplo. Sint verba quæ dederis servo tuo, tamquam acutissima jacula, et ardentes sagittæ, quæ penetrent et incendiant mentes audientium ad timorem et amorem tuum.

^y Wetenhall's Gift of Prayer, chap. iv. p. 116.

^z Thorndike's Just Weights and Measures, chap. xvi.

homilies upon the Psalms^a, where he desires the people to assist him with their prayers to the Lord, that he would grant him ability to explain the latent mysteries and difficulties of the Psalms, as well for their sakes as his own. In Origen's homilies upon Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and St. Luke, there are abundance of such short prayers, not only in the beginning of his discourses, but sometimes also in the middle of them, when any more abstruse passage of Scripture presented itself to consideration: and, generally in the close, he makes another such short prayer, in a few words, suitable to the subject: sometimes praying for himself and the people, and sometimes exhorting them to pray for themselves and him; all which being produced at large in a noted book of Mr. Daillé's^b, I shall not think it needful to transcribe them in this place. But I cannot omit to observe, that as St. Austin often began his sermon with a short prayer, so he usually ended it with another of the like nature: the forms of which are, some of them, now to be found at the end of several of his homilies. In some of them, we have this form at length^c: "Let us now turn to the Lord God, our Father Almighty, with a pure heart, and give him thanks with all our might, beseeching his singular clemency with our whole soul, that of his good pleasure he would vouchsafe to hear our prayers; that he would drive away the enemy from all our thoughts and actions by his power; that he would increase our faith, govern our minds, grant us spiritual thoughts, and conduct us to everlasting happiness, through Jesus Christ his Son, our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with him in the unity of the

^a Aug. in Psalm. cxlvii. (Bened. 1700. vol. v. p. 1231. D.) *Adsit nobis apud Dominum Deum nostrum iste adfectus precum vestrarum: etsi non propter nos certe propter vos donare dignetur, quod heic absconditum latet.* Vid. Hom. l. de Diversis: *Orate, ut possimus, etc.*

^b Dallæ. de Objecto Cult. Relig. lib. iii. c. xiii. tot. pp. 412—417.

^c Aug. Serm. xxx. de Verbis Dom. (tom. x. p. 122, Basil. †) *Conversi ad Dominum Patrem Omnipotentem puro corde, et quantum potest parvitas nostra, maximas atque uberes gratias agamus, preccantes toto animo singularem mansuetudinem ejus, ut preces nostras, in beneplacito suo, exaudire dignetur; inimicum quoque a nostris actibus et cogitationibus sua virtute expellat; nobis multiplicet fidem, mentem gubernet, spirituales cogitationes concedat, et ad beatitudinem suam perducat, per Jesum Christum Filium suum. †—Vid. Serm. cii. de Diversis, et cxx. et Serm. xviii. ex editis a Sirmondo.*

Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. Amen." And in many other homilies this prayer is referred to, as a known form, used frequently by him in the close of his sermons^d, *Conversi ad Dominum*, &c.; but he sometimes varied and shortened this form, as the matter of his sermon required. Thus, in his long sermon upon the resurrection, having said, "that the saints, in the next world, will keep a perpetual Sabbath, and have nothing to do but to sing Hallelujah;" and applying the words of the psalmist to this purpose, "Blessed are they that dwell in thy house, for they will be always praising thee," he concludes his sermon with this prayer^e: "Let us turn to the Lord, and beseech him for ourselves, and all the people that stand with us in the courts of his house: which house may he vouchsafe to preserve and protect, through Jesus Christ his Son, our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with him, world without end. Amen." In another of his homilies (a fragment of which is cited by Sirmond^f, as it is preserved in Eugypius's Collections out of St. Austin's Works), he has another form, in these words: "Let us turn to the Lord, and bless his name, that we may have grace to persevere in his commandments, to walk in the way of his instructions, and please him in every good work," &c. From all which it is manifest, they used such short prayers, both in the beginning and conclusion of their sermons; and sometimes, as occasion required, in the middle of them also; and that these were distinct from the common prayers of the Church.

^d Aug. de Verbis Dom. Serm. vii. in fine. *Conversi ad Dominum*. Serm. xiii.; Serm. xxxii.; Serm. xl.; Serm. xlii.; et passim in homiliis de Diversis.

^e De Diversis, Serm. cxxi. (Bened. 1700. vol. v. p. 1002. E.) *Conversi ad Dominum*, ipsum deprecemur pro nobis et pro omni plebe sua, adstante nobiscum in atriis domus sue; quam custodire protegereque dignetur: per Jesum Christum Filium ejus, Dominum nostrum, qui cum eo vivit et regnat in secula seculorum. Amen.

^f Fragment. Hom. ex Eugypii Thesauro, lib. ii. c. cclxxxviii. ap. Sirmond. not. in Aug. Hom. xviii. a se edit. (Bened. 1679. vol. v. p. 1058. E.) *Conversi ad Dominum*, benedicamus nomen ejus, det nobis perseverare in mandatis suis, ambulare in via recta eruditionis sue, placere illi in omni opere bono.

SECT. XIV.—*The Salutation, Pax vobis, “The Lord be with you,” commonly used before Sermons.*

Before they began to preach, it was usual also, in many places, to use the common salutation, *Pax vobis*, “Peace be unto you,” or, “The Lord be with you,” which was the usual preface and introduction to all holy offices; to which the people answered, “And with thy spirit.” This the author of the Constitutions calls, *πρόσρησις*, ‘the salutation,’ giving this rule to the bishop newly ordained^g: “After the reading of the Law, and the Prophets, and the Epistles, and the Acts, and the Gospels, let him salute the Church, saying, ‘The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God the Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all:’ and let all the people answer, ‘And with thy spirit:’ and, ‘after this salutation,’ *μετὰ τὴν πρόσρησιν*, let him speak to the people the words of exhortation.” And that this author did not impose any new custom upon the Church, appears from Chrysostom, who, in several of his homilies, makes mention of it. In his third homily upon the Colossians, he says^h, “The bishop, when he first entered the Church, said, ‘Peace be unto you all;’ and when he began to preach, ‘Peace be unto you all.’” And, a little before, he says, the bishops used it, *ἐν ταῖς προσρήσεσι*, by which he means their ‘sermons,’ or, at least, ‘the form of salutation’ itself ushering in the sermon, as we have seen the author of the Constitutions understand it. Chrysostom addsⁱ, “that the people returned the salutation of peace to him that gave it, saying, ‘And with thy spirit.’” In another place, he says^k, “Nothing is comparable to peace

^g Constitut. lib. viii. c. v. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 464. A.) *Μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν, τῶν τε ἐπιστολῶν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν πράξεων, καὶ τῶν εὐαγγελίων, ἀσπασάσθω ὁ χειροτονηθεὶς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, λέγων· “ἡ χάρις τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς, καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν.” καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Πνεύματός σου· καὶ μετὰ τὴν πρόσρησιν, προσλαλησάτω τῷ λαῷ λόγους παρακλήσεως.*

^h Chrysostom. Hom. iii. in Coloss. See note (z) p. 491.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 1339. *Ἀντιδιδόντες τῷ διδόντι τὴν εἰρήνην, πολεμοῦμεν; λέγεις, Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου, κ. τ. λ.*

^k Ibid. Hom. liii. in eos qui Pascha jejulant. (Bened. 1718. vol. i. p. 614. C.) *Οὐδὲν εἰρήνης ἴσον καὶ συμφωνίας. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ εἰσιῶν ὁ πατὴρ, οὐ*

and unity; and, for this reason, the father, the bishop, when he enters the church, before he goes up to his throne, prays for ‘peace to all;’ and when he rises up to preach, he does not begin to discourse before he has given the ‘peace to all.’” In another place, he opens the reasons of this practice, by declaring the original intent and design of it. “For,” he says^l, “it was an ancient custom in the apostles’ days, when the rulers of the Church had the gift of inspiration, and spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, for the people to say to the preacher, ‘Peace be with thy spirit:’ therefore, now, when we begin to preach, the people answer, ‘And with thy spirit:’ showing that, heretofore, they spoke not by their own wisdom, but as they were moved by the Spirit.” And though this gift of extraordinary inspiration was ceased, yet all preachers still were presumed to be under the conduct and assistance of the Spirit, in a lower degree: and, therefore, he says, in another place^m, “that the Holy Ghost was in their common father and teacher” (meaning the bishop), “when he went up into the episcopal throne, and gave ‘the peace’ to them all, and they, with one voice, answered, ‘And with thy spirit.’ And this, not only when he went into his throne, but also when he preached to them, when he prayed, and when he stood by the holy table to offer the oblation.” And, by this, we may understand what Sozomenⁿ

πρότερον ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον ἀναβαίνει τοῦτον, ἕως ἂν ἅπασιν ὑμῖν εἰρήνην ἐπεύξηται καὶ ἀναστὰς οὐ πρότερον ἄρχεται τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς διδασκαλίας, ἕως ἂν ἅπασι δῶ τὴν εἰρήνην.

^l Chrysostom. Hom. xxxvi. in 1 Cor. (Bened. 1718. vol. x. p. 339. D.) Ἐπειδὴν ἀρξώμεθα λέγειν, ὁ λαὸς ἀντιφθέγγεται, τῷ πνεύματί σου, δεικνὺς ὅτι τὸ παλαιὸν οὕτως ἔλεγον, οὐκ οἰκεία σοφία, ἀλλὰ τῷ Πνεύματι κινούμενοι.

^m Ibid. Hom. xxxvi. de Pentecost. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 463. A 6.) Ἐἰ μὴ Πνεῦμα ἄγιον ἦν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τούτῳ πατρὶ καὶ διδασκάλῳ, οὐκ ἂν ὅτε πρὸ μικροῦ ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν βῆμα τοῦτο, καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἔδωκεν εἰρήνην, καὶ ἐπεφθέγγασθε αὐτῷ κοινῇ πάντες, Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀναβαίνουντι μόνον, οὐδὲ διαλεγόμενῳ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οὐδὲ εὐχομένῳ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ταύτην ἐπιφθέγγεσθε τὴν ρῆσιν, ἀλλ’ ὅταν παρὰ τὴν ἱερὰν ταύτην ἐστήκη τράπεζαν ὅταν τὴν φρικτὴν ἐκείνην θυσίαν ἀνασφῆρην μέλλῃ.

ⁿ Sozom. lib. viii. c. xviii. (Cantabr. p. 349. l. 32.) Ἀγούσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· παραιτούμενόν τε, καὶ πολλάκις ἰσχυριζόμενον, χρῆναι πρότερον τοὺς καταψηφισαμένους αὐτοῦ πάλιν ἀποψηφίσασθαι, ὡς ἱερεῦσι θέμις, ἠνάγκασαν τὴν εἰρήνην τῷ λαῷ προσειπεῖν, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐπισκοπικὸν καθῆσαι θρόνον· ἀναγκασθεὶς δὲ, καὶ σχέδιόν τινα διεξῆλθε λόγον.

and others say of Chrysostom, after his return from banishment, that the people forced him, against his will, before he was synodically reinstated, to go up into the throne, and give them ‘the peace,’ in the usual form, and preach to them. Optatus speaks of the same custom in Afric, both in the beginning and end of their sermons. “For,” he says^o, “they used a double salutation: the bishop never began to speak to the people, before he had first saluted them in the name of God. Every sermon in the church began in the name of God, and ended in the name of the same God.” And, by this, he proves, that Macarius, the emperor’s officer, did not take upon him the office of a bishop among the Catholics, as the Donatists falsely objected against them. For though he spake to the people in the church, yet it was upon some other business, and not by way of preaching, which was the office of bishops, which they always began and ended with this salutation; but Macarius used no such salutation: and from thence he argues that he did not preach. Bona^p cites also Athanasius’s epistle to Eustathius, where he inveighs against the Arian bishops, who, in the beginning of their sermons, used that kind word, “Peace be with you,” and yet were always harassing others, and tragically engaged in war. But as there is no epistle under that title among Athanasius’s works, I let it rest upon the credit of our author.

SECT. XV.—*But the Use of Ave Maries, before Sermons, unknown to the Ancients.*

But I cannot but observe, that among all the short prayers

^o Optat. lib. iii. † (Paris. 1702. p. 106, at top.) *Episcopalis tractatus probatur . . . salutatione geminata. Non enim aliquid incipit episcopus ad populum dicere, nisi primo in nomine Dei populum salutaverit. Similes sunt exitus initiis. Omnis tractatus in ecclesia a nomine Dei incipitur, et ejusdem Dei nomine terminatur. Quis vestrum audet dicere, episcoporum more, Macarium populum salutare? Igitur quum nec salutaverit, antequam aliquid loqueretur, nec salutare ausus sit, postquam loquutus sit, nec manum imposuerit, nec sacrificium Deo ritu episcopali obtulerit; quid est, quod dicitis pollui potuisse episcopale collegium, quum ab omni episcoporum officio Macarium videatis alienum?*

^p Bona, *Rer. Liturg. lib. ii. c. v. n. i.* (Antwerp. 1677. p. 513.) *Athanasius tandem epistola ad Eustathium invehitur in quosdam episcopos, qui, quum initio, etc.*

used by the ancients before their sermons, there is never any mention of an *Ave Mary*, now so common in the Romish Church. Their addresses were all to God; and the invocation of the Holy Virgin, for grace and assistance, before sermons, was a thing not thought of. They who are most concerned to prove its use, can derive its original no higher than the beginning of the fifteenth century. For Ferrarius ingenuously confesses^a, that Vincentius Ferrerius was the first ecclesiastical writer that ever used it before his sermons. Baronius has not a syllable of its antiquity in all his twelve centuries; there being a perfect silence both among the ancients and all the ritualists about it, till that Dominican preacher, in his abundant zeal for the worship of the Holy Virgin, began to use it before his sermons; from whose example (for he was a celebrated preacher in the age he lived) it gained such reputation and authority, as not only to be prefixed before all their sermons, but to be adapted and joined with the Lord's Prayer, in the Roman Breviary. Ferrarius says all he can to justify a novelty; but nothing can clear this *hyperdulia* of idolatry: and he might have spared his censure of Erasmus, who says a witty thing upon it: "That their preachers were used to invoke the Virgin Mother in the beginning of their discourses, as the heathen poets were used to do their muses:" for Epiphanius would have said much severer things against it, had he had the like occasion given him to inveigh against this idolatry, as he had to censure that of the Collyridians: but then this idolatry was confined to the weaker sex, and had not yet made its way into the pulpits, or any part of the liturgy of the ancient Church, when preachers were used to pray for grace and assistance only from Him, who is the proper donor of it.

^a Ferrar. de Ritu Concion. lib. i. c. xi. (Veron. 1731. p. 46.) Non ita vetus esse laudabile hoc ecclesie institutum, ex eo facile crediderim, quod Beatus Vincentius Ferrerius, qui floruit anno Domini 1410, primus ex omnibus scriptoribus ecclesiasticis illius meminerit, dum singulis sermonibus suis pre-mittit ea verba, 'Salutetur Beata Virgo.' Fatendum ut sit, illud vel a Beato Vincentio initium habuisse, vel certe ipsius Vincentii temporibus coepisse frequentari.

SECT. XVI.—*Sometimes their Sermons were prefaced with a Benediction.*

I observe, further, that as their sermons were thus usually prefaced with a short prayer, so they were sometimes introduced with a short form of benediction. This seems to have been peculiar to times of calamity and distress, or to happy deliverances out of them. There are instances of both kinds in Chrysostom's sermons to the people of Antioch, when they were under apprehensions of being destroyed by the emperor's displeasure. His fourth sermon begins thus^r: "Blessed be God, who hath comforted your sorrowful souls, and comforted your wavering minds." His eleventh^s, twelfth^t, thirteenth^u, and twentieth [*twenty-first*] homilies^v, begin much after the same manner. And his homily, after his return from banishment, is thus prefaced^w: "What shall I say? What shall I speak? 'Blessed be God.' This was the word which I spake when I went away; and this I repeat now, at my return." And this, he tells them, he did after the example of Job, who, in adversity, as well as prosperity, said always, "Blessed be the name of the Lord."

^r Chrysostom. Hom. iv. ad Popul. Antioch. (Paris. 1637. vol. ii. p. 57. D 4.) Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ παρακαλέσας τὰς δύνωμενας ὑμῶν ψυχὰς, ὁ στηρίξας δονουμένας ὑμῶν τὰς διανοίας.

^s Ibid. Hom. xi. (p. 135. A.) Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ ποιῶν πάντα καὶ μετασκευάζων αὐτά.

^t Ibid. Hom. xii. (p. 144.) Καὶ χθὲς εἶπον, Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός, καὶ σήμερον τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πάλιν λέγω.

^u Ibid. Hom. xiii. (p. 156.) Ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν προοιμιῶν, ὡν χθὲς καὶ πρὸ ἐκείνης ἠρξάμην, καὶ σήμερον ἄρξομαι, καὶ ἐρῶ νῦν, Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός.

^v Ibid. Hom. xxi. (p. 251.) Ἐκ τῆς ῥήσεως, ἀφ' ἧς αἰεὶ παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῶν κινδύνων πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν εἰώθειν ἀγάπην προοιμιάζεσθαι, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης καὶ σήμερον ἄρξομαι τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς λόγου, καὶ ἐρῶ μεθ' ὑμῶν, Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός, ὁ τὴν ἱεράν ταύτην ἑορτὴν μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης πολλῆς καταξιώσας ἡμᾶς ἐπιτελέσαι σήμερον, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποδοῦναι τῷ σώματι, καὶ τὸν ποιμένα τοῖς προβάτοις, τὸν διδάσκαλον τοῖς μαθηταῖς, τὸν στρατηγὸν τοῖς στρατιώταις, τὸν ἀρχιερέα τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν· Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός, ὁ ποιῶν ὑπὲρ ἐκ περισσοῦ ὧν αἰτούμεθα, ἢ νοοῦμεν.

^w Ibid. Hom. post Reditum. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 424.) (tom. v. p. 912, Francof.) Τί εἶπω; ἢ τί λαλήσω; Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός· τοῦτο εἶπον ἐξῶν τὸ ῥῆμα, τοῦτο πάλιν ἐπαναλαμβάνω.

SECT. XVII.—*Sometimes preached without any Text : and sometimes upon more Texts than one.*

It appears, further, from those homilies^x, and several others, both in him and other writers, that they sometimes preached without any text; only treating of such matters as they thought most proper for the occasion. But most commonly they took their text out of some paragraph of the Psalms or lessons, as they were read. And sometimes they so ordered the matter, as to preach upon the Psalm, the Epistle, and Gospel all together, when they were either accidentally, or by their own appointment, upon the same subject. Thus St. Austin preached upon the subject of praise and thanksgiving, out of the Epistle, the Psalm, and the Gospel together^y, because they had all something relating to his subject. But they never showed so little reverence for Scripture as to choose their text out of Aristotle's Ethics, as Sixtinus Amama^z tells us one of the Romish preachers did at Paris, in the hearing of Melanethon.

SECT. XVIII.—*Their Sermons always upon Important Subjects.*

Neither did they entertain their auditory with light and ludicrous matters, or fabulous and romantic stories, such as those with which preaching so much abounded in the age before the Reformation, of which Erasmus^a, and Fa-

^x Chrysostom. Hom. iii.—vi. ad Popul. Antiochenum.

^y Aug. de Verbis Apostol. Serm. x. (Bened. 1700. vol. v. p. 584. B.) Has tres lectiones, quantum pro tempore possumus, pertractemus, dicentes pauca de singulis; et quantum conari possumus, adjuvante Domino, non in aliqua earum immorantes, etc.

^z Sixtin. Amama, Orat. de Barbaric. In nonnullis quoque locis eo deventum fuit, ut textus ex Ethica Aristotelis pro concione proposuerint et interpretati sint; id quod dominus Melanethon suis se auribus audivisse testatur.

^a Erasm. Encom. Moriae, p. 176. (p. 378, tom. iv. opp. edit. Froben. 1540, folio.) Audivi quemdam eximie stultum, erravi, doctum volebam dicere, qui in concione celeberrima Divinae Triadis mysterium explicaturus, quo et doctrinam suam non vulgarem ostentaret, et theologicis satis faceret auribus, nova prorsus ingressus est via, nimirum a litteris, syllabis et oratione, tum a concordia nominis et verbi, adjectivi nominis et substantivi, mirantibus jam plerisque, ac nonnullis Horatianum illud apud se mussitantibus, Quorsum hæc

ber^b, and Hottinger^c, and many other learned men, have made so great and so just complaints. There is one instance given

tam putida tendunt? Tandem huc rem deduxit, ut in grammaticorum rudimentis sic expressum ostenderet totius Triadis simulacrum, ut nemo mathematicorum in pulvere posset evidentius depingere. Atque in hac oratione Θεολογώτατος ille totes octo menses ita desudarat, ut hodie quoque magis cæcetiatur, quam talpæ, nimirum tota luminum acie ad ingenii cuspidem avocata. Verum haud pœnitet hominem cæcitatibus, ac parvo quoque putat emptam eam gloriam. Auditus est nobis alius quidam octogenarius, adeo theologus, ut in hoc Scotum ipsum renatum putes. Is explicaturus mysterium nominis Jesu, mira subtilitate demonstravit, in ipsis litteris latere, quidquid de illo dici possit. Etenim quod tribus duntaxat inflectitur casibus, id manifestum esse simulacrum Divini ternionis. Deinde quod prima vox Jesus desinat in s, secunda Jesum, in m, tertia Jesu, in u, in hoc ἄρρητον subesse mysterium: nempe tribus litteris indicantibus, eum esse summum, medium, et ultimum. Restabat mysterium his quoque retrusius, mathematica ratione. Jesus sic in duas æquales diffidit portiones, ut scilicet penthemimeres in medio resideret. Deinde docuit, eam litteram apud Hebræos esse ψ, quam illi Syn appellant; porro Syn, Scotorum οἰνωρ lingua, peccatum sonat! atque hinc palam declarari, Jesum esse, qui peccata tolleret mundi. Hoc tam novum exordium sic inhiantes admirati sunt omnes, præcipue theologi, ut parum abfuerit, quin illis acciderit, quod olim Niobæ, quum mihi propemodum evenerit, quod ficulno illi Priapo, qui magno suo malo Canidiæ Saganæque nocturna sacra spectavit, etc.

^b Joan. Faber, Declamat. de Humanæ Vitæ Miseria, ap. Hottinger. Histor. Eccles. sæcul. xvi. part. iv. p. 1271. Concionatorum vicem persæpe vehementer indolui, quibus nescio quæ putida commentaria revolvenda sunt, quoties ad populum declamandum est. Aucupantur nonnulli sedulo quidem, sed parum seite, ut Meffret. Quædam non usquequaque recepta, sed propemodum anilia referunt aliqui, ut discipulus. Multi nimium secure dormiunt. Quæ, malum, insania est, divinum oratorem pro evangelica veritate somnia quædam et anicularum visiones et terriculamenta referre? Miserebat me eorum, quibus illa deliria facescebant negotia. . . . Sola divini verbi declamandi facultas rudior, quam hæc ætas docta ferat, atque impurior videbatur. Non enim sine magno meo vel stomacho legi vulgus sermologorum, ut vocant. Nam occurrerunt pleraque barbara et indigniora, quæ vel doctus homo legeret, vel imbiberet auris Christiana, quæ conatus sum, etc.

^c Hotting. xvi. sæcul. part. iii. p. 263. In cærimoniis plerique exponendis, quam fidei articulis tradendis erant occupatioribus. Habeo hac de re Beati Rhenani judicium, epistola perquam familiari a. C. 1518, Basilea ad Zuinglium, in Helvetiorum èremo adhuc commorantem, perscripta, quod ex ipso autographo in lucem producemus: ‘Nihil est, quod magis doleat, quam quod video, Christianum populum passim cærimoniis nihil ad rem pertinentibus onerari, immo meris mæniis. Et causam non aliam reperio, quam quod sacerdotes, per summularios istos et sophisticos theologos decepti, ethnicam aut Judaicam doctrinam docent. De vulgo sacerdotum loquor. Neque enim me latet, te tuique similes purissimam Christi philosophiam ex ipsis fontibus populo pro-

by Hottinger, out of one of their authentic books of homilies, which for its singular vanity, and to show the difference between the ancient and the modern way of edifying a popular auditory, I shall here transcribe out of him, as he relates it in his history. He says, in a book of sermons ^d, composed by the Theological Faculty of Vienna (an. 1430), which was read in their monasteries and their churches, this ridiculous story is told, to recommend their relics to the people: "That the thirty pieces of gold (though the Scripture calls them silver) which Judas had for betraying his master, were coined by Terah, Abraham's father, who was a famous artificer under King Nimrod; that he gave them to his son Abraham; that Abraham therewith purchased the field of Ephron the Hittite, from whence they came into the hands of the Ishmaelites, who

ponere, non Scoticis aut Gabrielicis interpretationibus depravatam; sed ab Augustino, Ambrosio, Cypriano, Hieronymo, germane et sincere expositam. Deblaterant illi nugas in eo loco stantes, ubi, quidquid dicitur, populus verissimum esse putat, de pontificia potestate, de condonationibus, de purgatorio, de fictis divorum miraculis, de restitutione, de contractibus, de votis, de pœnis inferorum, de Antichristo,' etc. Vid. pp. 264, 265, seq.

^d Hottin. sæcul. xv. pp. 63, 64. Pagina 456, ex apocryphis quibusdam deliramentis refert, triginta aureos, quibus Servatorem prodidit Judas, cusos esse ab Abrahami parente Tharacho, fabro peritissimo, a quo, auctoritate et jussu regis Nimrodi, primum nummum signatum orbis terrarum habuerit. Hæreditario jure hos triginta nummos cecissse Abrahamo, quibus ab Ephrone sepulchrum emerit. Inde ad Ismaëlitas devenisse, qui Josephum eodem pretio suum fecerint. Josepho autem in Ægypto, fratribus frumentum vendenti, fuisse redditos, et thesauro regio additos. Ex thesauro paullo post Mosem obtinuisse, quum a rege ad subigendam Æthiopiã mitteretur. Ea occasione reginæ Sabæ a Mose fuisse oblatos, dotis loco. Postea vero, quum Æthiopum regina Salomonem salutasset, argenteos illam nummos eidem donasse. Qui iterum gazophylacio regio addiet, Nebucadnezaris tandem urbem occupantis prædæ cesserint. Quumque regem quemdam Arabiæ haberet in comitatu suo, ex cujus posteris unus eorum fuerit regum, qui Christum Bethlehemi honoribus et muneribus adfecerint, hoc ei Nebucadnezarem munus sponte destinasse. Atque sic a rege illo Orientali tam splendidum donum B. Virgini fuisse consecratum. Mariam vero, Filium suum sistentem, munus hoc sacrum templo esse voluisse. Atque hoc ipsum tandem argentam pretium proditionis fuisse. Addit etiam argenteos istos (quos aureos ante vocaverat) post Christi passionem toto orbe dispersos et sanctis adnumeratos reliquias esse. Unum quidem ostendi Romæ, ad introitum basilicæ Petri: sed aureum esse, et nummo Anglico majorem.—St. Bernard's censure of such trifles is, 'Inter sæculares nugæ, nugæ sunt: in ore sacerdotis, blasphemiæ.' (De Consider. lib. ii. c. 13.)

therewith bought Joseph, when his brethren sold him into Egypt; that Joseph's brethren paid them to Joseph, when they went to buy corn in Egypt, and so they came into the King of Egypt's treasury; that hence they were given to Moses, when the King of Egypt sent him with an army to subdue Ethiopia; that Moses, upon this occasion, gave them as a dowry to the Queen of Sheba; and the Ethiopian queen afterward made a present of them to King Solomon; who put them into the treasury, where they continued till Nebuchadnezzar, among the spoil, seized them in the devastation of Jerusalem; Nebuchadnezzar having an Arabian king among his auxiliaries, made a present of them unto him; and of him sprang one of those Eastern kings, who came to worship Christ at his birth, and made a present of them to the Virgin Mary; and the Virgin, when she presented her Son in the Temple, made them an offering for her purification. So this very silver (which was gold before) was the price which Judas had for betraying his Master. And these silver pieces are there said to be dispersed over all the world, and kept as sacred relics; one of which, in gold, as big as an English noble, is showed at Rome, in the entrance of St. Peter's church." One would hardly believe, that such absurd and ridiculous fictions should have been authorized from the pulpit among the rules of eternal life, had not undeniable proof been often made, that their breviaries and legends, as well as sermons, before the Reformation, were stuffed with such fables^e; though, I believe, this story outdoes any in the Golden Legend (of which Ludovicus Vives^f and Melchior Canus^g so much

^e See Patrick's Devotions of the Roman Church, London, 1674, 8vo.

^f Lud. Vives de Tradend. Disciplinis, lib. ii. (Valent. 1735. vol. vi. p. 108.) Indigna est divis et hominibus Christianis illa sanctorum historia, quæ Legenda Aurea nominatur, quam nescio cur 'auream' appellant, quum scripta sit ab homine ferrei oris, plumbei cordis. Quid fœdus dici potest illo libro? O quam pudendum est novis Christianis, non esse præstantissimos nostrorum divorum actus verius et accuratius memoriæ mandatos, sive ad cognitionem, sive ad imitationem tantæ virtutis, quum de suis ducibus, de philosophis et sapientibus hominibus, tanta cura Græci et Romani perscripserint.

^g Can. Loci Theolog. lib. xi. c. vi. p. 553. (p. 333, cit. Hotting. l. c. p. 753.) Dolenter hoc dico potius quam contumeliose, multo a Laërtio severius vitas philosophorum scriptas, quam a Christianis sanctorum; longeque incorruptius et integrius Suetonium res Cæsarum exposuisse, quam exposuerint Catholicæ, non

complain), and Jacobus de Voragine was but an ass to these men for invention. Now let us see how the ancient way of preaching differed from this. Justin Martyr makes it a plain, but a very edifying way of instruction; for he says, “When the writings of the apostles and prophets were read, the bishop made a discourse to exhort and excite the people to imitate and transcribe into their practice the good things they had heard read out of them^h.” Their subjects, as Gregory Nazianzen describes the choice of them, were commonly such as theseⁱ: of the world’s creation, and the soul of man; of angels, as well those that kept as those that lost, their first integrity; of Providence, and its wise laws and constitutions; of the formation of man, and his restoration; of the two covenants—the types of the old, and the antitypes of the new; of Christ’s first and second coming; of his incarnation and passion; of the general resurrection and end of the world; of the day of judgment, and the rewards of the just, and the punishment of the

res dico imperatorum, sed martyrum, virginum, et confessorum. Illi enim in probis, aut philosophis, aut principibus, nec vitia, nec suspiciones vitiorum tacent, in improbis vero etiam colores virtutum produnt. Nostri autem plerique vel adfectibus inserviunt, vel de industria, quoque ita multa confingunt, ut eorum me nimirum non solum pudeat, sed etiam tædeat. Hos enim intelligo ecclesiæ Christi cum nihil utilitatis attulisse, tum incommodationis plurimum. Nominibus parco, quoniam hujus loci judicium morum etiam est, et non eruditionis tantum, in qua liberior potest esse censura. Nam quæ morum est, hæc debet profecto esse et in vivos cautior, et in mortuos reverentior. Certum est autem, qui fecte et fallaciter historiam ecclesiasticam scribunt, eos viros bonos atque sinceros esse non posse, totamque eorum narrationem inventam esse aut ad quæstum, aut errorem, quorum alterum fœdum est, alterum perniciosum.

^h See note (v) p. 530.

ⁱ Nazianz. Orat. i. de Fuga. (1630. vol. i. p. 15. D.) ‘Ἐμοὶ δ’ οὖν πᾶγμα φαίνεται, οὐ τῶν φαυλοτάτων, οὐδὲ ὀλίγον τοῦ πνεύματος, διδόναι κατὰ καιρὸν ἐκάστῳ τοῦ λόγου τὸ σιτομέτριον, καὶ οἰκονομεῖν ἐν κρίσει τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν ἡμετέρων δογμάτων, ὅσα περὶ κόσμων ἢ κόσμου πεφιλοσόφηται, περὶ ἕλης, περὶ ψυχῆς, περὶ νοῦ καὶ τῶν νοεῶν φύσεων, βελτιόνων τε καὶ χειρόνων, περὶ τῆς τὰ πάντα συνδουέουσης τε καὶ διεξαγούσης προνοίας, ὅσα τε κατὰ λόγον ἀπαντῶν δοκεῖ, καὶ ὅσα παρὰ λόγον τὸν κάτω καὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον ἔστι τε ὅσα περὶ τῆς πρώτης ἡμῶν συστάσεως καὶ τῆς τελευταίας ἀναπλάσεως, τύπων τε καὶ ἀληθείας καὶ διαθηκῶν, καὶ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας πρώτης τε καὶ δευτέρας, σαρκώσεώς τε, καὶ παθημάτων, καὶ ἀναλύσεως, ὅσα τε περὶ ἀναστάσεως, περὶ τέλους, περὶ κρίσεως, καὶ ἀνταποδόσεως σκυθρωποτέρας τε καὶ ἐνδοξοτέρας· τὸ κεφάλαιον, ὅσα περὶ τῆς ἀρχικῆς καὶ βασιλικῆς καὶ μακαρίας Τριάδος ὑποληπτέον.

wicked; and, above all, of the doctrine of the Trinity, which was the principal article of the Christian faith. In like manner, Chrysostom puts his auditors in mind of what matters he had used to preach to them^j: of the nature of the soul; of the fabric of the body; of the state of immortality; of the kingdom of heaven, and the torments of hell; of the long suffering of God, and the methods of pardon; of the powers of repentance; of baptism, and the forgiveness of sins; of the creation of the superior and inferior world; of the nature of men and angels; of the subtlety of Satan, and his methods and policies; of the different opinions of the Christian world; of the true faith, and the gangrene of heresies, and other such mysteries, which it behoves a Christian to be acquainted with.

SECT. XIX.—*And delivered in a Way most affecting and suitable to the Capacities of their Hearers, with Perspicuity, Pleasure, and Force of Argument.*

And as they were thus careful in the choice of their subjects, so they were no less careful to put their well-chosen matter into the most useful and pleasing dress, that they might answer the true ends of Christian oratory; and, as the wise man words it, make their apples of gold appear the more beautiful by being set in pictures of silver. The design of Christian oratory, as St. Austin observes^k, is, either to instruct men in

^j Chrysostom. Hom. xxiv. de Baptism. Christi. (Paris. 1837. vol. ii. p. 434. C 3.) Τί γὰρ, εἰπέ μοι, διδάξαι σε τῶν ἀναγκαίων δυνησόμεθα, ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἢ δεύτερον παρ' ἡμῖν φοιτῶντα, περὶ ψυχῆς, περὶ σώματος, περὶ ἀθανασίας, περὶ βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, περὶ κολάσεως, περὶ γέεννης, περὶ μακροθυμίας Θεοῦ, περὶ συγγνώμης, περὶ μετανοίας, περὶ βαπτίσματος, περὶ ἀμαρτημάτων ἀφέσεως, περὶ τῆς κτίσεως ταύτης τῆς ἄνω καὶ τῆς κάτω, περὶ ἀνθρώπων φύσεως, περὶ ἀγγέλων, περὶ τῆς τῶν δαιμόνων κακουργίας, περὶ τῶν μεθοδεῶν τοῦ διαβόλου, περὶ πολιτείας, περὶ δογμάτων, περὶ τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως, περὶ τῶν διεφθαρμένων αἱρέσεων; ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ πολλῶν πλείονα τούτων τὸν Χριστιανὸν εἶδέναι χρὴ, καὶ τούτων πάντων ἀποδιδόναι λόγον τοῖς ἐρωτῶσιν.

^k Aug. de Doctrin. Christ. lib. iv. c. iv. (Bened. 1679. vol. iii. p. 66.) Debet Divinarum Scripturarum tractator et doctor, defensor rectæ fidei ac debellator erroris, et bona docere, et mala dedocere: atque in hoc opere sermonis conciliare adversos, remissos erigere, nescientibus quid agatur, quid expectare debeant intimare. . . Si docendi sunt qui audiunt, narratione faciendum est,

the truth, or to refute their errors, or to persuade them to the practice of holiness and virtue, and dissuade them from the contrary vices. The first of these requires plain narration; the second, strength of argument and ratiocination; and the third, the art and power of moving the mind and affections. And in doing each of these, the Christian orator, as he never speaks any thing but what is holy, just, and good, so he endeavours to speak these in such a manner, as that he may be heard with understanding, with pleasure, and with obedience^l, as the chief thing of all. That he may be heard with understanding, he speaks every thing with a natural plainness and perspicuity, and also a regard to men's capacities and apprehensions. He reckons the greatest oratory of no use, if it cannot be understood; for what signifies a golden key, if it cannot open what we intend^m? A wooden key is of more use, if it will answer the true design of a key, which is only to open what is locked up and shut before: therefore the Christian orator labours chiefly at perspicuity in his speech, never thinking he has done justice to any truth by his eloquence, unless he has also delivered it with a sufficient evidence to men of reasonable capacities and comprehensions. There are some things which are unintelligible in their own nature, or not to be understood by the ordinary sort of men, though they be spoken with never so much plainness of the orator; and, therefore, such things are seldom or never, without great necessity, to be handled in a popular audienceⁿ. For the same reason,

si tamen indigeat, ut res de qua agitur, innotescat. Ut autem quæ dubia sunt certa fiant, documentis adhibitis ratiocinandum est. Si vero, qui audiunt, movendi sunt potius quam docendi, ut in eo quod jam sciunt agendo non torpeant, et rebus adsensum, quas veras esse fatentur, accommodent, majoribus dicendi viribus opus est. Ibi obsecrationes et increpationes, concitationes et coercitiones, et quæcumque alia valent ad commovendos animos, sunt necessaria.

^l Aug. de Doctrin. Christ. lib. iv. c. xv. (Bened. 1679. vol. iii. p. 76.) Agit noster iste eloquens, quum et justa, et sancta, et bona dicit: neque enim alia debet dicere: agit ergo, quantum potest, cum ista dicit, ut intelligenter, ut libenter, ut obedienter audiatur.

^m Ibid. c. xi. (p. 74.) Quid enim prodest clavis aurea, si aperire, quod volumus, non potest? Aut quid obest lignea, si hoc potest quando nihil quærimus, nisi patere quod clausum est?

ⁿ Ibid. c. ix. (p. 73.) Sunt quædam, quæ sua vi non intelliguntur, aut

he that studies perspicuity and evidence, will sometimes neglect rhetorical expressions, and not regard how sonorous, but how significant his words are, to intimate and declare his sense to the minds of his hearers ; for there is a *diligens negligentia*, ‘an useful negligence,’ proper in this case to ecclesiastical teachers, who must sometimes condescend to improprieties of speech, when they cannot speak otherwise to the apprehensions of the vulgar : as, he notes, that they were used to say *ossum*, instead of *os*, to distinguish a mouth from a bone in Afric, to comply with the understandings of their hearers °. For what advantage is there in purity of speech, when the hearer understands it not, seeing there is no occasion at all of speaking, if they, for whose sake we speak to be understood, apprehend not what we say ? And for this reason, I doubt not, there are so many Africanisms, or idioms of the African tongue, in St. Austin, because he thought it more commendable sometimes to deviate a little from the strict grammatical purity and propriety of the Latin tongue, than not be understood by his hearers. This was a laudable condescension in every respect, and much valued by the ancients, who thought it the first office of a preacher to speak always to the capacity and understanding of his hearers. It is this which Nazianzen P so highly commends in Athanasius, that he tempered his style according to the difference of his auditory ; he condescended to speak to mean capacities in a lower way ; whilst to the acute, his words and notions were more sublime. And there

vix intelliguntur, quantolibet et quantumlibet, quamvis planissime dicentis versentur eloquio, quæ in populi audientiam, vel raro, si aliquid urget, vel nunquam omnino mittenda sunt.

° Aug. de Doctrin. Christ. lib. iv. c. x. (vol. iii. p. 73. E 3.) Si non piguit dicere interpretes nostros, ‘Non congregabo conventicula eorum de sanguinibus,’ quoniam senserunt ad rem pertinere, ut eo loco pluraliter enuntiaretur hoc nomen, quod in Latina lingua tantummodo singulariter dicitur ; cur pietatis doctorem pigeat imperitis loquentem, ‘ossum’ potius quam ‘os’ dicere, ne ista syllaba non ab eo quod sunt ossa, sed ab eo quod sunt ora intelligatur, ubi Afræ aures de correptione vocalium vel productione non judicant ? Quid enim prodest locutionis integritas, quam non sequitur intellectus audientis, quum loquendi omnino nulla sit causa, si quod loquimur non intelligunt, propter quos ut intelligant loquimur ?

P Nazianz. Orat. xxi. de Laud. Athan. (Paris. 1630. vol. i. p. 396. D 4.)

Πεζὸς τοῖς ταπεινοτέροις, ὑψηλότερος τοῖς μετεωροτέροις.

was but one case in which they affected to speak any thing darkly and obscurely, and that was when they preached in a mixed auditory, where the catechumens were present, from whom they purposely intended to conceal some of the profounder knowledge of the Christian mysteries for a time; and, therefore, they usually spake of them in a covert way, with an ἴσασιν οἱ μεμνημένοι, ‘the initiated know what we mean,’ as being well understood by them, though they spake only by hints and dark terms, upon the account of the catechumens. Of the reasons of which discipline and practice I have spoken largely heretofore^q, and therefore need say no more of it in this place.

The next thing which St. Austin commends in his Christian orator is, that he labours to be heard with pleasure. *Ut intelligenter, ut libenter.* For though a plain declaration of truth may satisfy those who regard nothing but truth; yet, the greater part of men love sweetness and ornament of speech; and, therefore, if it be unpleasant, the benefit of it will reach but very few who are desirous to hear what they ought to learn, though it be in a mean and uncomely dress^r: but the generality of men are not pleased with this: some similitude between eating and speaking: and, therefore, because weak stomachs cannot relish their most necessary food, without which they cannot live, their food is to be seasoned to make it pleasant for them. Upon this account he commends the saying of an ancient orator, who said truly^s, “that an orator ought so to speak, as not only to teach and instruct, but also to delight and move.” And some hearers are to be induced to hear by the pleasure of a discourse, which arises from the sweetness, and beauties, and ornaments of it. St. Chrysostom

^q Book x. chap. v. vol. iii. p. 379.

^r Aug. de Doctrin. Christ. lib. iv. c. xi. (Bened. 1679. vol. iii. p. 74.) Si fiat insuaviter, ad paucos quidem studiosissimos suos pervenit fructus, qui ea quæ discenda sunt, quamvis abjecte inculteque dicantur, scire desiderant.—Sed quoniam inter se habent nonnullam similitudinem vescentes atque discentes, propter fastidia plurimorum, etiam ipsa, sine quibus vivi non potest, alimenta condienda sunt.

^s Ibid. c. xii. (p. 74.) Dixit ergo quidam eloquens, et verum dixit, ita dicere debere eloquentem, ut doceat, ut delectet, ut flectat.—Ut teneatur ad audiendum, delectandus est auditor: et delectatur, si suaviter loquaris.

inculcates the same rule in describing the office of a bishop, "whose task," he says ^t, "was something the more difficult upon this account; because men had generally nice and delicate palates, and were inclined to hear sermons as they heard plays, rather for pleasure than profit;" which added to the preacher's study and labour; who, though he was to condemn both popular applause and censure, yet was he also to have such a regard to his auditory, as that they might hear him with pleasure to their edification and advantage. "It was not required, indeed, that every preacher should speak with the smoothness of Isocrates, or the loftiness of Demosthœnes, or the majesty of Thucydides, or the sublimity of Plato," as the same St. Chrysostom ^u words it. "Lower degrees of eloquence," says St. Austin, "would please a Christian auditory, provided he had a decent regard to the common rules of eloquence, to say nothing *obtuse, deformiter, frigide*, nothing that was 'blunt,' nothing that was 'indecent or unbecoming,' nothing that was 'cold or languid;' but every thing *acute, ornate, vehementer*, with 'sharpness,' and 'handsomeness,' and 'force:'" which are St. Austin's rules in this very case ^v. Or if men could not attain to this perfection of exotic eloquence, yet there was a manly and majestic eloquence, an art of speaking wisely, which no one could fail of, that would diligently study the Holy Scriptures; for there the subject is not only great and divine, but the diction also eloquent and beautiful, as St. Austin ^w shows in several instances out of the apostles

^t Chrysostom. de Sacerdotio, lib. v. c. i. (Bened. 1718. vol. i. p. 415. C 4.)

Ὁὐ γὰρ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τέρψιν, ἀκούειν εἰθέσθησαν οἱ πολλοί· . . . γενναίας οὖν δεῖ κἀνταῦθα ψυχῆς, καὶ πολὺ ἡμετέραν ὑπερβαινούσης σμικρότητα· ἵνα τὴν ἄτακτον καὶ ἀνωφελῆ τοῦ πλήθους ἡδονὴν κολάζῃ, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὠφελιμώτερον μετὰγειν δύνηται τὴν ἀκρόασιν ὡς αὐτῷ τὸν λαὸν ἔπεσθαι καὶ εἶκειν.

^u Chrysostom. de Sacerdot. lib. iv. c. vi. (vol. i. p. 412. A 3.) Ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ μὲν τὴν λειότητα Ἰσοκράτους ἀπῆγουν, καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένους ὄγκον, καὶ τὴν Θεουκιδίδου σεμνότητα, καὶ Πλάτωνος ὕψος, κ. τ. λ.

^v Aug. de Doctrin. Christ. lib. iv. c. v. (p. 66. F.) Quum alii faciant obtuse, deformiter, frigide; alii acute, ornate, vehementer; illum ad hoc opus jam oportet accedere, qui potest disputare, vel dicere sapienter, etiamsi non potest eloquenter. . . . Sapienter autem dicit homo tanto magis vel minus, quanto in Scripturis sanctis magis minusve profecit.

^w Aug. ibid. chap. vi. and vii. tot.

and prophets ; the style not glittering with sallies, and flashes of juvenile wit (which would not become a manly eloquence), but altogether agreeable to the dignity and authority of the persons who were the inspired authors of it : who spake with an eloquence becoming both themselves and their subjects ; such as is noways inferior to the eloquence many times of the greatest masters and pretenders to it, and for its wisdom (which is the most true divine eloquence) far exceeds them. They, therefore, who were well versed both in the phrase and sense of the Scriptures, and knew how to make a proper use and application of them, could never want true eloquence to recommend their discourses with pleasure to their hearers. And, indeed, the very custom of applauding the preachers publicly in the church (of which more by and by), is a certain evidence that they were commonly heard with pleasure.

The last thing which St. Austin commends in the Christian orator is, “ that he endeavours to be heard *obedienter*, that is, speaks to the conviction and persuasion of his hearers ; convincing their judgments by sound and solid reasonings ; and raising the affections, and drawing them into compliance by such motives, and methods, and addresses, as are proper to work upon the several passions of human nature, and bend and subdue the will, and lead it captive into the obedience of faith.” When the sacred orator has done this he is at his utmost height ; then he leads his hearers, as it were, willingly in triumph, having gained a complete and pleasing victory over them. “ For,” as St. Austin again observes ^x, “ till men are wrought into compliance and obedience by the orator, they are not properly conquered by him.” For they may be taught and pleased, and yet yield no compliance or practical assent ; without which the two former are of no advantage : but when his oratory has gained their wills, it has then subdued all opposition, and gotten a complete victory. “ Now this is done,” as St. Austin there goes on to intimate, “ when the orator can bring men to love what he promises, to fear what he threatens, to hate what he rebukes, to embrace what he

^x Aug. *ibid.* c. xii. (p. 75. C 9.) *Ideo autem victoriæ est flectere, quia fieri potest, ut doceatur, et delectetur, et non adsentiat. Quid autem illa duo proderunt, si desit hoc tertium ?*

commends, to sorrow for what he aggravates as sorrowful, to rejoice at what he amplifies as matter of rejoicing, to commiserate those whom he represents before their eyes as objects of compassion, to avoid and fly from those whom he brands and stigmatizes as dangerous persons, and gives them terrible apprehensions of, as men with whom it is not safe to converse; and whatever else may be done by force of grand eloquence, to move the minds of the hearers, not to know what they are to do, but to do what they already know to be their duty to do." This he calls^y by the name of *grandis eloquentia, et gravis*, 'grand and grave eloquence,' and opposes it to what he calls *spumeus verborum ambitus*, that 'light and frothy sort of eloquence' which consists only in a jingling multiplicity of words; which does not become any subject, much less the gravity of a Christian discourse upon the weightiest and most serious of all subjects; where nothing is said but what is great, as having no regard to the affairs of this temporal life, but to the things of eternal happiness and eternal misery. For, if a Christian orator speaks of temporal things, though they be small in themselves, yet they are great in his way of handling them; because he treats of them with respect to justice, and charity, and piety in the use of them, which are great things in the smallest matters. As when the apostle speaks of going to law for pecuniary matters (1 Cor. vi. 1), &c. he uses all the force of grand eloquence; raising his indignation, correcting, upbraiding, rebuking, threatening, and showing the concern of his soul by sharpening his style into the utmost keenness and quickness of expression; not because secular affairs deserved all this, but for the sake of justice, charity, and piety, that were so deeply concerned in them. Thus he observes again^z, "that a cup of cold water is but a small thing in itself; but it was great in our Lord's mouth, when he said, 'He that gives it to a disciple, shall not lose his reward.'" He adds, "that

^y Aug. de Doctrin. Christ. lib. iv. c. xiii. (1679. vol. iii. p. 75.) Ipse jam remanet ad consensionem flectendus eloquentiæ granditate, etc.—Cap. xiv. (p. 76. C 4.) Nec illa suavitas delectabilis est, qua non quidem iniqua dicuntur, sed exigua et fragilia bona spumæo verborum ambitu ornantur, quali nec magna atque stabilia decenter et graviter ornarentur.

^z Ibid. c. xviii.

he himself once spake so movingly and affectionately, by the help of God, upon that subject to the people, that out of that cold water there arose a flame, which warmed the cold hearts of men, and inflamed them to do works of mercy in hopes of a heavenly reward." But he observes further, "that although a preacher upon this account ought never to speak but of great things, yet he is not always obliged to do this *granditer*, in the way of vehement and grand eloquence, or the elated and lofty style; but when he speaks only to inform the judgment^a, the submiss, or low style is to be used, as more proper for doctrinal instruction; and the temperate or middle style, when he speaks to praise or dispraise: but when any thing is to be done, and they to whom he speaks are unwilling to do it, when they ought to do it, then those things which are great in themselves, are to be spoken *granditer*, 'in a grand and vehement style,' or in such a way as is proper to incline and bend the wills of the hearers. And sometimes every one of these three ways is used about the same subject: the submiss style, when any doctrine is delivered about it; the temperate style, when any commendation is to be given to it; and the grand style, when the mind that is averse from its duty, is to be converted and forcibly induced to practise it. Thus, if a man is discoursing concerning God; to show the unity of the Trinity, he ought only to reason in the submiss and plain way, that what is difficult to be conceived may be understood, as far as men are capable of understanding it. Here is no ornament required, but only plain documents and instruction. But when God is to be praised, either in himself or his works, then there is a fair occasion for beautiful and splendid oratory, to extol him whom no man can sufficiently praise. And again, if his worship be neglected, or other things be taken in to rival him in his worship, whether they be idols, or devils, or any other creature, then the evil of the practice is to be aggravated with

^a Aug. de Doctrin. Christ. lib. iv. c. xix. (1679. vol. iii. p. 79.) Et tamen cum doctor iste debeat rerum dictor esse magnarum, non semper eas debet granditer dicere; sed submisse, cum aliquid docetur; temperate, cum aliquid vituperatur sive laudatur. Cum vero aliquid agendum est, et ad eos loquimur, qui hoc agere debent, nec tamen volunt, tunc ea quæ magna sunt, dicenda sunt granditer, et ad flectendos animos congruenter. (1700. vol. iii. p. 60.)

all the grandeur and vehemence of oratory, to dissuade and turn men from it." And he gives us several instances of all the three kinds, both out of Scripture and the ancient writers, Cyprian and Ambrose, assuring us in the end^b, "that what he had said of those two, might be found in the writings and discourses of other ecclesiastical men, who treated always of weighty subjects in a proper manner; that is, as the matter required, with perspicuity and acuteness, with ornament and beauty, with ardency and grandeur in their applications." So that if we will take St. Austin's character of the ancient preachers, it was in short this; "that their discourses were always upon weighty and heavenly matters, and their style answerable to the subject; that is, plain, elegant, majestic, and nervous; fitly adapted to instruct, to delight and charm, and to convince and persuade their hearers." And if their method was different from ours, and not so exact and visible to the hearers, that must be imputed to custom and the times they lived in; for every age has its peculiarities and proper taste of things: and though I believe the modern way of methodizing sermons to be most useful to the hearers, yet, if the question were to be determined by the rules and practice of the most famous orators, whether an open or a concealed method were fittest to be chosen, the judgment and decision would fall upon the side of the ancients. However, if they failed in this, they made it up in other excellencies, by their perspicuity and clearness, their elegance and fineness, their sublimity of thought and expression; and, above all, by the flaming piety of their lives, corresponding to their doctrine, and giving the greatest force and energy to all their discourses. For, as St. Austin truly observes in the last place^c, "the life

^b *Ibid.* c. xxi. (p. 86. D 8.) In his, quos duos ex omnibus proponere volui, et in aliis ecclesiasticis viris, et bona et bene, id est, sicut res postulat, acute, ornate, ardentique dicentibus, per multa eorum scripta vel dicta possunt hæc tria genera reperiri, et adsidua lectione vel auditione, admixta etiam exercitatione, studentibus inolescere. (1700. vol. iii. p. 65. E.)

^c *Aug. de Doctrin. Christ.* c. xxxvii. (p. 89.) Habet, ut obedienter audiatur, quantacunque granditate dictionis majus pondus vita dicentis. Nam qui sapienter et eloquenter dicit, vivit autem nequiter, erudit quidem multos studiosos, quamvis animæ suæ sit inutilis, sicut scriptum est. (p. 90.) Multis itaque prosunt dicendo, que non faciunt: sed longe pluribus prodesse faci-

of the preacher has more weight in it than the greatest grandeur and force of eloquence, to induce his hearers to obedience; for he that preaches wisely and eloquently, but lives wickedly, may edify some who are desirous to learn and observe the commands of Christ; as many will learn from the Scribes and the Pharisees, who sit in Moses's chair, and say and do not; but he that lives as he speaks, will advantage abundance more. For men are very apt to ask this question; *Quod mihi præcipis, cur ipse non facis?* 'Why dost not thou do that which thou commandest me to do?' And so it comes to pass, that they will not obediently hear him who does not hear himself, but contemn both the word of God and the preacher together. But he whose life is unblameable, his very example is grand oratory, and 'his form of living an eloquent discourse'—*copia dicendi forma vivendi*^d." And by these methods, what by their oratory, what by their example, the ancients gained so much upon their hearers, as often to receive their public acclamations, and hear their groanings, and see their tears; and what was most delightful of all, found the happy effects of their labour in their holy obedience and sincere conversion. But of these more presently, when we come to the hearers, having made two or three remarks more concerning the preachers.

SECT. XX.—*That it was no Part of the Ancient Oratory to move the Passions by Gesticulations and vain Images of Things.*

And among these I must observe one thing negatively, that it was no part of the ancient oratory to raise the affections of their hearers, either by gesticulations, or the use of external shows

endo, quæ dicunt. Abundant enim, qui malæ vitæ suæ defensionem ex ipsis suis præpositis et doctoribus quærant, respondententes corde suo, aut etiam si ad hoc erumpunt, ore suo, atque dicentes, 'Quod mihi præcipis, cur ipse non facis?' Ita fit, ut eum non obedienter audiant, qui se ipse non audit, et Dei verbum, quod eis prædicatur, simul cum ipso prædicatore contemnant; ejus autem vita inculcata est, ejus ipsum exemplum est grandis eloquentia, et est ei quasi copia dicendi forma vivendi. (1700. vol. iii. p. 68. A.)

^d Aug. de Doctrin. Christ. lib. iv. c. xxviii. (1679. vol. iii. p. 91.) Si autem ne hoc quidem potest, ita conversetur, ut non solum præmium sibi comparet, sed etiam præbeat aliis exemplum, et sit ejus quasi copia dicendi forma vivendi. (1700. vol. iii. p. 69. A.)

and representations of things in their sermons, as is now very common in the Romish Church, especially when they preach upon our Saviour's Passion, to produce a cross, and the image of Christ bound to a pillar, and whip it to death, and show the nails, and tear a veil; and many other the like things, to create sorrow in their hearers. Ferrarius^e owns there was no such practice among the ancients; and confesses, that except it be done very appositely and prudently, it is more apt to excite laughter than sorrow. And which of the two it oftener produces is easy to guess, as well from the nature of the thing, as the complaints of wise men against it. What Ferrarius produces out of Chrysostom^f, bidding the people take St. John Baptist's head into their hands, and carry it home with them, and hear it speak, is nothing to the purpose: for this is only a rhetorical scheme, made up of two usual figures among orators,

^e Ferrar. de Ritu Concion. lib. i. c. xxxi. (Veron. 1731. p. 145.) Scio, permultis non admodum probari concionatores illos, qui ad excitandos affectus animosque permovendos, externa signa, fictasque personas ac corporeas quasdam imagines, producant nonnumquam in auditorum prospectum. Quibus ego, ut id, quid sentio, dicam, haud repugnanter adsentior; ob eam potissimum causam, quod in iis producendis, quaedam sæpe occurrunt, quæ risum magis excitent, quam moveant dolorem. Quoniam tamen oculorum sensus omnium acerrimus est, validiusque irritant animos, quæ oculis subjiciuntur, quam quæ demissa per aures influunt; non gravate concesserim, posse non nunquam, præsertim in concionibus de venerandis Christi Domini cruciatibus, ad multitudinis animos sollicitandos et commovendos (si modo prudenter istud et opportune, non frigide et affectate procedat) signa quaedam externa proferri, nec non et suppliciorum instrumenta in auditorum conspectu poni.

^f Chrysostom. Hom. xiv. ad Populum Antiochen. (Paris. 1837. vol. ii. p. 166. D 5.) Παρεκάλεσα πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὴν κεφαλὴν Ἰωάννου λαβόντας ἀποτετημένην, καὶ θερμοῦ τοῦ αἵματος ἔτι ἀποστάζουσαν, οὕτως ἀπελθεῖν οἴκαδε ἕκαστον, καὶ νομίζειν πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὄραν αὐτὴν φωνὴν ἀφιείσαν καὶ λέγουσαν, “Μισήσατέ μου τὸν σφαγέα τὸν ὄρκον.” “Ὅπερ ἔλεγχος οὐκ ἐποίησε, τοῦτο ὄρκος ἐποίησεν ὑπὲρ θυμὸς τυραννικὸς οὐκ ἴσχυσε, τοῦτο ἐπιτορκίας ἀνάγκη παρεσκεύασε. Καὶ ὅτε μὲν ἠλέγχετο δημοσίᾳ πάντων ἀκούοντων, ἤνεγκε γενναίως τὴν ἐπιτίμησιν ὁ τύραννος· ὅτε δὲ εἰς ὄρκων ἀνάγκην ἑαυτὸν ἐνέβαλε, τότε τὴν μακαρίαν ἐκείνην ἀπέτεμε κεφαλὴν· τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν παρακαλῶ, καὶ παρακαλῶν οὐ παύομαι, ὥστε ὅπου περ ἂν ἀπίωμεν, ταύτην βαστάζοντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπιέναι, καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτὴν ἐπιδεικνύναι βοῶσαν, καὶ τῶν ὄρκων κατηγοροῦσαν. Κἂν γὰρ σφόδρα ὤμεν ῥάθυμοι καὶ ὀλίγωροι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐκείνης ὀρῶντες φοβερὸν εἰς ἡμᾶς βλέποντας, καὶ ἀπειλοῦντας ὀμνύουσι, χαλινοῦ παντὸς ἐντονώτερον τῆ φόβῳ τούτῳ σωφρονοσθέντες, ἀγχειν καὶ ἀποστρέφειν δυνησόμεθα ῥαδίως τὴν γλῶτταν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρκους ὀρμῆς.

a *hypotyposis* and *prosopopœia*; that is, ‘a lively description of a thing,’ and ‘an introduction of a person speaking;’ which are figures that have a mighty influence upon the mind to raise in it a just concern, but are no precedents for such practices as rather incline men to ridicule and laughter; of which there is no footstep in the ancient oratory of the Church.

SECT. XXI.—*Of the Length of their Sermons.*

Next to the matter and style of their sermons, the question may be asked concerning the length of them. Ferrarius^g and some others are very positive, that they were generally an hour long: but Ferrarius is at a loss to tell by what instrument they measured their hour; for he will not venture to affirm, that they preached as the old Greek and Roman orators declaimed, by an hour-glass; which yet he might have said with as much truth, as that all their sermons were an hour long, from no better proof than their mentioning sometimes the hour of preaching, which signifies no more than the time in general, as, “the hour of temptation,” and “the hour cometh,” and “my hour is not yet come,” are often used in Scripture. It is a more just and pertinent observation of Bishop Wetenhall’s^h, “that their sermons were often very short: there are many in St. Austin’s tenth tome, which a man may pronounce distinctly, and deliver decently in eight minutes, and some almost in half the time: and such are many of those of Leo, Chrysologus, Maximus, Cæsarius Arelatensis, and other Latin fathers. Some of St. Austin’s are much longer, and so are the greater part of Chrysostom’s, Nazianzen’s, Nyssen’s, and Basil’s; but scarce any of them would last an hour, and many not half the time. And when it is considered, that they had many times two or three sermons at once, as I have showed it was very usual in Chrysostom’s

^g Ferrar. de Ritu Concion. lib. i. c. xxxiv. (Veron. 1731. p. 156.) Prolixiori dicentis oratione auditorum animos abalienari potius ac debilitari, quam erigi ac conciliari, fatentur omnes. Huic igitur certo ac communi malo ut medicinam facerent ecclesie patres, in concionando determinatum dicendi tempus, fereque unius horæ spatio conclusum, aut ipsi sibi præscribebant, aut ab aliis præfinitum religiose observabant.

^h Wetenhall’s Gift of Preaching, chap. ii. p. 666.

church, it would be absurd to think that each of them was an hour long, when the whole service lasted not above two hours in the whole; as Chrysostom often declares in his sermonsⁱ, making that an argument to the people, why they should cheerfully attend divine service, since, of seven days in the week, God had only reserved one to himself; and on that day exacted no more than two hours, like the widow's two mites, to be spent on his service.

SECT. XXII.—*Whether every Man was obliged to preach his own Composition, or the Homilies and Sermons composed by others.*

It may be inquired further, whether all preachers were obliged to deliver their own compositions, or were at liberty to use the compositions of others? To this, it has been already answered in some measure, that the homilies of famous preachers, such as Chrysostom, and Ephraim Syrus, were often read instead of other sermons from the pulpit, in many churches. And Mabillon says^j, “Those of Cæsarius Arelatensis were read in the French churches;” where also deacons were authorized, by the Council of Vaison^k, in cases of necessity, when the preaching-presbyter was disabled, to read the homilies of the ancient fathers in country churches. Neither

ⁱ Chrysostom. Hom. xlvi. de Inscript. Altaris. (Bened. 1718. vol. iii. p. 53. B 5.) Ἐγὼ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο λέγω, ὅτι ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἄργησον, οὐδὲ δέκα ἡμέρας ἀλλὰ δύο μοι δάνεισον ὥρας τῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς αὐτὸς ἔχε.—Hom. l. de Utilit. Lection. Script. (Bened. 1718. vol. iii. p. 73. C 5.) Προσέχωμεν τοίνυν τῇ ἀναγνώσει, μὴ τὰς δύο μόνον ταύτας ὥρας, [οὐ γὰρ ἀρκεῖ ἡμῖν εἰς ἀσφάλειαν ἢ ψιλὴ αὐτῆ ἀκρόασις] ἀλλὰ διηλεκῶς.—Hom. xxiv. de Baptismo Christi. (Paris. 1837. p. 434.) Τί δὲ λέγω περὶ ἡμέρας ὀλοκλήρου; ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης ἐποίησεν ἡ χήρα, τοῦτο ποίησον ἐπὶ τοῦ καιροῦ σὺ τῆς ἡμέρας καθάπερ ἐκείνη δύο κατέβαλεν ὄβολους, καὶ πολλὴν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπεσπάσατο τὴν εὐνοίαν οὕτω καὶ σὺ δύο δάνεισον ὥρας τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ μυρίων ἡμερῶν κέρδος εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσάξεις τὴν σὴν.

^j Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallican. lib. ii. p. 99. In homiliario Sancti-Gallensi, litteris majusculis ab annis mille scripto, duo sermones habentur pro die Dominica ante natale Domini, sed inscripti hoc modo: ‘Dicendum’ seu ‘dictum ante natale Domini,’ sine ulla mentione Adventus per totum illud corpus homiliarum, quæ per annum tunc legebantur, ‘pleræque ex Cæsario episcopo Arelatensi.’

^k Conc. Vasens. II. c. ii. (Labbe, [Conc. III.] vol. iv. p. 1680.) Si presbyter, aliqua infirmitate prohibente, per se ipsum non potuerit prædicare, SS. patrum homiliae a diaconis recitentur.

was this only the practice of deacons; but bishops sometimes also did the same. For Gennadius says¹, “Cyril of Alexandria composed many homilies, which the Grecian bishops committed to memory, in order to preach them.” He says the same of Salvian^m, the eloquent presbyter of Marseilles, “that he wrote many homilies for bishops, *homilias episcopis factas multas*; which Ferrariusⁿ and Dr. Cave understand not of homilies made before bishops, but for their use; whence he is also styled, by Gennadius, in the same place, *episcoporum magister*, ‘the teacher,’ or ‘master of bishops,’ because they preached the eloquent homilies which he composed. Ferrarius and Sirmondus^o observe the same of some of the *dictiones sacre*, or ‘sermons’ of Ennodius, which are said to be written by him, and spoken by others: Honoratus, bishop of Novaria, is named for one. St. Austin more particularly considers this question, and makes a case of conscience of it. For, having laid down all the rules of Christian oratory for those who had ability to compose, he at last confesses there were some, who, though they could speak well, were not able to invent and

¹ Gennad. de Scriptor. c. lvii. (Hieron. Venet. vol. ii. p. 995.) Cyrillus, Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ episcopus, homilias composuit plurimas, quæ ad declamandum a Græciæ episcopis memoriæ commendantur.

^m Gennad. de Scriptor. c. lxvii. (vol. ii. p. 999.) Salvianus, Massiliensis ecclesiæ presbyter, scripsit scholastico et aperto sermone multa, e quibus ista legi, de virginitatis bono, etc. homilias episcopis factas multas.

ⁿ Ferrar. de Ritu Concion. lib. ii. c. xiv. (Veron. 1731. p. 206.) Aliquos consuevisse aliquando, ut suas, pronuntiare aliorum homilias, facile credet, quicumque eorum meminerit, quæ et de Cyrillo Alexandrino episcopo et de Salviano Massiliensi prodidit Gennadius; . . . ‘Salvianus scripsit . . . multa ex quibus legi . . . homilias episcopis factas.’ — Cave, Histor. Litterar. (Basil. 1741. vol. i. p. 433.) Cum legendum sit ad episcopos vel episcopis factas.

^o Ibid. (p. 207.) Ennodius (id quod etiam ab eruditissimo viro Jacobo Sirmondo adnotatum fuit) Sacram secundam scripsit ipse quidem, sed ut gratiam iniret ab Honorato, Novariæ episcopo, qui eam pronuntiavit ut suam. Tertia etiam ab Ennodio composita est, sed a Stephano Vicario recitata. Ipsamet autem earundem Sacrarum inscriptio hoc idem haud obscure indicat: etenim secundæ titulus is est, ‘Dictio missa Honorato episcopo Novariensi in dedicatione Basilicæ apostolorum, ubi templum fuit idolorum.’ Tertia vero ita inscribitur, ‘Dictio data Stephano V. S. Vicario, dicenda Maximo episcopo.’ Verba enim illa, ‘Missa, data dicenda,’ satis revincunt, scriptas quidem illas ab Ennodio, sed ab aliis deinde dictas. Exstant aliæ id genus nonnullæ dictiones apud eundem Ennodium: quas qui leget, fatebitur procul dubio, ab ipso fuisse certe elucubratas, sed ab aliis omnino pronuntiatas.

compose a handsome discourse of their own : and he does not severely condemn them, or, with a magisterial air, debar them from preaching, but, with a great deal of tenderness says, favourably in their case ^p, “ that if they take that which was elegantly and wisely written by others, and commit it to memory, and preach it to the people, if they are called to that office, they are not to be blamed as doing an ill thing. For, by this means, there are many preachers of truth, which is very useful, and not many masters, whilst they all speak things of the one true Master ; and there are no schisms among them. Neither ought such men to be deterred by the words of the prophet Jeremy (xxiii. 30), by whom God rebukes those who steal his words every one from his neighbour. For they which steal, take away that which they have no right or property in : which cannot be said of those who obey the word of God, but rather belongs to those who speak well, and live ill.” From whence he concludes, it is very lawful for a man to preach the composition of other more eloquent men, provided he compose his own life answerable to God’s word, and earnestly pray to God, that he would make his word in his mouth edifying to others.

SECT. XXIII.—*Their Sermons always concluded with a Doxology to the Holy Trinity.*

I must note also, that they always concluded their sermons, as we now do, with a doxology to the Holy Trinity, as may be seen not only in the sermons of St. Austin, Chrysostom, Basil, Leo, Fulgentius, and others who lived after Arius broached his heresy against the Divinity of our Saviour ; but also in those of Origen, and others who lived before, such as Dionysius of

^p Aug. de Doctrin. Christ. lib. iv. c. xxix. (Bened. 1679. vol. iii. p. 91.) Quod si ab aliis sumant eloquenter sapienterque conscriptum, memorieque commendent, atque ad populum proferant ; si eam personam gerunt, non improbe faciunt. Sic enim, quod profecto utile est, multi prædicatores veritatis fiunt, nec multi magistri, si unius veri magistri ad ipsum dicant omnes, et non sint in eis schismata. Nec deterrendi sunt isti voce Hieremie prophete, per quem Deus arguit eos, qui furantur verba ejus, unusquisque a proximo suo. Qui enim furantur, alienum auferunt : verbum autem Dei non est ab eis alienum, qui obtemperant ei : potiusque ille dicit aliena, qui quum dicat bene, vivit male.

Alexandria, and the rest that are mentioned by St. Basil⁹, who had seen their homilies, out of which he wrote a vindication of that ancient form against some who pretended to charge him with innovation for using a form, which, he says, the ancients had always used before him.

SECT. XXIV.—*Sermons delivered by the Preacher sitting, for the most Part.*

There are some other incidental things taken notice of by Ferrarius, which are either very minute in themselves, or are more proper to be spoken of in other places; such as the deacon's causing silence to be made before sermons; and the preacher's reading his text over again after the readers; and his appointing lessons to be read, agreeable to his subject; and giving notice of them the week before to the people; as also the reading of the Acts of the Martyrs before sermon upon their proper festivals; the giving notice of Easter and Lent on the day of Epiphany in their sermons; the notification of vigils, and fasts, and festivals, and appointing collections for the poor; preaching covertly of the mysteries of religion before the catechumens; complimenting the bishops that were present, in their sermons; the distinction of places for the hearers; the usual appellations of love and respect that were given them; the usual place of the sermon some eminency in the church, the *ambo*, or 'reading-desk,' or else the bishop's throne, or the steps of the altar; the usual days of preaching, the Lord's day, the Saturday, or Sabbath, the vigils and festivals, the anniversaries of bishops' consecrations and dedications of churches; with some other things of the like nature, some of which are so minute, that they are scarce worth the reader's notice; and others, that are more material, are accounted for and explained in other parts of this work. I shall, therefore, speak of one thing more relating to the preachers, which is, of the posture in which their sermons were delivered. The general received custom now is for the preacher to stand, and the people to sit: but the ancient custom was usually the reverse of this; for the preacher commonly delivered his sermon sitting, and the people heard it standing; though there was no certain rule

⁹ Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. c. xxix. (Bened. 1721. vol. iii. p. 59.)

about this, but the custom varied in several Churches. In Afric, the preacher commonly sat^r, as appears from that of Optatus to the Donatist bishops: “When God reproves a sinner, and rebukes him that sits, the admonition is specially directed unto you, for the people have not liberty to sit in the church.” He says this upon occasion of those words of the Psalmist, “Thou sattest and spakest against thine own mother’s son.” St. Austin, in like manner, speaks of his own preaching sitting^s: “Why do I sit here? Why do I live, but with this intention, that I may live with Christ?” And, again^t, “That I may not detain you, especially considering that I speak sitting, and ye labour standing.” And he intimates, that in some Churches, sitting was allowed both to the preacher and the people^u. St. Chrysostom also speaks of his own sitting when he preached^x; and this he did usually in the *ambo*, or ‘reading-desk,’ where he sat when he preached that famous sermon upon Eutropius, when he fled to take sanctuary in the church, and lay trembling before the altar^y, as all the

^r Optat. lib. iv. (Paris. 1702. p. 74.) Dum peccatorem arguit, et sedentem increpat Deus, specialiter ad vos dictum esse constat, non ad populum, qui in ecclesia non habet sedendi licentiam.

^s Aug. Hom. xxviii. ex l. (Bened. 1679. vol. v. p. 95.) Quid volo? Quid desidero? Quid cupio? Quare loquor? Quare hic sedeo? Quare vivo, nisi hac intentione, ut cum Christo simul vivamus?

^t Ibid. Hom. xlix. de Diversis. (vol. v. p. 1380. C.) Ut ergo vos non diu teneam, præsertim quia ego sedens loquor, vos stando laboratis.

^u Ibid. de Catechizandis Rudibus, c. xiii. (Bened. 1700. vol. vi. p. 201. D.) Longe consultius in quibusdam ecclesiis transmarinis non solum antistites sedentes loquuntur ad populum, sed ipsi etiam populo sedilia subjacent, ne quisquam infirmior stando lassatus a saluberrima intentione avertatur, aut etiam cogatur abscedere.

^x Chrysostom. Hom. v. de Pœnitent. (Bened. 1718. vol. ii. p. 316. C 3.) Ἐν ἡν μὲν οὖν καὶ πλείονα τούτων εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς σωφρονοῦσι καὶ ταῦτα ἀρκεῖ πρὸς διόρθωσιν· διόπερ ἀνάγκη καταπαῦσαι τὸν λόγον· καὶ γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιθυμῶ ἀκοῦσαι· ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τὰ παιδία τὰ ποιμεικὰ λεπτῶ τῷ καλῶ συρίζομεν, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τινὰ δρῦν ἢ λεύκην, τῇ σκιᾷ τῶν ἱερῶν τούτων καθήμενοι· οὗτος δὲ καθὰ μουσικός τις ἄριστος χρυσῆν ἀρμολογίαν κιθάραν, τῇ συμφωνίᾳ τῶν κρουσμάτων ὀλόκληρον ἀνίστησι θέατρον.

^y Socrat. lib. vi. c. v. (Cantabr. p. 314.) Ὁ οὖν ἐπίσκοπος, τοῦ Εὐτροπίου ὑπὸ τὸ θυσιαστήριον κειμένου, καὶ ἐκπεληγὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου, καθεσθεις ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄμβωνος, ὅθεν εἴωθει καὶ πρότερον ὁμιλεῖν χάριν τοῦ ἐξακούεσθαι, λόγον ἐλεγκτικὸν ἐξέτεινε κατ’ αὐτοῦ. — Cassiodor. Hist. Tripartit. lib. x. c. iv. Post paucos dies, quum ipse Eutropius offendisset imperatorem, inter

historians inform us. Gregory Nyssen speaks also of himself as sitting when he preached, and rising up to prayer in the conclusion ^z. Which is also noted by Justin Martyr ^a, and Origen ^b, and Athanasius ^c, and Chrysostom ^d, whom Ferrarius cites; and remarks upon them, “that their rising up in the close of the sermon to prayer, implies that they preached sitting before,” which is certainly a very just observation. Yet, after all, he pretends to assert, that standing to preach was the more common posture, and that they never used sitting but only in case of infirmity or old age; which shows us only how far prejudice will carry a man, against the clearest evidence, in favour of a modern custom. The observation, made by the author of the Comments upon St. Paul’s Epistles, under the name of St. Ambrose ^e, has much more truth and

r efugos erat apud ecclesiam : episcopus vero Chrysostomus, Eutropio sub altari jacente, nimioque percusso timore, residens super ambonem, ubi solebat prius facere consuete sermonem, homiliam increpatoriam fecit adversus eum. — Niceph. Eccles. Hist. lib. xiii. c. iv. Τῶν βασιλείων εὐθὺς ἀποδράς, ἰκέτης τῆ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσέδρευε· τότε δὴ ὁ Ἰωάννης τὸ ἄτοπον διελέγχων τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως Εὐτροπίου, λαμπρόν τινα κατ’ αὐτοῦ λόγον διέξεισιν ἐπ’ ἄμβωνος καθισθεὶς, ὥσπερ ἦν εἰωθὸς ἐκείνῃ ταῖς διδασκαλίαις ποιεῖν, ἴν’ ἅπαντας ἡ φωνὴ ἐπιφθάνοι.

^z Nyssen. Hom. v. de Orat. Domin. (Paris. 1638. vol. i. p. 761. B 10.) Ἄλλ’ εἴπωμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀναστάντες τῷ Θεῷ, Ὅτι μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν.

^a Justin. Apol. (Paris. 1742. p. 83. D.) Ὁ προεστὼς διὰ λόγου τὴν νοουθεσίαν καὶ πρόκλησιν τῆς τῶν καλῶν τούτων μιμήσεως ποιεῖται· ἔπειτα ἀνιστάμεθα κοινῇ πάντες, καὶ εὐχὰς πέμπομεν.

^b Origen. Hom. in Numer. Et ideo ‘surgentes oremus,’ ut inveniamus paratum semper istum gladium Spiritus, per quem exterminentur et semina ipsa et conceptacula peccatorum.—Id. Hom. iii. in Esai. (Bened. 1733. vol. iii. p. 111.) Revera abstulit opprobrium Jesus. Idcirco ‘surgentes’ oremus Deum, etc.—Hom. xxxvi. in Luc. (p. 976.) Quæ omnia cognoscentes, et quam multa sint genera regnorum, ‘surgamus’ precemurque Deum, etc.

^c Athan. Hom. de Semente. (tom. ii. p. 72. Paris. 1698.) Αὐτάρκως δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡμῶν προχωρησάντων, ἀναστάντες καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκτείνωμεν τὰς χεῖρας.

^d Chrysostom. Hom. cont. Hæretic. ap. Ferrarium, lib. ii. c. ix. (c. xvii. p. 212, edit. Paris. 1664. 8vo.) Itaque, quia ostendimus regiam Dignitatem et Divinitatem Spiritus, nos cathedra exsurgentes, uno ore et uno corde glorificemus Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum.

^e Ambros. Comment. in 1 Cor. xiv. 29. (Paris. 1661. p. 398. C 3.) Hæc traditio synagogæ est, quam nos vult sectari . . . ut sedentes disputent seniores dignitate in cathedris, etc.

solidity in it: “that the Christian bishops used to preach sitting, and that this custom was taken from the tradition of the synagogue;” where Ferrarius himself owns, and proves it to have been the more usual custom for the scribes and doctors of the law to expound the Scriptures sitting, though there may be some instances to the contrary. Matt. xxiii. 2, it is said, that “the Scribes and Pharisees sat in Moses’s chair.” Luke ii. 46, our Saviour was found “sitting and disputing among the doctors in the temple.” Again, chap. iv. 20, after he had stood up to read the Prophet Esaias, “he sat down” to teach the people. And chap. v. 3, “He sat down and taught the people out of the ship.” John viii. 2, “He sat down and taught the people in the temple.” Matt. v. 1, “He sat and taught his disciples on the mountain.” And Matt. xxvi. 55, “I sat daily with you, teaching in the temple.” This was according to the custom of the Jewish synagogue, which was generally followed by the Christian Church; and the instances which Ferrarius brings out of St. Chrysostom’s^f and St. Austin’s^g homilies to the contrary, are rather exceptions to a general rule, than proper evidences for his own assertion. The matter is not, indeed, great in itself, it being a very indifferent thing whether a preacher delivers his sermons standing or sitting; but when men are representing ancient practices, they ought not to make every thing conform to the customs and model of the present age, but represent things nakedly as they find them.

^f Chrysostom. Hom. xvi. ad Popul. Antioch. (Paris. 1817. vol. ii. p. 190. A 2.) *Εἰ μὴ πολλὴν παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ὑπέστην ἀνάγκην, οὐδ’ ἂν ἀνέστην, οὐδ’ ἂν διελέχθην ὑπὸ τῆς ἀθυμίας σκοτωθεὶς τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ μικροψυχίᾳ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ.* — Hom. xxxiii. in Matth. (Bened. vol. vii. p. 373. B 6.) *Διὰ σε ἔστηκεν ὁ διάκονος πονῶν καὶ τλαιπωρούμενος· τίνα οὖν ἕξεις ἀπολογίαν, μηδὲ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀκρόασιως αὐτῷ παρέχων ὑποδοχὴν;*

^g Aug. Serm. cxxii. de Diversis. (Bened. 1679. vol. v. p. 122.) *Quamquam propter commoditatem depromendæ vocis altiore loco stare videamur, tamen in ipso altiore loco vos judicatis, et nos judicamur.*—Id. Conc. ii. in Psalm. xxxii. (Bened. 1700. vol. iv. p. 154. F.) *Adhuc quidem spectatores in amphitheatro forte insaniunt, et in sole sedent: et nos si stamus, tamen in umbraculo sumus, et utiliora et pulchriora sunt, quæ spectamus.*—Id. Tract. xix. in Joannis Evangelium. (Bened. 1700. vol. iii. p. 324. D.) *Nostis, fratres, quia ad panem ventris cum labore pervenitur, quanto magis ad panem mentis? Cum labore statis, et auditis; sed nos cum majore stamus, et loquimur.*

SECT. XXV.—*And heard by the Auditors standing, in some Churches, but not in all.*

We have hitherto considered what relates to the preachers, and a few things must be added concerning the hearers; of whom it has been already observed, in the last paragraph, out of Optatus and St. Austin, that in the African Churches the people had no license to sit down, but were generally obliged to stand to hear the sermon. Ferrarius^h has collected a multitude of testimonies more out of St. Austin to the same purpose, which it is needless to relate here; but we may observe, that the same custom prevailed also in many other Churches. Sidonius Apollinaris speaks of it as the usage of the Gallican Church, in those lines to Faustus, bishop of Riez, where he speaks of his preaching from the steps of the altar, the people standing about himⁱ:

Seu te conspicuis gradibus venerabilis aræ
Concionaturum plebs sedula circumstisistit.

Which is further confirmed by a homily, that used to go under the name of St. Austin^j, but is now more certainly determined,

^h Ferrar. lib. ii. c. xv. ex Aug. Tract. xix. in Joann. See preceding note (g).—Et Tract. cxii. (Bened. 1679. vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 783.) Quomodo autem inter se omnes (evangelistæ) conveniant, nec veritati quæ per alium promitur, ab alio repugnetur, quisquis nosse desiderat, non in his sermonibus, sed in aliis laboriosis litteris quærat: nec stando et audiendo, sed potius sedendo et legendo, vel legenti aures mentemque intentissimam præbendo, illa condiscat.—Hom. xxviii. ex l. (vol. v. p. 96. A.) Audi ergo psalmum: te admonuit, te, quicumque es, qui forte hic hodie stas, et nocte aliquid fecisti, te admonuit, etc.—Serm. xlix. de Diversis. See note (t) p. 591.—Id. Serm. cxxii. See note (g) p. 593.—Serm. ii. in Psalm. xxxii. See note (g).—Et in Psalm. cxlvii. (Bened. 1679. vol. v. p. 1666.) Gaudeo tantam esse voluptatem in veritate verbi Dei, ut studium vestrum bonum in bono et de bono vincat studium insanorum qui sunt in amphitheatro. Numquid illi, si tam diu starent, adhuc spectarent?—Serm. xx. de Verbis Domini. Nam et modo inde aliquid agimus remoti a negotiis, depositis familiaribus curis, convenistis, statis, auditis.

ⁱ Sidon. Carm. xvi. ad Faustum Reiensem.

^j Aug. Serm. xxvi. (Bened. 1700. vol. v. append. p. 357.) Ante aliquot dies propter eos, qui aut pedes dolent, aut aliqua corporis inæqualitate laborant, paterna pietate sollicitus consilium dedi, et quodammodo supplicavi, ut quando aut Passiones prolixæ, aut certe aliquæ lectiones longiores leguntur, qui stare non possunt, humiliter et cum silentio sedentes, attentis auribus audiant, quæ leguntur. Nunc vero aliquæ de filiabus nostris putant, quod hoc aut omnes, aut certe plures, quæ sanæ sunt corpore, frequenter debeant facere. Nam ubi

by Mabillon and the Benedictines, in their new edition of St. Austin's works, to belong to Cæsarius, bishop of Arles, where he grants an indulgence to such as were diseased or infirm in their feet, that they should have liberty to sit, when the Passions of the Martyrs, or long lessons were read, or the sermon was preached. But to all others, women as well as men, this privilege is utterly denied; which implies, that standing was then the usual posture of the hearers in the French Churches. And that it was usual also in some of the Greek Churches, may be inferred from that famous story which Eusebius reports of Constantine^k, "that when he made a discourse before him in his own palace, he stood all the time with the rest of the hearers; and when Eusebius requested him to sit down in the throne that was prepared for him, he refused, saying, 'It was fit that men should stand to hear discourses of divine things.'" But in the churches of Italy the contrary custom prevailed; for St. Austin says^l, "In the Transmarine churches (by which he certainly means those of Italy) it was prudently ordered, that not only the bishops sat when they preached to the people, but that the people also had seats to sit upon; lest any weak person, through weariness, grow remiss in his attention, or be forced to leave the assembly;" and he thinks it more advisable that the same indulgence should be granted, where it could prudently be done, in the African churches. That it was so in Rome, in the time of Justin Martyr, seems pretty plain from his First Apology, where he says^m, "that as soon as the verbum Dei cœperit recitari, quasi in lectulis suis ita jacere volunt. . . . Unde rogo vos, venerabiles filiae, et sollicitudine paterna commoneo, ut quando aut lectiones leguntur, aut verbum Dei prædicatur, nulla se in terram projiciat: nisi forte quam nimium gravis infirmitas cogit.

^k Euseb. de Vit. Constant. lib. iv. c. xxxiii. (Cantabr. p. 644, l. 10.) Πλήθους δ' ἀκρατῶν περιστῶτος, ἔνδον ἐν αὐτοῖς βασιλείοις ὄρθιος ἐστῶς, ἅμα τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπηκροᾶτο· ἡμῶν δ' ἀντιβολούντων ἐπὶ παρακειμένῃ τῇ βασιλικῇ θρόνῳ διαναπαύεσθαι, ἐπέθετο μὲν οὐδαμῶς . . . ἐστῶτας γὰρ ὑπακούειν τῶν θείων, ὅσιον.

^l Aug. de Catech. Rudib. c. xiii. See note (u) p. 591.

^m Justin. Apol. i. (1742. p. 83.) Τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρᾳ πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μερόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀπορρημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκειται, μέχρις ἐγχωρεῖ· εἶτα παυσάμενου τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος, ὁ προεστὼς διὰ λόγου τὴν νοθεσίαν καὶ πρόκλησιν τῆς τῶν καλῶν τούτων μμῆσεως ποιεῖται· ἔπειτα ἀνιστάμεθα κοινῇ πάντες, καὶ εὐχὰς πέμπομεν.

bishop's sermon was ended, they all rose up to prayer together." And the same thing being noted by Origenⁿ and Athanasius^o, makes it probable, that the same custom prevailed in many of the Eastern churches. Cyril of Jerusalem says expressly^p, that the people heard his discourses sitting. "Consider," says he, "how many sit here now, how many souls are present, and yet the Spirit works conveniently in them all. He is in the midst of us, and sees our behaviour, and discerns our hearts and consciences, and what we speak, and what we think." And the author of the Constitutions^q, who chiefly relates the customs of the Eastern Churches, represents the people as sitting also to hear the sermon. And so Cassian^r and St. Jerome^s say, "it was in all the monasteries of Egypt, where they sat not only at sermon, but at the reading of the Psalms, and other lessons out of Scripture." So that this must be reckoned among those indifferent rites and customs about which there was no general rule of the universal Church; but every one followed the custom of the place where he lived, and every Church appointed what she judged most proper for the edification of the people.

SECT. XXVI.—*A peculiar Custom of the African Church to quicken the Attention of the Hearers.*

It was a peculiar custom in the African Church, when the

ⁿ Origen. Hom. iii. in Iesa. sub fin. Surgentes, oremus Deum, etc.—Hom. xxxvi. in Luc. Quæ omnia, etc. See page 592, note (b).

^o Athanas. Hom. de Semente. See note (c) p. 592.

^p Cyril. Catech. xvi. n. xxii. (Venet. 1763. p. 255.) Λόγισαι, πόσοι καθέζεσθε νῦν πόσοι ψυχὰι πάρεσμεν ἐκάστῳ προσφόρως ἐνεργεῖ καὶ μέσον παρὸν βλέπει ἐκάστου τὸν τρόπον· βλέπει καὶ τὸν λογισμόν καὶ τὴν συνείδησιν, καὶ τί λαλοῦμεν, καὶ τί νοοῦμεν. (Paris. 1609. p. 418.)

^q Constitut. lib. ii. c. lviii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 297. C 6.) Εἰ ἐν τῷ καθέζεσθαι ἕτερός τις ἐπέλθοι εὐσχήμων καὶ ἐνδοξος ἐν τῷ βίῳ, ἢ ξένος, ἢ ἐγχώριος . . . οἱ ἀδελφοὶ διὰ τῶν διακόνων παραδεχέσθωσαν αὐτόν· εἰ δὲ τόπος οὐκ ἔστιν, ὁ διάκονος τὸν μᾶλλον νεώτερον ἐγείρας, μετὰ λόγου, ἀλλὰ μὴ μετ' ὀργῆς, ἐκείνον καθισάτω.

^r Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. c. xii. (1733. p. 24.) Hunc sane canonicum, quem prædiximus, duodenarium psalmodiarum numerum tali corporis quiete relevant, ut has easdem congregationum solemnitates ex more celebrantes, absque eo, qui dicturus in medium psalmos surrexerit, cuncti sedilibus humillimis insidentes, ad vocem psallentis omni cordis intentione dependeant.

^s Hieron. See note (q) p. 230.

preacher chanced to cite some remarkable text of Scripture in the middle of his sermon, for the people to join with him in repeating the close of it. St. Austin takes notice of this in one of his sermons^t, where, having begun those words of St. Paul, “The end of the commandment is —,” before he would proceed any further he called to the people to repeat the remainder of the verse with him; upon which they all cried out immediately, “Charity out of a pure heart;” “by which,” he says, “they showed that they had not been unprofitable hearers.” And this, no doubt, was done to encourage the people to hear, and read, and remember the Scriptures; that they might be able, upon occasion, to repeat such useful portions of them, having then liberty not only to hear, but to read and repeat them in their mother-tongue. Whether this was a custom in any other place, I cannot say, having met with it only in St. Austin; for which reason I have spoken of it only as a particular custom of the African Church, designed to quicken the attention of the hearers, and show that they read and remembered the Holy Scriptures.

SECT. XXVII. — *How the People were used to give public Applauses and Acclamations to the Preacher in the Church.*

It was a much more general custom for the people to testify their esteem for the preacher, and express their admiration of his eloquence, or approbation of his doctrine, by public applauses and acclamations in the Church. This was done sometimes in express words, and sometimes by other signs and indications of their consent and approbation. The Greeks commonly call it κρότος, which denotes both kinds of approbation, as well ‘by clapping of hands,’ as ‘by vocal and verbal acclamations.’ The first use of it, as Suicerus^u observes out of Casaubon^x, was only in the theatres: from thence it came into the senate; and, in process of time, into the Acts of the Councils, and the ordinary assemblies of the Church.

^t Aug. Hom. xxxvi. ex editis a Sirmondo. (Bened. 1700. vol. v. p. 974. C 7.) Finis præcepti est, jam vos dicite mecum, (a populo acclamatum est) Caritas de corde puro. Omnes dixistis, quod non infructuose semper audistis.

^u Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. voce κρότος, vol. ii. p. 173, seqq.

^x Casaubon. Not. in Vuleatium Gallican. Vit. Avidii Cassii, p. 89.

We are not concerned, at present, to inquire after synodical acclamations, but only such as were used toward the preachers in the church. This was sometimes done in words of commendation: as we find in one of the homilies of Paulus Emisenus^y, spoken in the presence of Cyril, at Alexandria, where, when Paul had used this expression, agreeing with Cyril's doctrine, that had been preached before, "Mary, the mother of God, brought forth Emanuel," the people immediately cried out, "O orthodox Cyril! the gift of God—the faith is the same—that is what we desired to hear. If any man speak otherwise, let him be *anathema*." Sometimes they added other indications of their applause, as clapping of their hands, &c. Thus St. Jerome tells Vigilantius^z, "the time was, when he himself had applauded him with his hands and feet, leaping by his side, and crying out 'Orthodox,' for his sermon upon the resurrection." And so George of Alexandria tells us^a, "The people applauded the sermons of St. Chrysostom, some by tossing their thin garments, others moving their plumes, others laying their hands upon their swords, and others waving their handkerchiefs, and crying out, 'Thou art worthy of the priesthood! thou art the thirteenth apostle! Christ hath sent thee to save our souls!'" &c. In like manner, Gregory represents, in his Dream^b, how the people were

^y Paul. Emisen. Hom. de Incarnat. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 1096.) 'Εβόησεν ὁ λαός· Ἡ πίστις ἰδοὺ αὐτῆ ἐστὶ Θεοῦ δῶρον, Κύριλλε ὀρθόδοξε, τοῦτο ἀκοῦσαι ἐζητοῦμεν· ὁ τοῦτο μὴ λέγων, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

^z Hieronym. Ep. lxxv. contra Vigilant. (Venet. vol. i. p. 350.) Recordare, quæso, illius diei, quando, me de resurrectione et veritate corporis prædicante, ex latere subsultabas, et plaudebas manu, et applodebas pede, et 'Orthodoxum' conclamabas.

^a Georg. Alexand. Vit. Chrysost. ap. Ferrar. de Ritu Conc. lib. ii. c. xx. (Veron. 1731. p. 306.) Omnes mirabantur eum ob sapientiam, ipsi a Deo datam, et quomodo ipsis dissolvebat, quæ in Divinis Scripturis interpretatu atque intellectu difficilia sunt: nec non ipsi plaudebant clamantes, 'Revera dignus es hoc sacerdotio, o apostolorum tertie decime; Christus te ad nos misit, ut salvas faceres animas nostras, et potares de fontibus salutis, quod ipse tibi dedit,' etc. And lower, Quare ipsi plaudebant, alii quidem chlamydes suas attollentes; alii fimbrias cutzulon; alii vero manualia; alii denique fasciolas seu oraria, etc.

^b Nazianz. Somn. de Templo Anastasie. (Paris. 1630. vol. ii. p. 78.)

Καὶ ῥ' οἱ μὲν πάλλοντο, καὶ ἤνεον, οἱ δὲ σιωπῇ
Θάμβεον· οἱ δὲ λόγῳ τρυζόν ἔθ', οἱ δὲ νόφ
Θνησκούσης ὠδίνος ἀναυδίας· οἱ δὲ μάχοντο,
Οἷα καθισταμένου κύματος ἐξ ἀνέμων.

used to applaud him when he preached, some by their praises, and others by their silent admiration; some in their words, and some in their minds; and others moving their bodies as the waves of the sea, raised by the wind." St. Jerome refers to this when he tells us^c, how Gregory Nazianzen, his master, once answered a difficult question which he put to him concerning the *Sabbatum δευτερόπρωτον*, 'the second Sunday after the first,' mentioned Luke vi. "I will inform you," says he, "of this matter in the church, where, when all the people are applauding me, you shall be forced to confess you understand what you do not; or, if you alone be silent, you shall be condemned of folly by all the rest." The same custom is often hinted by Sidonius Apollinaris^d, and Isidore of Pelusium^e; and, in abundance of places of St. Austin^f and

^c Hieron. Epist. ii. ad Nepot. (Venet. vol. i. p. 263.) Præceptor quondam meus, Gregorius Nazianzenus, rogatus a me ut exponeret, quid sibi vellet in Luca (cap. vi.) sabbatum *δευτερόπρωτον*, eleganter lusit; 'Docebo te,' inquit, 'super hac re in ecclesia: in qua mihi omni populo acclamante, cogeris invitus scire quod nescis; aut certe, si solus tacueris, solus ab omnibus stultitiæ condemnaberis.'

^d Sidon. lib. ix. ep. iii. Licet, etc. See page 556, note (d).

^e Isidor. lib. iii. ep. cccxliii. (Paris. 1638. p. 391.) Οὐ μικρὸν συνετὸς ἀκροατῆς, ὁ μὴ μόνον θαύματι διακόπτων τοῦ λόγου τὸν δρόμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπινοῶν τὰ δυσθεώρητα, καὶ τι παρ' ἑαυτοῦ εἰσφέρειν δυνάμενος.—Ep. cccxxxii. Εἰ καὶ, ὡς γέγραφας, ὁ λόγος τὸν κρότον ἐγέννησεν' ἀλλ' οὖν γε καὶ ὁ κρότος τὸν λόγον ἐπέβρωσεν, ἔρεισμα τῷ τεκόντι φανείς.

^f Aug. Serm. v. de Verbis Domini. (Bened. 1700. vol. v. p. 249.) Audistis, laudastis: Deo gratias. Semen accepistis, verba reddidistis. Laudes istæ vestræ gravant nos potius, et in periculum mittunt: toleramus illas, et tremimus inter illas: tamen, fratres mei, istæ laudes vestræ folia sunt arborum: fructus quæritur.—In Serm. xix. de Verb. Apostol. (1700. vol. v. p. 592.) Ecce Christianus es, ecclesiam frequentas, verbum Dei audis, de lectione verbi Dei lætissime commoveris. Tu laudas tractantem, ego quæro facientem.—In Serm. xxviii. (1700. p. 602. C.) Quasi vero parvus sit fructus sudoris hujus mei, si omnes qui mihi acclamaverunt, clamant et contra se, ne falsum jurent adversum se.—In Hom. xxv. ex l. See p. 602, note (q).—In Serm. xlv. de Tempore. Unde omnes acclamastis, nisi quia omnes agnovistis?—Tractat. lvii. in Joan. (1700. vol. iii. p. 479. F 9.) Hæc vobis hodie satis sint, dilectissimi: si quid sceus, quam oportet, dicentes fortassis offendimus, vel laudibus vestris immoderatus, quam oportuit, elevati sumus, impetrate mundationem pedibus nostris.—In Expositione Psalmi cxlvii. Quid de vobis clamavit? dilectio pacis. Quid ostendit oculis vestris? Unde clamatis, si non amatis? . . . neque enim acclamaretur, nisi amaretur.—In lib. de Catechiz. Rud. c. xiii. (Bened. 1700. vol. vi. p. 201.) Sæpe etiam fit, ut qui primo libenter audiebat, vel audiendo

St. Chrysostom, cited at length by Ferrarius^g; which, after what has been said, I think it needless to recite in this place. The curious reader may either consult Ferrarius, or the passages referred to, in their authors. To which he may add many other passages of Chrysostom^h, and Socra-

vel stando fatigatus, non jam laudans, sed osecitans labia diducat, et se abire velle etiam invitus ostendat.—In Serm. xxvii. de Divers. (Bened. 1700. vol. v. p. 596.) Quando enim sic laudaretis, si non amaretis? quando amaretis, si nihil videretis? Me itaque non ostendente formam corporis, lineamenta, colorem, pulchros motus, me non ostendente, vos tamen videtis, amatis, laudatis.—In lib. iv. de Doctrin. Christ. c. xxvi. (Bened. 1679. vol. iii. p. 89.) Quando nonnulla, non jactantacula, sed quasi necessaria, atque (ut ita dicam) ipsis rebus extorta numerositas clausularum; tantas acclamationes excitat, ut vix intelligatur esse submissa.

^g [See Ferrarius, lib. ii. c. 18.] Chrysost. Hom. i. in Genes. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 2, B 9.) Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπλῶς καὶ εἰκῆ ἔνταῦθα σύνμειν, ἵνα ὁ μὲν εἶπῃ, ὁ δὲ κροτήσῃ ἀπλῶς τὰ λεγόμενα. — Hom. iv. (Bened. vol. iv. p. 23. B.) Ἡ τῶν κρότων συνέχεια μεγίστη ἀπόδειξις ἐγένετο, τοῦ μεθ' ἡδονῆς ὑμᾶς δεχέσθαι τὰ λεγόμενα.—Hom. liv. (Francof. vol. ii. p. 588 †.) Μὴ γὰρ ἀπλῶς καὶ εἰκῆ λέγειν βουλόμεθα, ὥστε τὸν παρ' ὑμῶν ἔπαινον καρπώσασθαι, καὶ ἵνα κροτήσαντες ὑμεῖς ἀναχωρήσητε; οὐ διὰ τοῦτο [μὴ γένοιτο] ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ὠφέλειαν τὴν ὑμετέραν.— Hom. ii. ad Pop. Ant. (Paris. 1837. vol. ii. p. 28.) Τί μοι τῶν κρότων ὄφελος τούτων; τί δὲ τῶν ἐπαίνων καὶ τῶν θορύβων; ἔπαινος ἐμὸς τὸ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ὑμᾶς ἐπιδείξει τὰ λεγόμενα ἅπαντα.—Hom. v. ad eumd. Popul. Antioch. (p. 85. D 10.) Νῦν μὲν ἐν βραχείᾳ καιροῦ ῥοπή τὰ λεγόμενα ἐπαινείτε· ἐὰν δὲ κατορθώσητε, διὰ πάσης τῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ διὰ παντός τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπαινέσεσθε.— Hom. ii. de Lazaro. (vol. i. p. 730. A.) Σιγᾶτε, ταῦτα ἀκούοντες· πολλὴν ὑμῖν ἔχω χάριν τῆς σιγῆς ταύτης μάλλον ἢ τῶν κρότων· οἱ ἔπαινοι λαμπρότερον ἐμὲ ποιῶσιν, ἢ σιγὴ δὲ αὐτῆ σωφρονεστέρους ὑμᾶς ἐργάζεται.—Hom. ii. de Incomprehensibili Dei Natura. (Bened. vol. i. p. 452.) Ἐπηνέσατε τὰ εἰρημένα· μετὰ πολλοῦ θορύβου καὶ κρότου τὴν παραίνεσιν ἐδέξασθε· ἀλλ' οὕτως ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἐπιδείξισθε τοὺς ἐπαίνους.— Hom. v. (Francof. vol. v. p. 348 †.) Ταῦτα λέγω, οὐχ ἵνα ἐπαινῆτε μόνον, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἐπιδείκνυσθε.—Hom. xxx. in Act. Apostol. See following note (u).

^h Chrysostom. Hom. i. de Verbis Esa. (vol. vi. p. 100. D.) Οὐδὲ τὴν φωνὴν τῆς αἰνέσεως, ἀλλὰ τὴν φωνὴν τῆς ἀταξίας, τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλονεικίας, τὰς εἰκῆ καὶ μάτην ἐπαιρομένας χεῖρας ἐν τῷ ἀέρι, τοὺς ἵππαζομένους πόδας, κ. τ. λ.—Hom. vi. in Genes. (vol. iv. p. 40. D 8.) Μὴ γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο λέγειν σπουδάζομεν, ὥστε ἀπλῶς τέρψαι ὑμῶν τὴν ἀκοίην, ἢ ὡς τοῦ παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπαινοῦ ἐφιέμενοι.—Hom. xxvii. ibid. (vol. iv. p. 268. B 7.) Χαίρω καὶ εὐφραίνομαι ὑμᾶς ὄρων μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἀκούοντας τὰ λεγόμενα, καὶ διὰ τοῦ κρότου δεικνύντας, ὅτι ἔτοιμοι γενέσθαι σπουδάζετε, καὶ εἰς ἔργον ἀγαγεῖν τὴν δεσποτικὴν ταύτην παραίνεσιν.—See Hom. xvi. in illud, Si esurit inimicus, and Hom. lvi. Quod non sit desperandum. See pp. 605 and 604, notes (t) and (s).

tesⁱ, and Prosper^k, not mentioned by that diligent writer, though he spends four whole chapters upon this subject.

SECT. XXVIII.—*But more Christian-like express their Approbation by Tears, and Groans, and Compunction, and Obedience.*

I think it more material to observe out of the chief of those passages, that though the ancients did not utterly refuse or disallow those sorts of applauses, but received them with humility and thankfulness to God, as good indications of a towardly disposition in their bearers; yet, forasmuch as they were often but fallacious signs, they neither much commended those that gave them, nor those preachers that barely by their eloquence obtained them; much less those that out of a worldly spirit, and a popular and vain ambition, laboured at nothing else but to court and affect them: but what they chiefly desired to effect by their grand eloquence was, to warm their hearts, and melt them into tears; to work them into groans, and sorrow, and compunction for sin; to bring them to resolutions of obedience and compliance with the holy rules they preached to them; to work in them a contempt of earthly things; and raise their souls, by all the arts of moving the affections, to a longing desire and aspiration after the things of another world. This was their grand aim in all their elaborate, and all their free and fluent discourses; and this they valued far above all the popular applauses that could be given them. This they reckoned their ‘grand eloquence;’ and rejoiced in nothing more, than when they could triumph in the conviction and conversion of their hearers. To this purpose, St. Jerome, in his directions to Nepotian, lays it down as a rule^l, “that in preaching he should labour to excite the

ⁱ Socrat. lib. vii. c. xiii. (Cantab. p. 358, l. 10.) Ἦν δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς τις ἀνὴρ, ὀνόματι Ἰέραξ, ὃς γραμμάτων μὲν τῶν πεζῶν διδάσκαλος ἦν· διάπυρος δὲ ἀκροατῆς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Κυρίλλου καθεστῶς, καὶ περὶ τὸ κρότους ἐν ταῖς διδασκαλίαις αὐτοῦ ἐγείρειν ἦν σπουδαίτατος.

^k Prosper. See following note (n).

^l Hieron. Epist. ii. ad Nepotian. (Venet. vol. i. p. 263. B.) Docente te in ecclesia, non clamor populi, sed gemitus suscitetur: lacrimæ auditorum, laudes tue sint.

groans of the people rather than their applauses; and let the tears of the hearers be the commendation of the preacher." And so he observes^m it was, in fact, among the fathers of Egypt: when they discoursed of the kingdom of Christ and the glories of the world to come, then one might behold every one, with a gentle sigh, and eyes lift up to heaven, say within himself, "Oh that I had wings like a dove; for then I would flee away, and be at rest!" In like manner, Prosperⁿ bids the preacher not place his confidence in the splendour of his words, but in the power of their operation; nor be delighted with the acclamations of the people, but their tears; nor study to obtain their applauses, but their groans. St. Austin did not refuse these acclamations of the people; yet he always takes care to remind them rather to repay him with the fruit of their lives and actions. "You praise the preacher of the word," says he^o, "but I desire the doer of it." "Those praises are but the leaves of the tree: I desire the fruit of it^p." "I would not be praised by ill livers^q, I abhor it, I detest it: it is a grief to me, and not a pleasure. But if I say, I would

^m Ibid. Epist. xxii. ad Eustoch. c. xv. (Venet. vol. i. p. 119. D.) *Completis orationibus, cunctisque residentibus, medius, quem Patrem vocant, incipit disputare: quo loquente, tantum silentium fit, ut nemo alium respicere, nemo audeat excreare. Dicentis laus in fletu est audientium. Tacite voluntur per ora lacrimæ, et ne in singultus quidem erumpit dolor. Quum vero de regno Christi, et de futura beatitudine, et de gloria cœperit adnuntiare ventura, videas cunctos moderato suspirio, et oculis ad cœlum levatis, intra se dicere, 'Quis dabit mihi pennas sicut columbæ, et volabo, et requiescam?'*

ⁿ Prosper, de Vita Contemplativa, lib. i. c. xxiii. (Paris. 1711. append. p. 20. B 3.) *Non in verborum splendore, sed in operum virtute, totam prædicandi fiduciam ponat; non vocibus delectetur populi acclamantis sibi, sed fletibus; nec plausum a populo studeat expectare, sed gemitum.*

^o Aug. Serm. xix. de Verbis Apostoli. *Tu laudas tractantem: ego quero facientem.*

^p Ibid. Serm. v. de Verbis Domini. *Laudes istæ folia sunt arborum: fructus queritur.*

^q Ibid. Hom. xxv. ex l. (Bened. 1700. vol. v. p. 912. E.) *Ille novit, sub cujus oculis loquor, immo sub cujus oculis cogito, non me tantum delectari laudibus popularibus, quam stimulari et angi, quomodo vivant qui me laudant. Laudari autem a male viventibus nolo, abhorreo, detestor: dolori mihi est, non voluptati. Laudari autem a bene viventibus si dicam nolo, mentior: si dicam volo, timeo ne sim inanitatis appetentior quam soliditatis. Ergo quid dicam? Nec plene volo, nec plene nolo. Non plene volo, ne in laude humana periclitetur non plene nolo, ne ingrati sint quibus prædico.*

not be praised by good livers, I should tell a lie; if I should say, I desire it, I am afraid of seeming desirous more of vanity than solidity: therefore, what shall I say? I neither perfectly desire it, nor perfectly refuse it. I do not desire it absolutely, for fear I should be ensnared by human praise: I do not utterly refuse it, for fear I should be ungrateful to those to whom I preach." In his Book of Christian Doctrine, where he speaks of that sort of ecclesiastical rhetoric, which is called 'grand eloquence,' he says^r, "A man should not think he had attained to it because he frequently received the loud acclamations of the people: for those were often gained by the acumens and ornaments of the 'submiss and moderate style;' and the 'grand eloquence' did often suppress those acclamations by its weight, and extort tears in their room." He gives there a remarkable instance of his own preaching once an occasional sermon with such effect to the people of Cæsarea, in Mauritania. It seems, in that place, a very barbarous and unnatural custom had for a long time prevailed, that at a certain season of the year, for some whole days together, the whole city, dividing themselves into two parties, were used to maintain a bloody fight by throwing stones at one another; and this without any regard to kindred or relation: for sometimes a man slew his brother, or a father his son, or a son his father. "Now," says St. Austin, "I set myself with all the force of

^r Ibid. de Doctrin. Christ. lib. iv. c. xxiv. (Bened. 1679. vol. iii. p. 87.) Non sane, si dicenti crebrius et vehementius acclametur, ideo granditer putandus est dicere:—grande autem genus plerumque pondere suo voces premit, sed lacrimas exprimit. . . . Quum apud Cæsaream Mauritanie, populo dissuaderem pugnam civilem, vel potius plusquam civilem, quam 'catervam' vocabant: neque enim cives tantummodo, verum etiam propinqui, fratres, postremo parentes ac filii, lapidibus inter se in duas partes divisi, per aliquot dies continuos, et certo tempore anni solemniter dimicabant, et quisque ut quemque poterat, occidebat: egi quidem granditer, quantum valui, ut tam crudele atque inveteratum malum de cordibus et moribus eorum avellerem pelleremque dicendo: non tamen egisse aliquid me putavi, quum eos audirem acclamantes, sed quum flentes viderem. Acclamationibus quippe se doceri et delectari, flecti autem lacrimis indicabant. Quas ubi adspexi, immanem illam consuetudinem a patribus et avis, longeque a majoribus traditam, quæ pectora eorum hostiliter obsidebat, vel potius possidebat, devictam, antequam reipsa id ostenderent, credidi. Moxque sermone finito ad agendas Deo gratias corda atque ora converti. Et ecce jam ferme octo vel amplius anni sunt, propitio Christo, ex quo illie nihil tale tentatum est.

‘ grand eloquence ’ to root out and expel this cruel and inveterate evil out of their hearts and practice : yet I did not take myself to have made any impression to purpose upon them, whilst I heard their acclamations, but when I saw their tears : for they showed, indeed, by their acclamations, that they were instructed and pleased, but by their tears that they were sensibly affected, and really converted : which when I perceived, I then began to think I had got the victory over that barbarous custom which had so long, by tradition from their ancestors, possessed their souls, before I saw any more visible proof in their actions. Whereupon, as soon as sermon was ended, I turned both their mouths and hearts to give God thanks for it : and so, by the help of Christ, there are now almost eight years passed, since any thing of this kind was ever attempted among them.” He adds, “ that he had made many other experiments of the like nature, by which he had learned that men ordinarily showed what impressions the force of wise and powerful rhetoric made upon them, not so much by their acclamations as by their groans, and sometimes by their tears, and finally by their real change of life and sincere conversion.” So that, in the judgment of this pious father, the best praise of a sermon and its rhetoric is the compunction of its hearers, and melting them into tears, and subduing their minds by bending them to obedience, which far exceeds the honour of the greatest acclamations and applauses. After the same manner the great orator of the East, St. Chrysostom, often tells his hearers, “ he rejoiced not in their applauses, but in the effects which his discourses had on their minds, in making them become new men.” He says in one place ^s, “ they had made him happy in receiv-

^s Chrysostom. Hom. lvi. Quod non sit desperandum. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 354.)

Πολλὰς ὑμῖν ἔχω χάριτας, ὅτι μετὰ προθυμίας τοὺς περὶ τῆς εὐχῆς ἐδέξασθε λόγους, ὅτι με μακάριον ἐποιήσατε. Μακάριος γὰρ ὁ λέγων εἰς ὧτα ἀκουόντων· οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν κρότων καὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀφ’ ὧν ποιῶντας εἶδον, ἐπέισθην· ὅτε γὰρ ὑμῖν παρήνουν μὴ κατεύχεσθαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν, καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι τὸν Θεὸν παροξύνομεν τοῦτο ποιῶντες, καὶ ἀντινομοθετοῦμεν αὐτῷ [αὐτὸς γὰρ εἶπεν, Εὐχέσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἡμεῖς δὲ κατευχόμενοι τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἀξιοῦμεν αὐτὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λύσαι νόμον] ὅτε οὖν ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔλεγον, πολλοὺς ἐν ὑμῖν εἶδον πρόσωπα τύπτοντας καὶ στήθη, στενάζοντας πικρῶς, εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνοντας, συγγνώμην αἰτοῦντας περὶ τῶν τοιούτων εὐχῶν· τότε δὴ

ing his discourses about prayer with a ready mind : for happy is the man that speaks to an obedient ear." And he judged of their obedience, not so much from their acclamations and praises, as from what he had observed in their actions. For when he had used this argument, why they should not pray against their enemies, because it was a provocation of God, and setting up a new law in opposition to his law, (for God says, " Pray for your enemies : " but they that pray against them, do in effect pray God to disannul his own law,) he says, upon his mentioning this and the like arguments, " he had observed many of them to smite upon their face and breast, and mourn bitterly, and lift up their hands to heaven, and ask God pardon for such unlawful prayers ; which made him at the same time lift up his own eyes to heaven, and give God thanks that the word of his doctrine had so quickly produced fruit in them." In another place he says ^t, " What do your praises advantage me, when I see not your progress in virtue ? or what harm shall I receive from the silence of my auditors, when I behold the increase of their piety ? The praise of the speaker is not the κρότος, ' the acclamations of his hearers,' but their zeal for piety and religion ; not their making a great stir in time of hearing, but showing diligence at all other times. Applause, as soon as it is out of the mouth, is dispersed into the air, and vanishes : but when the hearers grow better, this brings an incorruptible and immortal reward both to the speaker and the hearers. The praise of your acclamations may render the orator more illustrious here ; but the piety of

καὶ ἐγὼ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνατείνας, ἠὺχαρίστησα τῷ Θεῷ, ὅτι οὕτω ταχέως ὁ λόγος τῆς διδασκαλίας τὸν καρπὸν ἡμῖν ἤνεγκε.

^t Chrysostom. Hom. xvi. Si esur. inim. (Bened. 1718. vol. iii. p. 157. C.) Τί γάρ μοι τῶν ἐπαίνων ὄφελος, ὅταν ὑμᾶς μὴ θεάσωμαι προκόπτοντας κατ' ἀρετήν ; τί δέ μοι βλάβος ἐκ τῆς σιγῆς τῶν ἀκούοντων, ὅταν ἀξομένην ὑμῶν ἴδω τὴν εὐλάβειαν ; ἔπαινος γὰρ τοῦ λέγοντος οὐχ ὁ κρότος, ἀλλ' ὁ περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ζῆλος τῶν ἀκούοντων· οὐχ ὁ θόρυβος κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀκροάσεως, ἀλλ' ἡ σπουδὴ ἢ διαπαντὸς τοῦ χρόνου· ὁ κρότος ἐξῆλθεν ὁμοῦ τε τοῦ στόματος, καὶ εἰς αἶρα διαχυθεὶς ἀπώλετο· τὸ δὲ βελτίονας γενέσθαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας, ἀγῆρω καὶ ἀθάνατον φέρει τὸν μισθόν, καὶ τῷ λέγοντι, καὶ τοῖς πειθομένοις· ὁ τῆς βοῆς ὑμῶν ἔπαινος ἐνταῦθα τὸν λέγοντα ποιεῖ λαμπρόν, ἢ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ὑμῶν εὐλάβεια πολλήν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ δίδωσι παρρησίαν τῷ διδάξαντι ὥστε εἶ τις τῶν λεγόντων ἐρά, μὴ τῶν κρότων, ἀλλὰ τῆς ὠφελείας τῶν ἀκούοντων ἐράτω.

your souls will give him great confidence before the tribunal of Christ. Therefore, if any one love the preacher (or if any preacher love his people) let him not be enamoured with applause, but with the benefit, of the hearers." It were easy to transcribe many other such passages from Chrysostom, where he shows a great contempt of such popular applauses in comparison of their obedience. I will only relate one passage more, where he gives a severe rebuke to all preachers who made this the only aim of their discourses. "Many," says he^u, "appear in public, and labour hard, and make long sermons to gain the applause of the people, in which they rejoice as much as if they had gained a kingdom: but if their sermon ends in silence, they are more tormented about that silence than about the pains of hell. This is the ruin of the Church, that ye seek to hear such sermons as are apt not to move compunction, but pleasure; hearing them as you would hear a musician or a singer, with a tinkling sound, and composition of words. And we act miserably and coldly, whilst we indulge our own affections, which we ought to discard. We curiously seek after flowers of rhetoric, and composition, and harmony, that we may sing to men, and not profit them; that we may be had in

^u Ibid. Hom. xxx. in Acta. (Bened. vol. ix. p. 238. C 10.) Πολλὰ πολλοὶ πράττουσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ εἰς μέσον στάντες μακρὸν ἀποτείνειν λόγον· κἄν μὲν κρότων τύχῳσι τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, γέγονεν αὐτοῖς τοῦτο βασιλείας ἴσων· ἂν δὲ μετὰ σιγῆς τὸν λόγον καταπαύσωσι, γέεννης δὴ που μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς χαλεπωτέρα κατέστη τῆς σιγῆς ἢ ἀθυμίας. τοῦτο τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἀνέτρεψεν, ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐ ζητεῖτε λόγον ἀκοῦσαι κατανυκτικόν, ἀλλὰ τέρψαι δυνάμενον· καὶ τῷ ψόφῳ, καὶ τῇ συνθέσει τῶν ῥημάτων, καθάπερ μελωδῶν καὶ κιθαριστῶν ἀκούοντες, καὶ ἡμᾶς ψυχρῶς καὶ τολαιπῶρως ποιοῦντες, ὅτι ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἐπιθυμίαις ἐπόμεθα, δεῖον ἐκκόπτειν ταύτας. —A little after: Τοῦτο πάσχομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς, κάλλη λέξεω περιεργαζόμενοι, καὶ συνθήκας καὶ ἀρμονίας, ὅπως ἤσωμεν, οὐχ ὅπως ὠφελήσωμεν· ὅπως θαυμασθῶμεν, οὐχ ὅπως διδάξωμεν· ὅπως τέρψωμεν, οὐχ ὅπως κατανύξωμεν· ὅπως κροτηθῶμεν, καὶ ἐπαίνου τυχόντες ἀπέλθωμεν, οὐχ ὅπως τὰ ἦθη ῥυθμίσωμεν· πιστεύσατέ μοι, οὐκ ἄλλως λέγω· ἐπειδὴν λέγων κροτῶμαι, παρ' αὐτὸν μὲν καιρὸν ἀνθρώπινόν τι πάσχω· (τί γὰρ οὐκ ἂν τις εἶποι τὸ ἀληθές;) καὶ γάννυμαι, καὶ διαχέομαι· ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀπελθὼν οἴκαδε ἐννοήσω τοὺς κροτήσαντας οὐδὲν ὠφελήεντας, ἀλλ' εἴ τις καὶ ὠφελήθη· οὐκ ἔδει, ὑπὸ τοῦ κρότου καὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων ἀπολωλεκότας, ὀδυνῶμαι, καὶ στένω, καὶ δακρύω, καὶ ὡς εἰκῆ πάντα εἰρηκῶς, οὕτω διάκειμαι, καὶ πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν λέγω, τί μοι τὸ ὄφελος τῶν ἰδρωτῶν, τῶν ἀκούοντων οὐκ ἐθελόντων καρποῦσθαί τι παρὰ τῶν λόγων τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν; καὶ πολλάκις ἐνενόησα θεῖναι νόμον τὸν κωλύοντα τοὺς κρότους, καὶ πείθοντα μετὰ σιγῆς ἡμᾶς ἀκροᾶσθαι, καὶ τῆς προσηκούσης εὐταξίας.

admiration by them, and not teach them; that we may raise delight, and not godly sorrow; that we may go off with applause and praise, and noways edify them in their morals. Believe me, for I would not otherwise say it, when I raise applause in preaching, I am then subject to human infirmity; (for why should not a man confess the truth?) I am then ravished and highly pleased: but when I go home, and consider that my applauders are gone away without fruit, though they might have done otherwise, I weep, and wail, and lament that they perish in their acclamations and praises, and that I have preached all in vain; and I reason thus with myself: What profit is there in all my labours, if my hearers reap no fruit from my words? I have often thought of making it a law to forbid such acclamations, and to persuade you to hear in silence." By this it appears, that St. Chrysostom could rather have wished to have had this custom wholly banished out of the Church, because it was so frequently abused by vain and ambitious spirits, who regarded nothing else but to gain the applause of their hearers; to which purpose they sometimes suborned men to applaud them in the Church, as is complained of Paulus Samosatensis by the Council of Antioch^x: and sometimes affected to preach in such a manner upon abstruse subjects, as neither the people nor themselves understood, only to be admired by the ignorant multitude; who, as St. Jerome^y complains in this very case, are commonly most prone to admire what they do not understand: for which reason, it was the care of all pious preachers to show a tender regard to the understandings of men; and, whether it gained applause or not, to speak usefully, as far as might be, to the

^x Apud Euseb. lib. vii. c. xxx. (Cantabr. p. 361, line 22.) *Τοῖς μὴ ἐπιανοῦσι, μηδὲ ὡσπερ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις κατασεῖσουσι ταῖς ὀθόνας, μηδ' ἐκβοῶσιν τε καὶ ἀναπηδῶσι κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν στασιώταις ἀνδράσι τε καὶ γυναικίαις, ἀκόσμως οὕτως ἀκροωμένοις· τοῖς δ' οὖν ὡς ἐν οἴκῳ Θεοῦ σεμνοπρεπῶς καὶ εὐτάκτως ἀκούουσιν, ἐπιτιμῶν καὶ ἐνουβρίζων. . . . οἱ δὲ εἰς αὐτὸν ψάλλοντες καὶ ἐγκωμιάζοντες ἐν τῷ λαῷ, ἄγγελον τὸν ἀσειβῆ διδάσκαλον ἑαυτῶν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατεληλυθέναι λέγουσι καὶ ταῦτα οὐ κωλύει, ἀλλὰ καὶ λεγομένοις πάρεστιν ὁ ὑπερήφανος.*

^y Hieron. Epist. ii. ad Nepotian. (Venet. vol. i. p. 263. B.) *Verba volvere, et celeritate dicendi apud imperitum vulgus admirationem sui facere, indoctorum hominum est. Attrita frons interpretatur sæpe quod nescit: et quum aliis persuaserit, sibi quoque usurpat scientiam.*

capacities and apprehensions of their hearers; and by all the powers of divine eloquence, and proper arts of edification and persuasion, incline them to obedience and a heavenly temper; without which they imagined the success and event of their preaching, however eloquent and pleasing to the ear, was no better received than that of the prophet, complained of Ezek. xxxiii. 32, "Thou art unto them as a very lovely song of one that hath a very pleasant voice, and can play well on an instrument; for they hear thy words, but they will not do them."

SECT. XXIX.—*Sermons anciently penned by the Hearers.*

There is one thing more must be taken notice of with relation to the hearers, because it expressed a great deal of zeal and diligence in their attention; which is, that many of them learned the art of notaries (the Greeks call them *ὄξυγράφοι* and *ταχυγράφοι*, 'ready writers'), that they might be able to take down in writing the sermons of famous preachers, word for word, as they delivered them. By this means some of their extempore discourses were handed down to posterity, which otherwise must have died with the speaking: as has been observed before out of Eusebius ^a concerning some of Origen's which he preached in his latter years. St. Austin makes the same observation concerning his own sermon upon the Psalms ^b, "that it pleased the brethren not only to receive them with their ears and heart, but with their pens likewise; so that he was to have regard not only to his auditors, but his readers also." Socrates says the same of Chrysostom's sermons ^c, "that some of them were published by himself, and others by notaries, who took them from his mouth as he spake them." But they did not thus honour all preachers, but only those that were most celebrated and renowned. For Sozomen

^a See notes (r) and (s) pp. 553, 554.

^b Aug. in Psalm. li. (Bened. 1679. vol. v. p. 475.) Placuit fratribus, non tantum aure et corde, sed et stilo excipienda quæ dicimus: ut non auditorem tantum, sed et lectorem etiam cogitare debeamus.

^c Socrat. lib. vi. c. iv. (Cantabr. p. 313, l. 36.) Ὅποιοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ τε ἐκδοθέντες παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι, καὶ οἱ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν ὄξυγράφων ἐκληφθέντες, ὅπως τε λαμπροὶ, καὶ τὸ ἐπαγωγὸν ἔχοντες, τί δεῖ νῦν λέγειν;

observes of the sermons of Atticus ^d, “that they were so mean after he gave himself to preach extempore when he was bishop of Constantinople, that the notaries did not think fit to write them.” These notaries were some of them allowed by the preacher himself, and were therefore a sort of public notaries appointed for this purpose; but others did it privately according to their inclination and discretion. This difference is hinted by Eusebius, when he says, “Origen allowed no notaries to take his sermons till he was sixty years old;” and by Gregory Nazianzen in his farewell sermon, where he thus takes his leave of his Church ^e: “Farewell, ye lovers of my sermons, and ye pens, both public and private;” in which he plainly alludes to the two sorts of notaries that wrote his sermons in the church. The public notaries were generally allowed by the author’s consent to publish what they wrote; in which case it was usual for the preacher to review his own dictates, and correct such mistakes, and supply such deficiencies, as might be occasioned by the haste of the scribe, or some things not so accurately spoken by themselves in sudden and extempore discourses. This is evident from what Gregory the Great says in his Preface to his Homilies upon Ezekiel ^f, “that those homilies were first taken from his mouth as he spake them to his people; and after eight years he collected them from the papers of the notaries, and reviewed, and corrected, and amended them.” So again, in his Preface upon Job, he says, “some of his homilies were composed by himself, and others taken by the notaries; and those which were taken by the notaries, when he had time, he reviewed, adding some things ^g, and rejecting others, and leaving many things as he

^d Sozom. lib. viii. c. xxvii. (p. 362, l. 35.) Μέτριος πρὸς τοὺς ἐπ’ ἐκκλησίας λόγους, ὡς μήτε γραφῆς ἀξιούς νομίζεσθαι τοῖς ἀκροαταῖς, μήτε παιδείας παντελῶς ἀμύρουσ.

^e Nazianz. Orat. xxxii. (Paris. 1630. vol. i. p. 528. A 4.) Χαίρετε τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων ἑρασταί, καὶ δρόμοι καὶ συνδρομαί, καὶ γραφίδες φανεραὶ καὶ λανθάνουσαι.

^f Gregor. Præfat. in Ezech. (Bened. 1705. vol. i. p. 1173.) Homilias, quæ in Beatum Ezechielem prophetam, ita ut coram populo loquebar, exceptæ sunt, multis curis irruentibus in abolitione reliqueram. Sed post annos octo, petentibus fratribus, notariorum schedas requirere studui, easque favente Domino transcurrens, in quantum ab angustiis tribulationum lieuit, emendavi.

^g Ibid. Præfat. in Job. (Bened. vol. i. p. 3. E 3.) Quamvis eorum, quibus

found them; and with such emendations he composed them into books and published them." But many times the notaries published what they had written, without the author's knowledge or consent; in which case, we sometimes find they remonstrated against this as a clandestine practice^h. Thus Gaudentius says, "he did not own those homilies which were first taken by the notaries latently and by stealth, and then published by others imperfectly, and only by halves, with great chasms and interruptions in them: he would not acknowledge them for his discourses which the notaries had written in extreme haste, and published, without giving him any opportunity to supervise and correct them." And, probably, there may be reason for the same complaint in other writers. However, it shows a great diligence and attention in the hearers of those days, and a great respect and honour paid to their teachers, that they would be at so much pains to treasure up and preserve their pious instructions.

SECT. XXX.—*Two Reflections made by the Ancients upon some of their corrupt Auditors. 1. The negligent and profane Hearers.*

These things may be justly spoken to their honour; and it is no reflection on them, or diminution of their good character, that there were some others in those times (as there will be in all times) who deserved a contrary character, either for their deficiency and want of zeal in this matter, or for their indiscreet and intemperate zeal, in placing all religion in a sermon, and speaking contemptuously of prayer, or other parts of

exponere compellebar, longe me vita transcenderet; injuriosum tamen esse non credidi, si fluenta usibus hominum plumbi fistula ministraret. Unde mox eisdem coram positis fratribus, priora libri sub oculis dixi: et quia tempus paullo vacantius reperi, posteriora tractando dictavi. Quumque mihi spatia largiora suppeterent, multa augens, pauca subtrahens, atque ita ut inventa sunt, nonnulla derelinquens, ea, quæ me loquente excepta sub oculis fuerant, per libros emendando composui: quia et quum postrema dictarem, quo stylo prima dixeram, sollicite attendi.

^h Gaudent. Præfat. ad Benevolum. (Max. B. V. P. vol. v. p. 943. A 13.) De illis Tractatibus quos notariis, ut comperi, latenter adpositis, procul dubio interruptos, et semiplenos otiosa quorundam studia colligere præsumserunt, nihil ad me attinet. Mea jam non sunt, quæ constat præcipiti excipientium festinatione esse conscripta.

divine service without it. The two errors in the contrary extremes, the one in excess, the other in defect, the ancients had sometimes occasion to rebuke; and they did it with becoming sharpness. Though St. Chrysostom was so much admired, that the people generally said, when he was sent into banishmentⁱ, “that it was better the sun should withdraw its rays, than his mouth be shut up in silence;” yet he was often forced with grief to complain of some for their abstaining from religious assemblies^k, where they were scarce seen once a year; of others, that they spent their time there in nothing but idle discourse, or laughing and jesting, or transacting worldly business^l; laying themselves open to the assaults of the wicked spirit, who found their house fit for his reception, empty, swept, and garnished; of others, that they turned the church into a theatre^m, and sought for nothing there but to please their ears without any other advantage; and, finally, of others who extolled his discourses by great applause in words, but disgraced them by the disobedience of their lives and

ⁱ Chrysostom. Epist. cxxv. ad Cyriacum, (Bened. 1718. vol. iii. p. 671. A 7.) Καὶ ἔκλειον θεωροῦντες ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἑξορίᾳ ἀπερχομένους· καὶ ἔλεγον πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς, συνέφερον, ἵνα ὁ ἥλιος συνέστειλε τὰς ἀκτῖνας αὐτοῦ, ἢ ἵνα τὸ στόμα Ἰωάννου ἐσιώπησε.

^k Ibid. Hom. xlvi. in Lucian. Martyr. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 524.) Ὅπερ χθές ἐδεδοίκειν ἐξέβη, καὶ τέλος ἔλαβε νῦν, καὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἀπελθούσης, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἡμῖν συναπεδήμησε, καὶ ἐλάττων ἡμῖν ὁ σύλλογος γέγονε· καὶ ᾄδειν μὲν τοῦτο συμβησόμενον πάντως· οὐ μὴν δὲ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς παραιέσεως ἀπέστην· εἰ γὰρ καὶ μὴ πάντες ἐπέισθησαν οἱ χθές ἀκούσαντες, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ πάντες ἠπέιθησαν. — Id. Hom. xlviii. in Inscript. Altaris. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 50.) Τί τοῦτο; ὅσον προΐασις ἡμῖν αἱ ἑορταί, τοσοῦτον καὶ αἱ συνάξεις ἐλάττους γίνονται. ἀλλὰ μὴ ῥαθυμῶμεν ἡμεῖς οἱ παρόντες· ἐλάττους μὲν γίνονται τῷ πλῆθει, οὐκ ἐλάττους δὲ τῷ προθυμίᾳ· ἐλάττους τῷ ἀριθμῷ, οὐκ ἐλάττους δὲ τῷ πόθῳ· ἐλάττους γίνονται, ἵνα οἱ δόκιμοι φανεροὶ γίνωνται ἐν ἡμῖν· καὶ μάθωμεν, τίνες μὲν συνηθεία, τίνες δὲ ἐπιθυμία θείων λογίων παραγίνονται δι’ ἐνιαυσίου ἑορτῆς, τίνες ἐπιθυμία ἀκροάσεως πνευματικῆς, κ. τ. λ.

^l Chrysostom. Hom. iv. de Incomprehensibili Dei Natura. (Bened. 1718. vol. i. p. 477. E 4.) Οὐ δέδοικας, μὴ ποτέ σου διαλεγόμενου, ῥαθυμοῦντος, ὀλιγωροῦντος, δαίμων τις ἐκέιθεν ἐκπηδήσας σχολάζουσαν καὶ σεσαρωμένην εὐρών τὴν ψυχὴν, ἐπεισέλθοι μετὰ ἀδείας πολλῆς, ἀθύρωτον τὴν οἰκίαν εὐρών.

^m Ibid. Hom. ii. ad Popul. Antioch. (Paris. 1837. vol. ii. p. 28.) Οὐκ ἔστι θέατρον ἢ ἐκκλησία, ἵνα πρὸς τέρψιν ἀκούωμεν· ὠφελήθεντας ἐντεῦθεν ἀπιέναι χρῆ, κερδάναντάς τι πλέον καὶ μέγα, οὕτως ἀναχωρεῖν δεῖ. . . . τί μοι τῶν κρότων ὄφελος, κ. τ. λ.—See note (g) p. 600.

actions; of whom we have heard so much before. In one place, he more particularly reproaches them that absented from church with the example of the Jews, who could abstain from work for ten, twenty, or thirty days together without contradictionⁿ, at the command of their priests; and neither open their doors, nor light a fire, nor carry in water for any necessary use, which yet they submitted to, though it was an intolerable corporal slavery:—whereas Christians were only required to set apart one day in seven, and only two hours of the day, for religious assemblies, to obtain the greatest spiritual advantages to the soul; and yet they neglected such opportunities, and chose any meetings rather than the Church. St. Ambrose, in like manner, upbraids those who spent their time in talking in the church, from the example of the heathen^o, who revered their idols by their silence, whilst Christians even drowned the voice of the divine oracles, and the declaration of them, by their confused noise and confabulations in the church. This, Cæsarius^p tells them, “was in effect to

ⁿ Ibid. Hom. xviii. de Inscription. Altaris. (Bened. 1718. vol. iii. p. 53. A 7.) Οὐχ ὄρατε τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τοὺς θεομάχους, τοὺς ἀντιπίπτοντας τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, τοὺς σκληροτραχήλους; τούτων οἱ μὴ παραγενόμενοι πάντων χεῖρους εἰσίν. ἐκείνοις ἐὰν εἴπωσιν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἀργῆσαι, καὶ δέκα, καὶ εἴκοσι, καὶ τριάκοντα, οὐκ ἀντιλέγουσι. καὶ τοι τί τῆς ἀργίας ἐκείνης χαλεπώτερον; τὰς θύρας ἀποκλείουσι, καὶ οὔτε πῦρ καίουσιν, οὐχ ὕδωρ φέρουσιν, οὐκ ἄλλο τι πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν τὴν τοιαύτην μεταχειρίζων ἐφίενται· ἀλλ’ ἔστιν ἄλυσις αὐτοῖς ἡ ἀργία, καὶ οὐδὲ οὕτως ἀντιλέγουσιν. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον λέγω, ὅτι ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἄργησον, οὐδὲ δέκα ἡμέρας· ἀλλὰ δύο μοι δάνεισον ὥρας τῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς αὐτὸς ἔχει· καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτό μοι τὸ μέτρον εἰσφέρεις· μᾶλλον δὲ μὴ ἐμοὶ δανείσῃς τὰς δύο ὥρας, ἀλλ’ ἐαυτῷ ἵνα παράκλησίν τινα εὐχῆς δέξῃ Πατέρων, ἵνα εὐλογιῶν πεπληρωμένος ἀναχωρήσῃς, ἵνα πανταχόθεν ἀσφαλῆς ἀπέλθῃς, ἵνα τὰ ὄπλα λαβὼν τὰ πνευματικὰ ἀκαταγώνιστος γένη καὶ ἀχείρωτος τῷ διαβόλῳ. τί ἡδύτερον, εἰπέ μοι, τῆς ἐνταῦθα διαγωγῆς; εἰ γὰρ διημερεύειν ἐνταῦθα ἐχρῆν, τί σεμνότερον; τί ἀσφαλέστερον, ὅπου ἀδελφοὶ τοσοῦτοι, ὅπου τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὅπου Ἰησοῦς μέσος, καὶ ὁ τούτου Πατήρ; ποίαν ἑτέραν ζητεῖς συναγωγὴν τοιαύτην; ποῖον ἕτερον βουλευτήριον; ποίαν σύνοδον; τοσαῦτα ἀγαθὰ ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ, ἐν τῇ ἀκροάσει, ἐν ταῖς εὐλογίαις, ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς, ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις· καὶ σὺ πρὸς ἑτέρας βλέπεις διατριβὰς, καὶ ποίαν ἔχεις συγγνώμην;

^o Ambros. de Virgin. lib. iii. c. iii. (Paris. 1836. vol. iii. p. 244.) An quidquam est indignius, quam oracula divina circumstrepri, ne audiantur, ne credantur, ne revelentur: circumsonare sacramenta confusis vocibus, etc. Gentiles idolis suis reverentiam tacendo deferunt.

^p Cæsar. Arelat. Hom. xxxiv. (Max. Bibl. V. P. vol. viii. p. 353. H 2.) Qui

offer men poison or a sword. For such an one neither heard the word of God himself, nor suffered others to hear it: and such must expect not only to give account of their own, but other men's destruction, at the day of judgment." Origen^a and some others tell these men, their own practice, in another case, would rise up in judgment against them; for they themselves showed a great reverence to the body of Christ in the eucharist; and yet it was no less a piacular crime to show contempt to the word of God than to his body; and they would be held guilty for a disrespect in the one case as well as the other. Thus they showed men what reverence was due to the preaching of the word of God, by setting before them the sin and danger of those abuses some were apt to run into, by an error in defect and want of a just reverence to it.

SECT. XXXI.—*And, secondly, the intemperate Zealots, who placed all Religion in a Sermon.*

On the other hand, they were no less careful to guard men against superstition in the other extreme; for there was an error in excess, as well as in defect, of reverence for preaching. Some were so overrun with an indiscreet bigotry and intem-

in ecclesia ineptis et incongruis fabulis occupatur, quasi venenum et gladium reliquis hominibus ingerere vel præbere cognoscitur, dum verbum Dei nec ipse audit, neq̄ alios audire permittit. Qui enim talis est, et pro sua et pro aliorum destructione in die judicii redditurus est rationem.

^a Origen. Hom. xiii. in Exod. (Bened. 1733. vol. ii. p. 176. E 10.) Nostis qui divinis mysteriis interesse consuestis, quomodo, quum suscipitis corpus Domini, cum omni cautela et veneratione servatis, ne ex eo parum quid decidat, ne consecrati muneris aliquid dilabatur. Reos enim vos creditis, et recte creditis, si quid inde per negligentiam decidat. Quod si circa corpus ejus conservandum tanta utimini cautela, et merito utimini; quomodo putatis minoris esse piaculi verbum Dei neglexisse, quam corpus ejus?—Aug. Hom. xxvi. ex l. (Bened. 1679. vol. v. append. p. 504.) Interrogo vos, fratres vel sorores, dicite mihi, quid vobis plus esse videtur, verbum Dei an corpus Christi? Si verum vultis respondere, hoc utique dicere debetis, quod non sit minus verbum Dei quam corpus Christi. Et ideo quanta sollicitudine observamus, quando nobis corpus Christi ministratur, ut nihil ex ipso de nostris manibus in terram cadat; tanta sollicitudine observemus, ne verbum Dei, quod nobis erogatur, dum aliquid aut cogitamus, aut loquimur, de corde nostro pereat. Quia non minus reus erit, qui verbum Dei negligenter audierit, quam ille, qui corpus Christi in terram cadere negligentia sua permiserit.

perate zeal for preaching, as to reckon all other parts of divine service useless and insignificant, if they were not accompanied with a sermon. These men had their arguments to plead in their own behalf, which are thus proposed and answered by St. Chrysostom^r: “Why should I go to church, said they, if I cannot hear a preacher? This one thing,” says St. Chrysostom, “has ruined and destroyed all religion; for what necessity is there of a preacher? That necessity arises only from our sloth and negligence; for why, otherwise, should there be any need of a homily? All things are clear and open in the Holy Scriptures: all things necessary are plainly revealed. But because ye are hearers that study only to delight your ears and fancy, therefore ye desire these things. Tell me, I pray, with what pomp of words did St. Paul preach? and yet

^r Chrysostom. Hom. iii. in 2 Thess. (Bened. 1718. vol. xi. p. 528. B.) Τί εἰσέρχομαι, φησιν, εἰ οὐκ ἀκούω τινὸς ὁμιλοῦντος; τοῦτο πάντα ἀπόλωλε καὶ διέφθιρε· τί γὰρ χρεία ὁμιλητοῦ; Ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ῥαθυμίας αὕτη ἡ χρεία γέγονε. Διὰ τί γὰρ ὁμιλίας χρεία; πάντα σαφῆ καὶ εὐθέα τὰ παρὰ ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς· πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δῆλα· ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ τέρψεως ἔστε ἀκροαταί, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ταῦτα ζητεῖτε· εἰπέ γὰρ μοι, ποίῳ κόμπῳ λόγου Παῦλος ἔλεγεν; ἀλλ’ ὅμως τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπέστρεψε· ποίῳ δὲ Πέτρος ὁ ἀγράμματος; Ἄλλ’ οὐκ οἶδά, φησι, τὰ ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς κείμενα. διὰ τί οὐκ οἶδας; μὴ γὰρ Ἑβραῖστί; μὴ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖστί; μὴ γὰρ ἑτερογλώσσως εἴρηται; οὐχὶ Ἑλληνιστί λέγεται; ἀλλ’ ἀσαφῶς, φησι, ποῖον ἀσαφῶς, εἰπέ μοι; οὐχὶ ἱστορίαί εἰσὶν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς. εἰπέ μοι μίαν ἐξ ἐκείνων· ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔρεῖς· πρόφασιν ταῦτα καὶ λόγῳ καθ’ ἡμέραν, φησί, τὰ αὐτὰ ἔστιν ἀκούειν· τί δὲ, εἰπέ μοι, ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ ἀκούεις; ἐν ταῖς ἵπποδρομίαις οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ ὄρας; τὰ δὲ πράγματα πάντα οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔστιν; ὁ δὲ ἥλιος οὐχ ὁ αὐτὸς αἰεὶ ἀνατέλλει; τροφαῖς δὲ οὐ ταῖς αὐταῖς χρώμεθα; ἰβουλόμην σου πυθέσθαι, ἐπειδὴ τὰ αὐτὰ λέγεις ἀκούειν καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν· εἰπέ μοι, ποίου προφήτου ἔστι τὸ χωρίον τὸ ἀναγνωσθῆναι, καὶ ποίου ἀποστόλου, ἢ ποίας ἐπιστολῆς; ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ δοκεῖς ξένων ἀκούειν. ὅταν μὲν οὖν ῥαθυμῆσαι θέλῃς, τὰ αὐτὰ λέγεις εἶναι· ὅταν δὲ ἐρωτηθῆς, ὡς οὐδέποτε ἀκούσας διάκεισαι· εἰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔστιν, ἔχρησεν αὐτὰ εἰδέναι· σὺ δὲ ἀγνοεῖς. Θρήνων ἄξια τὰ παρόντα, θρήνων καὶ ὄντων, ὅτι εἰς κενὸν ἀργυροκόπος ἀργυροκοπεῖ· ταύτη μάλιστα ἐχρήσεν προσέχειν, ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ ἔστιν, ὅτι οὐδένα παρέχομεν ὑμῖν πόνον, οὐδὲ ξένα τινα καὶ ἐνηλλαγμένα λέγομεν. Τί οὖν; ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνα τὰ αὐτὰ λέγεις εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔστιν, αἰεὶ ξένα λέγομεν, τοῦτοις προσέχετε; οὐδαμῶς· ἀλλ’ ἂν μὲν εἴπωμεν, διὰ τί οὐδὲ ταῦτα κατέχετε; ἴπαξ, φησὶν, ἀκούομεν, καὶ πῶς ἐν κατασχεῖν; Ἄν εἴπωμεν, ἐκείνοις διὰ τί οὐ προσέχετε; φατε, αἰεὶ τὰ αὐτὰ λέγεται καὶ πάντοθεν ῥαθυμίας καὶ σκῆψεως τὰ ῥήματα.

he converted the world. What pomp did the illiterate Peter use? But, say they, 'We cannot understand the things that are written in Scripture.' Why so? Are they spoken in Hebrew, or Latin, or any other strange tongue? Are they not spoken in Greek, to you that understand the Greek tongue? 'Yea, but they are spoken darkly.' How darkly? What difficulties do the histories contain? You understand the plain places, that you may take pains, and inquire about the rest. There are a thousand histories in the Bible: tell me one of them. But you cannot tell one of these; therefore all this is mere pretence and words. 'Oh but,' say they, 'we have the same things read to us every day out of Scripture.' And do you not hear the same things every day in the theatre? Have you not the same sight at the horse-race? Are not all things the same? Does not the same sun rise every morning? Do you not eat the same meat every day? I would ask you, seeing you say you hear the same things every day, What portion of the prophets, what apostle, what epistle, was read? But you cannot tell: they are perfectly new and strange to you. When, therefore, you are disposed to be idle, you pretend the same things are read; but when you are asked concerning them, you are as men that never heard them. If they are the same, you should have known them, but you know nothing of them. This is a thing to be lamented, that the workman labours in vain: for this reason you ought to attend, because they are the same, because we bring nothing strange or new to your ears. What, then, because ye say the Scriptures are always the same, but what we preach are not so, but always contain something new, do ye attend to them? In no wise. And, if we ask you, 'Why do you not remember them?' ye answer, 'How should we, seeing we hear them but once?' If we say, 'Why do you not remember the Scriptures?' ye answer, 'They are always the same.' These are nothing but pretences for idleness, and mere indications of a sceptical temper." Thus that holy father rebukes that intemperate zeal, which set up preaching in opposition to reading of the Scriptures, under various pretences of their being obscure, or tedious repetitions of the same things; when, in truth, a fanatical affectation of novelty, and a fantastical scepticism, and a vicious desire of being freed from all the burden of

attending upon religious assemblies, was, really, at the bottom of all their objections.

SECT. XXXII.—*How Men were treated, who thought their Sermons too long.*

There is but one thing more to be observed upon this head, which is, that as there were some who complained that their sermons were not frequent enough, or too short; so there were others that complained they were too long, and were disposed to leave the assembly before sermon was ended. Some canons are pretty severe upon such auditors. The fourth Council of Carthage orders them to be proceeded against with excommunication^s; but others used a more gentle way, contenting themselves to admonish their auditors of their duty; and sometimes using ingenious stratagems, and feigned apologies, to detain them; and sometimes ordering the doors of the church to be kept shut till all was ended: which is particularly remarked of Cæsarius Arelatensis, by the author of his Life^t. St. Chrysostom considers the matter with some distinction: he makes some allowance for the weakness of such as were unable to hold out the whole time at a long sermon; and forasmuch as many were more desirous of long sermons than short ones, he thinks the matter was so to be ordered as to accommodate both. “Seeing there are some,” says he^u, “in so great a multitude, who cannot bear a long discourse, my advice to such is, that when they have

^s Conc. Carth. IV. c. xxiv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1202.) Sacerdote verbum faciente in ecclesia, qui egressus de auditorio fuerit, excommunicetur.

^t Cyprian. Vit. Cæsar. c. xii. Strepissime ostia, lectis evangelii, ocludi jussit; donec propitio Deo ipsi gratularentur, ea coërcitione se profecisse, qui solebant esse fugitivi.—Vid. Cæsar. Hom. xii. tot.

^u Chrysostom. Hom. ix. Dæmones non gubernare mundum, (Paris, 1837. vol. ii. p. 291. B 7.) Ἐπειδὴ συμβαίνει εἶναι τινὰς καὶ ἀσθενεῖς ἐν δῆμῳ τοσοῦτῳ, ἀδυνατοῦντας παρακολουθῆσαι τῷ μήκει τοῦ λόγου, ἐκείνο αὐτοῖς παραινέσαι βούλομαι ἀκούσαντας ὅσα δύναται δέξασθαι, καὶ τὰ ἀρκούντα λαβόντας ἀναχωρῆσαι [οὐδεὶς ὁ κωλύων, οὐδὲ βιαζόμενος πέρα τῆς οἰκείας μένους δυνάμεως] τὸν μὲν τοι λόγον μὴ ἀναγκαζέτωσαν πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ τῆς οἰκείας ὥρας συστήλλεσθαι ἐνεπλήσθης γὰρ σὺ ἄλλ’ ἀδελφός σου ἐτι πεινᾷ· καὶ σὺ μεθύεις τῷ πλήθει τῶν εἰρημένων ἄλλ’ ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἐτι διψᾷ, μήτε ἐκείνος συντριβέτω τὴν ἀσθενείαν, ἀναγκάζων πλείω τῆς οἰκείας δέξασθαι δυνάμεως· μήτε σὺ ἐπηρέαζε τῇ ἐκείνου ἐπιθυμίᾳ, κωλύων ἅπαν, ὅσον δύναται δέξασθαι, λαβεῖν. Τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξωθεν γίνεται τραπεζῶν· οἱ μὲν θᾶττον, οἱ δὲ βραδύτερον ἐμπίπλυνται· καὶ οὔτε οὔτοι

heard as much as they can contain, and as much as suffices them, they should depart (for no one hinders them, or compels them to stay longer than their strength is able to bear), that they may not impose a necessity on us of making an end before the proper time. For thou art satisfied, but thy brother is yet a-hungry; thou hast drunk thy fill of what is spoken, but thy brother is yet athirst; therefore neither let him burden thy weakness, by compelling thee to receive more than thy strength will bear; neither be thou injurious to his desire of hearing, by hindering him from taking as much as he is able to receive. For so it is at a common table, some are filled sooner, some later; and neither do these accuse those, nor they condemn the other. But there is a commendation to depart quickly; but here, to depart quickly, is not commendable, but only pardonable. To stay long at a carnal feast is a matter worthy of reproof, because it proceeds from an intemperate appetite; but to stay long at a spiritual feast, deserves the highest praise and commendation, because it proceeds from a spiritual desire and holy appetite, and argues patience and constancy in giving attention." Thus that holy father decides the controversy about long and short sermons, and prudently divides the matter between strong and weak hearers; commending the one, without condemning the other; and making some apology for the length of his sermons, without offence to either party. I shall make the same apology to my readers for the length of this chapter. If there be any whose curiosity leads them to know all that relates to the preaching of the ancients, they may read the whole, and, perhaps, they will not think it too long; but they whose appetite is not so sharp, may shorten it as they please, and accommodate it to their own use, by selecting such parts as are most agreeable to their own taste, and proper for their own instruction. And so I end the discourse about preaching in the ancient Church.

ἐγκαλοῦσιν ἐκείνοις, οὔτε οὗτοι τούτων καταγινώσκουσιν· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ μὲν τὸ ταχύτερον ἀποστῆναι, ἐγκώμιον ἐνταῦθα δὲ τὸ ταχύτερον ἀποστῆναι, οὐχὶ ἐγκώμιον, ἀλλὰ συγγνώμης ἄξιον ἐκεῖ τὸ βραδύτερον παύσασθαι, κατηγορία καὶ μέμψις· ἐνταῦθα τὸ βραδύτερον ἀποστῆναι, ἔπαινος καὶ εὐφημία μεγίστη· τί δήποτε; ὅτι ἐκεῖ μὲν ἐξ ἀδηφαγίας ἢ βραδύτης γίνεται· ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐξ ἐπιθυμίας πνευματικῆς καὶ θείας ὀρέξεως ἢ παραμονῆ καὶ ἡ καρτερία συνίσταται.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE PRAYERS FOR THE CATECHUMENS, ENERGUMENS, *COMPETENTES*, OR ‘CANDIDATES OF BAPTISM,’ AND THE PENITENTS.

SECT. I.—*That Prayers in the Ancient Church were not before, but after the Sermon.*

As soon as the sermon was ended, the public prayers of the Church began, and not before. For, anciently, the order of divine service was a little different in its method from what it is usually now in the Church. For, anciently, the greatest part of the public prayers came after sermon. This is expressly said by Justin Martyr, in his Apology, where he is giving an account of the Christian worship on the Lord’s day. He says ^a, “They first read the Scriptures; then the president or bishop made a discourse or exhortation; after which they rose up altogether and made their common prayers: and then when these were ended, the bishop prayed again, and gave thanks for the consecration of the bread and wine in the Eucharist, the people answering, ‘Amen.’” And so Chrysostom affirms also, saying in one place ^b, “The exhortation comes first, and then immediately prayer.” And in another place ^c, “You need both advice and prayer; therefore, we advise you first” (meaning in the sermon), “and then we make prayers for you: they that are initiated know what I say.” So that when Chrysostom or any others say, “prayer went before sermon,” they are to be understood either of that short salutation which the minister used at the entrance upon every office, “The Lord be with you,” the people answering, “And with thy spirit:” or of some short prayer of the preacher, or of the private prayers of people intermingled with the psalmody, and

^a Justin. See note (b) p. 354.

^b Chrysostom. Hom. xxviii. de Incomprehensibili Dei Natura, (Bened. vol. i. p. 469. D.) *πρότερον εὐχῆν, καὶ τότε λόγος.*

^c Ibid. Hom. xi. in 1 Thess. (Bened. vol. xi. p. 504. A 6.) *Μετὰ τὴν παραινέσιν καὶ εὐχὴν ἐπάγει, καὶ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι· δεῖ γὰρ καὶ συμβουλῆς, καὶ εὐχῆς· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς πρότερον συμβουλευόντες, τότε τὰς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν εὐχὰς ποιούμεθα· καὶ τοῦτο ἴσασι οἱ μεμνημένοι.*

not of common prayers of the Church. For many orders of men might be present at the sermon, and to hear the Scriptures read, who might not join in prayers with the faithful; and for that reason the sermon and reading of the Scriptures went before, that such persons might have the benefit of them who were to be dismissed when the prayers begun, because they had as yet no title to communicate in them.

SECT. II.—*Who might, or might not, be present at these Prayers. Infidels and mere Hearers obliged to withdraw.*

These prayers were of two sorts: prayers peculiar to the faithful or communicants only; at which neither catechumens, nor penitents, nor energumens, nor any persons yet unbaptized, might be present: and prayers made particularly for these several orders, at which, therefore, they were allowed to be present, and both hear the prayers, and pray for themselves. But even from these prayers some were obliged to withdraw, who were allowed to be present at sermons for their instruction. Such were all Jews and infidels, and such of the catechumens and penitents as were known by the distinct name of ἀκροώμενοι among the Greeks, and *audientes* among the Latins, that is, ‘hearers’ only: therefore, as soon as sermon was ended, before any of these prayers began in the service of the catechumens, a deacon was used to make proclamation from some eminency in the church, *Ne quis audientium, ne quis infidelium*; “Let none of the hearers, let none of the unbelievers, be present,” as it is worded in the Constitutions^d.

SECT. III.—*Of the Prayers for the Catechumens: the genuine Forms of them out of St. Chrysostom and the Constitutions.*

This said, and silence being made, the deacon cried again, “Pray, ye catechumens;” and, “Let all the faithful with attention pray for them, saying, Lord, have mercy upon them.” Then the deacon began a prayer for them, which, in the Constitutions, is called προσφώνησις ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηχομένων, ‘a bidding prayer for the catechumens,’ because it was both an

^d Constitut. Apostol. lib. viii. c. v. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 463. B.) Πληρώσαντος αὐτοῦ τὸν τῆς διδασκαλίας λόγον, ἀναστάντων ἀπάντων, ὁ διάκονος, ἐφ’ ἡψηλοῦ τινος ἀνελθὼν, κηρυττέτω, Μὴ τις τῶν ἀπίστων.

exhortation and direction how they were to pray for them. We have two ancient forms of this prayer still remaining ; one in St. Chrysostom, and another in the Constitutions : that in the Constitutions is in these words^e: “ Let us all beseech God for the catechumens; that he who is gracious, and a lover of mankind, would mercifully hearken to their supplications and prayers ; and accepting their petitions would help them, and grant them the requests of their souls according to what is expedient for them ; that he would reveal the Gospel of Christ to them ; that he would enlighten and instruct them, and teach them the knowledge of God and divine things ; that he would instruct them in his precepts and judgments ; that he would open the ears of their hearts to be occupied in his law day and night ; that he would confirm them in religion ; that he would unite them to, and number them with, his holy flock, vouchsafing them the laver of regeneration, with the garment of incorruption and true life ; that he would deliver them from all impiety, and give no place to the adversary to get advantage against them ; but that he would cleanse them from all pollution of flesh and spirit, and dwell in them, and walk in them, by his Christ ; that he would bless their going out and their coming in, and direct all their designs and purposes to their advantage. Further yet : let us earnestly pray for them, that

^e Ibid. c. vi. (vol. i. p. 463. C 2.) Ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηχομένων πάντες τὸν Θεὸν παρακαλέσωμεν, ἵνα ὁ ἀγαθὸς, φιλόανθρωπος, εὐμενῶς εἰσακούσῃ τῶν δεήσεων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν παρακλήσεων, καὶ προσδεξάμενος αὐτῶν τὴν ἱκεσίαν ἀντιλάβηται αὐτῶν, καὶ δὴ αὐτοῖς τὰ αἰτήματα τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ἀποκαλύψῃ αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, φωτίσῃ αὐτοὺς, καὶ συνετίσῃ· παιδεύσῃ αὐτοὺς τὴν θεογνωσίαν, διδάξῃ αὐτοὺς τὰ προστάγματα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα· ἐγκαταφυτεύσῃ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν ἀγνὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ σωτήριον φόβον, διανοίξῃ τὰ ὦτα τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ αὐτοῦ καταγινοσθαι ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός· βεβαιώσῃ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ, ἐνώσῃ καὶ ἐγκαταριθμήσῃ αὐτοὺς τῷ ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ ποιμνίῳ· καταξιώσας αὐτοὺς τοῦ λουτροῦ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας, τοῦ ἐνδύματος τῆς ἀφθαρσίας, τῆς ὄντως ζωῆς· ῥύσῃται δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ πάσης ἀσεβείας, καὶ μὴ δὴ τὸπον τῷ ἄλλοτρίῳ κατ’ αὐτῶν· καθάρισῃ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ παντός μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος· ἐνοικήσῃ τε ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσῃ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ· εὐλογήσῃ τὰς εἰσόδους αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους, καὶ κατευθύνῃ αὐτοῖς τὰ προκείμενα εἰς τὸ συμφέρον· ἔτι ἱκετεῦσωμεν, ἵνα ἀφέσεως τυχόντες τῶν πλημμελημάτων διὰ τῆς μνήσεως, ἀξιωθῶσι τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων, καὶ τῆς μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων διαμονῆς.

they may have remission of sins by the initiation of baptism, and be thought worthy of the holy mysteries, and remain among his saints.”

Then the deacon, addressing himself to the catechumens themselves, said ^f, “Catechumens, arise: Pray for the peace of God, that this day, and all the time of your life, may pass in quietness and without sin; that you may make a Christian end, and find God propitious and merciful, and obtain remission of your sins. Commend yourselves to the only unbegotten God by his Christ.”

To every petition of this bidding prayer, the people, and especially children ^g, are appointed to subjoin *Κύριε, ἐλέησον*, “Lord, have mercy upon them.”

After this the deacon bids them bow down and receive the bishop’s benediction; which is the following form of direct invocation ^h:

“O Almighty God, who art without original and inaccessible, the only true God; thou God and Father of Christ thy

^f Constitut. Apostol. lib. viii. c. vi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 463. E.) Ἐγείρεσθε οἱ κατηχούμενοι τὴν εἰρήνην τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ αἰτήσασθε, εἰρηνικὴν ἡμέραν καὶ ἀναμάρτητον καὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν, Χριστιανὰ ὑμῶν τὰ τέλη, ἴλεων καὶ εὐμενῆ τὸν Θεόν, ἄφεσιν πλημμελημάτων, ἑαυτοὺς τῷ μόνῳ ἀγεννήτῳ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ παράθεσθε.

^g Ibid. Ἐφ’ ἑκάστῳ δὲ τούτων, ὃν ὁ διάκονος προσφωνεῖ, λεγέτω ὁ λαὸς, Κύριε, ἐλέησον· καὶ πρὸ πάντων τὰ παιδία.

^h Constitut. Apostol. lib. viii. c. vi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 463. E 8.) Κλιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς, εὐλογεῖτω αὐτοὺς ὁ χειροτονηθεὶς ἐπίσκοπος εὐλογία τοιάνδε· Ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ Παντοκράτωρ, ὁ ἀγέννητος καὶ ἀπρόσιτος, ὁ μόνος ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς, ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, τοῦ μονογενοῦς Υἱοῦ σου, ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Παρακλήτου * καὶ τῶν ὄλων Κύριος· ὁ διὰ Χριστοῦ διδασ-

* This phrase, ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Παρακλήτου, and a like phrase, which occurs in the prayer of this author, in the daily evening service, (lib. viii. c. xxxvii.) where the Father is styled ὁ τοῦ Πνεύματος Κύριος, ‘the Lord of the Spirit,’ are harsh expressions, and not very usual in Catholic writers; which makes some suspect this author, as if he were tainted with the Macedonian heresy, which denies the divinity of the Holy Ghost, and makes him a mere creature. But this seems not to have been the intent of our author, who no where denies the true Divinity of the Son or Holy Ghost, but only gives such titles of pre-eminence to the Father, as Justin Martyr did before him, in regard to the Father’s being the fountain of the Deity, and the origin of existence in the Son and Holy Spirit, not as creatures, but as his eternal Son and eternal Holy Spirit, equal to him in all essential perfections, but only deriving those Divine perfections from him, as

only begotten Son, God of the Comforter, and Lord of all things; who by Christ didst make learners become teachers for the propagation of Christian knowledge; look down now upon these thy servants, who are learning the instructions of the Gospel of thy Christ; and give them a new heart, and renew a right spirit within them, that they may know and do thy will with a perfect heart and a willing mind. Vouchsafe them thy holy baptism, and unite them to thy holy Church, and make them partakers of thy holy mysteries, through Christ our Hope, who died for them, by whom be glory and worship unto thee, world without end. Amen." After this, let the deacon say, "Catechumens, depart in peace."

St. Chrysostom, in one of his homilies, gives us a like form of the deacon's bidding prayer for the catechumens. "The law of the Church," says heⁱ, "moves the faithful to

κάλους τοὺς μαθητὰς ἐπιστήσας πρὸς μάθησιν τῆς εὐσεβείας, αὐτοὺς καὶ νῦν ἔπιδε ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους σου, τοὺς κατηχουμένους τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ δὸς αὐτοῖς καρδίαν καινὴν, καὶ πνεῦμα εὐθὲς ἐγκαίμισον ἐν τοῖς ἐγκάτοις αὐτῶν, πρὸς τὸ εἶδέναι καὶ ποιεῖν τὸ θέλημά σου, ἐν καρδίᾳ πλήρει καὶ ψυχῇ θελοῦσθ' καταξίωσον αὐτοὺς τῆς ἁγίας μνήσεως, καὶ ἔνωσον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ σου ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ μετόχους ποίησον τῶν θείων μυστηρίων, διὰ Χριστοῦ, τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν, τοῦ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντος· δι' οὗ σοὶ δόξα καὶ τὸ σέβας, ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, Ἀμήν· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ διάκονος λεγέτω, Προέλθετε, κατηχούμενοι.

ⁱ Chrysostom. Hom. ii. in 2 Cor. (Benēd. 1718. vol. x. p. 435. B 2.) Τοὺς πιστοὺς ὁ νόμος διεγείρει πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀμυήτων ἰκετηρίαν. ὅταν γὰρ ὁ διάκονος λέγῃ, Ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηχουμένων ἐκτενωῶς δεηθῶμεν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ τὸν δῆμον ὑπαντα τῶν πιστῶν διανίστησιν εἰς τὰς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων εὐχὰς. καίτοι

the Author and Fountain of their being, as God of God, and Light of Light, by eternal generation and procession. In this sense, Bishop Bull has observed, that Justin Martyr, in his Dialogue with Tryphon, p. 358, uses the very same expression, in speaking of the Son, as our author does of the Spirit: for he says, the Father is Κυρίου Κύριος, ὡς Πατὴρ καὶ Θεός, αἰτιός τε αὐτῷ τοῦ εἶναι, καὶ δυνατῷ, καὶ Κυρίῳ, καὶ Θεῷ, "The Lord of the Lord, as Father and God, and cause of his being, of and from whom he has even this, that he is omnipotent, and Lord, and God." Where Bishop Bull rightly observes, that God the Father is said to be God and Lord of his Son, not as he is Lord of the creatures, but *quatenus est fons Divinitatis et causa Filio, ut sit*, "as he is the fountain of the Deity, and cause of his Son's existence:" which does not make the Son a creature, but the true, consubstantial, and eternal Son of God; or, as our author expresses himself accurately elsewhere, he is hereby Θεὸς μονογενής, "God the only-begotten;" that is, the true Son of the Father, who is styled Lord of the Son, not as a Creator, but as a Father.

pray for those who are yet unbaptized. For when the deacon says, ‘ Let us pray fervently for the catechumens,’ he does nothing else but excite the whole multitude of the faithful to pray for them ; for the catechumens are as yet aliens ; they are not yet engrafted into the body of Christ, nor made partakers of the holy mysteries, but remain divided from the spiritual flock. And for that reason he says, ‘ Let us pray fervently,’ that you may not reject them as aliens, that you may not disown them as strangers ; for they are not yet allowed to use the prayer that was introduced and established by the law of Christ [he means the Lord’s Prayer] : they have not yet liberty or confidence enough to pray for themselves, but need the help of those that are already initiated ; for they stand without the royal gates, and at a distance from the holy rails ; and for that reason are sent away when the Tremendous Prayers are offered at the altar. Upon this

γε ἀλλότριοι τέως εἰσὶν οἱ κατηχούμενοι. οὐδέπω γὰρ τοῦ σώματος εἰσι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐδέπω μυστηρίων ἐκοινωνήσαν, ἀλλ’ ἔτι διηρημένοι τυγχάνουσι τῆς ἀγέλης τῆς πνευματικῆς. . . . διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκτενῶς, φησι, δεηθῶμεν, ἵνα μὴ ὡς ἀλλοτρίους ἀποποιήσῃ, ἵνα μὴ ὡς ξένους ἀγνοήσῃ. οὐδέπω γὰρ εὐχὴν ἔχουσι τὴν νενομισμένην καὶ εἰσενεχθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐδέπω παρρησίαν κέκτηνται, ἀλλ’ ἐτέρων δεόνται τῶν μυσταγωγηθέντων. ἕξω γὰρ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐστήκασι αὐλῶν, πόρρω τῶν ἱερῶν περιβόλων. . . . διὰ τοῦτο καὶ σε, παρακαλεῖ, δεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ἵνα μέλη γίνωνται σά, ἵνα μὴ ἔτι ὡς ξένοι καὶ ἠλλοτριωμένοι. τὸ γὰρ, Δεηθῶμεν, οὐ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι λέγεται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς εἰς τὸν λαὸν συντελοῦσιν· ὅταν γὰρ εἴπῃ, “ Στώμεν καλῶς, δεηθῶμεν,” πάντας εἰς τὴν εὐχὴν παρακαλεῖ. εἶτα ἀρχόμενος τῆς εὐχῆς φησὶν, “ Ἴνα ὁ πανελεήμων καὶ οἰκτίρμων Θεὸς ἐπακούσῃ τῶν δεήσεων αὐτῶν ἵνα διανοίξῃ τὰ ᾧα τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν· ὥστε ἀκοῦσαι ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε, καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσε, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη· καὶ κατηχήσῃ αὐτοὺς τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας· ἵνα κατασπείρῃ τὸν φόβον αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ βεβαιώσῃ τὴν πίστιν αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς διανοίαις αὐτῶν ἵνα ἀποκαλύψῃ αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς δικαιοσύνης· ἵνα αὐτοῖς δοίῃ νοῦν ἕνθεον, σώφρονα λογισμὸν, καὶ ἐνάρετον πολιτείαν· διαπαντὸς τὰ αὐτοῦ νοεῖν, τὰ αὐτοῦ φρονεῖν, τὰ αὐτοῦ μελετᾶν· ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ αὐτοῦ καταγίνεσθαι· ἔτι ἐκτενέστερον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν παρακαλέσωμεν, ἵνα ἐξέλθῃται αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ ἀτόπου πράγματος, ἀπὸ παντὸς ἁμαρτήματος διαβολικοῦ, καὶ πάσης περιστάσεως τοῦ ἀντικειμένου· ἵνα καταξιώσῃ αὐτοὺς ἐν καιρῷ εὐθέτῳ τῆς τοῦ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας, τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, τοῦ ἐνδύματος τῆς ἀφθαρσίας· ἵνα εὐλογήσῃ τὰς εἰσόδους αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους, πάντα τὸν βίον αὐτῶν, τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς οἰκειάς· τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν ἵνα αὐξήσας εὐλογήσῃ, καὶ εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας ἀγαγὼν σοφίσῃ ἵνα κατευθύνῃ αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ προκείμενα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον.

account, the deacon exhorts you to pray for them, that they may be made members, and be no longer foreigners and aliens. For that word, ‘Let us pray,’ is not spoken to the priests only, but also to the people: for when he says, *Στῶμεν καλῶς, δεηθῶμεν*, ‘Let us stand decently, Let us pray,’ he exhorts all to pray: and then he begins the prayer in these words:

“That the merciful and gracious God would vouchsafe to hear their prayers; that he would open the ears of their hearts, that they may hear what ‘eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man;’ that he would instil into them the word of his truth; that he would sow the word of his truth in their hearts, and confirm his faith in their minds; that he would reveal unto them the Gospel of righteousness; that he would give them a divine and heavenly mind, pure and holy thoughts, and a virtuous conversation; always to mind, always to regard and meditate upon the things that belong to him, and to be occupied in his law day and night. Let us pray yet more ardently for them, that he would deliver them from all evil and absurd employments, from all diabolical sin, and all the circumventions of the adversary; that he would vouchsafe to bring them in due time to the laver of regeneration, and grant them remission of sins, and the clothing of incorruption; that he would, during their whole lives, bless their going out and their coming in, their houses and families; that he would increase and bless their children, and bring them to the measure of perfect age with the instruction of wisdom; and that he would direct all their purposes to their advantage.”

After this the deacon bids them rise up and pray for themselves, dictating what they were to pray for^j: “Pray, ye catechumens, for the angel of peace, that all your purposes may be peaceably directed: pray that this present day, and all the days of your lives, may be spent in peace, and that you may

^j Chrysostom. Hom. ii. in 2 Cor. (Bened. 1718. vol. x. p. 440. A 9.) Τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς εἰρήνης αἰτήσατε, οἱ κατηχούμενοι εἰρηνικὰ ὑμῖν πάντα τὰ προκείμενα· εἰρηνικὴν τὴν παροῦσαν ἡμέραν καὶ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν αἰτήσασθε· Χριστιανὰ ὑμῶν τὰ τέλη· ἑαυτοὺς ζῶντι Θεῷ καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ αὐτοῦ παραθίσθαι.

make a Christian end. Commend yourselves to the living God and to his Christ.”

“ This being done,” says Chrysostom^k, “ we bid them bow their heads and receive the benediction of God, as a sign that their prayers are heard ; for it is not man that blesses them, but by his hands and tongue we present their heads as they stand there to the heavenly King : and then all the congregation with a loud voice cry out, ‘ Amen.’ ”

Here is a plain account of the second prayer that was made for the catechumens by the bishop, which is styled here, as it is also in the Constitutions, ‘ the bishop’s commendation,’ or ‘ benediction.’

Learned men think this homily was preached by Chrysostom, when he was bishop of Constantinople. And, if so, we must conclude that these prayers were the forms that were used then in the Liturgy of Constantinople.

SECT. IV.—*What meant by their praying for the Angel of Peace, in this Form of Prayer.*

And I the rather incline to this opinion, because there is some little difference between this form of Chrysostom’s, and that in the Constitutions. For in this of Chrysostom’s, the catechumens are bid to pray for the angel of peace, which is not mentioned in the form of the Constitutions ; though it be in another place^l, where directions are given for the ordinary morning and evening service. St. Chrysostom often mentions this same petition for the angel of peace, in his other homilies. As in his third homily upon the Colossians, where he

^k Ibid. (p. 440. D 2.) Εἶτα κλῖναι τὰς κεφαλὰς κελεύομεν, τεκμήριον τοῦ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀκουσθῆναι, ποιούμενοι τὸ τὸν Θεὸν εὐλογεῖν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν ὁ εὐλογῶν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἐκείνου χειρὸς, καὶ γλώττης, αὐτῷ προσάγομεν τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν παρεστῶτων, καὶ ἐπιβοῶσιν ἅπαντες τὸ, Ἄμήν.

^l Constitut. lib. viii. c. xxxvi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 499.) Ἀναστάντες αἰτησώμεθα τὰ ἔλεη τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ τοὺς οἰκτιρμοὺς αὐτοῦ· τὸν ἄγγελον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, κ. τ. λ.—Cap. xxxvii. (p. 502.) Αἰτησώμεθα παρὰ Κυρίου τὰ ἔλεη αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς οἰκτιρμοὺς, τὸν ὄρθρον τοῦτον καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν, εἰρημικὴν καὶ ἀναμάρτητον, καὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον τῆς παρεπιδημίας ἡμῶν, τὸν ἄγγελον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, Χριστιανὰ τὰ τέλη, ἴλεων καὶ εὐμενῇ τὸν Θεόν.

says^m, “ Every man has angels attending him, and also the devil very busy about him. Therefore we pray, and make our supplications for the angel of peace.” And so in his sermon upon the Ascensionⁿ: speaking of the air being filled with good and bad angels, the one always raising war and discord in the world, and the other inclining men to peace, he tells his auditory, “ they might know there were angels of peace, by hearing the deacons always, in their prayers, bidding men pray for the angel of peace.” This undoubtedly refers to the fore-mentioned form of prayer, wherein the catechumens are directed to ask of God the protection of the angel of peace. In like manner, in another place^o, “ When the deacon bids men pray with others, he enjoins them this among the rest of their petitions, to pray for the angel of peace; and that all their purposes may be peaceably directed.” Which are the very words of the catechumens’ prayer above said.

The design of all which was, not to teach their catechumens to pray to their guardian angels (according to the modern way of instructing in the Romish Church^p; though this had been a very proper season to have admonished the catechumens of it, had there been any such practice in the ancient Church); but it was to teach them to pray to the God of angels: that he who makes his angels to encamp about his servants, would, by their ministry, defend them from the incursions of wicked spirits, those fomenters of war, and division, and enmity among

^m Chrysostom. Hom. iii. in Coloss. (Bened. vol. xi. p. 347. D.) *Διὰ τοῦτο εὐχόμεθα καὶ λέγομεν αἰτοῦντες τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς εἰρήνης.*

ⁿ Ibid. Hom. xxxv. in Adscension. Domini. (Bened. 1718. vol. ii. p. 448. D 7.) *Καὶ ἵνα μάθης, ὅτι ἄγγελοι εἰρήνης εἰσὶν, ἄκουσον ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς αἰεὶ λεγόντων τῶν διακόνων, Τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς εἰρήνης αἰτήσατε.*

^o Ibid. Hom. lii. in eos qui Pascha jejulant. (Bened. vol. i. p. 614. C 6.) *Ὁ διάκονος κελεύων εὐχεσθαι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιτάττει κατὰ τὴν εὐχὴν, αἰτεῖν τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς εἰρήνης, καὶ τὰ προκείμενα πάντα εἰρηνικά.*

^p Vid. Drexel. de Cultu Coelitem, lib. ii. c. iii. n. iii. (p. 184, Colon. 1634.) Guilielmus Baldesanus, scriptor insigniter eruditus et pius, hoc ipsum disertè docet, ante coelites alios omnes, beatissimam matrem Virginem, et secundum hanc, purissimos illos genios, nobilissimos caeli ephebos, angelos, veneratione singulari adficiendos. Multum debemus angelis, multum supra omnem modum, et praesertim suo quisque tutelari angelo, etc.

men, and so keep them, and all their purposes, in a course of perpetual and uninterrupted peace, that they might finally make a Christian and a peaceable end.

SECT. V.—*Children, in some Churches, appointed to say this Prayer with the rest of the People.*

Another thing wherein the form in the Constitutions differs from that in St. Chrysostom, is, that it appoints the children of the Church, particularly and more especially, to join in this common prayer for the catechumens; whereas the form used in St. Chrysostom's church mentions no such thing: and Chrysostom himself, in another place, says plainly^q, “that children were not called upon to join in the prayers for the energumens and penitents” (which were of the same sort with these for the catechumens) “but only in the prayers for the communicants at the altar.” As these differences prove the two forms not to belong to the liturgy of one and the same Church, so they make it probable, that St. Chrysostom gives us the form used in the Church of Constantinople, and the author of the Constitutions the form that was used at Antioch or some other eminent Church, whose rituals he transcribed and put together.

SECT. VI.—*What Notice we have of this Prayer in other ancient Writings.*

Now, by having fixed this prayer in its proper place, we may interpret all other passages in the ancient writers, which speak of praying over the catechumens, or praying with them. As that of the Council of Nice, which orders^r, “that if any of those, who were catechumens properly so called, that is, of that rank who had these prayers said over them, became lapsers, then they should, for three years, be thrust down to the rank of hearers only, and, after that, be admitted to pray with the catechumens again.” And that canon of the Council of Neocæsarea, which orders^s, “that if any such cate-

^q Chrysost. See note (y) p. 289.

^r Conc. Nicæn. c. xiv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 36.) Περὶ τῶν κατηχομένων καὶ παραπεσόντων, ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ ὥστε τριῶν ἐτῶν αὐτοὺς ἀκρωμένους μόνον, μετὰ ταῦτα εὐχεσθαι μετὰ τῶν κατηχομένων.

^s Conc. Neocæsar. c. v. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1481.) Κατηχούμενος ἂν εἰς-

chumens, as were called γόνυ κλίνοντες, that is, *prostrators*, or ‘kneelers,’ who bowed down to have these prayers said over them, should fall into any scandalous sin, then they should be excluded from the prayers, and be ranked among the hearers only: and if they fell again when they were hearers, they should be excluded from the very entrance of the church.”

SECT. VII.—*Of the Prayers for the Energumens, or Persons possessed by Evil Spirits. The Forms of these Prayers.*

The next sort of persons for whom prayers were now made, were the energumens, that is, such persons as were seized or possessed by an evil spirit. For though these were under the peculiar care of the exorcists, an order set apart particularly to attend them, and pray over them in private, as has been showed more fully in a former Book^t, yet their case being pitiable and deplorable, it was thought an act of becoming mercy and charity, to let them have the public prayers of the Church, and grant them liberty to be present at such prayers as immediately respected their condition. Therefore, as soon as the deacon had dismissed the catechumens with the usual form, “Catechumens, depart in peace,” he said again, “Pray, ye energumens, who are vexed with unclean spirits.” And exhorting the congregation also, he said^u, “Let us ardently pray for them,” (as the form of this bidding-prayer runs in the Constitutions,) “that the merciful God, through Christ, would rebuke the unclean and evil spirits, and deliver

ερχόμενος εἰς κυριακὸν ἐν τῇ τῶν κατηχομένων τάξει στήκῃ, οὗτος δὲ ἁμαρτάνων ἐὰν μὲν γόνυ κλίνων, ἀκροάσθω μηκέτι ἁμαρτάνων ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἀκροώμενος ἔτι ἁμαρτάνῃ, ἐξωθείσθω.

^t Book iii. c. iv. sect. vi. and vii. vol. i. p. 369.

^u Constitut. lib. viii. c. vi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 466. A 11.) Μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ διάκονος λεγέτω Προίεθετε οἱ κατηχούμενοι, ἐν εἰρήνῃ. καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐξελεθεῖν αὐτοὺς, λεγέτω Εὐξασθε οἱ ἐνεργούμενοι ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων· ἔκτενωσ ἅπαντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δεηθῶμεν· ὅπως ὁ φιάνθρωπος Θεὸς διὰ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτιμήσῃ τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις καὶ πονηροῖς πνεύμασι· καὶ ῥύσῃται τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἰκέτας ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἄλλοτρίου καταδυναστείας· ὁ ἐπιτιμήσας τῷ λεγεῶνι τῶν δαιμόνων, καὶ τῷ ἀρχεκάκῳ διαβόλῃ, ἐπιτιμήσῃ αὐτοὺς καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἀποστάταις τῆς εὐσεβείας· καὶ ῥύσῃται τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πλάσματα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνεργείας αὐτοῦ· καὶ καθάρισῃ αὐτὰ, ἃ μετὰ πολλῆς σοφίας ἐποίησεν· ἔτι ἔκτενωσ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δεηθῶμεν· σῶσον καὶ ἀνάστησον αὐτοὺς, ὁ Θεὸς, ἐν τῇ δυνάμει σου.

his supplicants from the oppression and tyranny of the adversary ; that he who rebuked the legion of devils, and the prince of devils, the fountain of evil, would now rebuke these apostates from piety, and deliver the works of his own hands from the molestations and agitations of Satan, and cleanse them which he hath created in great wisdom. Let us, further, most earnestly pray for them. Save them, and raise them up, O God, by thy power."

Then he bids them bow down their heads, and receive the bishop's benediction, which is, in the following form of words, immediately addressed to Christ^v :

"O thou only-begotten God, the Son of the great Father ; thou that bindest the strong one, and spoilest his goods ; that givest power unto us to tread on serpents, scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy ; that hast delivered up the murdering serpent unto us a prisoner, as a sparrow unto children ; thou, before whom all things shake and tremble at the presence of thy power ; that makest Satan to fall from heaven to the earth as lightning, not by a local fall, but by a fall from honour to disgrace, because of his voluntary malice ; thou whose looks dry up the deep, and threatenings make the mountains melt, whose truth endures for ever ; whom infants praise, and sucklings bless, and angels celebrate and adore ; that lookest upon the earth, and makest it tremble ; that touchest the mountains, and they smoke ; that rebukest the sea, and driest it up, and turnest the rivers into a wilderness ;

^v Ibid. c. vii. (p. 466.) 'Ο τὸν ἰσχυρὸν δήσας, καὶ πάντα τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ διαρπάσας· ὁ δοὺς ἡμῖν ἐξουσίαν ἐπάνω ὄφρων καὶ σκορπίων πατεῖν, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ· ὁ τὸν ἀνθρωποκτόνον ὄφιν δεσμώτην παραδοὺς ἡμῖν, ὡς στρουθίον παιδίους· ὃν πάντα φρίττει καὶ τρέμει, ἀπὸ προσώπου δυνάμεώς σου· ὁ ῥήξας αὐτὸν ὡς ἀστραπὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εἰς γῆν, οὐ τοπικῶ ῥήγματι, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τιμῆς εἰς ἀτιμίαν, δι' ἐκούσιον αὐτοῦ κακόνοϊαν· οὐ τὸ βλέμμα ξηραίνει ἀβύσσους, καὶ ἡ ἀπειλή τήκει ὄρη, καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα· ὃν αἰνεῖ τὰ νήπια, καὶ εὐλογεῖ τὰ θηλάζοντα· ὃν ὑμνοῦσι καὶ προσκυνοῦσιν ἄγγελοι· ὁ ἐπιβλέπων ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ποιῶν αὐτὴν τρέμειν· ὁ ἀπτόμενος τῶν ὀρέων, καὶ καπνίζονται· ὁ ἀπειλῶν θαλάσση, καὶ ξηραίνων αὐτήν, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ποταμοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐξηρημῶν· οὗ νεφέλαι κοινορτὸς τῶν ποδῶν· ὁ περιπατῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης, ὡς ἐπ' ἐδάφους· μονογενὴς Θεὸς, μεγάλου Πατρὸς Υἱὸς, ἐπιτίμησον τοῖς πονηροῖς πνεύμασι, καὶ ῥῦσαι τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου πνεύματος ἐνεργείας· ὅτι σοι δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ σέβας, καὶ διὰ σου τῷ Πατρὶ, ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· Ἀμήν.

that maketh the clouds to be the dust of thy feet, and walkest upon the sea as upon a pavement ; rebuke the evil spirits, and deliver the works of thy hands from the vexation of the adverse spirit : for to thee belongs glory, honour, and adoration, and, by thee, to thy Father in the Holy Spirit, world without end. Amen.”

SECT. VIII.—*An Account of these Prayers, out of St. Chrysostom and others.*

St. Chrysostom has not this whole form, but he often refers to it as one of the public prayers of the Church. “Common prayers,” says he ^w, “are made by the priests and people together for the energumens, and for the penitents ; we all say one and the same prayers, the prayer that is so full of mercy.” And, again ^x, “For this reason, the deacon, at this time, brings those that are vexed with evil spirits, and commands them to bow down their heads only, and, in that posture of body, make their supplications. For they may not pray with the whole congregation of the brethren. And, for this reason, he presents them before you, that you, having mercy on them, both in regard of their vexation, and their disability to speak for themselves, may, by your freedom of access, give them patronage and assistance.” In another place ^y he more fully explains the reason why this prayer for

^w Chrysostom. Hom. xviii. in 2 Cor. (Bened. 1718. vol. x. p. 568. C.) Ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ, κοιναὶ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἱερέως, καὶ παρ’ αὐτῶν γίνονται αἱ εὐχαὶ, καὶ πάντες μίαν λέγουσιν εὐχὴν, εὐχὴν τὴν ἐλείου γέμουσαν.

^x Ibid. Hom. iii. de Incomprehensibili Dei Natura. (Bened. vol. i. p. 470. E 3.) Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἐνεργουμένους κατ’ ἐκείνους ἴστησιν τὸν καιρὸν ὁ διάκονος, καὶ κελεύει κλῖναι τὴν κεφαλὴν μόνον, καὶ τῷ σχήματι ποιῆσθαι τοῦ σώματος τὰς ἱκετηρίας· εὐχεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς μετὰ τοῦ κοινου συλλόγου τῶν ἀδελφῶν οὐ θέμις· διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὺς ἴστησιν, ἵνα κατελείψας αὐτοὺς, καὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς, καὶ τῆς ἀφωνίας, τῇ οἰκείᾳ παρῆρησίᾳ πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀποχρήσῃ προστασίαν.

^y Chrysostom. Hom. iv. de Incomprehensibili Dei Natura. (Bened. 1718. vol. i. p. 477. B 7.) Ἄλυσιν πονηρὰ καὶ χαλεπὴ τῶν δαιμόνων ἐστὶν ἢ ἐνέργεια, ἄλυσιν παντὸς σιδήρου δυνατωτέρα καθάπερ οὖν δικαστοῦ πρόοδον ἔχοντος, καὶ ἐφ’ ὑψηλοῦ τοῦ βήματος καθέζεσθαι μέλλοντος, οἱ δεσμοφύλακες τοὺς τὸ δεσμοτήριον οἰκοῦντας ἅπαντας ἐξαγαγόντες τοῦ οἰκήματος, πρὸ τῶν κίγκλιδων καὶ τῶν τοῦ δικαστηρίου παραπετασμάτων καθίζουσιν αὐχμῶντας, ῥυπῶντας, κομῶντας, ῥάκια περιβεβλημένους· οὕτω δὴ καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἐνομοθέτησαν, τοῦ Χριστοῦ μέλλοντος ὥσπερ ἐφ’ ὑψηλοῦ προ-

the demoniacs came before the oblation of the eucharist, and why at that time the deacon commanded them to be brought forth and bow their heads. "Their being possessed of the devil," says he, "is a cruel and grievous chain, a chain harder than any iron. As, therefore, when a judge is about to come forth, and sit upon the judgment-seat, the keepers of the prison bring forth all the prisoners, and place them before the rails and curtains of the tribunal, in all their filth and nastiness, with their hair undressed, and clothed in rags; so our forefathers appointed, that when Christ was, in a little time, about to sit, as it were, upon his high throne, and shortly to appear in the holy mysteries, then the demoniacs should be brought forth as so many prisoners in chains, not to be condemned or suffer punishment for their sins, as other prisoners; but that when the people and whole city are present together in the church, common prayer might be made for them, whilst they all with one consent besought the common Lord for them; and, with loud voices, entreated him to show mercy on them." Here, though he does not specify the whole form, yet he plainly intimates both the time, and subject-matter of the prayer, and also the manner of the address; that it was a prayer sent up by the common voice of the people, some time before the appearance of Christ in the eucharist, and that as an address to God to implore his mercy on those pitiable objects that lay in that forlorn condition before him. In which respect, he elsewhere styles it 'the first prayer,' saying^z, "The first prayer is full of mercy, when we pray for the energumens. The second, also, wherein we pray for the penitents, sues equally for mercy. And the third, when we pray for

καθίζεσθαι βήματος, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν φαίνεσθαι τῶν μυστηρίων, τοὺς δαιμονῶντας καθάπερ δεσμώτας τινας εἰσάγεσθαι, οὐχ ἵνα εὐθύνας ὑπόσχωσι τῶν πεπλημμελημένων, καθάπερ ἐκεῖνοι οἱ δεδεμένοι, οὐδ' ἵνα κόλασιν ὑπομείνωσι καὶ τιμωρίαν, ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀπάσης ἔνδον παρούσης κοινὰ περὶ αὐτῶν ἰκετηρίαὶ γίνωνται, πάντων ὁμοθυμαδὸν τὸν κοινὸν δεσπότην ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐξαιτουμένων, καὶ ἐλεῆσαι παρακαλούντων μετὰ σφοδρᾶς τῆς βοῆς.

^z Chrysostom. Hom. lxxi. al. lxxii. in Matth. (Bened. 1718. vol. vii. p. 699. E 3.) Ἡ πρώτη δέησις ἐλέους γέμει, ὅταν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων παρακαλῶμεν· καὶ ἡ δευτέρα πάλιν, ὑπὲρ ἑτέρων, τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ, πολὺ τὸ ἔλεος ἐπιζητούσα· καὶ ἡ τρίτη δὲ πάλιν, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ αὕτη τὰ παιδία τοῦ δήμου προβάλλεται, τὸν Θεὸν ἐπὶ ἔλεον παρακαλοῦντα.

ourselves, presents the children of the people before God, crying out to him for mercy." Where, by the first prayer, he does not absolutely mean the first prayer that was made in this part of divine service; for it is plain, the prayer for the catechumens came before it: but because the energumens were in a more miserable condition than the catechumens, and greater objects of pity than they were, he therefore styles the prayer for them 'the first prayer of mercy,' as he does the prayer for the penitents, 'the second prayer for mercy,' though it was in order the fourth; and the prayer for the faithful, 'the third prayer for mercy,' though it belonged to another part of the service, of which we shall speak more particularly in the first chapter of the next Book.

SECT. IX.—*Of the third sort of Prayers, for the Competentes, or 'Candidates of Baptism.'*

The third prayer that came in the ordinary course of this part of the service, was the prayer for the *competentes*, or 'candidates of baptism,' that is, such as had now given in their names, and expressed their desire of receiving baptism at the next approaching festival. This, I conceive, was but an occasional prayer, appropriated to certain seasons, as the time between Mid-Lent and Easter-day, or other solemn times of baptism, when men were more than ordinarily intent in preparing themselves for the reception of that sacred mystery. The forms of these kind of prayers we have also in the Constitutions^a, where, as soon as the deacon has dismissed the energumens, he is appointed to cry out, Εὔξασθε οἱ φωτιζόμενοι, "Pray, ye candidates of baptism:" "And we that are already believers, let us ardently pray for them; that the Lord would make them worthy to be baptized into the death of Christ, and to rise again with him, and to be made members of his kingdom, and partakers of his mysteries; that he would unite

^a Constitut. lib. viii. c. vii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 466. E.) Εὔξασθε οἱ φωτιζόμενοι ἔκτενωσ ὁ πιστοὶ πάντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν παρακαλίσωμεν, ὅπως ὁ Κύριος καταξιώσῃ αὐτοὺς μνηθέντας εἰς τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ θάνατον συναναστῆναι αὐτῷ, καὶ μετόχους γενέσθαι τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, καὶ κοινωνοὺς τῶν μυστηρίων αὐτοῦ, ἐνώσῃ καὶ συγκαταλέξῃ αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν σωζομένων ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ· σῶσον καὶ ἀνάστησον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ σῇ χάριτι.

them to his holy Church, and number them with those that shall be saved therein. Save them, and raise them up by thy grace.”

Then they are ordered to bow down their heads, and receive the bishop's benediction, which is expressed in the following words ^b:—

“ O God, who didst, by the prediction of thy holy prophets, say to them that are to be initiated, ‘ Wash ye, make you clean ;’ and, by Christ, didst appoint a spiritual regeneration ; look down now upon these persons, who are to be baptized ; bless and sanctify them ; fit and prepare them, that they may be worthy of thy spiritual gift, and the true adoption of sons, and thy spiritual mysteries, and be deservedly numbered among those that are saved, by Christ our Saviour, through whom be all glory, honour, and adoration unto thee and the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen.”

I have nothing further to remark concerning these prayers, because neither Chrysostom, nor any other ancient writer, as far as I know, have said any thing particularly about them. Only this author, in another place^c, makes them part of the daily morning and evening service, as has been noted before in speaking of that, under a former head. It is probable, in many Churches, they were included in the forms for the catechumens in general. For the Council of Laodicea^d, which

^b Constitut. lib. viii. c. viii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 466.) ‘Ο προειπόν διά τῶν ἁγίων σου προφητῶν τοῖς μνουμένοις· Λούσασθε, καθαροὶ γίνεσθε· καὶ διά τοῦ Χριστοῦ νομοθετήσας τὴν πνευματικὴν ἀναγέννησιν· αὐτοὺς καὶ νῦν ἔπιθε ἐπὶ τοὺς βαπτιζομένους, καὶ εὐλόγησον αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἁγιάσον, καὶ παρασκεύασον ἄξιους γενέσθαι τῆς πνευματικῆς σου δωρεᾶς, καὶ τῆς ἀληθινῆς νόθεσίας, τῶν πνευματικῶν σου μυστηρίων, τῆς μετὰ τῶν σωζομένων ἐπισυναγωγῆς, διὰ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν· δι’ οὗ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ σέβας, ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, Ἀμήν.

^c Ibid. Μετὰ τὸ ῥηθῆναι τὸν ἐπιλύχνιον ψαλμὸν, προσφωνήσει ὁ διάκονος ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηχουμένων, καὶ χεμαζομένων, καὶ τῶν φωτιζομένων, καὶ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ.—Cap. xxxvii. (vol. i. p. 501. D.) ‘Ωσαύτως ὄρθρου ὁ διάκονος, μετὰ τὸ ῥηθῆναι τὸν ὄρθρινόν, καὶ ἀπολύσαι αὐτὸν τοὺς κατηχουμένους, καὶ χεμαζομένους, καὶ βαπτιζομένους, καὶ τοὺς ἐν μετανοίᾳ, καὶ τὴν ὀφειλομένην ποιήσασθαι προσφώνησιν, κ. τ. λ.

^d Cone. Laodic. c. xix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1500.) Περὶ τοῦ, δεῖν ἰδίᾳ πρῶτον, μετὰ τὰς ὁμιλίας τῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ τῶν κατηχουμένων εὐχὴν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι· καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐξελεῖν τοὺς κατηχουμένους, τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ τὴν εὐχὴν

settles the order of the divine service in the Church, and appoints in what method it should proceed, speaks of the prayers of the catechumens, as immediately following the sermon, and then the prayers for the penitents, and after those the prayers for the faithful, which began the communion service; but makes no mention of any prayers for the candidates of baptism, as distinct from those of the catechumens. And this might be one reason, why other writers make no mention of them. In other Churches, they were but occasional prayers, for the particular times of baptism, and therefore it is a little wonder that other authors pass them over without the least notice taken of them. However, that the author of the Constitutions found them distinct in the rituals of some Churches, is not at all unlikely, because such forms for the candidates of baptism are now in use in the Greek Church, as may be seen in Goar^e; and Cardinal Bona has observed the like in a very ancient *Ordo Sacramentorum*^f, lately in the possession of the Queen of Sweden, where, in the office for the third Sunday in Lent, there is a special prayer inserted for those who were then examined and elected to receive baptism at Easter. But I proceed with the service of the ancient Church.

SECT. X.—*Of the last Sort of Prayers, for the Penitents.*

The last sort of prayers, in this part of the service, were those which were made for the penitents, who were under the discipline and censures of the Church. Some of these,

γίνεσθαι καὶ τούτων προελθόντων ὑπὸ χεῖρα, καὶ ὑποχωρησάντων, οὕτως τῶν πιστῶν τὰς εὐχὰς γίνεσθαι τρεῖς, κ. τ. λ.

^e Goar, Eucholog. p. 339. Δέσποτα, Κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, προσκάλεσαι τὸν δοῦλόν σου, τόνδε, πρὸς τὸ ἅγιον σου φῶτισμα καὶ καταξίωσον αὐτὸν τῆς μεγάλης ταύτης χάριτος, τοῦ ἁγίου σου βαπτίσματος· ἀπόδυσον αὐτοῦ τὴν παλαιότητα, καὶ ἀνακαίνισον αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον καὶ πλήρωσον αὐτὸν τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου σου Πνεύματος δυνάμεως εἰς ἔνωσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, ἵνα μηκέτι τέκνον σώματος ᾦ, ἀλλὰ τέκνον τῆς σῆς βασιλείας· εὐδοκίᾳ καὶ χάριτι τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου Υἱοῦ· μεθ' οὗ εὐλογητὸς εἶ, σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ, καὶ ἀγαθῷ, καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου Πνεύματι νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, Ἀμήν.

^f Bon. Rer. Liturgic. lib. ii. c. xii. n. iv. (Antverp. 1677. p. 564.) Hanc igitur oblationem, Domine, ut propitius suscipias deprecamur, quam tibi offerimus pro famulis et famulabus tuis, quos ad æternam vitam et beatam gratiæ tuæ . . . dinumerare, eligere, atque vocare dignatus es.

called ‘hearers’ only, were sent away with that order of catechumens, which were distinguished by the same denomination of ‘hearers;’ but others of them, called ‘kneelers’ or *prostrators*, were permitted to stay longer, to receive the prayers of the Church and the bishop’s benediction: therefore, as soon as the candidates of baptism were dismissed, the deacon cried out, *Orate, pœnitentes*, “Ye that are under penance, make your prayers^s :” “And let us ardently pray for our brethren that are doing penance, that the God of mercy would show them the way of repentance; that he would admit their recantation and confession; that he would shortly bruise Satan under their feet, and deliver them from the snare of the devil, and the incursion of evil spirits, and preserve them from all evil words, all absurd practices, and all impure thoughts; that he would grant them pardon of all their sins, voluntary and involuntary, and blot out the hand-writing that is against them, and write them in the Book of Life; that he would cleanse them from all pollution of flesh and spirit, and unite and restore them to his holy flock; for he knows our frame: for who can glory that he has a clean heart? or who can say that he is pure from sin? for we are all liable

§ Constitut. lib. viii. c. viii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 467. A 9.) Εὐξασθε οἱ ἐν τῇ μετανοίᾳ ἐκτενῶς· πάντες ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ ἀδελφῶν παρακαλέσωμεν· ὅπως ὁ φιλοκτίριμον Θεὸς ὑποδείξῃ αὐτοῖς ὁδὸν μετανοίας· προσδέξηται αὐτῶν τὴν παλινοψίδαν καὶ τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν· καὶ συντρίψῃ τὸν Σατανᾶν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν ἐν τάχει, καὶ λυτρώσεται αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς παγίδος τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῆς ἐπηρείας τῶν δαιμόνων· καὶ ἐξέλθῃ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀθεμίτου λόγου, καὶ πάσης ἀτόπου πράξεως, καὶ πονηρᾶς ἐννοίας· συγχωρήσῃ δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν, τὰ τε ἐκούσια καὶ τὰ ἀκούσια· καὶ ἐξαλείψῃ τὸ κατ’ αὐτῶν χειρόγραφον, καὶ ἐγγράψῃται αὐτοὺς ἐν βίβλῳ ζωῆς· καθαρῇ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος· καὶ ἐνώσῃ αὐτοὺς ἀποκαταστήσας εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν αὐτοῦ ποιμνὴν· ὅτι αὐτὸς γινώσκει τὸ πλάσμα ἡμῶν· ὅτι τίς καυχῆσεται ἀγνὴν ἔχειν καρδίαν· ἢ τίς παρῆρησιάσεται καθαρὸς εἶναι ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας; πάντες γάρ ἐσμεν ἐν ἐπιτιμίῳ· ἔτι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐκτενέστερον δεηθῶμεν· ὅτι χαρὰ γίνεται ἐν οὐρανῷ· ἐπὶ ἐνὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ μετανοοῦντι, ὅπως ἀποστραφέντες πᾶν ἔργον ἀθέμιτον, προσοικειωθῶσι πάσῃ πράξει ἀγαθῇ, ἵνα ὁ φιλόανθρωπος Θεὸς ἢ τάχος εὐμενῶς προσδεξάμενος αὐτῶν τὰς λιτὰς, ἀποκαταστήσῃ αὐτοῖς ἀγαλλίασιν τοῦ σωτηρίου καὶ πνευματικῇ ἡγεμονικῇ στηρίξῃ αὐτοὺς, ἵνα μηκέτι σαλευθῶσι κοινωνοὶ γενέσθαι τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ ἱερῶν, καὶ μέτοχοι τῶν θείων μυστηρίων· ἵνα ἄξιοι ἀποφανθέντες τῆς υἰοθεσίας, τύχωσι τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς· ἔτι ἐκτενῶς πάντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἶπωμεν, Κύριε, ἐλέησον· σῶσον αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ ἀνάστησον τῷ ἐλέει σου.

to punishment. Let us still pray more ardently for them, ‘because there is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth,’ that they may turn from every evil work, and accustom themselves to all that is good; that the merciful God, receiving them kindly, may restore to them the joy of his salvation, and confirm them with his principal spirit, that they may never fall, or be shaken again; that they may communicate in his holy solemnities, and be partakers of his sacred mysteries; that being made worthy of the adoption of sons, they may obtain eternal life. Let us all further say for them, ‘Lord, have mercy upon them: save them, O God, and raise them up by thy mercy.’”

This said, the deacon bids them rise up, and bow their heads to receive the bishop’s benediction, which is styled also ‘imposition of hands’ and ‘prayer for the penitents,’ and is conceived in the following words^h:—

“O Almighty and eternal God, the Lord of the whole world, the Maker and Governor of all things, who hast made man to be an ornament of the world, through Christ, and hast given him both a natural and a written law, that he might live by the rules thereof, as a rational creature; that hast also, when he hath sinned, given him a motive and encouragement to repent, even thy own goodness; look down now upon those men, who bow the necks of their souls and bodies unto thee; for thou desirest not the death of a sinner, but his repentance, that he should turn from his evil way, and live. Thou, that acceptest

^h Constitut. lib. viii. c. ix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 467.) Παντοκράτορ Θεὲ ἀιώνιε, δέσποτα τῶν ὅλων, κτίστα καὶ πύταν τῶν πάντων· ὁ τὸν ἄνθρωπον κόσμον κόσμον ἀναδείξας διὰ Χριστοῦ, καὶ νόμον δοὺς αὐτῷ ἔμφυτον καὶ γραπτὸν, πρὸς τὸ ζῆν αὐτὸν ἐνθέσμως, ὡς λογικόν· καὶ ἀμαρτόντι ὑποθήκην δοὺς πρὸς μετάνοιαν τὴν σαυτοῦ ἀγαθότητα· ἐπιθεὶς ἐπὶ τοὺς κεκληκότας σοὶ αὐχένα ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος· ὅτι οὐ βούλει τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν, ὥστε ἀποστρέφαι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ τῆς πονηρᾶς, καὶ ζῆν· ὁ Νινευϊτῶν προσδεξάμενος τὴν μετάνοιαν· ὁ θέλων πάντας ἀνθρώπους σωθῆναι, καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν· ὁ τὸν Υἱὸν προσδεξάμενος, τὸν καταφαγόντα τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ ἀσώτως, πατρικοῖς σπλάγχθοις, διὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν· αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν πρόσδεξαι τῶν ἱκετῶν σου τὴν μετάνωσιν· ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὃς οὐχ ἀμαρτήσεται σοὶ· ἴαν γὰρ ἀνομίας παρατηρήσῃ, Κύριε, Κύριε, τίς ὑποστήσεται; ὅτι παρὰ σοὶ ὁ ἰλασμός ἐστι· καὶ ἀποκατάστησον αὐτοὺς τῇ ἀγίᾳ σου ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἀξίᾳ καὶ τιμῇ, διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, δι’ οὗ σοὶ δόξα καὶ προσκύνησις, ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· Ἀμήν.

the repentance of the Ninevites ; that wouldest have all men to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth ; that receivest again the prodigal son, who had spent his substance in riotous living, with the compassionate bowels of a father, because of his repentance ; accept now the repentance of these thy supplicants, for there is no man that sinneth not against thee. If thou, Lord, wilt mark what is done amiss, O Lord, who may abide it ? for there is mercy and propitiation with thee. Restore them to thy holy Church, in their former dignity and honour, through Christ our Lord and Saviour ; by whom be glory and adoration unto thee, in the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen.”

SECT. XI.—*What Notice we have of these Prayers in Chrysostom and other Writers.*

St. Chrysostom does no where give us these prayers entire, but he frequently refers to them as then used in the Church in this part of divine service. We have heard him say before ⁱ, that “Common prayers were made by the priests and the people jointly together, as well for the penitents as the energumens ; and that they all said one and the same prayer, the prayer full of mercy.” In another place^j, “The first prayer is full of mercy, when we pray for the energumens ; the second prayer, likewise, wherein we pray for the penitents, makes intercession for mercy.” I have given the reason already why both these prayers were styled ‘prayers for mercy’ by Chrysostom ; and I need here only observe, that they were used before the prayers for the faithful, or communicants, as Chrysostom says expressly in the same place ; and that they were by a certain form, because they were offered by the common voice both of minister and people. The Council of Laodicea^k also mentions this prayer for the penitents, as coming after the sermon, next to the prayers for the faithful. And in all ancient canons^l, wherever we meet with the names of γόνυ

ⁱ Chrysostom. Hom. xviii. in 2 Cor. See note (w) p. 630.

^j Ibid. Hom. lxxi. al. lxxii. in Matt. See note (z) p. 631.

^k Conc. Laodic. c. xix. See note (d) p. 633.

^l Conc. Nicæan. c. xi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 33.) “Ὅσοι γνησίως μεταμέλονται, τρία ἔτη ἐν ἀκροωμένοις ποιήσουσιν οἱ πιστοί, καὶ ἑπτὰ ἔτη ὑποπεισοῦνται.
— Conc. Ancyran. c. iv. (vol. i. p. 1457.) Περὶ τῶν πρὸς βίαν θυσάντων

κλίνοντες, ὑποπίπτοντες, and *prostrati*, ‘kneelers’ or *prostrators*, we are to understand this order of penitents, who, in this part of the service, bowed down to receive the Church’s prayers and the bishop’s benediction.

SECT. XII.—*In what Part of the Church these Prayers were made.*

As to the Greek Church, then, it is demonstrated, beyond all contradiction, that there was a particular service of prayers for the catechumens, energumens, and penitents, distinct from the communion service, in which they were again prayed for, though absent, among all other states and conditions of men. But there remain two questions, which have a little more difficulty in them. 1. In what part of the church these prayers were made? 2. Whether there were any such prayers at all in use in the Latin Church? As to the first question, some learned men are of opinion^m, that not only the oblations were made at the altar, and the communion received there, but that all the prayers of the Church were made at the altar likewise; which is, certainly, true of all the prayers in the communion service, but not so certain of these prayers in the service of the catechumens. For, first, the several orders for whom these prayers were made, and over whom they were made with imposition of hands also, had their station in a different part of the church; and we do not read that they were ever called up to the altar to receive their benediction; but, in some canonsⁿ, are expressly ordered to receive imposition of hands, even in absolution, before the *apsis*, or ‘read-

. . . ἔδοξε ἐνιαυτὸν ἀκροῦσθαι, ὑποπεσεῖν δὲ τρία ἔτη.—Can. v. Εἰ ἐπλήρωσαν τὸν τῆς ὑποπτώσεως τριετῆ χρόνον.—Vid. *ibid.* cc. vi—ix. et xxv.

^m Stillingfleet’s *Unreason. of Separation*, part iii. sect. ix. (Lond. 1682, p. 250.) That there were altars in all their churches, appears from hence, that not only the oblations were made there, and the communion received, but all the prayers of the Church were made at them; as not only appears from the African Code and St. Augustin, (which I have mentioned elsewhere,) but from Optatus, who, upbraiding the Donatists for breaking down the altars of churches, he tells them, that hereby they did what they could to hinder the Church’s prayer, for, saith he, ‘*Illuc ad aures Dei adscendere solebat populi oratio.*’

ⁿ Conc. Carth. III. c. xxxii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1171.) *Cujuseumque pœnitentis publicum et vulgatissimum crimen est, quod universa ecclesia noverit, ante apsidem manus ei imponatur.*

ing-desk,' in case of scandalous offences, though absolution was usually given, in ordinary cases, at the altar. Now, if the prayer of absolution, which was their reconciliation to the altar, was sometimes made before the reading-desk, there is little question but that the other prayers, which were but the introduction to their reconciliation, were made there also. 2. This service of the catechumens and penitents was altogether a distinct service from that of the *fideles*, or 'communicants,' and a final dismissal of them was always made before the latter service began. 3. There is an express order in the third Council of Carthage^o, that all prayers made at the altar should be directed to the Father only, and not to the Son; and yet it is evident, that the prayer for the energumens was directed to the Son; as we have seen before, in the form cited out of the Constitutions^p. So that either the discipline of the Eastern Churches differed very much from those of the West; or else we must necessarily conclude that these prayers, some of which are directed to the Son, were not made at the altar.

SECT. XIII.—*Whether there were any such distinct Prayers for the Catechumens and Penitents in the Latin Church.*

But, it may be said, the prayers in the Latin Church were never directed to the Son; or, perhaps, they had no such prayers for the catechumens and penitents in particular, as they had in the Oriental liturgies, distinct from those which were made for all orders of men, both before and after consecration, in the communion service. The matter, indeed, is not so clear, I confess, in the Latin Church, as I have showed it to be in the Eastern; and that which increases the difficulty is, that some authors seem to intimate, that, as soon as the sermon was ended, the catechumens were dismissed, and then the communicants betook themselves to prayers at the altar. "Behold," says St. Austin,^q "after the sermon the catechu-

^o Ibid. c. xxiii. Ut nemo in precibus vel Patrem pro Filio, vel Filium pro Patre nominet: et quum ad altare adistitur, semper ad Patrem dirigatur oratio.

^p See before, p. 629.

^q Aug. Hom. ccxxxvii. de Tempore. (Bened. 1679. vol. v. p. 275.) Ecce post sermonem fit missa catechumenis: manebunt fideles, venietur ad locum ora-

mens have their dismissal; but the faithful abide still, and come to the place of prayer;" meaning the altar, where the Lord's Prayer was, according to custom, to be repeated by the communicants only. And St. Ambrose, speaking of the same matter, says,^r "When the sermon was done, he dismissed the catechumens, and rehearsed the Creed to some candidates of baptism in the baptistery of the Church." But these do not amount to a proof, that the communion service succeeded immediately after the sermon, and that no other prayers or business came between them; for this very place of St. Ambrose shows, that at least sometimes the repetition of the Creed to the candidates of baptism was in the interval. And one of the fore-cited canons of the Council of Carthage makes it evident, that at other times the prayer for the absolution and reconcilment of a scandalous offender was made in the *apsis*, or 'reading-desk,' before the communion service, likewise. And the other canon as plainly intimates, that some prayers were directed to the Son as well as the Father, by the prohibition that is made of not changing the name of the Son for the Father, or the Father for the Son; which prohibition had been needless, had there been no prayers directed to the Son. Now, admitting there were some prayers directed to the Son, these must be made before the communion service, since at that time, by the same canon, all prayers are ordered to be directed to the Father only. For these reasons I conclude, that the practice of the Greek and Latin Churches was the same, and that there were prayers in both for the catechumens, energumens, and penitents, in their presence, distinct from those which were afterwards made for them in their absence at the altar. And so I have done with the first part of divine worship, which the ancient Church called her *missa catechumenorum*, or "ante-communion service."

tionis. Scitis quo accessuri sumus, quid prius Deo dicturi sumus? Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.

^r Ambros. Epist. xxxiii. ad Marcellinam Sororem. Post lectiones atque tractatum, dimissis catechumenis, symbolum aliquibus competentibus in baptisteriis tradebam basilicæ.

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