

THE HOLY EUCHARIST
IN THE
FIRST THREE CENTURIES

BARING GOULD

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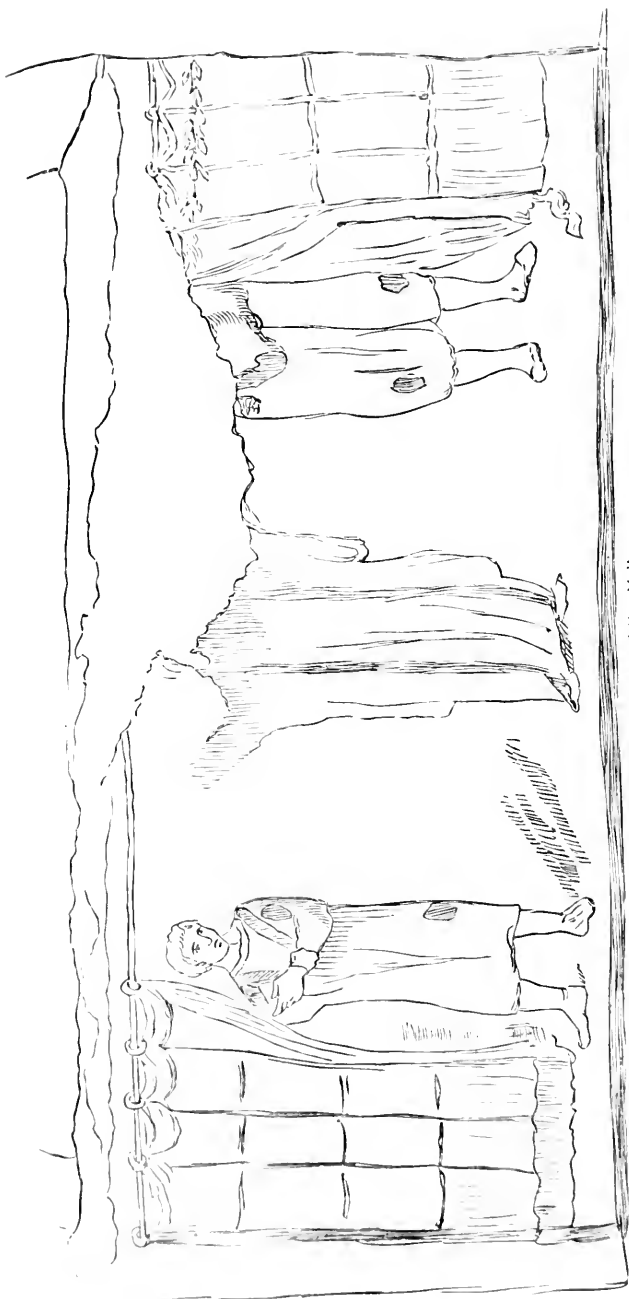
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On inheritance

OUR INHERITANCE.



The Prayer of the Veil.
From a Fresco in the Catacomb of S. Cyriacus. Two Deacons withdraw the Veils as the Celebrant enters the Bema.

OUR INHERITANCE:

AN ACCOUNT OF

The Eucharistic Service In the First Three Centuries.

BY THE REV.

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"OUR PARISH CHURCH;" "LIVES OF THE SAINTS;" ETC.

"Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.
Amen."—S. MATT. xxviii. 20.

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PREFACE.

IN the following pages I have attempted a history of the Holy Eucharist in the first ages of the Church in a form as popular as such a subject admits of treatment, where reference has constantly to be made to early Greek and Latin writers, as well as to the Jewish authorities, for those services of the ancient Church of the Old Covenant out of which the Christian Liturgy sprang.

To crush this extensive subject into a nutshell—I have undertaken to establish the following propositions :—

1. We have a number of early Liturgies belonging to all the branches of the Church, as well as to those heretical bodies which separated from the Church in the fifth century. By comparing these Liturgies together, we find that all are as much alike in type and feature as are the races of mankind, each slightly varied, just as each race of man has its speciality in feature and colour ; but that, in spite of such varieties, all are organically one.

2. This fact leads us to conclude that, just as the human race sprang from one mother, so do these many liturgies derive from one parent Liturgy.

3. Further :—the cause of the differences is due to the fact that this one Mother Liturgy was not committed to writing ; it was not fixed as to its verbal expression ; the main structure, nevertheless, was determined from the first.

4. All the references of the early Fathers to the Eucharist agree with this Mother Liturgy as reconstructed from analysis

of the extant Liturgies, with elimination of individual peculiarities.

5. This Mother Liturgy was fixed, almost certainly, by the Apostles before their dispersion.

6. In fixing the Liturgy, the Apostles would certainly be guided by their recollection of the Institution by Christ, and this they would follow step by step.

7. In the Liturgy we find many traces of derivation from the services of the Temple. We find in fact that it bears marked relation to many of the rites and usages under the Law, but altered, fulfilled, and given a Christian interpretation.

8. It is probable, therefore, that just as Christ showed to the disciples going to Emmaus that Moses and all the Prophets foretold His Passion and Resurrection, so that He, on the great night, showed to His Apostles how that all the sacrifices and the ceremonial of the Temple led up to, and found fulfilment in, Him, and that the New Institution which He then appointed was to be the reflection of Him, an after-glow in time to come, of which the sacrifices and other rites of the Temple were a foreglow in time past.

9. That, consequently, the many points of connexion that are found in the Liturgy, tying it to the Temple worship, are due to Christ's appointment on the great night of the Institution.

10. That Christ took the Morning Service of the Temple—which every Jew repeated either as a private memorial, or as a congregational memorial, every day, as the framework of the Eucharist.

11. That He introduced into it other elements, the fulfilment of the ceremony of the oblation of first-fruits, of the sacrifices, both of beasts and of incense, of the offering of the shew-bread, of the Passover, &c. That, in a word, He took all these distributed coloured rays, and reunited them in *one*, in the pure white ray of the New Institution.

12. That the true explanation of many rites and customs associated with the Eucharist, matutinal celebration, the use of leavened bread, of the mixed cup, of the several gestures of the celebrant, of the sequence of the several parts of the liturgy, of the vesture of the priest, &c., is to be found in tenacious adhesion by the Church to those things associated with the Institution by Christ on the night before His Passion.

13. Collaterally, I have shown how great and how tough was tradition in the first three centuries, and how that, for instance, the dispute relative to the exact date of the Crucifixion is due to disregard on one side of the testimony of tradition.

Now many of the points touched on deserve treatment severally and at length, and I have not been able to devote to some of them that space which they individually deserve. It has been my object, not to write a compendious treatise for the learned, but to write a book that may interest the many.

I must express my gratitude to some kind friends, specialists, who have been so good as to read my proofs, and give me their advice ; they are not, of course, responsible for my argument or conclusions ; such are the Rev. R. F. Littledale, D.C.L. ; the Rev. C. E. Hammond, M.A., late Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford, and Vicar of Menheniot, Cornwall ; the Rev. J. B. Hughes, M.A., Vicar of Staverton, Devon, late Headmaster of Blundel's School, Tiverton ; and the Rev. Dr. Adler, Chief Rabbi, London, who has not only lent me "Zunz: Vorträge," a scarce book I was unable to procure, but has also been so good as to look through the proofs of two of my chapters, that on the Sabbath, and that on the Morning Service of the Jews, and to give me his advice thereon.

In the midst of many pursuits and much distraction, a dominant interest in the matter now treated has for long

been mine, but I have waited in hopes that it would be taken up and dealt with by a worthier hand. Time creeps on, and I feel reluctant to let go unpreserved materials collected and conclusions arrived at on a very important subject, especially when that is one lying very near to the heart ; and so, finally, I have written this book. That it is imperfect, marred in many ways, and inadequate to the subject dealt with, no one would more promptly admit than myself. The light shed on the great Mystery may be feeble, still, it is such light as I have ; and it should be the object of each of us, as far as in us lies, as far as our knowledge and our abilities extend, to say, *Paravi lucernam Christo meo.*

S. BARING-GOULD.

Lew Trenchard,
Devon.
All Saints' Day, 1888.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

(Only such as are in English are here given.)

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EARLY LITURGIES: Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. xxiv. Clark, Edinburgh, 1872.

THE APOSTOLIC LITURGY AND THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS. By the Rev. J. E. Field. London: Rivington's, 1882.

THE APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS: Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. xvii. Clark, Edinburgh.

THE DAILY PRAYERS: The Order of Service for Every Day in the Year, according to the custom of the German and Polish Jews. Translated by Rev. A. P. Mendez. London: Valentine, 1864.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS.

- AMBO** : A raised desk from which the Lections were read.
- ANAPHORA** : The second part of the Liturgy, properly the original service of the Eucharist for the Lord's Day. It commences with the "Lift up your hearts," and includes the rest of the service to the end.
- ANTIDORON** : Overplus Bread from that offered for Consecration. This hallowed, but unconsecrated, bread is distributed after the Liturgy in the Oriental, Armenian, and Coptic Churches.
- BEMA** : The Sanctuary; corresponding to—Within the Altar-rails.
- CANON** : Properly a Rule, that which is fixed. It applies—*a.* To the Rule of Faith; *β.* To those books which the Church ruled to be alone accepted as genuine and authoritative; *γ.* To that part of the Liturgy which was fixed, or ruled, as essential, that is to say, the Consecration, Great Oblation, Great Intercession, ending with the Lord's Prayer, down to the Embolismus, or Prayer against temptation. This is the distinction in the Roman Liturgy.
- CATECHUMEN** : One under training for admission to the Church by baptism.
- CHERUBIC HYMS** : A hymn in the Liturgy of Constantinople.
- COAL** : A name in some liturgies for the Consecrated Bread (Isaiah vi. 6, 7).
- COLLECT** : Originally an assembling together, and applied—*a.* First, to the assembly of the faithful for prayer; *β.* Secondly, to the gathering together of the desires and petitions of the people into one prayer, said by the celebrant.
- COMPETENTES** : The highest order of Catechumens, in Greek *Photizomenoi*, those being illuminated. The term extended to those who had been baptized, and were preparing for Communion.
- CORBAN** : The name in the Malabar Liturgy for the Eucharistic sacrifice.
- DIPTYCHS** : Lists of names of the living and the dead to be commemorated at the altar.
- ECTENE** : A litany.

ELEVATION : The lifting up of the Consecrated Bread. In the Greek Church this takes the place of the waving of the sheaf before God, and it occurs within the Bema, the doors being closed. In the Latin Church it is a showing of It to the people for the purpose of adoration.

EMBOLISMUS : A short Prayer against temptation, which follows the Lord's Prayer.

ENERGUMEN : A madman, one supposed to be possessed by an evil spirit.

ENTRANCE, THE LITTLE : A rite in the East consisting of the solemn bringing of the Book of the Gospels to the Holy Table. It is derived from the procession of the Torah in the Synagogue, where the Book of the Law is solemnly brought from the Ark. In the East the Gospel is carried with lights to the altar, and then taken to the ambo, where it is read. An analogous procession of the Gospel with lights exists in the Western Church.

ENTRANCE, THE GREAT : A similar procession, with incense and lights, when the bread and wine are brought into the chancel. The only remains of it in the West is the transfer of the bread and wine from the credence table to the altar.

EUCCHARIST : Literally, Thanksgiving. Applied to the Holy Communion Service as the Christian Sacrifice of Praise.

EULOGY : Praise. The Great Eulogy is the great Hymn of Praise.

FRACTION : The Solemn Breaking of the Bread. 1. At the words of Institution ; 2. Before Communion. The fractions have been multiplied, and some omitted. Originally there were probably but these two.

INTERCESSION, THE GREAT : The prayer said by the celebrant for all estates of men in the Church, including the living and the dead.

INTROIT : In the Western Liturgies, the Psalm sung at the approach of the celebrant to the altar.

KISS OF PEACE : A kiss given anciently in the Liturgy by the faithful, the one to another.

LECTIONS : The readings in the Pro-Anaphora. Originally four—1. The Law ; 2. The Prophets ; 3. The Epistle ; 4. The Gospel.

MASS : The Eucharistic service, so called, colloquially at first, from the Dismissals in it.

MASS OF THE CATECHUMENS : The first part of the Eucharistic service, at which the unbaptized, &c., might be present.

MASS OF THE FAITHFUL : The second part of the Eucharistic service, at which only the baptized might attend.

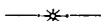
- OBLATION** : The offering made to God—*a.* Of the unconsecrated bread and wine. In this book called the Offertory. *β.* Of the Consecrated Elements, in this book the term Oblation restrained to this latter.
- PREFACE** : That portion of the Great Thanksgiving which follows “Lift up your hearts,” as far as the response, “Holy, holy, holy.”
- PRO-ANAPHORA** : The first part of the Liturgy, originally the service for the Sabbath, and a simple adaptation and development of the Sabbath morning service of the Jews.
- SACRAMENTARY** : The book containing the Canon and the *variable* portions of the Mass, as collects, prefaces, &c.
- SANCTA SANCTIS** : An exclamation in the Eastern Church when the celebrant elevates the Host. He calls, “Holy things to the holy.” To which the people respond, “There is One Holy,” &c. This takes the place of the Jewish *Schema*.
- SANCTUS** : “Holy, holy, holy,” &c., also called the Triumphal Hymn.
- TRIUMPHAL HYMN** : See “Sanctus.”
- VEIL** : A veil formerly hung between the chancel and the body of the church. As the celebrant passed through it, he said the Prayer of the Veil. Afterwards the term veil came to be applied to the covering thrown over the chalice and paten, and then this prayer was shifted, and said when the celebrant removed the covering.
- WASHING OF HANDS** : This took place before the beginning of the Great Eucharistic Prayer, at the commencement of the principal part of the Liturgy.

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ERRATA.

- Page 96, line 1, *for* peak *read* beak.
- Page 97, line 1, *for* Deacons *read* Deacon.
- Page 99, line 7 from bottom, *for* knew *read* know.
- Page 105, lines 4 and 5, *read* familiarity of those to whom they write with this quadruple reading.
- Page 125, line 21, *after* dismissals *add* B and D.
- Page 148, line 14, *for* aecompaniment *read* accompaniment.
- Page 153, line 8 from bottom, *omit* comma.
- Page 155, bottom line, *for* 158 *read* 153.
- Page 231, *put* * on line 13 *after* meat; *change* asterisk, line 15, into †; *and invert order of references at bottom, changing also the marks of reference.*

OUR INHERITANCE.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

FAMILY PORTRAITS—IN THE CHURCH—POINT TO A SUCCESSION OF LIFE—THE LITURGIES—INDICATE A PRIMITIVE APOSTOLIC SOURCE—THE LITURGY PERFORMED AT LEAST ONCE WEEKLY—ORIGINALLY FORMED AFTER THE PATTERN OF THE FIRST INSTITUTION—PRESERVES TRACES OF CONNEXION WITH JEWISH ORDINANCES—LITTLE ALTERED IN THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES—NO INCENSE—THE LITURGY NOT COMMITTED TO WRITING—A FIXED FRAMEWORK VARIOUSLY FILLED OUT—THE LITURGY OF THE APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS—A LITURGICAL ENQUIRY BY NO MEANS UNINTERESTING.

THE writer was one day going through an Elizabethan mansion that had remained in the possession of the same family for three centuries. It was crowded with ancient carved oak, the walls were hung with tapestries and ancestral portraits, the rooms furnished with 16th century cabinets, with Jacobean tables and Chippendale chairs. But, although the house was crowded with relics of the past, it was full also of modern comforts ; venerable articles of artistic design and execution intended to serve one purpose, when that purpose failed, were not discarded, but were retained and turned to a kindred end. As the writer entered the hall, one of the daughters of the house, who was showing him round, stepped back from the door she had opened to let him pass, and in so doing placed herself unconsciously beneath the

portrait of a beautiful woman dressed in the brocade of a long passed age. The young girl beneath the picture was strikingly like the portrait ; the writer recognized the resemblance with an exclamation, which elicited the rejoinder, " Oh ! that is our White Lady who walks the house."

Since then, often has that incident recurred to the mind of the author of this treatise, when studying the antiquities of the Christian Church. He has assisted at living rites, has listened to the recitation of creeds, has joined in prayers that have recalled in feature, in expression, in tone, old liturgies, old teachings and devotions, that have carried him back on the wings of imagination to remote times, when the Church was young and full of zeal. The old ghosts really walk, really inhabit the ancient but ever habitable Church of God, not as ghosts, but as living existences, vigorous, and renewing their youth perpetually.

The resemblance between the girl and her ancestress had probably escaped the notice of the bulk of visitors ; and how few there are who enter the Church, join in her prayers and praises, who know anything of the past history of the offices and liturgy they use and love, who realise the continuity that exists, the inherent unity that subsists, between the present and the past. Some men, looking through the courts of the Lord's House, marvel at the old lumber, as they deem it, that it contains, and would fain refurnish it with the most modern—if somewhat vulgar—appliances of luxury ; and others love its old relics, simply because old, and have no appreciation of their adaptability to ever-varying circumstances.

Of the heritage of primitive Christian times, the Liturgy—that is to say, the Eucharistic service—is of an interest hardly realised. That service is found in various forms and in many languages, and some of these forms are dead and buried in the dust of libraries, others have got astray from the Orthodox Church, and have fallen into heretical hands, others again are alive and in daily use. Some there are, likewise, young and new,

that bear the ineffaceable lineaments of the old, evidence of hereditary life-blood streaming through their arteries.

The analysis of these liturgies, Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopian, the comparison of them with each other, and with early forms, yield remarkable results ; they show us a marked identity of character, that points certainly to their derivation from some common type, earlier than the divergence of the Churches the one from the other. The study of the liturgies has hitherto been confined to scholars, and has interested scholars only ; for the means of working in this field has been at the disposal of the few only whose training has been scholarly. It is so no longer. Almost all the material is placed within reach of everyone, translated and easily accessible. It seems, therefore, that the time has come when the result of the labours of liturgical specialists may be brought within the range of the general reader.

In 1877, Dr. Lightfoot, now Bishop of Durham, wrote an introduction to the newly-discovered portion of the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, a document of antiquity and sacred authority only second to the writings of the Apostles ; a document emanating from those who had received the Gospel from the mouths of Saints Peter and Paul. In his introduction, Dr. Lightfoot commented on the fact that this letter contained very distinct echoes of prayers in the ancient liturgies, and he asked, "Has S. Clement here introduced into his Epistle a portion of a fixed form of words then in use in the Roman Church? Have the extant liturgies directly borrowed from this Epistle? or do they owe this resemblance to some common type of liturgy, founded (as we may suppose) on the prayers of the synagogue? The origin of the earliest extant liturgies is a question of high importance ; and with the increased interest which the subject has aroused in England of late years, it may be hoped that a solution of the problems connected with it will be seriously undertaken ; but no satis-

factory result will be obtained unless it is approached in a thoroughly critical spirit, and without the design of supporting foregone conclusions.”*

That work remains to be done by the critical scholars ; this treatise pretends to be no more than an attempt to sum up and place before the public the results already attained, and to offer a few suggestions as to lines upon which the student may with advantage pursue research.

When the sun breaks through clouds and sends rays over the prospect, we know that, although we may not see the orb, if the rays be traced up, they will converge at a point behind the clouds, where the sun is. So, when we take the liturgies, and trace them back, we come to the conclusion that away behind the mists that obscure the dawn of Christianity, there is some typical Eucharist from which these several forms issue. And it is a fact that, various and many as the liturgies are, yet they do point to a common origin, for all bear stamped on them a character which is common, an organization which is all but identical.

This is a point we have to make abundantly clear ; but this is not all. Through the mists of the first three centuries appear but scanty gleams of light. We have few writers of that period, nevertheless we can show that not only their plain statements, but also their casual allusions, allow us to see that the Eucharist in their days was performed in a manner substantially identical with that which a comparison of the extant liturgies of a later date leads us to suspect was the normal pattern in sub-apostolic times.

We know the dates at which the several Churches separated, and if we see that the liturgies in each possess similar structural features, we are justified in concluding that these features belonged to the mother Church from which they issued. The Nestorian heresy was condemned in A.D. 431,

* “S. Clement of Rome,” an Appendix, London, 1877, p. 270.

and from that date the Syrian communities have remained estranged from the Orthodox Church, yet the liturgies in use among them to this day bear the strongly marked features that belong also to those of the Greek Church, which has held the true faith. "It will be evident," says Mr. Hammond, "that the points of agreement carry us back to a period antecedent to the date of separation; for the mutual hostility of the Church and the separated communities was such that neither would have borrowed from the other, and hence that which is common to both must have been common to them before the division."*

From the fourth century either simmering mistrust or open rupture has marked the relations between the Churches of East and West; the bent of mind, the form of culture, the national characteristics were different in the West from the East; they were separated by language, by remoteness, and at last politically dissociated. It is inconceivable that the Churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, should take their liturgies as a loan from the Churches of the Latin tongue, nor would the Church of Rome stoop after the third century to learn from the Greek-speaking Churches of the Orient how to offer worship to God. Nevertheless there exists a structural likeness between the liturgies of East and West, testifying to a common origin.

The liturgy was the great common act of prayer and thanksgiving offered by the Church to Almighty God, every Lord's Day at least, at which every Christian was present, unless withheld by force of circumstance. Wherever a Church was founded by an Apostle, there the divine worship was instituted, and there it continued, not performed occasionally, but, if not day by day, at least week by week, and year by year, becoming annually more stereotyped in form. Men grew up from infancy familiar with a certain order, if not

* "Liturgies, Eastern and Western," by C. E. Hammond, Oxford, 1878, p. 20.

with certain words, and the traditional usage became hammered by weekly repetition into a set and unalterable type. And when we find the same type everywhere but slightly varied among Churches of Apostolic parentage, the conviction forces itself on us that the Apostles themselves must have had some fixed pattern upon which they instituted the liturgical services wherever they established the beginnings of a Church. Moreover, when we calmly and reverently consider what was the position of the Apostles at the first, and what their condition of mind and feeling must have been, it is hard not to admit the belief that they went back for their great pattern to the night previous to the Passion, to the institution of the Eucharist by Christ Himself.

After the outpouring of Pentecost, when the clouds of doubt and the state of bewilderment and alarm in which they had been held since the Passion cleared away, the Apostles found themselves called upon, not only to organize the multitudes who accepted the Gospel into a Church, but also to settle some general type of worship. Then, illumined by the Holy Ghost, who was promised to guide them, and to bring to their remembrance all things that Christ had said and done, they looked back upon the past, on the scene in the upper chamber, all haze of forgetfulness and misconception was dispersed, and glittering and distinct stood forth every incident of that eventful night. Can we question that in their desire to fulfil exactly the command to "do this in remembrance" of their Lord, they would strive to reproduce in their celebrations of the Holy Eucharist the very acts and words, and sequence of events, that took place when the Sacrament was instituted, and that this it was which gave to the liturgies their special character, never obliterated, however remodelled, overlaid with ceremonial, and enriched with rhetoric?

But this is not all. Our Blessed Lord declared that He had not come to destroy, but to fulfil; the prophets from Moses had testified to Him, and the sacrifices of the Taber-

nacle and Temple had prefigured His redemption. He had taught in the synagogues and frequented the Temple, for the honour of which He had shown great zeal. What more likely, therefore, than that, in instituting the great Sacrament of the new Covenant, He should make of it but the flower and fulfilment of the services under the old Covenant ?

The Church sprang out of Judaism. The Apostles were all descendants of the chosen race, brought up in the midst of Jewish institutions, familiar with the daily and weekly prayers and worships of the synagogue and Temple. That the new Christian liturgy and devotions should betray a likeness to the forms with which the Apostles were acquainted is not surprising. Their Master had sanctioned with His presence these old religious services, and had shown that they were incomplete, not that they were superstitious and improper.

We can in some measure understand how that the Apostles with tender piety to their Lord, when assembled for the great commemorative rite He had appointed as His memorial, should endeavour to fix every feature of the institution, should strive reverently to reproduce them, and shrink from all deviation from His order, and question the advisability of any addition, verbal or ceremonial. Indeed the very text of the early liturgies points to some such a clinging to reminiscences in the minor particulars, for they speak of Christ lifting up His eyes to heaven, of His elevating the bread and wine, as oblation to the Father, points not mentioned by the Evangelists.

The same reverence which would restrain the Apostles from altering anything in the Divine appointment would weigh also on their immediate successors, who would hold with tenacity to what they had received from their teachers ; but that same reverence and caution about innovation would be relaxed somewhat in the next generation.

S. John died about A.D. 100. His disciple Polycarp lived

till A.D. 155.* Ignatius fell a martyr in A.D. 110. Clement of Rome must have written about the same time as S. John died. Justin Martyr suffered A.D. 165; Irenæus lasted till A.D. 202; Clement of Alexandria, who had been taught by those who had received instruction from the disciples of the Apostles, died about A.D. 220. We have chains linking with the Twelve, and carrying on, be it remembered, in weekly iteration the Eucharistic worship after the type appointed by the Apostles. It has been urged that tradition is of all authorities least trustworthy. So it is in matters of fact; traditional anecdotes grow and change their character, and, when sifted, prove unhistorical; but the case is altered with forms of worship repeated at least once every seven days, and never intermitted from the first Eucharistic celebration after Pentecost to the present date. There have been ecclesiastical earthquakes which have shaken the old structures to their foundations, filling them with rents that have been patched up with incongruous fittings. There have been changes in taste which have varied the adornments; but in the first three centuries no great alterations, nothing materially affecting the fabric of the Eucharist, can have occurred; they were ages of persecution, when the Service could only be carried on with secrecy, and with the most limited means of enrichment. That it went through some change we do not doubt, but that change cannot have been revolutionary; nor is it conceivable that in every branch of the Church wherever scattered, the change, if revolutionary, should have been in one direction. We know with what caution, with what rigorist severity the Churches tested the Scriptures, sifting out all such writings as could not trace their pedigree to the Apostles. Is it conceivable that they should have exhibited greater laxity with regard to the liturgy, which was regarded as the most solemn and sacred

* The date as fixed by Professor Salmon, *Academy*, Aug. 15, 1885.

bond betwixt earth and heaven? Polycarp of Smyrna and Anicetus of Rome could not agree as to the observance of Easter, because Polycarp had received the custom he observed from S. John himself, and Anicetus claimed the unaltered tradition from his predecessors. If the bishops of Smyrna and of Rome held with such tenacity to their several traditions relative to the observance of a yearly festival, we may be satisfied that they would hold with at least equal determination to the mode of observance of the weekly Commemoration.

In A.D. 148 Justin Martyr presented his Apology to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, and in that he gives an account, necessarily sketchy, of the Eucharistic service; that was not half a century after the death of S. John. Polycarp and Papias, two disciples of the Apostles, were alive at the time; probably there were others whose names we do not know.

This sketchy account gives us all the main features of the liturgies that emerge into literary form when the stress and agony of persecution had passed away. When peace came to the Church in 313, then the condition of affairs was so altered, that we can allow that great and deep-going changes may have taken place, modifying materially the liturgical form; but previous to that, there can have been no temptation to development in the direction of elaborateness and amplification of ritual. Constantine sent to Cyril of Jerusalem a splendid robe for use in baptismal ministrations; at the same time pomp and ceremony poured into the Church from the palace, and, perhaps, were taken over as spoil from the temples of the deserted gods,—that was the revolutionary epoch, and therefore it is of supreme importance that we should collect all the information we can relative to the Eucharist from the writers before that date, and that we should scrape off the paint and gilding from the liturgies after that date, to reach the unaltered substance that was submitted to decoration.

For instance, the majority of early liturgies have forms of prayer and blessing for the oblation of incense. Now from Irenæus, disciple of Polycarp, the pupil of S. John, we gather, as we should suppose would be the case, that in his time no incense was used in Christian worship.* We therefore cut away all the ceremony for the offering of incense out of the liturgies, as an addition of a later date. Moreover, we have in the earliest liturgy that has come down to us unaltered, one that actually dates from a time of persecution, no mention whatever of incense.

That there was no *written* liturgy in the primitive age we may assume. We never hear of tradition delivering up copies of liturgies—only of books of the Sacred Scriptures. There was almost certainly no authoritative form of words handed down by the Apostles; the fact of the manifold variety of liturgical utterance proves this. But that there was a general structural type, that seems certain, for that remains constant. “Under the dictation of habit and experience,” says Bishop Lightfoot, “these prayers were gradually assuming a fixed form. A more or less definite order in the petitions, a greater or less constancy in the individual expressions was already perceptible (when Clement wrote circ. 100). As the chief pastor of the Roman Church would be the main instrument in thus moulding the liturgy, the prayers, without actually being written down, would assume in his mind a fixity as time went on. When, therefore, at the close of his epistle he asks his readers to fall on their knees, and lay down their jealousies and disputes at the footstool of grace, his language naturally runs into these antithetical forms and measured cadences which his ministrations in the church had rendered habitual with him when dealing with such a subject.”

* “Adv. Hæres. IV. c. 17.” “The Church makes offerings through Jesus Christ to God, as is said, In every place incense is offered in My Name and a pure sacrifice. Now John declares this incense to be the prayers of the Saints.” But the pure sacrifice he explains as the Eucharist.

What is true of Clement is true of others. We can only understand the force of their words if we know what was the weekly form of worship in the Church, and allow that very early it had obtained some fixity. We find writer after writer recurring to the same order of argument, using the same somewhat conventional expressions, harping on the same chords, and we only see the reason of this when we have made ourselves acquainted with the liturgy. Their minds were furrowed, so to speak, in certain lines of thought, impressed with certain forms of expression, had taken up certain similes, texts of Scripture repeated every Lord's Day, and when they came to write, their pens reproduced these familiar thoughts and words and illustrations, in unconscious quotation.

At first the words were not fixed, only the framework of the service; such is the conclusion which the phenomena of multifariously varied liturgical expression in constant order establishes as the sole means of explaining the phenomena. In Jerusalem, at Antioch, Alexandria, Corinth, Ephesus, Rome, everywhere the broad outlines were determined, but the flow of words that filled them was unrestrained at first, then gradually assumed rigidity, and congealed into settled formularies.

When the liturgies were consigned to writing, those who wrote them believed that they were penning the *ipsissima verba* of the Apostles, whereas what they had received was not the words themselves, but the ground-plan on which the words were to be built up. Thus we have the liturgies called after their presumed authors, S. James the Lord's Brother, S. Mark, S. Peter, S. Thomas, &c. Those who committed them to paper sincerely believed that the familiar words used weekly in their Churches of Apostolic foundation were of coeval institution. To a certain extent they made no mistake; in their broad features these liturgies could trace back to the first founders of the Church, but when, for

instance, the Syriac transcriber of the Anaphora of S. James claims for it, that it is verbally "what he heard and learned from the mouth of the Lord, and he did not add and did not omit a single word," then we know that he fell into error.

That the Oriental Churches, Greek, Syrian, Egyptian, Ethiopic, did not hold, any more than did the Western Churches, that the form of words was divinely or even apostolically fixed, but that on the contrary a wide margin of liberty was allowed, is shown by the fact that bishops made no scruple to compose fresh prayers, to expand and to curtail the Eucharistic service. Consequently the texts vary, but substantially the framework remains the same. That has indeed undergone some modification, but not so as in any way to obscure its original character. Thus, the liturgy of S. James, already mentioned, has produced some forty to sixty others, all differing in the language employed, but all alike in structure.

The earliest extant complete Eucharistic service that has been preserved is one in the eighth Book of the so-called "Apostolic Constitutions," preserved therein like a fly in amber; and it has this special value, that, from the fact of its insertion in a literary composition, it has been retained therein unaffected by the disintegration on one side, and the accretion on the other, to which a liturgy in actual use is subjected.

The eighth Book of the Constitutions was put together in the beginning of the fourth century, about A.D. 320, certainly not later, and perhaps earlier; but the materials of which it is composed belong to a much earlier period, and the liturgy, containing prayers for those enduring persecution, in prisons and in mines, and intercession for the persecutors, cannot be later than the end of the third century.

The first mention we have of the liturgy of S. James is at the Council "in Trullo" held in the domed hall of the palace

at Constantinople, (A.D. 692,) but the earliest MSS. we have do not go back to anything like this date. Moreover, there are two forms in which this liturgy has come to us, one in Greek, the other in Syriac, differing slightly from each other, so that we cannot say exactly what the form of the liturgy was that is mentioned by the Council. Nevertheless, we can obtain a pretty general idea, for we have a letter by James, Bishop of Edessa, A.D. 651-710, describing the liturgy in his day, which shows that it has remained almost unaltered. The Nestorian Communities have been alienated since A.D. 431 ; the Monophysite since A.D. 451 ; but all these Churches have liturgies that belong to a type almost identical, if not altogether identical, with that given in the eighth Book of the "Apostolic Constitutions."

The study of liturgies may seem to the general reader the driest on which he could be invited to enter. It is not so. It is a study that incidentally throws floods of light on the belief, the habits, the virtues and faults of the primitive Christians, and it is a study that directly concerns that institution by Christ which has ever formed the axle round which Christian life has turned ; about which, also, much controversy has raged. We can hardly doubt that a study of the early history of the Eucharist in the period before it underwent much change will elucidate many a difficulty, dispel many a prejudice, and deepen in the heart the sense of the value of those formularies which we have been accustomed to use and have learned instinctively to love, but which we have only imperfectly understood.

CHAPTER II.

THE FRAMEWORK.

THE STRUCTURE OF A LITURGY—GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE SHOWS LINGUISTIC RELATIONSHIP—SO LIKENESS OF LITURGICAL STRUCTURE—ALL LITURGIES DIVISIBLE INTO TWO PARTS, 1. THE PRO-ANAPHORA, 2. THE ANAPHORA—ORIGINALLY DISTINCT OFFICES—THE PRO-ANAPHORA DERIVED FROM THE SABBATH DAY SERVICE OF THE SYNAGOGUE—AND THE SABBATH DAY SERVICE OF THE EARLY CHURCH—DERIVATION OF THE NAME MASS FROM THE DISMISSALS—THE RELATION OF THE CHRISTIAN TO THE JEWISH SABBATH SERVICE—DIFFERENCE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST RELATIVE TO THE CONSECRATION—INTERCESSIONS, NUMEROUS—CURTAILED—IN PROCESS OF CURTAILMENT—THE MARKS OF DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE LITURGICAL FAMILIES APPEARED—ANALYSIS OF MAIN LITURGICAL STRUCTURE.

WHAT grammar is to a language, that structure is to a liturgy. We can no more grasp the character and peculiarities of a liturgy without a knowledge of its framework than we can understand the character and peculiarities of a tongue without a knowledge of its grammar.

Before we proceed further, it will be advisable to give a general outline of what is the main structure of the primitive liturgy, as revealed to us by analysis and comparison of extant Eucharistic offices.

In the year 870, and for ten or fifteen years after, a body of colonists from Norway left their mother country and settled some in Faroe, but the majority in Iceland. Thenceforth these colonies were cut off from the influences that affected the speech of their brethren. They have retained their ancient tongue, but Faroese and Icelanders have each

severally modified the language they inherited, yet have not altered it to such an extent as the Norwegians who have been brought into contact with Lapps, and Finns, and Germans. The Danish and the Swedish tongues are closely akin to Norse, Icelandic, and Faroese ; they have all a common grammar and common word-roots, only the inflexions and modulations of tone have varied the speeches of these several peoples. We have literary monuments of the Norse of the eleventh century, before the divergence was as marked as at present, and with the help of these, and by comparison of the several ramifications of the Scandinavian dialects, it is easy to reconstitute the original mother-language from which all are derived. In precisely the same way do we attain to a knowledge of the mother-liturgy from which those of East and West, of Europe, Africa, Asia are derived. And just as Faroese and Icelanders have been cut off from those influences which have affected Norwegians, and Swedes, and Danes, so have the Nestorians of Kurdistan, and the Jacobites of Armenia and Egypt been separate from the main stream of Ecclesiastical life in the Orthodox Church, and therefore furnish us with invaluable particulars for the reconstruction of the earliest type of liturgy ; for these heretical communions, from the very fact of their isolation, have clung with tenacity to their ancient forms of worship, inherited from the Church before their separation, and have proved even more conservative respecting them than the Church herself.

Now let us take the broad features of the service of which we have documentary evidence, as it is found everywhere throughout the world and in all ages.

It is everywhere and always divisible into two distinct parts, the so-called Pro-Anaphora (*i.e.*, "before oblation"), Mass of the Catechumens, or as we call it, Ante-Communion service, and secondly, into the Anaphora ("oblation"), Mass of the Faithful or Communion service proper.

Originally these two offices were absolutely distinct. The first we believe to have been no other than an amplification of the Schacharith, the latter portion of the Sabbath-day service of the Synagogue, and to have been used by the primitive Christians on Saturday, *i.e.*, on the Sabbath; the Anaphora, on the other hand, we hold to have been the special service for the Lord's day. When, however, through persecution, the observance of the Sabbath could no longer be maintained, then the Sabbath morning service was united with, and preceded the service for the Lord's day. The faithful attended both, but as soon as the system of training for baptism began, and some sort of penitential discipline came to be enforced, then the candidates for baptism and the penitents were suffered to attend the former service only, the old Sabbath day office transferred to the Sunday. It ended with the dismissal of Catechumens and Penitents, hence it acquired the somewhat colloquial designation of the *Missa Catechumenorum*, the dismissal of the candidates; and the main Eucharistic service in the West—from its ending with the dismissal of the Faithful, was named the *Missa Fidelium*. They were colloquial designations, but they have been accepted, and have acquired dignity. It is, however, odd that the dismissals should have given a designation to the services at the conclusion of which they took place, and that to this day the Eucharist should be called the Mass. These two services have been in most liturgies welded together. Since the Catechumenal dismissals have ceased, the line of demarcation has everywhere disappeared except in England, where the exodus of non-communicants after the sermon exactly reproduces the departure of the unbaptized, the penitents, and the possessed with devils, in the ancient Church.

The Ante-Communion service consisted of a general intercession, then of readings from Scripture, psalmody, a sermon, and a litany of intercession for those who were dismissed. In the synagogue, in like manner on the Sabbath

morning, there were readings from Scripture, psalm, sermon, and prayer for all conditions of men. If we bid the Pro-Anaphora stand back under the picture of the synagogue Sabbath service, the family likeness is undeniable. The Anaphora, Mass of the Faithful, or Communion proper, began with the Offertory, the oblations on one hand of alms, on the other of bread and wine for the Eucharist. This was followed by a litany of intercession for all men and for fruitful seasons. This was followed by an invitation to a general thanksgiving, which led to a burst of praise from the congregation, the Triumphal Hymn, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts," &c., after which the Celebrant proceeded with the great prayer of Thanksgiving, in which he recited the history of God's dealings with man from Creation to Redemption. Then, just as at the Passover the Institution was recited, so here in the Christian rite was recited the institution of the Eucharist; the central act of the whole service. The consecration consisted of a recitation of the institution by Christ, followed by a reiteration by the Celebrant—that is to say he recited first of all how Christ had appointed the Eucharist as a memorial of His passion and ordered its continual repetition, after which, pursuant of His command, the Celebrant consecrated the elements in the same manner, and using the same gestures, as Christ had employed at the Institution. Then came a Great Intercession by virtue of the merits of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, and this was followed by the Communion of the clergy and the people. After this came again an intercession for the whole world, a thanksgiving and then the dismissal.

Every Communion service throughout the world of any antiquity and authority has these organic members, but there is a small difference in the distribution of parts owing to different methods of curtailment, and to the distribution of the parts curtailed.

To begin with the Consecration. East and West are divided as to usage in this portion of the Eucharistic service. The East maintains the old, the original form consisting of—

- 1st. Recitation of the Institution by Christ ; and then
- 2nd. Observance of His command by the Celebrant—

but in the West the latter has been folded over the former so as to make both coincide, the gestures of the Celebrant attending the narrative of the performance of these gestures by Christ. If the reader will look at the Prayer of Consecration in the Anglican Communion Service, he will see the rubrical directions at the side of the words of Institution. In the Eastern and primitive usage, all the priest's part came after the recitation of the words of Institution. This will be explained more fully later on ; what is evident is that the Western usage is a mere curtailment of the older. Another and much more thorough-going curtailment took place with the Intercessions. Of these in the combined services there were *five* : one at the beginning and one at the end of the Pro-Anaphora ; one at the beginning, one at the end, and one in the middle of the Anaphora. Now all these were alike—or very much alike. The second alone had a peculiar character, it was a prayer for, blessing of, and dismissal of, those unqualified to attend the Eucharistic service proper. When the dismissals ceased, then this particular series of intercessions and blessings disappeared. The first, initial Intercession of the Pro-Anaphora went very early, but the remains of it linger in the Collects for the day, as shall be shown further on. After this, and the prayers of the Dismissals were gone, there still remained three Intercessions of great length for the Church throughout the World, for bishops and clergy, and laity, for sufferers and travellers, for kings and magistrates, for the army, and for fruitful seasons. We have the remains of the first of these in our Prayer for the Church Militant. This was originally a Litany. Then came the great intercessional

prayer of the Celebrant; and lastly another litany of intercession from all the communicants, a counterpart to the initial litany of intercession in the Anaphora. This last Intercession was speedily got rid of. Then there remained only the two first of the Anaphora, intercessions three and four of the original service, that is to say, the Litany, and the Great Prayer of Intercession. Different Churches treated them differently, with the common object of shortening the service. Some Churches discarded the Litany, others broke the Great Intercession up into parts and intercalated it with the Great Thanksgiving.

There was a practical reason for this latter proceeding.

The great Eucharistic prayer was of enormous length. It began with a record of the glory and majesty of God, with an enumeration of His attributes and perfections; then it proceeded to describe creation in great detail; then to relate the fall of man, next to state that the mercy of God did not leave him without hope and guidance. It proceeded to show how the world was chastised with a flood; how Abraham was called; how the patriarchs were led by God; how after the bondage of Egypt, Israel was brought forth by the Almighty arm; how the Promised Land was recovered; how the prophets were sent to encourage to obedience, and to denounce evil; how at length, in the fulness of time, God sent His Son, born of a woman, to enlighten and redeem man. Then came the narrative of the Incarnation, the Ministry, the Passion, the Resurrection, and the Ascension. Not only was this Eucharistic prayer of prodigious length; but it was always prayed by Celebrant and people with uplifted hands. This proved exceedingly exhausting, and to relieve the strain, certain Churches broke up the Great Intercession, and intruded parts of it into the Great Thanksgiving, so as to allow of the lowering of the arms for a while.

The ways in which the several Churches dealt with the Great Intercession constitute the marks which differentiate

their liturgies into groups or families. We will consider these groups in the next chapter. The following table of the primitive Eucharistic service, as conjecturally restored, will assist the reader in understanding what follows.

Mass of the Catechumens.

(Sabbath Day service.)

Preparatory prayer and Benediction.

General Litany of Intercession.

1st lesson : from the Law.

Psalm.

2nd lesson : from the Prophets.

Psalm.

3rd lesson : from the Epistles.

Psalm.

4th lesson : from the Gospels.

Psalm.

Sermon.

Intercession for and dismissal of Non-Communicants with blessing.

Mass of the Faithful.

(Lord's Day service.)

Preparatory prayer (of the veil).

Pledge of Unity.

General Litany of Intercession.

Sursum Corda and Preface.

The Triumphal Hymn.

Great Thanksgiving.

THE CONSECRATION.

Great Eucharistic Intercession.

Sancta Sanctis and Communion.

General Litany of Intercession.

Thanksgiving and dismissal of Communicants with blessing.

CHAPTER III.

THE PEDIGREE.

THE PROCESS OF DISINTEGRATION—EXTREME LENGTH OF THE CANON
—LITURGIES GROUPED BY THE VARIOUS WAYS IN WHICH THEY
ARRANGED THE INTERCESSION — ORIGINAL ORDER — THE FIVE
FAMILIES—1. THE FAMILY OF JERUSALEM—2. THAT OF ALEXANDRIA
—3. THAT OF EDESSA—4. THAT OF EPHESUS—5. THAT OF ROME
—ALTERATIONS IN THE ROMAN LITURGY.

THE great Eucharistic Intercession was very lengthy. God was entreated to have mercy on the whole Church, wherever scattered throughout the world, on every Episcopate, then on the priesthood and the diaconate everywhere; after that there followed special intercession for the diocese, for the bishop of it, and its clergy, for the widows, virgins, those living in marriage, those with child, for those who gave alms to the poor, and brought oblations to the altar, for little children, the sick, the newly baptized, for the unbaptized but under training, for travellers by land or sea, for those deranged in mind, for penitents, for the king and all in authority, for the army, for enemies and persecutors; then followed a commemoration of the dead, of patriarchs, prophets, martyrs, and Apostles; lastly, an entreaty for the fruits of the earth in due season.

This was very long. Moreover, the same Intercession was made twice by the congregation, and summed up with a Collect by the Celebrant at the Anaphora, once at the beginning, also at the end.

It lent itself to division, for one part referred to the

Church Militant, whereas the other referred to the dead in Christ. This was a natural cleavage which, as we shall see, was taken advantage of when this Intercession was broken up.

As already said, the method of treatment of the Great Intercession marks off the groups of liturgies. All Churches were embarrassed with the same difficulty—the inordinate length of the service compounded out of two distinct offices for separate days, and with the repetition of Intercessions, now became unnecessarily numerous. They met the difficulty, and solved it in different ways, which we will now enumerate. We do not pretend that these are the sole differentiating features of the liturgies, but they are those which are most marked.

We will first premise that the Anaphora began with the Offertory of Bread and Wine, attended originally by no offertory prayer, only by a prayer on entry into the holy place, called the “Prayer of the Veil.”

Also, that in the Consecration by the Celebrant, his portion, as distinguished from the recitation of the Institution, will be designated by us the Oblation.

The original order was then thus :

- The Offertory.
- The Litany of Intercession, with Collect.
- The Invitation to Praise.
- The Great Thanksgiving.
- The Institution and Oblation.
- The Great Intercession.

The changes of arrangement constitute five families.

- I. That of JERUSALEM. This kept the Great Intercession untouched in its primitive position ; the Litany of Intercession was retained in the Greek S. James, omitted in the Syriac S. James.

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- II. That of ALEXANDRIA. This put the Great Intercession after the Triumphal Hymn and Preface; it omitted the Litany.
- III. That of EDESSA. This split the Great Intercession into two, and put the Commemoration of the Dead after the Great Thanksgiving, and before the Oblation; but retained the Intercession of the Living in its primitive place. It retains a trace only of the Litany of Intercession.
- IV. That of EPHESUS. This did away with the Great Intercession, but retained a collect of Intercession in the place of the Litany. This is also the Anglican arrangement, and was the Gallican. Traces only of the Litany of Intercession remain.
- V. That of ROME. This split the Great Intercession into two, and put the portion in which the living are commemorated after the Triumphal Hymn, but retained the Commemoration of the Dead in its primitive place. The reverse treatment to the Edessian. Traces survive of the Litany of Intercession.

The final Litany of Intercession by all the Communicants is almost wholly gone, but remains of the first Litany in the Mass of the Faithful linger on in collects or prayers for the dead, or for the whole Church.

As has been said in the former chapter, the entire liturgy is made up of two distinct and independent offices, and it is but natural that there should be some awkwardness in their junction. Anyone nowadays who assisted at the Roman Mass would have no idea, unless previously instructed, that the service was not originally one. The two portions have been more completely united than have Litany and Mattins in the Anglican Morning Service. In a good many of the Liturgies a little hesitation appears as to where Pro-

Anaphora ends and Anaphora begins. In some the Litany of Intercession was reckoned as belonging to the Mass of the Catechumens, whereas in others it was held to belong to that of the Faithful.

We will now treat a little more fully of the several families of liturgies.

I. Jerusalem was the Mother Church of Christendom.

From Jerusalem the Gospel light radiated throughout the world ; and had not the destruction of the city led to the depression of the Church in it, Jerusalem would have taken the place as first among all of the patriarchates of Christendom. From the Church at Jerusalem, governed by James, the Lord's brother, issued that of Antioch, founded by S. Peter.

To the family of liturgies connected with Antioch and Jerusalem belongs that of the "Constitutions," commonly called the Clementine.

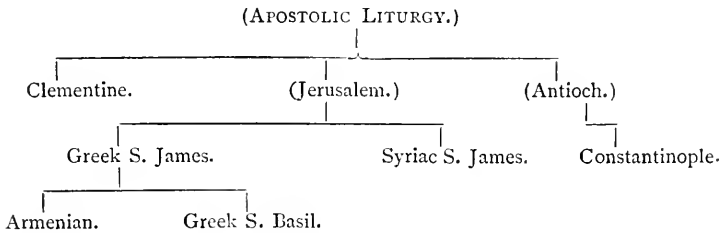
The liturgy attributed to S. James is not a more recent recension of that in the "Constitutions," it is, as we have it, a niece, the daughter of a twin sister. This liturgy exists in two versions, one Greek, the other Syriac, both in the main alike, but each with accretions acquired since they separated, individualising them. The Greek S. James is still in use in the Isles of the Levant on the festival of the Saint ; and the Syriac S. James is used by the Jacobite Churches of the East, and by the Christians of S. Thomas on the Malabar Coast, since they were despoiled of their own liturgy by the Jesuits in 1599. A later edition of the Greek S. James is that of S. Basil, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia (A.D. 370-380), which is still said in the Eastern Church on all Sundays in Lent except Palm Sunday, and certain other holidays.

The Greek S. James is of less antiquity than the Syriac of the same name. It has undergone a Byzantinizing process, bringing it into accord with the liturgy of Constantinople.

Theodore Balsamon, at the end of the twelfth century, induced the Greek Church to adopt universally the liturgy of S. Chrysostom in place of that of S. James. The MSS. of the Syriac S. James go back to the eighth century, but the liturgical treatise of James of Edessa enables us to trace its features a century earlier.

Akin to the liturgies of Jerusalem and of the "Constitutions" was that of Antioch. This has not come down to us entire, but we can make out its character from the writings of S. John Chrysostom, and it has been reconstructed by Mr. Hammond with great skill from the notices he has left. The order was this—Sursum Corda, the Preface, the Triumphal Hymn, the Great Thanksgiving, the Consecration, the Great Intercession. It retained, in addition, both the litanies, but apparently the second was said before Communion, immediately after the preparation of the Communicants.* S. John Chrysostom was born at Antioch, A.D. 347, and there ordained priest. We have moreover the liturgy of Constantinople, which bears his name, and is now in ordinary use throughout the Orthodox Church, and this is, in all likelihood, a re-edition of the venerable liturgy of Antioch with amplifications and curtailments. The Armenian Eucharistic service is derived from the Greek S. James.

This is the pedigree so far as we have come.

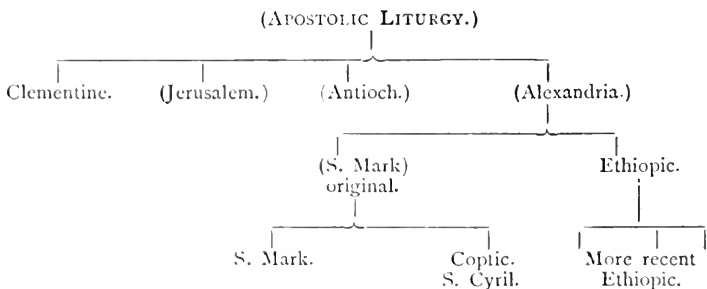


We bracket such as are lost textually.

* "The Ancient Liturgy of Antioch," by C. E. Hammond, Oxford, 1879.

II. The second group is that of Alexandria. The Church of Alexandria was founded by S. Mark the Evangelist.

The original liturgy of this Church, a Greek-speaking one, is lost. In A.D. 350 missionaries from the Church of Alexandria carried the Gospel into Ethiopia, that is to say, Abyssinia, and with the Gospel they likewise carried the liturgy, which was translated into the Ethiopic vernacular. Moreover, the old Egyptians accepted the faith from Alexandria, and with it the liturgy which was handed down from S. Mark—orally, not textually. It was translated into the Egyptian tongue, that is to say, Coptic. The Egyptian Church lapsed into the Monophysite heresy, and so got separated from the Orthodox Church of the East. However, we have the Coptic liturgies, as well as the Ethiopic liturgies. What is more, we have a Greek liturgy of S. Mark, of which only two MS. copies exist. Now, by comparison of these various threads of evidence, it is possible to see what was the original structure of the liturgy of the Church of Alexandria—we find that it also was twin sister to that of Jerusalem. The pedigree becomes therefore further extended.



After the rise of Constantinople to be the seat of imperial power in the East, and with the constant interchange between the Churches of Alexandria and Constantinople, the liturgy of Alexandria became greatly influenced by that of Constanti-

nople, and was modified and altered into likeness to that in use in the Imperial City.

III. The third family is that of Edessa, of which Abgar the Black was king in our Lord's time; who was the first prince—if the tradition can be trusted—to accept the Gospel.

In the 4th century, Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, the Father of Church History, visited Edessa, and found in the library there letters in Syriac, purporting to be a correspondence between King Abgar and our Lord; he desiring to be healed of a sickness, and to have teachers sent into his kingdom. Eusebius translated these letters, and inserted them in his history. There can be no question that they are apocryphal, and that they were forged by some Edessian, eager to be able to show some documentary evidence which would substantiate the tradition of which the princes were proud, that the Osrhoenic kingdom was the first to receive the Gospel. It does, however, seem probable that Christianity did take root in Edessa in the 1st century, and that those that carried the truth there were Thaddæus and Maris, not Thaddæus the Apostle, but one of the seventy disciples, as was also Maris. If the Edessians could have claimed one of the Twelve as their apostle, their vanity would have led them so to do; but the tradition that they owed their conversion to two otherwise obscure disciples of the Twelve was too strong for them to upset it. From these two, Thaddæus—or, as they called him, Adæus—and Maris, the Eastern Syrians claim to have received their liturgy. This liturgy is especially important. As has been already said, the Coptic and the Abyssinian Eucharistic offices have been, at a very early date indeed, translated from the Greek; but that of the Church of Edessa was never translated, it is in the original Chaldee in which it was composed.

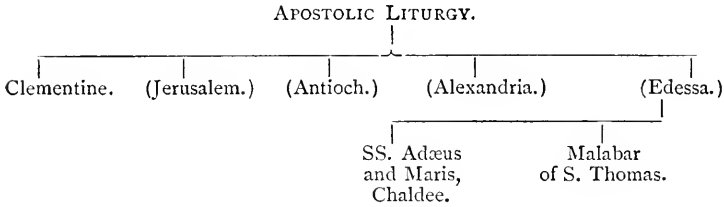
In or about A.D. 880, when the Danes were in possession

of London, our great King Alfred made a vow to God, that if He would enable him to recover this city out of their hands, he would send alms to those remote Christians in India, whose Church had been founded by S. Thomas and S. Bartholomew. In 883, when he was master of London, he fulfilled his vow, and despatched two of his nobles, Sighelm and Athelstan, with presents to the faithful in India. If this statement did not rest on the authority of the most trustworthy of chronicles,* we might have doubted it. How came Alfred to know that there was a suffering Church, a little flock of believers surrounded by the wolves on the far-off Malabar coast, a Church claiming to be of apostolic foundation? We cannot tell how he knew it, or what at that time turned his thoughts in that direction. We hear no more of the Christians of S. Thomas for centuries, except a vague allusion by the traveller Marco Polo in the 13th century, who did not reach them, till in 1502, when on his second visit to India, Vasco de Gama, to his great astonishment discovered on the S.W. coast, a people who professed the faith of Christ, which they declared had been handed down to them from apostolic times. No sooner were the Portuguese settled at Goa, than every sort of pressure was brought to bear on this little Church, to force it to submit to Rome. The bishops were seized by the inquisition, and deported to Portugal or Rome, and one was burnt alive. In 1599 a synod of the Malabar Church was convened under the Portuguese Archbishop, supported by Portuguese matchlocks and pikes, and the unhappy Christians were forced to surrender their copies of the liturgy they used, which were immediately consigned to the flames. Fortunately we know sufficient of its general structure and the form of prayers, to be sure that it was very closely related to that of Adæus and Maris. But as the Malabar Christians had maintained,

* "Anglo-Saxon Chron.," *sub. ann.*

apparently for ages, connexion with the Nestorian Churches of Syria, this similarity is not to be wondered at.

The pedigree, as further extended, stands thus :



IV. The fourth group is that which is thought to be derived from Ephesus, the Church founded by S. Paul, but which was organized and governed till his death by S. John the Divine. Of the original liturgy of Ephesus we have not only no copy, but no information, and all we can conjecture concerning it is derived from certain liturgies in Europe, those of Gaul, Spain, and Milan, apparently akin, the first of which is traceable to Churches having a more or less certain connexion with Ephesus. Probably the ancient liturgy of the British Church belonged to the same family.

This group, though formed in Western Europe, presents such unmistakeable Eastern peculiarities as to point to the East, and not improbably to Ephesus, as the region of its origin. From the Greek colony of Marseilles the Gospel entered Gaul. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, was a disciple of Papias and Polycarp, and the Church of Arles venerates the memory of its founder Trophimus the Ephesian. That of Besançon was placed under a disciple of Irenæus as its bishop.

From the old Gallic liturgies came those employed by the Goths and the Franks, and we have precious remains of their sacramentaries, that is to say, of the variable parts in the Eucharistic office. That which was invariable was not committed to writing at an early age ; it was committed

to memory. Thus it is that these sacramentaries give only the changing parts of the liturgy.

All these old Gallic, Gothic, and Teutonic services are gone ; they were swept away by the will of the great Carolingian sovereigns to make place for the Roman Missal. S. Gregory the Great, in one of his letters, speaks of the difference between the liturgies of the Churches : " In Rome the use of the Mass is one, in the Gallican Churches it is different " (Ep. xi. 64). The last token of their existence is a notice by Hilduin, who died A.D. 842, and who says that till the introduction of the Roman Missal, the Eucharist had been celebrated in the Gallic Churches in that form in which they had received it along with the Gospel.

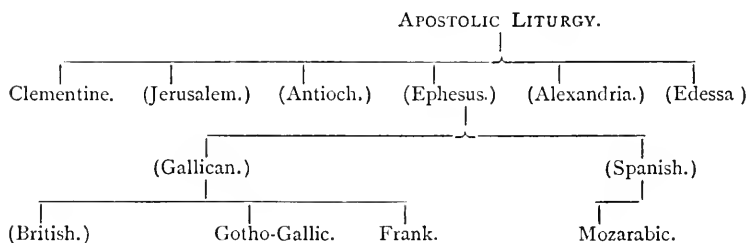
The names of some of the early Bishops of Milan, Anatholius, Monas, Calimerus, Eustorgius, Dionysius, point to a Greek origin, and the liturgy of that Church bears indications of kinship with the Gallic and descent from the East. S. Ambrose (A.D. 374-397) probably recast it ; since that date, however, the Ambrosian rite has been looked on with a sinister eye by Rome, which, though it has not succeeded in abolishing it altogether, has greatly influenced and Romanised it. Mr. Hammond thinks that the Ambrosian is a sister liturgy to the Roman, and not to the Gallican liturgy.

The ancient liturgy of the Spanish Church has had a singular history. It is usually termed the Mozarabic liturgy, probably a term of contempt given it by those in Spain of ultramontane inclinations. In its present form it is attributed to S. Isidore, Bishop of Seville (A.D. 601-630). It is certainly akin to the Gallican, and of Eastern origin. It underwent a final revision by Cardinal Ximenes in 1500, who saved it from extinction by endowing a chapel in the cathedral of Seville, in which that liturgy was to be used for ever.

" This Mozarabic liturgy," says a great authority, " is as unquestionably not derived from the Roman, as it is not an

agglomeration of a native liturgy with the Roman. It is rather, like the Gallic, the venerable ancient liturgy of Spain, which was not composed by S. Isidore, but was supposed by him to be an heritage received from the Apostle Peter, and which he, with the assistance of the 4th Toledan Synod, recast. However energetically he may have worked, and left his impress on this monument of the past, he no more composed it than did Gelasius or Gregory compose the Roman Divine Service.”*

The pedigree now stands extended thus :—



V. We come lastly to the Roman liturgy, which, originally confined to the Church of the Imperial City on the Tiber and to North Africa, has elbowed out all other rites where it has been allowed to do so, and has extended through the world, accepted—though not always without demur—by most Churches that acknowledge the Papal obedience.

The liturgy of the African Church—that is, of the Latin-speaking settlements on the African coast of the Mediterranean, of which Carthage was the metropolitan see, have disappeared with the great overthrow that these colonies met with, first at the hands of the Vandals, and then of the Mussulmans; but although not a single text remains, some of the principal writers of the ancient Church, Tertullian (A.D. 160-245), Cyprian (bp. c. 246, d. 258), Augustine

* Schill in Real-Encyklopedie. Freiburg, 1886, s.v. Liturgie.

(A.D. 354-430) have left us sufficient information concerning it to satisfy us that it was, if not identical with the Roman, at all events very closely allied to it. As the Church in North Africa was a daughter of the Roman Church, this is what we should have expected.

Of the Roman liturgy we have no authentic information prior to the fifth century. The Pontifical Annals of the See of Rome is a collection of traditions of various degrees of value and of uncertain date, and no reliance can be placed on the statements made with reference to the early history of the See of Rome and its occupants. According to that authority, for instance, Sixtus I. (119-128) introduced the "Thrice Holy" into the liturgy, whereas we judge from the letter of Clement of Rome that it existed in the service before this date. Telesphorus (A.D. 128-138) is said to have introduced the *Gloria in Excelsis*. This is possible; but inasmuch as we know from the "Apostolic Constitutions" that it formed already a part of morning prayer, it is hardly more than possible. Celestine I. (d. 432) is said to have settled the psalms sung in the liturgy, which is probable enough. Leo I. (440-461) added four words to the canon. Much more important than these doubtful statements is the testimony of Innocent I. (402-417) that no alterations were tolerated in that liturgy which had been handed down in the Church from S. Peter, the chief of the Apostles. Vigilius (A.D. 405-54) sent a copy of the unchangeable portion of the service, the Canon, to Profuturus, Bishop of Braga, in Spain, and said, in the letter accompanying it, that the Canon remained true to Apostolic traditions. With it he sent the variable portions suitable to the several festivals.

The original Roman liturgy was certainly in Greek, as the early Church in Rome was a Greek-speaking Church, and the first bishops were Greek. Greek inscriptions belong to the earliest in the catacombs.

When the translation into Latin took place we do not know, but the Latin Mass to this day bears traces of its Greek origin. No remains of the original Greek liturgy remain, because it never was committed to writing ; the version took place whilst the liturgy was still in fluid condition, unfixed save in outline, and before persecution had ceased.

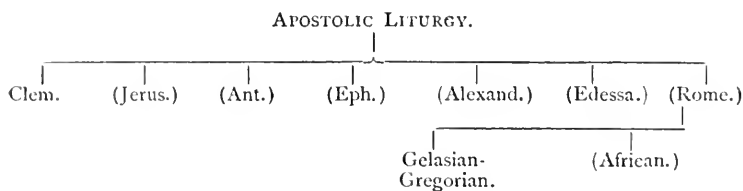
Justin Martyr, who wrote from Rome about A.D. 148, describes the Eucharistic service in such a manner that we see it must have coincided very closely indeed with that in the Apostolic Constitutions ; and indeed the Mass still in use bears evidence of such a descent. As the Gospel spread, and the Latin-speaking inhabitants of Rome and Italy flowed into the Church and swamped the Greek element, then the liturgy was no longer rendered in Greek but in Latin. There was no translation proper, only a flow of Latin words through the channels in which Greek had previously streamed.

One very remarkable point of contrast remains to be noticed between the Western and the Eastern liturgies. In the East, the Pro-Anaphora, the Ante-Communion Service, remains unchanged, but bishops and saints composed fresh Anaphoras without hesitation, not, be it remembered, varying the *form*, but the words. On the other hand, the Western Church held to the Anaphora as fixed, and varied the Pro-Anaphora with changeable collects and prefaces. Yet, though the East changed the latter part of the dual service, and the West changed the former part, in both East and West the type remains fixed in the main outlines.

Gelasius, Bishop of Rome (A.D. 492-496) is said to have composed some of the variable portions, and a Sacramentary called by his name has been found in a 9th century MS. But Gregory the Great (A.D. 590-604), who took pity on the darkness in which our English forefathers lay, and sent to us Augustine with the Gospel, was the most important liturgical reviser the Roman Church had. As he reset the old music,

so did he recast the old words. He condensed what was long in the Gelasian liturgy, and inserted a short passage. "Dispose our days in Thy peace, and deliver us from eternal damnation, and bid us be numbered in the flock of Thy elect."* That was the extent of his *addition*. What he altered in position was the Lord's Prayer, which he found separated from the Canon, as it is still separated from it in the Ambrosian rite, and which he put back in the place from which he believed that by error it had slipped. By some curious error of our Reformers the Lord's Prayer got adrift in our Communion Service, and was left by them stranded after the reception. Now, if our Liturgy went through another reform, doubtless it would be put back into its proper place before reception. That would be a change analogous to the change effected by Gregory. Having the Gelasian form, we have only to compare it with Gregory's reform, and to see how very slight was the alteration which he felt himself justified in making. From that time to this no alteration of any importance has been made in the present form of the Roman liturgy.

Our pedigree is now complete.



There are several points in the Roman Canon or Anaphora that indicate a remote antiquity. The commemoration of the Apostles does not follow the order given in the Gospels, nor do the words of Institution accord with the Gospel

* Yet the end has a strong resemblance to the passage from the liturgy in Clement of Rome, "We will ask the Creator to guard the members of His elect that is numbered throughout the whole world."

narrative, almost certainly proving a date of redaction earlier than the Gospels. The list of Popes commemorated follows the Greek order, as given by Hegesippus and Irenæus, and *not* the Latin tradition. Confessors are not commemorated, and this points to a date prior to 303. Moreover, it is full of peculiar expressions which, belong to a very early period.*

* "Vota sua" instead of "preces," "Communicantes et memoriam venerantes," "Meritis precibusque," "quam oblationem—rationabilem," "servi tui, sed et plebs tua sancta," "hostia," "dormiunt in somno pacis," &c.

CHAPTER IV.

THE "CONSTITUTIONS" OF THE APOSTLES.

STORY OF A CALIFF—THE MAGIC BOOK OF THE "CONSTITUTIONS"—THE WORLD IT OPENS TO US—DATE OF PUBLICATION, 320-340—A COMPILATION OF MUCH EARLIER MATERIAL—ITS CONTENTS—THE SEVENTH BOOK A COLLECTION OF SCRAPS—THE EIGHTH BOOK A PONTIFICAL—WHERE THE COMPILATION WAS MADE UNCERTAIN—OBJECT OF THE EDITOR—A PROTEST AGAINST LAXITY OF DISCIPLINE AND CURTAILMENT OF LITURGY CONSEQUENT ON THE ALTERED RELATIONS OF THE CHURCH—TWO ACCOUNTS OF THE EUCHARIST IN THE "CONSTITUTIONS"—THE LITURGY IN THE EIGHTH BOOK MADE UP OF TWO OR MORE FRAGMENTS—OMISSION OF LORD'S PRAYER ACCIDENTAL—THE WORDING OF THE PRAVERS NOT FIXED—THE TYPE, HOWEVER, ALWAYS CONSTANT.

AN Oriental story tells of a Califf who on a summer day opened a magic book that had been given him, and was at once transported to another clime, among strange people, whose tongue he could not understand, and whose customs were unlike any with which he was familiar. Amongst this people in this foreign clime he remained, till the book dropped from his hands, when he found himself again where he had been when he opened the volume. Some such an effect will be produced on the reader who is induced to take up and open the "Constitutions of the Apostles." He will find himself at once translated to a time of persecution, and into the midst of the Church in process of organization; he will meet with strange customs, rites, and regulations, that tell him what the world was, when the Gospel began to

spread through it like a purifying stream, and what the Church was, to which was entrusted the mission of evangelisation.

But though much which he will encounter will be strange, yet he will also find that much is the same now as was in the early days of the faith. Human nature has not altered ; and with something like amusement, the modern parish priest will read of the petty envies, the greed, the selfishness among those who received the alms of the Church ; the very difficulties and annoyances that he meets with nowadays were rampant in the Church in the days of her youth. He will find that there were then forward and blustering believers, and others weak-kneed, who were ever seeking excuses to escape from duties that entailed risk or inconvenience.

An account of the "Apostolic Constitutions" can hardly fail to be of interest, and must necessarily be here given, because it contains three accounts of the Eucharist in a primitive age, one of which is unfortunately only an account of what we should call nowadays the Ante-Communion Service ; the second is merely a guide to lay members of the congregation as to their private devotions during the service ; but the third is a complete liturgy, and is (as a whole) the earliest liturgical monument we possess.

The "Constitutions of the Apostles" consists of eight books, published between A.D. 320-340. It was known and quoted in this edition by Epiphanius just after the middle of the fourth century.

The volume published under this title consists of a compilation of much earlier matter, of which the first six books, less only a few additions made by the compiler, are a complete *vade mecum* of moral and disciplinary teaching affecting the exterior of Church life. The seventh book is, on the other hand, a collection of fragments. It contains a version of the Didaché—itsself made up of pre-existing matter, and of other material ; the eighth book is also a collection, chiefly

of liturgical matters—it is, to use a mediæval word, a Pontifical.

The work occupying the first six books belongs to the earlier half of the third century. Although the matter in the seventh and eighth books was put together in the fourth, some of the material is of extreme antiquity, the *Didaché*, for instance, belonging to the sub-Apostolic age.

The second book contains instructions on the duties of bishops, priests, and deacons; of readers, exorcists, and deaconesses. In this book occurs a description of a Christian church, and of the first part of the Eucharistic Service—that is to say of the Pro-Anaphora, the Eucharist proper being passed over with a few words, on account of that caution which was observed in the early ages, lest the mystery of the Eucharist should be profaned by becoming generally known and ridiculed.

The seventh book is a mere stitching together of odds and ends, and the perusal of the “Constitutions” conveys to the reader’s mind the impression of its being the library of some ecclesiastical collector, sewn together without much respect to the subjects inserted side by side. For instance, the seventh book is compiled of—1. The *Didaché*; 2. A tract on meats offered to idols; 3. A tract on Baptism; 4. A treatise on Fasts, and the observance of the Sabbath; 5. A portion of the Eucharistic Prayer of Thanksgiving; 6. Another tract on Baptism and Unction; 7. A catalogue of bishops ordained by the Apostles; 8. The *Gloria in Excelsis*, with additions as used in the liturgy.

The eighth book contains, as already said, sundry liturgical documents, and forms a manual for bishops. After a brief introduction, follow instructions on the election and consecration of a bishop; then ensues the complete form of the Eucharistic Service, the earliest we have. This again is followed by forms of ordination of priests, deacons, sub-deacons, readers, and deaconesses. Finally come formularies for the

benediction of baptismal water and oil, and the book concludes with directions for baptism, for the celebration of festivals, and concerning prayers for the dead. That the complete work should contain repetitions and contradictions is not surprising, considering its origin. Not only do the various documents belong to various dates, but also to different branches of the Church. In the fifth book, the hearers are addressed as converted Gentiles; the sin of the Jews is pointed out in rejecting Christ as their sovereign, therefore, "To you, the converted of the Gentiles, is the kingdom given." "Ye are translated from your former vain mode of life, ye have despised idols, and have come to the full light." The former Israel "have left the vineyard uncultivated, and have killed the stewards of the Lord of the vineyard—but by you He, whom they rejected, has been received as the corner-stone." In the sixth book, however, we have an exhortation to the faithful not to shrink from touching dead bodies, even those of the martyrs, as contracting ceremonial uncleanness—an exhortation that could have been addressed only to converts from Mosaism. In the Eucharistic Prayer in the seventh book, Abraham and Jacob are spoken of as "our fathers,"* and God is appealed to as "Thou great protector of the posterity of Abraham!" which indicates usage in a congregation of believers of the circumcision. The *Didaché*, moreover, a much amplified version of the little book recently recovered and published by Bryennius, Bishop of Nicomedia, is distinctly a work belonging to Jewish Christians—in its form as given by Bryennius, Ebionite—for it does not mention the Divinity of Christ, or the Redemption, and apparently deliberately avoids the recognition of the Lord's Day as

* Not much stress can be placed on this quotation of Abraham and Jacob as "our fathers," for in the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians he speaks in the same way of the patriarchs, and this language was common to Gentile as well as Jewish Christians.

commemorative of the Resurrection. We shall have more to say of the *Didaché* presently, when we come to treat of the mention of the Eucharist in it.

That the original material of the "Constitutions" belongs to a far earlier period than its publication appears from the extent to which regulations are made as to the treatment of martyrs. On the one hand, over-bold Christians are rebuked for courting martyrdom, for presenting themselves voluntarily before the magistrates; on the other hand, timorous Christians meet with rebuke for shrinking from those of their brethren who are in prison or condemned to the mines, for fear of attracting suspicion to themselves, and incurring danger accordingly. The editor has not, unfortunately, been content to publish his collection intact; he has meddled with his material, adding and altering, as suited his view.

Moreover, to give to the collection a weight that it might not otherwise carry, he attributed it to the Apostles themselves.

We ask what was the object of the editor in thus giving his library of literary tracts and books, and odds and ends, an authority it could not legitimately claim? Apparently he was a rigorist. When persecution had ceased, and the Church breathed freely, when it became fashionable to profess Christianity, then a great relaxation of discipline took place, a relaxation which had already called forth the remonstrance of Tertullian, before the breaking forth of the Diocletianic persecution. Not only was there less strictness of life exacted, but the laxity invaded the churches, and affected the conduct of divine worship. The lengthy prayers, the repeated intercessions, were considered intolerable, and there was not merely a demand for curtailment, but very generally a concession on the part of the celebrant to this demand. To oppose both the relaxation of morals and the curtailment of the liturgy, the author of the "Constitutions" issued his collection of old documents as one work, and

attributed to them the names and authority of the Apostles, in the hope that by this pious fraud he might attain a good end, and arrest further decay of discipline and liturgical alteration.

He was a clumsy workman, for he took no pains to make one part of the work agree with another; and when he put together fragments, he left the rough edges unplanned and unsmoothed, and fitted the pieces together without judgment. An instance of each fault can be found in his dealing with the Eucharist.

As already said, he gives two accounts of the Eucharist, one in the second book, another in the eighth; and in one he gives the Litany of Intercession before the dismissal of the Catechumens, in the other he gives it after they have left. The reason of this disagreement is that the documents he used differed, and he either did not observe the discrepancy, or he did not venture to alter one to agree with the other.

As an instance of clumsy patching, we may quote this. The eighth book begins with the order of consecration of bishops, then gives a liturgy, then goes on with the rest of the ordinal, the ordination of priests, deacons, &c. The liturgy is out of place where he put it; it breaks the ordinal in half; but his reason is also clear. He had a liturgy, or rather some liturgical fragments, which he purposed to insert somewhere, and he saw in the ordination of bishops a command to place the Eucharist on the hands of the newly consecrated bishop; thereupon he concluded he had lit on a right place for the insertion, and there accordingly he thrust in his liturgy.

We have spoken of this liturgy as one of the fragments. This is the case. The compiler had not, apparently, one complete Eucharistic Service in MS. under his hand, but two or three MSS., containing portions of the liturgy, and these he pieced together again with such clumsiness that the separate fragments are distinguishable. We can show here also an

instance of his want of skill. After having given from what we will call MS. A, the Pro-Anaphora down to the dismissal of the non-communicants, then he took up MS. B., which began *before* the dismissal, and attached it to the former; the consequence is he gives us *two* dismissals—that is to say, after the Church has been cleared of non-communicants, the deacon orders them all out again.

After the consecration apparently MS. B. came to an end, and the compiler finished off the liturgy with either another fragment of A, or with a third MS., C, but in so doing omitted the Lord's Prayer, which came just where B failed him.

It has been a cause of much debate why in this liturgy in the "Constitutions" the Lord's Prayer is absent, although we know from the comparison of every other liturgy in Christendom that it was found in the Eucharistic Service before the Communion, but the real solution of the difficulty is that proposed.

Now the compiler would not have gained his end had he composed a liturgy of his own; what he published must commend itself to his readers as having the flavour of antiquity. Aged bishops and priests who read his book must have been able to say, Such was the liturgy in the days of our youth, before there set in this wave of impatience and clamour for curtailment; such also was the liturgy in its simplicity, when we worshipped God in catacombs and in private houses, and before there was such an invasion of pomp and ceremonial. Unless what the compiler gave to the world was really old, or very like the old, he would have been detected and denounced at once. Every aged presbyter could have and would have repudiated the whole work, because in this one matter of experience it could be proved a fraud.

We may almost certainly, on these grounds, which are confirmed by internal evidence, accept this liturgy in the eighth book as dating from the end of the third century.

The author of an article on this liturgy in the *Church Quarterly** says: "We are strongly inclined to believe that the Clementine liturgy is a genuine representation of a liturgy used somewhere in the West, probably in Rome, about the middle of the third century; not the exact liturgy, in so many words, because it appears to be constructed out of at least two, and perhaps more, independent documents, and because of the presence of the long rubrics, which, we believe, would be an utter anachronism in any liturgy even approaching the latest date ever assigned to this one; yet genuine in a very true sense, because the documents out of which it is constructed are genuine, probably being the *libelli* which bishops, and probably priests too, had for their own use to study the service in. In that case the rubrics might probably belong to the *libelli* themselves; or they might, as before suggested, be due to the compiler."†

That originally the liturgy was determined as to its general shape and the sequence of parts, but otherwise unfixd, we think the sequel will prove. As a river may be conducted through a channel artificially constructed, here to take a direct course, there to leap down a weir after feeding a conduit; then to take a stately sweep; and as that river may at times fill its bed to the brink, at others flow with diminished stream, sometimes roll in turgid flood, at others pearl in limpid purity; so with the liturgy. It had its course marked out; but the volume of words, whether full or scant, that took this course, was left to the ability of the celebrant, or his fervour at the moment. So was the proclamation of glad tidings left to men, fixed as to the truths declared, free as to the manner in which the declaration was to be made, now with the golden rush of eloquence, then with the meagre dribble of stuttering

* *Church Quarterly Review*, April, 1882, p. 56.

† Probst, in his "Liturgie d. 3 ersten Jahrhunderte," Tübingen, 1870, had already pointed out the existence of two distinct liturgies united into one in the Clementine liturgy.

lips, and yet—O divine power of eternal truth!—as often effective in fertilising to fruit of good works, in the trickle as in the flood.

We shall see presently how varied are the texts of the Great Eucharistic Thanksgiving and the Intercessory Prayer. It is the same story told by different narrators ; the words differ, but the story is the same ; it is the same melody sung in many variations, infinitely modified, yet always organically, inherently, one.

CHAPTER V.

THE DIDACHÉ.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE ORIGINAL DIDACHÉ—PROTESTANT OPINION ON THE ACCOUNT OF THE EUCHARIST IN IT—THE DIDACHÉ A HERETICAL COMPOSITION—NOT AN ORIGINAL WORK, BUT COMPOSITE—ITS CONSTITUENTS—ALREADY IN THE “CONSTITUTIONS”—THE EUCHARIST IN THE DIDACHÉ NO MEMORIAL OF THE LORD’S DEATH—FORMS OF THANKSGIVING—THE VERSION IN THE “CONSTITUTIONS”.—THE LATTER AN ECHO OF THE EUCHARISTIC PRAYER OF THANKSGIVING—THE FORMER EBIONITE—A SECOND FORM OF THE EUCHARISTIC PRAYER IN THE “CONSTITUTIONS.”

Some years ago Philotheus Bryennius, at the time Metropolitan of Serrhæ in Macedonia, afterwards of Nicomedia, discovered in the library of the Holy Sepulchre, at Constantinople, a MS. that contained, among other works, a little book called “The Teaching of the Apostles.” He published this in 1883 at Constantinople. It almost at once roused great interest, and awoke in some minds perplexity, in others exultation.

By Protestants generally it was accepted as a proof that at an early epoch, if not during the lives of the Apostles, at least just after their death, the Eucharist was regarded in a very low aspect, utterly unlike that which it assumed in the Church from the third century to the present day. A little further consideration cooled their enthusiasm, for it appeared that on much the same grounds rationalists could appeal to the Didaché as proof that, at this early period in the Church,

there was no belief in our Lord's Divinity, no realisation of such a tremendous doctrine as the Redemption, and no assurance that the Resurrection was a fact. Since the publication of the Didaché in 1883 critics have turned their attention to it, free from prejudice, and from purpose to wrest its testimony to establish foregone conclusions. The result is not one that gives to the Didaché a high and authoritative position.

The Didaché is not an original composition. It opens with a transcript of a work on the Two Ways, *i.e.*, the Way of Life, and the Way of Death, which has also been incorporated into the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Shepherd of Hermas, and from which Clement of Alexandria has also quoted.* It does not quote from any of the Canonical Gospels, but only from one, apparently the "Gospel of the Twelve Apostles," which was in circulation among the Nazarenes and Ebionites.

The Didaché was already known to scholars, because, as already said, it is embedded in the seventh book of the "Constitutions," but as there given it is much fuller and more orthodox than the version published by Bryennius. The question arises, Is the shorter version the original from which that in the "Constitutions" is an amplification? or—Do both derive from a common original, the short version being an adaptation to suit the views of the Ebionite heretics, and that in the "Constitutions" a filling out of the somewhat meagre orthodox original? We think the latter is the true explanation. It is not conceivable that a work holding such low views of Christ, as that published by Bryennius, could have circulated in the Church. The tone is utterly contrary to that of S. Paul and of S. Peter. The Eucharistic prayers and thanksgivings avoid all allusions to the Sacrifice of the Death of Christ. When the Lord's Day is spoken of, it is as "The Lord's Day of the Lord"—in the version in the

* Strom. I. c. 20.

“Constitutions” it is “The Day of the Resurrection of the Lord.” The Eucharist, in the Didaché, instead of being a memorial of the Lord’s Death, is a solemn act of looking forward to the Final Judgment.

In considering this account of the Eucharist it must be borne in mind that the Didaché is a layman’s manual, and that therefore it does not give the celebrants’ part of the liturgy, only the prayers that were to be used by the communicants at the Eucharistic Service. The reader will observe how all reference to the Atonement is avoided. The account of the Eucharistic Service is as follows. We quote the Bryennius version.

“With regard to the Eucharist, give thanks after this manner: First, with regard to the cup, ‘We give thanks to Thee, our Father, for the holy vine of Thy child David, which Thou hast made known to us through Thy Child Jesus; to Thee be glory for ever.’ But with regard to the broken bread, ‘We give thanks to Thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which Thou hast made known to us through Thy Child Jesus; to Thee be glory for ever. As this broken bread was scattered upon the mountains, and gathered together became one, so let Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Thy Kingdom, for Thine is the glory and power through Jesus Christ for ever. But let no one eat and drink of your Eucharist except those baptized in the name of the Lord, for regarding this also the Lord hath said, ‘Give not that which is holy to the dogs.’

“But after being filled, give thanks thus: ‘We give thanks to Thee, Holy Father, for Thy Holy Name, which Thou hast caused to dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which Thou hast made known to us by Jesus Thy Child; to Thee be glory for ever. Thou, Almighty Ruler, madest all things for Thy Name’s sake; Thou gavest men food and drink for enjoyment, that they might give thanks to Thee, but as Thou blessedst with

spiritual food and drink and eternal life through Thy Child. Before all things we give thanks to Thee that Thou art mighty; to Thee be glory for ever. Remember, O Lord, Thy Church to deliver her from all evil and to perfect her in Thy love, and gather her together from the four winds, her the sanctified, into Thy kingdom which Thou preparedst for her; for Thine is the power and the glory for ever. Let grace come, let the world pass away. Hosanna to the God of David. If any one be holy, let him come, if anyone be not holy, let him repent. Maranatha. Amen.'

"On the Lord's day of the Lord come together and break bread, and give thanks after confessing your transgressions, that your sacrifice may be pure."

There are one or two points deserving of notice here. In the first place the cup is taken before the bread, contrary to the universal usage of the Church, but in accordance, no doubt, with the Gospel of the Twelve, which in this particular agreed with that of S. Luke (xxii. 17), and with the account by S. Paul (1 Cor. x. 16).

In the next place the Hosanna is altered—it is "to the God of David," not "to the Son of David."*

The version in the "Constitutions" has quite another character. If it was amplified and given an orthodox complexion by the compiler, he showed in this an amount of skill such as he manifested nowhere else.

Here is the first collect.

"We give thanks to Thee, Holy Father, for that life which Thou hast made known to us by Jesus Thy Son, by whom Thou madest all things, and governest the whole world; whom Thou hast sent to become man for our salvation; whom Thou hast permitted to suffer and to die; whom Thou hast raised up, and been pleased to glorify, and hast set Him down on Thy right hand; by whom Thou hast promised us

* But this may be a mere slip *θεῷ* for *υἷῳ*.

the resurrection of the dead. Do Thou, O Lord Almighty, everlasting God, so gather together Thy Church from the ends of the earth into Thy kingdom, as this corn was scattered, and gathered together became one bread. We also, our Father, thank Thee for the precious blood of Jesus Christ, which was shed for us, and for His precious Body, whereof we celebrate the antitype, as Himself appointed, 'to shew forth His death.' For through Him be glory to Thee for ever. Amen."

Is not the latter form in complete harmony with the ideas of S. Paul in his epistles, and with the liturgical prayers found in every Church founded by the Apostles, and in agreement with the language of the fathers of the first centuries? All the Christianity seems washed out of the prayer in the Didaché of Bryennius.

The Bryennian Didaché does agree in tone with what we know were the tenets of the Ebionites, but it is out of tune altogether with Apostolic Christianity. That it has been curtailed from a fuller version, the mention of the Lord's day shows. The wording there in the form in the "Constitutions" is "On the Day of the Resurrection of the Lord—*i.e.*, The Lord's Day—come together." In the Ebionite text it runs "On the Lord's Day of the Lord." *

The colourless thanksgiving in the Ebionite Didaché assumes another complexion in the version in the "Constitutions," where it is a condensation of the celebrant's Great Eucharistic Thanksgiving, following a type that recurs again and again in the writers of the first three centuries, because all—writer and celebrant alike—followed the lines of the Rule of Faith, the true Teaching of the Apostles concerning God's dealing with man from Creation to Redemption. This is the thanksgiving for the communicant as given in the "Constitutions."

* Instead of *Τὴν ἀναστάσιμον τοῦ κυρίου ἡμέραν, τὴν κυριακὴν*, it has *Κατὰ κυριακὴν δε κυρίου*.

“We thank Thee, O God and Father of Jesus our Saviour, for Thy Holy Name, which Thou hast made to dwell among us; and that knowledge, faith, love, and immortality which Thou hast given us through Thy Son Jesus. Thou, O Almighty Lord God of the universe, hast created the world, and the things that are therein, by Him; Thou hast planted a law in our souls, and before all didst prepare things for the service of men. O God of our holy and blameless fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Thou also art powerful, faithful, and true, and without deceit in Thy promises; who didst send upon earth Jesus Thy Christ to live with men, as a man, when He was God the Word, and Man,—do thou, through Him, be mindful of Thy holy Church, which Thou hast purchased with the precious blood of Thy Christ, and deliver it from all evil, and perfect it in Thy love and truth, and gather us all together into Thy Kingdom which Thou hast prepared. May Thy Kingdom come. Hosanna to the Son of David. God the Lord was manifested to us in the flesh. If any one be holy, let him draw near,” &c.

Now this is an echo of the Eucharistic prayer. It contains a sequence of ideas. It begins with mention of the glory of God as creator. It speaks of the law written in the heart of fallen man,—the law of Nature, also of the patriarchs—an allusion to the old covenant, then it speaks of the incarnation and death of Christ, and then of the restoration of all things. All this is found much developed in the Great Thanksgiving, and this prayer of the communicants can only be properly understood when we know what that was,—but the meagre form in the Ebionite *Didaché* is without this sequence, and consequently without connexion with any other formulary by which it can be illustrated.

The compiler of the “*Constitutions*” seems to have been struck by the thanksgiving he had just taken from the *Didaché*; it sounded a note in his heart, and at once—as soon as ever he has finished transcribing the *Didaché*—he

goes on, "Since we are vouchsafed such blessings, let us call upon God by continual prayer, and say:"—Then follows a sublime version of the Eucharistic prayer, going through the whole record of creation, the fall, the promise of restoration, the call of the patriarchs, the giving of the Law, the Incarnation, the Resurrection. Into this comes the Sanctus, and after it the prayer of oblation. It is—what the *Te Deum* also was—a paraphrase of the central portion of the liturgy for lay devotion, or for use in divine worship at other times than the Eucharistic celebration.

The prayers in the *Didaché* are—(a) that before Communion, and (b) that after Communion, and are these only; of the part said by the celebrant nothing is given. And these are based on corresponding prayers in the Paschal Ritual among the Jews.*

* Jewish prayer before distribution at Paschal rite—"Praised be Thou, O Lord our God, king of the world, who hast created the fruit of the vine, for ever and ever, Amen," and "Praised be Thou . . . who hast brought the bread out of the earth, for ever and ever, Amen." The Act of Praise over the unleavened bread is "Praised be Thou . . . who hast sanctified us through Thy commandment, and hast commanded us to eat unleavened bread, for ever and ever, Amen."

CHAPTER VI.

SYMMETRICAL STRUCTURE.

THE STRUCTURE OF HEBREW POETRY—THE DISCOVERY OF BISHOP LOWTH—FOLLOWED BY BISHOP JEBB—THE SAME LAW GOVERNED LITERARY STYLE—THE FOUR RULES OF COMPOSITION GIVEN BY DR. FORBES—EXAMPLES—THE EPISTLE TO PHILEMON—THE LORD'S PRAYER—PARALLELISM IN OUR LORD'S LIFE—INTROVERTED PARALLELISM BETWEEN HIS BIRTH AND HIS DEATH—THE BEARING OF THE RULE OF PARALLELISM ON THE LITURGY—THE EXISTENCE OF LITERARY FORM AN EVIDENCE OF ANTIQUITY—LOST WHEN THE LITURGY CAME INTO THE HANDS OF GREEKS AND ROMANS.

HEBREW poetry followed in its structure a rule different from that observed elsewhere. Its essential characteristic consists in a correspondence of lines, in antithesis, and not, as in classic poetry, in rhythm of feet, or as in Scandinavian, in alliteration and the employment of euphemisms, or as in modern languages, in the recurrence of similar final sounds. It observed a rhythm of ideas, and not of sounds. Bishop Lowth first observed this, and he designated it Parallelism, which he defined to be "a certain equality, resemblance, or relationship between the members of each period; so that in one or more lines or members of the same period things shall answer to things, and words to words, as it fitted to each other by a kind of rule or measure."* By this discovery he was able to furnish an interpretation of many an obscure passage in Scripture, that which is not at

* Lowth's "Lectures on Hebrew Poetry," Prælec. xix.

once intelligible in one line or member of a sentence being made clear and unambiguous by the parallel expression in the corresponding line or member.

Bishop Lowth was followed by Bishop Jebb, who showed that the same mode of composition adopted by the writers of the Old Testament was adopted also by those of the New, who wrote no longer in Hebrew, but in Greek. They carried into the other language that form of composition which to their minds had acquired a sanction by use in the inspired writings of the Prophets, and which moreover commended itself to their taste. Their sense of literary style, shaped under Hebrew influence, exhibited itself in the composition of their Greek writings.

Dr. J. Forbes followed Jebb in the same line, and in his "Symmetrical Structure of Scripture,"* developed this principle in a masterly and brilliant treatise. He points out four arrangements adopted by the sacred writers.

1. Parallel lines gradational, as in Ps. i.—

How blessed is the man

Who hath not *walked* in the *counsel* of the *ungodly*;
 nor *stood* in the *way* of *sinners*,
 nor *sat* in the *seat* of the *scornful*,

where in the triplet the lines gradually rise, one above the other, not merely in their general sense, but specially, throughout their corresponding members.

2. Parallel lines antithetic, as Ps. xx. 8—

They have *bowed* down and *fallen*;
 We have *risen*, and *stand upright*.

And Proverbs xxvii. 6—

Faithful are the *wounds* of a *friend*;
Deceitful are the *kisses* of an *enemy*,

where every word has its opposite.

* Edinburgh, Clark, 1854.

3. Parallel lines constructive, as 2 Cor. xi. 22—27.

22. Are they *Hebrews*?—*So am I.*
 Are they *Israelites*?—*So am I.*
 Are they *Abraham's seed*?—*So am I.*

23. Are they ministers of Christ?—I am more.
 In *labours* more abundant,
 In *stripes* above measure,
 In *prisons* more abundant,
 In *deaths oft*.

24, 25. Of the Jews
Five times received I forty stripes save *one*,
Three times I was beaten with rods, stoned *once*,
Three times I suffered shipwreck, *one* night and day
 I was in the deep.

26. In *journeyings oft*,
 In perils of *rivers*, perils of *robbers*,
 In perils by *own countrymen*, perils from *strangers*,
 In perils in the *city*, perils in *wilderness*,
 In perils by *sea*, perils by *false brethren*.

27. In *labour* and *pain*,
 In *watchings oft*,
 In *hunger* and *thirst*,
 In *fastings oft*,
 In *cold* and *nakedness*.

The correspondence in the construction and expressions is still more apparent in the original Greek.

4. Parallel lines introverted, as, Ps. cxxxv. 15—18.

The idols of the heathen are silver and gold ;
 The work of men's hand ;
 They have mouths, but they speak not ;
 They have eyes, but they see not ;
 They have ears, but they hear not ;
 Neither is there any breath in their mouths ;
 They that make them are like unto them ;
 So are all they who put their trust in them.

The most remarkable instance of introverted parallelism, however, is found in S. Paul's Epistle to Philemon.

- A. 1—3. Epistolary.
- B. 4—7. Prayer of Paul for Philemon. Philemon's hospitality.
- C. 8. Authority.
- D. 9, 10. Supplication.
- E. 10. Onesimus, Paul's convert.
- F. 11, 12. Wrong done by Onesimus. Amends by Paul.
- G. 12. To receive Onesimus, same as receiving Paul.
- H. 13, 14. Paul—Philemon.
- I. 15. Onesimus.
- I. 16. Onesimus.
- H. 16. Paul—Philemon.
- G. 17. To receive Onesimus, same as receiving Paul.
- F. 18, 19. Wrong done by Onesimus. Amends by Paul.
- E. 19. Philemon, Paul's convert.
- D. 20. Supplication.
- C. 21. Authority.
- B. 22. Philemon's hospitality. Prayers of Philemon for Paul.
- A. 23—25. Epistolary.

A very remarkable instance of parallelism exists in the Lord's Prayer.

Our Father, who art in Heaven,
 { Thy Name be hallowed,
 { Thy Kingdom come,
 { Thy Will be done

} As in Heaven so in Earth, } (of Earth, material,
 } Give us this day our daily Bread, } of Heaven, spiritual.)

 { Forgive our Debts (as we forgive our debtors),
 { Lead us not into Temptation,
 { Deliver us from Evil,
 For Thine is the Kingdom and the Glory.

Here the two middle members have a hidden correspondence. Heaven and Earth are mentioned in the first, and implied in the second, for the Bread is not only that which feeds the body, and which God gives from the Earth, but also that which feeds the soul, and which God gives from Heaven.

The Sermon on the Mount is constructed with marvellous skill and beauty; but for the true understanding of its

parallelism, the reader is referred to Dr. Forbes's book already noticed. What has apparently escaped the notice of the writers who have treated of the symmetrical structure of Scripture is the fact of the parallelisms in Our Blessed Lord's life, not in His sayings only, but in His acts. For instance, His three miracles of raising the dead show a parallelism of gradation.

1. The Daughter of Jairus ; a child, just dead, in the house. Christ takes the hand.
2. The young man of Nain ; an adult, on way to burial, in the road. Christ touches the bier.
3. Lazarus ; man of full age. Dead three days. Buried. Christ calls aloud.

So is it with many of our Lord's actions. One stands over against another, is like it, and yet in some material point differs from it, and this difference makes the signification of the act different also.

Thrice did the *Bathkol*, or voice from heaven, proclaim Christ's nature and honour. First at His baptism ; secondly, at the Transfiguration ; and thirdly, on His way to agony and death in Jerusalem.

Thrice did our Lord give sight to the blind ; thrice was there a miraculous draught of fishes ; thrice did He raise the dead ; thrice did He foretell His death. Thrice was He associated with women who were adulteresses : the first was the Samaritan woman, the second was the Galilean Magdalen, and the third was the Jewish woman taken in the very act, brought before Him in the temple. Thrice did Christ issue the injunction to become as children—first to Nicodemus, when He bade him be born again ; then on the return from Tabor, when He set a child in the midst of His striving and ambitious disciples ; and lastly, on the further side of Jordan, when young children were brought to Him for His blessing.

He began His ministry with the miracle of Cana, the turning of water into wine at the marriage feast ; and His last act at the close of His ministry was the institution of the Eucharist, at His marriage feast with the Church, when He took the cup, and pronounced over the wine, " This is My Blood."

At the first call of the Apostles He miraculously filled their net, and gave the promise that they should become fishers of men. After His resurrection, when they had returned to their vocation as fishers, again He called them, to send them forth fishing for men in verity, and then once more He gave them a miraculous draught. At the first the net brake—figure of the schisms which would rend the unity of the Church ; at the second it brake not—figure of the final ingathering of the united Church before the last Judgment.

An introverted parallelism is found in the main events of His life and work.

- A. The Holy Ghost overshadows Mary.
- B. Descent from Heaven to be Incarnate.
- C. Nativity. The cave of Bethlehem.
- D. Life sought by Herod.
- E. Epiphany. Gifts of Magi as to a king.
- F. Descent into Egypt to escape death.
- G. Baptism. Voice from Heaven.
- H. Ministry.
- G. Transfiguration. Voice from Heaven.
- F. Ascent to Jerusalem to His Death.
- E. Mocking homage ; gifts, crown, sceptre, robe.
- D. Life taken by Herod and Pilate.
- C. Resurrection. The cave of Golgotha.
- B. Ascent into Heaven.
- A. The Holy Ghost comes down on the Church.

The first event in the sacred story is the Annunciation to Mary that the Holy Ghost would overshadow her, and the last event is the Descent of the Holy Ghost on the newly-formed Virgin Church, the Bride.

Christ came down from Heaven to be born of Mary, and He ascended again into Heaven to His Father. As He was

born into the world, so after death He rose again, a new birth from the womb of the grave, each time born of a virgin mother; for as Mary was a spotless maiden, so was the tomb one in which no man had been laid. At the beginning of His life He was pursued, and His life sought by Herod; at the end He was pursued and His life taken. Herod, Pilate, and the Jews were implicated in His death. At His nativity a star shone miraculously out of the sky over Bethlehem, and at midnight there was a great light to the shepherds; at His death the sun was darkened at the mid-day. When His life was sought, He fled into Egypt; when taken He descended into Hades. At the beginning of His life He was circumcised and shed His blood; at His close He sweated drops of blood in His agony.*

We have turned aside from the consideration of the liturgies to this topic of symmetry in Hebrew poetry, which pervaded all the writers of the New Testament as well as the Old, because, as will be seen, the earliest liturgy we possess shows us a very remarkable structure of antithetical parts, complex, so complex that at first blush we should feel disposed to reject it as a composition of only literary interest, and not of antiquity, and not one that had been in actual use. On second thoughts, however, and a closer examination, we see that the Greek compiler was completely unconscious of its structure, that the finish given to it belonged to an order of literary style in which the Greek mind saw no charm,—that already, in the formulary given by the compiler the symmetry is broken through, and we see how that afterwards in every succeeding age a further and further dissolution of parts took place, till at length the traces of antithetical arrangement disappeared completely. So far from perfection of parallelism being evidence of lateness of composition, it is proof

* Attention was drawn to the parallelisms in Our Lord's life by the author in an article contributed to "*The Welcome*," August, 1887.

of primitiveness. S. Paul certainly took great pains to give literary roundness and compactness to his writings—to give them form and style, but precisely these rules of form and style which he cultivated ceased to be recognised almost immediately after the death of the Apostles and the dispersion of the Jews. Gentile converts were colour-blind to these beauties. After the Apostolic age no trace of this parallelism is found in the Christian writers; it remains in the liturgies, as a fragrance gradually dispersed, unappreciated, unperceived even, but its existence indicates the great antiquity of the formularies that present these features.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CLEMENTINE LITURGY.

THE TWO ACCOUNTS OF THE EUCHARIST IN THE "CONSTITUTIONS"—THE ACCOUNT OF THE LITURGY GIVEN BY JUSTIN MARTYR IN 148—ANALYSIS OF HIS ACCOUNT—ANALYSIS OF ORIGEN'S ACCOUNT OF THE LITURGY, CIRC. 240—ANALYSIS OF TERTULLIAN'S ACCOUNT OF THE LITURGY, CIRC. 200—ANALYSIS OF S. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM'S ACCOUNT OF THE LITURGY, CIRC. 370—ANTITHETICAL FORM OF LITURGY IN THE "CONSTITUTIONS"—THREEFOLD TYPE IN PRAYER—THE STRUCTURE OF THE LORD'S PRAYER WITH PREFACE AND EMBOLISMUS—THREEFOLD STRUCTURE OF THE CANON—THE SAME STRUCTURE IN THE OBLATION--ANALYSIS OF THE LITURGY IN THE EIGHTH BOOK OF THE "CONSTITUTIONS."

IN the "Constitutions" of the Apostles, as already said, if we exclude the brief collection of prayers in the Didaché incorporated with other material in the seventh book, we find two accounts of the Eucharist: the first, very short, and concerning the Pro-Anaphora, is in the second book, the other, fairly complete, is in the eighth book. In the main both agree, they differ only as to the place of the litany of intercession. In the middle of the second century Justin Martyr, in his first Apology for Christianity, gave in outline a description of the Eucharistic service, and these are the points he indicates as forming it—

1. Lections from the (*a*) Old and (*b*) New Testaments.
2. Sermon.
3. Prayers said by all in common for all estates of men (The Litany of Intercession).

4. The Kiss of Peace.

5. The Offertory of the Elements, Bread and Wine mingled with water.

6. A long Thanksgiving, which, as we learn from him elsewhere,* mentioned the Creation and all temporal benefits conferred on man, such as the means of well-being, the qualities of various kinds of created things, the changing seasons, and so forth ; as well as the spiritual blessings given man by the destruction of his spiritual enemies through the Passion of Jesus Christ. The Passion seems to have been commemorated, and the words of Institution recited,† which part of the thanksgiving Justin considered to effect the Consecration.

7. Prayers ; in particular one for the enjoyment of eternal life.‡ This part of the service was closed by the united "Amen" of the congregation.

8. The Communion.

This order of service agrees almost exactly with that of Jerusalem, in the middle of the fourth century, as we gather from the Catechetical lectures of S. Cyril of Jerusalem, also with that of Antioch, as collected out of the sermons of S. John Chrysostom, and that of Africa and Rome, as can be gathered from Tertullian's writings ; also in structure it is the same as the liturgy given in the second and eighth books of the "Apostolic Constitutions." Origen also not only makes a quotation from the liturgy as he knew it at Alexandria, but also in his treatise on Prayer (c. 14) describes the whole liturgy, in another chapter he gives (c. 33) the Canon but in veiled language, which could be understood by the initiated alone. His account agrees with that by Justin on one

* Apol. i., c. 13 ; Dial. Tryph., cc. 41, 117.

† Apol. i., c. 66. ‡ Apol. i., c. 13.

hand, and with that in the "Constitutions" on the other. According to him, this was the order of the service—

Lectons.

Sermon.

Dismissal of Catechumens, Penitents, &c.

Prayer for the Flock.

The Kiss of Peace.

The Offertory of the Elements, Bread and Wine.

The Preface, containing praise of the Trinity and for
Creation, leading up to—

The Triumphal Hymn, "Holy, holy, holy."

The Great Eucharistic Prayer, containing thanks for the
promise made to man of restoration, for redemption also.

The Consecration, with Invocation of the Holy Ghost.

The Great Intercession and Memorial of the Dead.

Communion and Thanksgiving.

Benediction and Dismissal.

Tertullian gives us in his various writings sufficient details to see that the Eucharistic Service, as he knew it, consisted in Africa of—

Common Prayer.

Lectons {
Law.
Prophet.
Apostle.
Gospel.

Psalms.

Sermon.

Dismissals.

Intercessions.

Offertory of Bread and Wine.

(Preface.)

Triumphal Hymn.

The Great Eucharistic Prayer, containing praise for all God
has done for man.

The Great Intercession.
 The Kiss of Peace.
 The Communion.
 The Dismissal.

We cannot, however, ascertain from the scattered notices what the exact order was in which each member occurred. From S. Augustine, however, we get a little further help. A psalm was sung between the Epistle and Gospel; the *Sursum corda* led to the Preface, which was followed by the Triumphal Hymn; then came the Great Thanksgiving, the Words of Institution, the Memorial for living and dead; then the Kiss of Peace, the Lord's Prayer, the Communion, a Benediction and Dismissal. From S. Chrysostom we learn that at Antioch the liturgy consisted of—

Lectio-ns { Old Test.
 Epistle.
 Gospel.
 Sermon.
 Dismissal of Catechumens, &c.
 Offertory of Bread and Wine.
 Litany of Intercession.
 The Kiss of Peace.
Sursum corda and Preface.
 The Triumphal Hymn.
 The Great Eucharistic Prayer.
 The Commemoration.
 The Great Intercession.
 The Communion.
 Thanksgiving and Dismissal.

Now let us see what is the character of the forms of prayer given in the liturgy in the eighth book of the "Constitutions"; it will be seen to have a curious antithetical or parallel

character, very similar to what has been pointed out as marking Hebrew poetry.

We find that a three-fold type repeats itself continually. There are three intercessions for all sorts and condition of men, and each intercession is divided up thus—

Call of the Deacon to intercession.
Cry of intercession by the People.
Collect of intercession by the Bishop.

In the case of the dismissal of the Catechumens and of others the same triple form is maintained.

Call of the Deacon to prayer for the Catechumens.
Silent prayer of the Catechumens.
Collect of intercession and benediction by the Bishop.
Even the Deacon's call is subdivided thus :—
Call of the Deacon to the people to pray.
Cry of prayer by the people.
Call of the Deacon to the Catechumens to pray.

This three-fold division appears throughout the liturgy.* Exactly the same arrangement occurs in the prayer for all the Faithful, when the catechumens and others have been dismissed ; the congregation are called to rise, they stand up, and in silent prayer bow their heads for the Celebrant's Collect. Before the Communion, in what may be called the "Prayer of Humble Access," the same three-fold division recurs. The Deacon repeats a short form of general Intercession ; he then says to the people, "Let us rise and commend ourselves to God through His Christ"—the regular formula—and then follows the Bishop's Collect. So again,

* It has been noted that the mad people (energumens) alone are not, in the Clementine liturgy, bidden pray in silence for themselves, and S. Chrysostom confirms this ; he says they were bidden only to bow their heads, and not to pray.

at the close of the service, after reception, the thanksgiving is cast in the same mould.

In the Eastern Liturgies the Lord's Prayer is given, as it were, wings. There is an introduction, then the people pray it; then follows a collect called the "Embolismus" against temptation, by the priest. Again, the great Canon, Anaphora, or great Eucharistic prayer, is winged in like manner. Before it comes the *Sursum corda* :—

Priest. "Lift up your hearts."

People. "We lift them up unto the Lord."

Priest. "Let us give thanks unto the Lord."

People. "It is meet and right to do."

- A. *Priest.* "It is very meet and right before all things to sing praises to Thee For all things glorify Thee. Thee, the innumerable host of angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, cherubim and seraphim . . . praise."
- B. *People.* "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Sabbath," &c.

THE ANAPHORA, WITH CONSECRATION, after which

- A. *Priest.* "Holy Lord, that restest in the holies . . . receive the pure hymn . . . with cherubim and seraphim, and from a sinner, crying and saying . . .
(Lit. S. James.)
- B. *People.* "One holy, one Lord, Jesus Christ in the glory of God the Father," &c.

After the Institution again we see evidence in the oblation of the same tendency to a triple form, a body between two collateral members. It is framed thus—

ANAMNESIS : Having in remembrance the Passion, &c.

EPIKLESIS : We beseech Thee send the H. G., &c.

EXOMOLOGESIS : That we may be delivered from, &c.

Now let us take an outline of the Liturgy in the "Constitutions of the Apostles" (Bk. VIII.). We will put conjectural restorations between brackets.

PRO-ANAPHORA.

(Preparation).

(Litany of Intercessions).

1st Lesson : The Law.

2nd Lesson : The Prophets.

Psalm.

3rd Lesson : The Epistle.

4th Lesson : The Gospel.*

The Address.

1st Dismissal : Catechumens.

2nd Dismissal : Energumens.

3rd Dismissal : Not Illuminated.

4th Dismissal : Penitents.

The Offertory of Bread and Wine.

Litany of Intercession.

The Kiss of Peace.

ANAPHORA.

(Invocation of Holy Ghost).

Sursum Corda.

Great Eucharistic Prayer : consisting of—
Preface, recital of God's glories, and creation.

(Triumphal Hymn.)

Of God's dealing with man after the Fall, of the call of Abraham, of the Patriarchs, of the recovery of Israel out of Egypt, and restoration to the Promised Land.

Triumphal Hymn.

Of God's continued mercies, the sending of the

* Observe the antithesis : 1 and 4 answer to each other, and so, likewise, 2 and 3.

Prophets, of the Incarnation of the Son of God, of the Passion, the Resurrection, and of the Ascension, and Session, and Second coming.

The Institution.

The Observance—consisting of

1. Oblation.
2. Invocation.
3. Confession.

Great Prayer of Intercession for the whole world, for the Church, for the Flock, for all in need, for the Sovereign, for fruitful seasons.

(Memorial of the dead.)

Prayer for the Flock.

(The Lord's Prayer.)

Sancta Sanctis and Hymn of Faith.

Prayer of Humble Access.

The Communion.

Litany of Intercession.

Blessing on the Flock.

Dismissal.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE BASILICA.

THE UPPER CHAMBER—SYRIAN HOUSES—THE CENTRAL COURT AND THE DIVAN—THE ROMAN HOUSE—ATRIUM AND TABLINUM—WINDOWS OF UPPER STOREY LOOKED INTO THE ATRIUM—FALL OF EUTYCHUS AT TROAS—ARRANGEMENT OF SYNAGOGUE TAKEN FROM THAT OF A HOUSE—EARLY CHRISTIAN WORSHIP IN PRIVATE HOUSES—EXERCISE OF CHRISTIAN WORSHIP UNLAWFUL, THEREFORE NOT PUBLIC—NOBLE ROMAN FAMILIES ACCEPT THE FAITH—CHURCHES IN THE CATACOMES BELONG TO TIME OF PERSECUTION—ROMAN HALL OF JUSTICE DID NOT ORIGINATE THE TYPE OF CHRISTIAN BASILICA—NOR THE SCHOLA—THE PRIVATE BASILICAS OF NOBLE FAMILIES—THE ATRIUM NOT ABANDONED—DESCRIPTION OF CHURCH IN BOOK II. OF THE “CONSTITUTIONS”—RESTORATION IDEALLY OF A SCENE OF THE LITURGY IN A PRIVATE ATRIUM AND TABLINUM.

THE first institution of the Holy Eucharist took place in an upper room; and it was probably in this same upper room that the Apostles were assembled on Easter Day in the evening, “the doors being shut,” when Christ appeared in their midst. The houses in Palestine were probably in our Lord’s time not very different from what they are there now—that is to say, the houses of the poor. The rich had palaces built after Greek and Roman types, with porticoes, halls, and spacious chambers. But the houses of the poor were different;—they consisted of but a single room on the ground, without window, the light entering through the door; consequently, when in the parable the woman lost her coin, she was constrained to kindle her lamp in order to search

the corners for the lost piece of money. In the towns the houses were of brick. A flight of stairs outside led upon the roof, and this upper flat was sometimes also covered over, thus forming an upper chamber; in this a guest was accommodated. He could obtain access to it, or leave it without inconvenience to the family lodged below. This upper chamber still forms a distinctive feature of Syrian houses. The poor are indeed generally obliged to be content with their one room on the ground; but the first luxury in which they will indulge is the covering over of their house-top, and so converting it into a guest-chamber.

The houses of the well-to-do now in Jerusalem and all Palestine, are very much like what the houses of the well-to-do were in our Lord's time. These houses are built about a court into which the windows look. Around part—one, two, or more sides of the court—are pillars forming a cloister, and the pillars support upper chambers, which receive all their light and air from the court. Sometimes there are more courts than one, sometimes a chamber is raised a step or two above the court, opens out of it by an arch, forming a pleasant, airy, and shady apartment for receiving guests, and entertaining friends; this is what is now called the *divan*; in a Roman house it was called the *tablinum*.

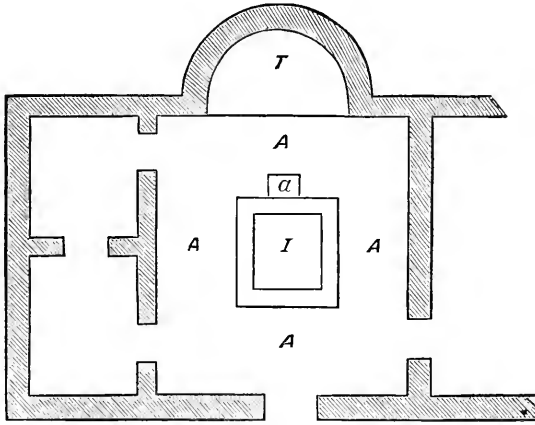
Our old English architects of the reign of Elizabeth tried to make their houses sun-traps. They built them about quadrangles, and with projecting wings, to catch the sun, and cut off the wind, that in these snuggeries flowers might bloom and children play in spring, unnipped by east winds. But the object of the Oriental builders was to exclude the sun, to form cool well-like courts that, if need be, might be covered in with an awning, and where grey fresh shade might be secured in the hottest day. An Oriental house, now as of old, showed nothing of its comfort and beauty outside—a blank wall, pierced by a door and perhaps a few slits formed the street-front. The passers by could not see anything of the interior,

which could be reached only through the well-guarded door. Within, riches were lavished, marble and alabaster, and costly stones, lined and paved the courts and halls, and rich rugs were cast on the floor and over the seats in the divan. Jessamine and roses crept up the walls and scented the air. In a Roman house, or one belonging to a Greek, in this court, before the water-tank, stood a small pedestal, a tiny altar of incense on which fragrant gums were burnt to the tutelary deity of the family, and to fill the house with fragrance. Sometimes in winter a brazier stood in the court, and thither came those who were chilled to warm their hands. In the divan was the lamp, or there were several. A poor Syrian house has but one, on a stand, but a rich mansion would no doubt be provided with several.

When our Blessed Lord, on Good Friday morning before daylight, was led to the house of Caiaphas, the brazier burnt in the court, and there the servants were clustered, whilst Christ was being tried in the divan. There the priests sat on the seats ranged against the walls. Perhaps it was an apse—the tablinum often was thus formed, and the High Priest would then occupy the place of authority in the midst. But sometimes this tablinum was pierced and gave admission to a peristyle and garden beyond. It was raised a step or two above the court or atrium, and when our Lord turned and looked at Peter, He looked down on him by the fire from a slightly higher level. In the spring of 1848 the writer exhumed a large and sumptuous Roman villa in the South of France, near Pau, and the plan will show the reader what was the arrangement of a Roman house, which was universally reproduced with slight modifications. See figure 1.

A. is the atrium, with (1) the impluvium, a tank of water in the midst enclosed within dwarf walls encased in marble. T. is the tablinum, opening out of it by a white marble step. This semicircular room was originally lined with alabaster. At (a) stood a small altar to the household deities. On each

side of the atrium were chambers, on one side they were small, over a hypocaust for winter, on the other they were large, for



PERISTYLE

FIG. 1.—Plan of part of a Roman House at Pau.

summer use. Admission to the atrium was obtained through a peristyle, an ambulatory paved with mosaics. A second plan of a Roman house is given, showing much the same arrangement, and figure 3 represents a divan in a harem at Damascus, which will give the reader an idea how the classic type has lingered on. The atrium still maintains its place in a modern oriental house, and the tablinum is now the divan in which guests are received. Into this court or atrium the windows of the upper storey looked, as shown in a section of a house in Pompeii, of which the topmost storey is a restoration. When divine service was held in a Christian house, doubtless the Lord's table would be placed in the tablinum, and the congregation would occupy both the floor of the atrium and

the rooms of the floor above that commanded the tablinum. This was apparently the arrangement at Troas, where the

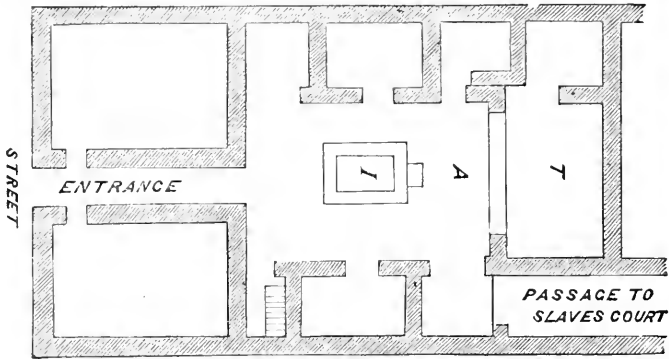


FIG. 2.—Plan of Roman House.

house was of three stages, not perhaps three superimposed, but like that of which the Pompeian plan is given. Eutyclus occupied one of the windows looking into the court. S. Paul was in the tablinum—an upper atrium and tablinum, and

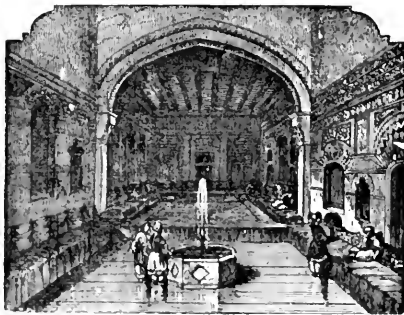


FIG. 3.—Divan at Damascus.

(From Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," by kind permission of Mr. John Murray.)

the latter itself raised two or three steps above the court, so that when Eutyclus fell down into the court, S. Paul is said to have gone down to him. This is the most probable explanation of the arrangement at Troas.

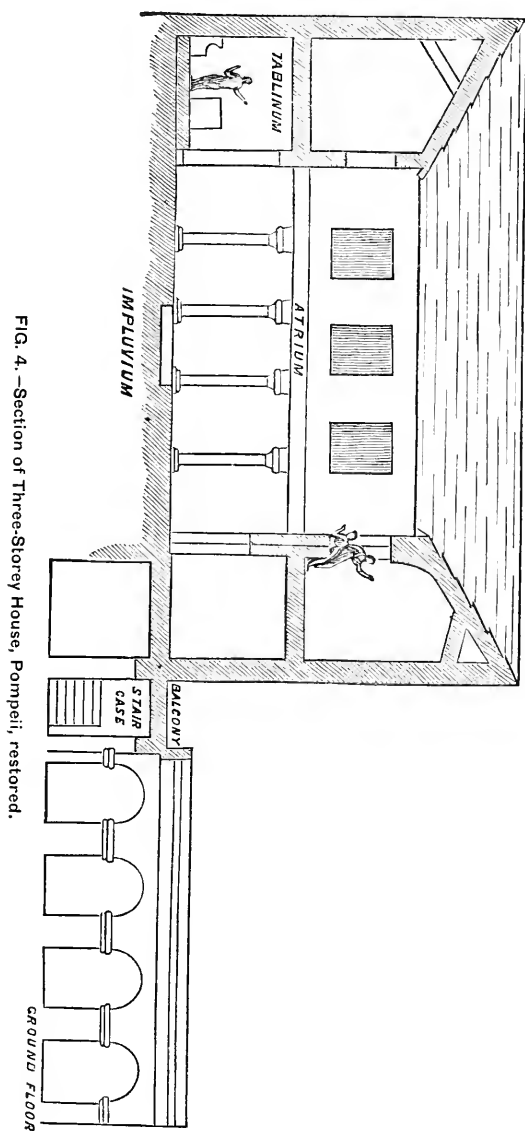


FIG. 4. —Section of Three-Storey House, Pompeii, restored.

As the atrium and divan were the parts to which guests were admitted, the remainder of the house being private, this is the portion of the house which originally served as a church.

The arrangement of the synagogue was very simple. The building consisted of a square hall. There was a raised platform on which sat the scribes and elders, and at the "Jerusalem end," in the midst was the sacred ark, *Tebah*, in which were kept the rolls of the Law and the Prophets. The elders sat between the congregation and the Ark.

Devout Jews sometimes had synagogue assemblies in their houses, sometimes gave up their houses to become permanent synagogues. The structural synagogue followed the type of the private house, *i.e.*, courtyard and divan. The court became the hall for the congregation, the divan served as pattern for the apse that held the ark and the elders.

The Apostles and early Christians assembled, we know, in private houses. The gathering at Troas (Acts xx. 9) was clearly in such a one. At Ephesus the church, the place of assembly, was in the house of Aquila and Priscilla (1 Cor. xvi. 19). In Rome, tradition points out the houses of the Senator Pudens, of S. Cæcilia, and of the matrons Eutropia, Lucina, and Anastasia, as the first meeting-houses for hearing the Word and for the celebration of the Eucharist. When, in 165, Justin Martyr, the Christian Apologist, was brought before the prefect, he was asked to divulge the places of assembly of the Christians. He replied, "Where each one chooses and can: for do you fancy that we all meet in the very same place? Not so; for the God of the Christians is not circumscribed by place; but being invisible, fills heaven and earth, and everywhere is worshipped and glorified by the faithful." Rusticus, the prefect, said, "Tell me where you assemble, or into what place you collect your followers." Justin said, "I live above one Martin at the Timothean Bath,* and during

* Believed to be in the house of Timotheus son of Pudens, and therefore of a wealthy and noble Christian.

the whole time of my residence at Rome, I have known of no other meeting than there." The answer was evasive ; but it suffices to show that at that time the meetings of the Church were held in private houses. The Christians had no churches other than the apartments and courts lent them. The author of the Dialogue of Philopatris, in his mocking tone, describes his entry by accident into a Christian assembly in a private house. "He stepped up into a strange house by some steps, and found himself in a room with inlaid walls like the house of Menelaus, described by Homer ; but there were no lovely Helens there, only a posse of withered crones on their knees."

The use of private mansions for churches continued for some time after the cessation of persecution. The Council of Gangra (A.D. 364), after anathematising those who held aloof from churches, and attended conventicles in private houses, added, "We are full of reverence for the houses of God, and we regard as holy and profitable the assemblies held in them ; but we do not limit devotion to these houses, we venerate every place where buildings have been erected to the honour of God. We approve of divine service being celebrated in the presence of all the faithful in the house of God." The Council of Laodicæa, however, about the same time, had to forbid the continuation of the celebration of the Eucharist in private houses, on account of the spirit of schism which was manifesting itself. After churches were built, some Christians were reluctant to attend the Eucharist in them, but clung to the private house devotional gatherings.

In the year 379, after the see of Constantinople had been for forty years in the hands of the Arians, and the orthodox had been without a church and bishops, Gregory Nazianzen converted the house of a kinsman, placed at his disposal, into a church for the faithful, and out of this private dwelling grew the great church of the Anastasia, or Resurrection—but at first it was simply the central court of the house employed for worship. The "houses of God" were

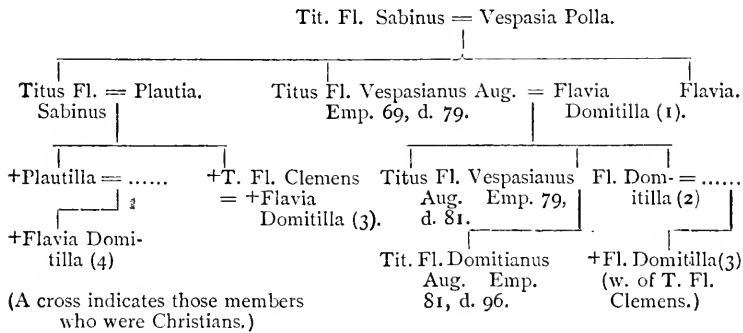
much more than churches : they comprised a room for love-feasts, lodgings for the poor and for the sick, sometimes baths ; and, indeed, a number of offices, and in this differed from the basilicas, which were halls given up to the Church for Divine worship, but for nothing else.

Let us get a clear idea as to the situation of the Christians with respect to the celebration of worship in the first three centuries.

Certain religions were regarded as lawful in the Roman Empire ; the Jews, for instance, by the payment of a tax, were allowed to assemble in their synagogues unmolested. But Christianity was not one of these licensed religions. The first form in which any Christian body was recognized by the law, was as a benefit-club with special view to the interment of the dead. The several trades in Rome and elsewhere had their guilds, and managed for a monthly subscription to give their members a decent funeral when dead. They had their guild-rooms and club-feasts. Even the servants in a large establishment formed "colleges" or clubs for this end. A memorial has been found of one such, made up of the domestics of one Abullius Dexter, a manufacturer of shields and statues. Another is of "the College in the house of Sergius Paulus," and the title reminds us of the "Church which is in the house of Aquila and Priscilla" (Rom. xvi. 5 ; 1 Cor. xvi. 19). There exists no doubt whatever that the early Christians took advantage of the toleration accorded to these clubs to evade the law against illicit religious meetings. But this was a precarious shelter, for the assembly of societies was strictly watched and repressed by some Emperors, who feared that these meetings might lead to revolutionary confederations. Thus, when after a disastrous fire at Nicomedia Pliny recommended the formation of a fire-company, Trajan forbade it on this very ground.

Christianity made rapid progress, and gained not the

slaves and the poor only, but the wealthy and the noble. St. Paul sent his greeting to those of Cæsar's house. The Imperial household became a chief centre of Christianity in the metropolis. Several of the family of Vespasian accepted the faith.



This little table of the family of the Flavian Emperors will show how Christianity had penetrated among them.

Investigations in the catacombs of Rome have revealed the fact that many of these grew out of the private burial-places of members of illustrious Roman families, the Cæcilian and Cornelian, that of Pomponius Bassus and Pomponia Græcina. Tertullian, at the beginning of the third century, says that Septimius Severus protected Christian senators and their wives; and he says that not only were the cities full of Christians, but also the senate and the imperial palace. It must not be forgotten that every Christian who assembled with his brethren for the worship of Christ was guilty of a capital offence, and though the law was not persistently and strenuously enforced against them, yet it was not repealed, and could at any time be invoked for their destruction.

To the times of persecution, when it was not safe to assemble in their own houses, do the rude churches belong, dug out of the rock in the catacombs. Of these several remain, dating in some cases from the second century. We give

two ground plans, figs. 5 and 6. In the first the form is that of three squares. A is the chancel, and corresponds to a square tablinum or divan. B and C represent the court or hall where the laity assembled ; α is the conjectural position

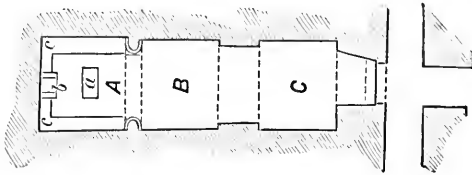


FIG. 5.—Church in the Catacomb of S. Agnes.

of the altar, b is the bishop's throne cut out of the living rock, with $c c$ the seats for the presbyters around the chancel. In fig. 6 there is a niche, b , square below, rounded above, in the apse, A, which probably held the bishop's throne. E is apparently a sacristy or vestry.

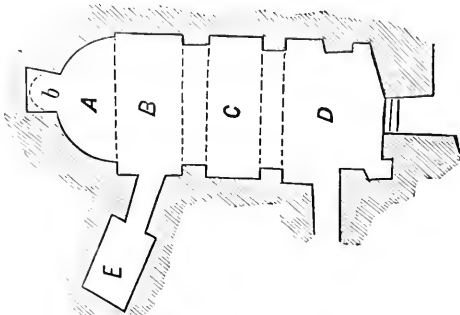


FIG. 6.—Church in the Catacomb of Salita del Cocomero.

It has been argued that the Christian basilica derived its shape from the Roman hall of justice, called a basilica, and it is supposed that Constantine made over these courts of justice to the Church for her use as places of worship. Not only is this pure unfounded conjecture, and most unlikely, but also it is an unnecessary assumption. We have already, in these subterranean churches, the type determined before Constantine's time.

Another suggestion made is that this type grew out of the *schola* or guild-room of the confraternities. These rooms were oblong halls with an apsidal end, at all events sometimes, and the presidents of the guilds sat round the semicircle on a tribune or raised platform, with a small altar in front for libations and incense. That derivation is plausible, but it is more likely that both the *schola* and the church sprang out of a common origin, the atrium with its tablinum. The guilds met in private houses before they built their halls, and when they erected the latter they followed the arrangement they had found convenient in the house, just as did the Jews in their synagogues. The synagogue, the guild-hall, and the church have all a common form. How otherwise account for this than that all three grew out of conventicles assembled in private houses?

When persecution relaxed, and the wealthy were not afraid to throw open their more public and splendid halls to the Church, then the divine liturgy was no longer confined to the atrium and tablinum, but was translated to the basilica. We do not mean the Courts of Justice, but the private basilicas of the princely families who were Christians. It must be remembered that the term basilica was not confined to a Court of Justice, it meant a royal hall, such as emperors added to their palaces; and following them, noble families erected in connexion with their mansions. The Christian church took its designation of basilica from these latter, and from these latter also the Courts of Justice were termed basilicas, the term came to mean—a Hall; but as for any donation of Constantine by which halls of justice were converted into churches, history knows nothing. Justin Martyr, in his Address to the Greeks (c. 36), speaks of the basilica or hall of the house of Sibyl at Cumæ.

At Jerusalem, Herod added to his palace two princely pillared basilicas, which Josephus describes. Vitruvius distinguishes between those halls which are Corinthian and

those which are Egyptian ; the former had barrel-vaulted roofs rising from the architrave above the pillars, whereas the Egyptian halls had what we should call now clerestories above the pillars, and flat roofs. In the villa of the Gordians were three such basilicas, in each were a hundred pillars. S. Jerome speaks of the size and elevation of the private basilicas, that is to say, halls attached to houses, in which, he says, human beings moved about like pigmies.* We are told that Theophilus, a wealthy inhabitant of Antioch, "gave up the great basilica of his house to be a church." This statement, it is true, comes to us from the apocryphal book of the "Recognitions," but as that book belongs to the first half of the third century, the statement shows what was customary even at that date. The great hall of the palace of the Lateran,—the house in which the Emperor Marcus Aurelius was born, was given up to be a church, and became the mother church of Rome.†

In 1862 the foundations of one of these basilicas, that adjoining the house of the Flavii on the Palatine, was exhumed. It is an oblong hall, with an apse semicircular at one end, and this was raised above the level of the rest of the hall, and reached by marble steps. It was separated from it by a balustrade. This balustrade remained as a feature in the Christian church, and gave its name to the chancel, that portion of the sacred building which it screened off.

It is not to be supposed that the first Christians got possession of, and dared to use, basilicas, the stately halls attached to noble mansions, at an early period. They contented themselves with gathering in the small dwelling-houses, where they could assemble in the atrium without attracting attention, and where they would be unobserved at their worship.

When the basilica was made into a church, then the Christians could not quite shake off their idea of the atrium,

* Ep. 18. ad Marcellam.

† Hieron. Ep. ad Oceanum.

and they tacked on one to the end of the basilica opposite the apse. In fig. 7 we give a plan of a church or basilica of

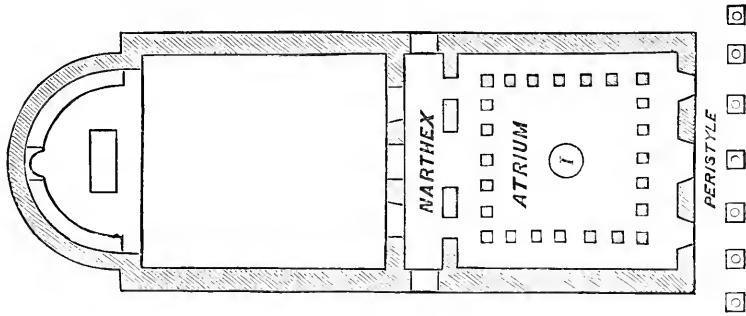


FIG. 7.—Plan of Old Christian Basilica.

the age that follows. Several very interesting specimens remain, that of S. Ambrose at Milan, though re-constructed in Lombard times, is rebuilt on the old lines.

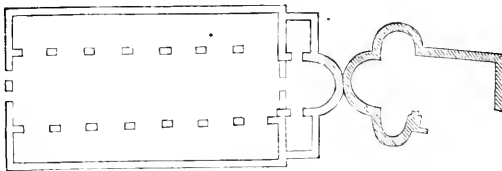


FIG. 8.—Plan of Basilica of S. Sinforosa, with Cella adjoining.

Fig. 8 shows a basilica with pillars, and with two little vestries opening out of the apse. It is given because adjoining it are the foundations, as shown on the plan, of a sepulchral *cella*, that is a chapel such as existed in all the heathen cemeteries, when the funeral banquets were given. These *cellæ* were used perhaps also by Christians for their love-feasts in commemoration of the martyrs, and by some it has been thought that they furnished the type of the triple apse so common in Christian churches. This we greatly doubt. The side chapels, one on each side of the chancel or apse, grew out of the sacristies, the little rooms adjoining the *tablinum* of a

house, which lent themselves for purposes connected with the carrying on of divine worship.

The description of a church, as given in the *Second Book of the "Constitutions of the Apostles,"* is as follows:—

"Let the building be long, with its head to the east, with its vestries on both sides at the east end, and so will it be like a ship. In the middle let the Bishop's throne be placed, and on each side of him let the presbytery sit down; and let the deacons stand near at hand in close and small-girt garments, for they are like the mariners and managers of the ships; and let the laity sit in the other part, with all quietness and good order. And let the women sit by themselves. In the middle let the reader stand upon some high place . . . the same description and pattern was both in the tabernacle of the testimony, and in the temple of God. . . . The Church is not only like a ship, but also like a sheep-fold" (ii., c. 57).*

This description cannot belong to so early a period as the rest of this book. It is—like the rubrics to the liturgy in *Book VIII.*—an addition of the compiler. Not before peace was established could the eastward direction of a church be ruled. Before that, the Christians, praying, turned to the east, yet were obliged for their public worship to accept any suitable place offered them.

Several of the Roman basilicas, now in use as churches, being the converted halls of noble families given up to the Church, are not orientated. But though the direction to set the head of the sacred building towards the east is certainly an addition of the fourth century, yet the general description of the arrangement of the clergy in the church is in accordance

* The analogy between the ship and the church is drawn out with greater fullness in the *Epistle of Clement to James* prefixed to the "*Recognitions*," c. 14. It is noticeable that as above there is a mixture of similes, the ship and the sheep-fold, so also on a gold engraved Gospel cover recently discovered at Sinigaglia, of the 7th century, where the Church is represented as a ship supported on the back of the Mystic Fish, Christ, and up the anchor-chain from the depths of the sea sheep are scrambling to escape the ramping and roaring lion (the Devil).

with the usage then general, old and traditional,—whether derived from the guild practice, or, what is more probable, from the synagogue.

Let us draw for ourselves a picture of a Christian assembly in a private house in the first and second centuries. We pass out of the street through the narrow entry by a door guarded strictly by the porter (*ostiarius*), himself a Christian, who knows who are faithful and who are not; and who excludes such as he mistrusts. An important post is that of a porter; on his caution depends a great deal. Through the passage we pass to the court-yard occupying the centre of the house. In a large mansion this is pillared round and roofed over, except in the middle over the water tank. Opposite the door of entrance a couple of marble steps rise to the divan, the walls richly adorned with marbles and paintings; it is the part of the house on which most cost has been lavished. On each side of the entrance to this divan hang curtains that can be drawn if requisite, shutting off this square or apsidal room from the court. In this divan, on seats round it, are the presbyters in tunics, and over these the white woollen mantles worn on state occasions. In the midst is an altar, and behind that, against the wall, a throne, on which is the bishop. This chamber is hung with lighted lamps.

From side chambers hurry to and fro the deacons in girded tunics, bringing such things as are requisite—the sacred rolls, &c.—or keeping order among the congregation. Those holding the sacred books or vessels have, in addition, over the shoulder a towel or napkin, with which to envelop the hands, so as not to stain what they touch, should their hands be hot and soiled.

Does this seem too elaborate a picture for so early an age? The reader will see from the next chapter that unexpected testimony comes to confirm it, and even to enhance its colouring.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CELESTIAL TEMPLE.

THE PICTURE OF EARLY CHRISTIAN WORSHIP GIVEN CONTRARY TO USUAL CONCEPTION—NO PREJUDICE IN EARLY CHURCH AGAINST DIGNITY OF WORSHIP—NO EVIDENCE THAT OUR LORD AND THE APOSTLES REJECTED DIGNITY AND SPLENDOUR OF WORSHIP—THE REVELATION OF S. JOHN—THE DESCRIPTION OF THE HEAVENLY TEMPLE AND THE WORSHIP THEREIN—WAS THIS GIVEN TO SET BEFORE THE CHURCH THE TYPE SHE WAS TO COPY ; OR, WAS THIS WORSHIP SEEN BY S. JOHN THE IDEALIZATION OF THE ALREADY FIXED TYPE OF CHRISTIAN WORSHIP ON EARTH?—THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE CELESTIAL SANCTUARY AND THE TEMPLE—THE IDENTITY IN TYPE WITH THAT OF CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND WORSHIP—ERROR IN EPISTLE TO HEBREWS—HOW EXPLICABLE—INCENSE.

THE reader may have been startled by the picture of a Christian assembly for the Eucharistic Service presented at the close of the last chapter. He may have thought that it represented a condition of affairs very different from what he had pictured to himself as constituting the arrangement for worship in a primitive age, previous to the cessation of persecution, and the influx of fresh ideas into the Church.

In the first place, we may assume for certain that the Apostles and the first Christians had not what are called Puritan prejudices against anything conducive to giving pomp and dignity to divine service. They had been bred up in the idea that splendour befitted the worship of God ; the utmost splendour and pomp attended the worship in the Temple, and this worship they held to have been divinely instituted. Not only did their Lord and Master not rebuke this, but He showed His zeal for the Temple, in twice purifying it of those

who profaned it, and in walking within its courts ; and accordingly, after His ascension, the Apostles continued to frequent the Temple. They knew that the sacrifices were fulfilled and done away in Christ, but not the principle of worship. That was ever due to God, and due to Him offered in the best manner possible by man.

Without distinct evidence—and there is none—that our Lord and the Apostles set themselves against giving all the dignity possible to divine worship, we have no right to attribute to them feelings which are modern, and the reaction against ritual extravagance and inordinate magnificence. If in their worship the mode of performance was meagre, it was through lack of means of making it better, not through lack of will to do so.

We must remember that the Apostles and the first Jewish converts had acquired a mental habit of associating order and dignity and reverence with the worship of God, of which they could not divest themselves without an effort, and from a sense of duty ; but we have not the smallest ground for supposing that they felt themselves called upon to make this effort. There was little splendour in Apostolic worship, because of the necessity of the case ; the first Christians were poor, and were persecuted, and splendour was impossible under the circumstances.

Now let us look at the Revelation of S. John, and see what is there shown us as the worship of heaven,—let us see if that is meagre and shorn of splendour. We will grant that what is told us is symbolic ; but we ask,—A symbol being taken from something known, to illustrate the unknown, where was the known reality from which this picture was taken and transferred to heavenly things, where, if not in the worship of the Church in Apostolic times ?

We will take in order all the passages of the Apocalypse referring to this worship of the Celestial Temple, and note afterwards what inferences are to be drawn from them.

“ I looked, and behold, a door was opened in heaven ; and the first voice which I heard was, as it were, of a trumpet talking with me ; which said, Come up hither. . . . And, behold, a throne was set in heaven, and one sat on the throne . . . and there was a rainbow round about the throne, in sight like unto an emerald. And round about the throne were four and twenty seats : and upon the seats I saw four and twenty elders sitting, clothed in white raiment ; and they had on their heads crowns of gold. . . . And there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven spirits of God. And before the throne there was a sea of glass like unto a crystal. . . . The four and twenty elders fall down before him that sat on the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever. . . . And I saw in the right hand of him that sat on the throne a book. And lo ! in the midst of the throne, and in the midst of the elders, stood a Lamb, as it had been slain . . . and he came and took the book out of the right hand of him that sat upon the throne. And when he had taken the book, the 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 sang a new song ” (Rev. iv., v.).

“ After this I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude which . . . cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation (*i.e.*, Hosanna) to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb. And all the angels stood round about the throne . . . and fell before the throne on their faces, and worshipped God ” (vii.). “ And another angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer ; and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar, which was before the throne. And the smoke of the incense, which came with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God out of the angel’s hand ” (viii. 3, 4). We are given again glimpses in the 12th chapter. “ The angel stood, saying, Rise and measure the temple of

God, and the altar, and them that worship therein, but the court which is without the temple leave out and measure it not." "And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in His temple the ark of His Testament."

Again in the fourteenth chapter, "I heard a voice from heaven, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of a great thunder: and I heard the voice of harpers harping with their harps: and they sang as it were a new song before the throne."

"An angel came out of the temple which is in heaven, having a sharp sickle. And another angel came out from the altar, which had power over fire." It is as though the seer looked into the Heaven of heavens, with driving clouds passing between his eye and the courts above; now all is clear, then obscured, and then he catches the strains from above, but sees nothing within. In the next chapter the cloud has passed. First he sees "the sea of glass mingled with fire," then the cloud beyond is raised. "After that I looked, and behold, the temple of the tabernacle of the testimony in heaven was opened: and the seven angels came out of the temple, clothed in pure and white linen, and having their breasts girded with golden girdles." And to these angels were given "seven golden vials." "And the temple was filled with smoke from the glory of God" (xv. 2, 5-8). Then follows the destruction of Babylon. After that the smoke of her torment has rolled away, "I heard a great voice of much people in heaven, saying, Alleluia; Salvation (Hosanna) and glory and honour, and power, unto the Lord our God. . . . And the four and twenty elders fell down and worshipped God that sat on the throne, saying, Amen; Alleluia." Then comes the final conflict with the powers of evil, and the last judgment. *After* that, as the seer looks up into heaven, he sees all changed. "I saw no temple therein," nor altar, nor lamps of fire, nor sea of glass, but only the throne, which is now that of God *and* the Lamb.

“It was the work of the last surviving Apostle both to add the last portion to the four-fold Gospel record, and to complete the entire canon of the New Testament. His office to the Gospel much resembled that of Moses to the Pentateuch. The Law-giver had to systematize the ancient annals and traditions of his people, to compile the history of their travels in the desert, and to record the divine utterances of Sinai. After this was done, it was his work to complete the primitive canon of Scripture, by adding the book of Deuteronomy, as a supplement to the former books, and as the deeper exponent of their true theological meaning. As Deuteronomy stands to the remainder of the Law, so stands S. John’s Gospel to the other three, and his Apocalypse to the rest of the New Testament.”* Now, there are two ways in which this revelation of the worship in heaven as given by S. John may be explained; either it was shown to him as the pattern upon which the worship of the Church on earth was to be modelled, or else it was shown him after the pattern already in use in the Church on earth; that is to say, the worship of heaven was shown to him like that of the Church below, on a more glorious and complete scale.

The first explanation has something to be said for it. “As the ritual and sanctuary of heaven were shown to Moses in his vision upon Mount Sinai, so S. John, separated from his people in the seclusion of Patmos, was carried up in spirit to heaven, and saw the same sanctuary, as it had now become perfected by the presence of the Incarnate Word. The object of the revelation to Moses was that he might make all the appurtenances of the earthly tabernacle, and of its worship, according to the pattern shown to him on the mount. Was there not an analogous object in S. John’s vision—that he might finally set in order the worship of the Church, after the pattern of that greater perfection which the

* “The Celestial Sanctuary of the Apocalypse,” in “The Sacristy,” No. 5, 1872.

ascension of Christ had given to it in heaven?"* But we are inclined to adopt the other view, that the rudiments of the Eucharistic worship were already fixed when S. John wrote, and that what he saw was the worship of the Church on earth reflected, magnified, idealised in heaven.

Only in one of these ways can the vision of the Celestial worship be explained. It cannot be so by the Temple worship at Jerusalem, for it deviates in several important particulars from that; and it cannot be by the service of the synagogue, for that is hardly worship at all. The synagogue was for teaching, and the Temple for worship.

That the account of the worship in heaven, in the Temple there, differs materially from that in the Temple at Jerusalem, and that nevertheless there are points of similarity, cannot be doubted.

In the Temple there was an outer court in which was the Sea of Brass, the great laver for the priests to wash their hands and feet in. So also in the heavenly court. There is the Sea of Glass, like unto crystal. Between the entrance to the court and the entrance to the Temple itself was the great altar of burnt offering. This sacrificial altar is no longer seen in the analogous court in heaven. In the Temple the brazen altar stood in the midst, and the brazen laver at one side, probably; but in the vision accorded to S. John the altar is absent, and the glass-like pool of water takes its place in the centre—just where the *impluvium* stood in a Roman house. A flight of steps led to the Temple, which was divided into two parts—the outer, the holy place, in which stood, in the middle, the golden altar of incense; on the right the table of shewbread, on the left the candlestick of seven branches. Then came the double curtains of many colours hung to four pillars. Behind this was the Holy of Holies, in plan a cube, with the Ark of the Covenant and mercy-seat in the midst.

* *Ibid.*

Into the Holy of Holies entered the high priest but once in the year. Now in the heavenly vision there is the Temple also, but no distinction is seen between Holy of Holies and Holy Place ; in shape it seems to accord with an apse opening out of the court. Where was the mercy-seat in the Temple on earth, there we have the throne in the Temple in heaven, but whereas in the Temple no seats were about it for the priests, in heaven there are seats occupied by four and twenty elders. That the throne represents the mercy-seat is probable, for in the account in Revelation we have the four cherubic beasts, and about the mercy-seat were cherubs extending their wings ; two were in the Jewish Temple, there are four in the heavenly Temple.

Before the throne in heaven is the altar of gold, on which apparently is the Lamb as He had been slain. Thus we have the sacrificial altar identified with the golden altar of incense, and moved to a place immediately before the throne of God. There is no veil dividing the Temple in half, and hiding the mercy-seat from all eyes ; instead, it is furled back, and forms a halo or circle, through which the altar and the throne are seen—it is “the rainbow round about the throne in sight like unto an emerald.” S. John, looking into the heavenly Temple, saw the throne and the golden altar through this arch ; and the arch was no other than the riven, back-furled veil, which had been “taken away.” It was in appearance like the halo seen at times about the sun, glittering with prismatic hues.

In the Temple the great Eulogy was performed by minstrels and singers on the steps outside the Holy Place. In the vision of S. John the minstrels and singers are seen within, in the Holy of Holies. A notable change of position to be spoken of again, later.

In the Temple at Jerusalem was a golden candlestick, with seven lamps on several branches, outside the veil, not in the Holy of Holies, but in the Holy Place ; but in the vision of

S. John there are seven lamps of fire burning, not outside, but within, before the throne. Nothing corresponding to the table of shew-bread is described. In one place we have the mention of the Ark of the Testament, in the Heavenly Sanctuary, but this is the same as the Golden Altar, which occupies the place of the Ark overlaid with gold ; and as under the first Covenant, the Shechinah, the cloud of glory resting on the mercy-seat, was the token and pledge of God's Covenant ; so in this second Temple, the Lamb, as it had been slain, is seen resting where the Shechinah was on the mercy-seat of the Golden Altar, and that Lamb is Emmanuel, God with us.

Now unquestionably the visions of S. John accord in a most marked manner with the arrangements of a Christian church, as we might suppose it to be in—perhaps the third or fourth century, when some ritual magnificence was adopted. That later Church worship should accord with S. John's vision could be explained if the Apocalypse had been accepted by the Church from the first as an authoritative exposition of God's will as to how it was to be conducted, but this it was not. The Apocalypse was received with great hesitation. It is not inserted in the list of canonical Scriptures drawn up by the Council of Laodiceæ, so late as the middle of the fourth century. We cannot account for the resemblance in that way. We are driven to account for it in the other—that John, familiar with the worship of the Christian Church on earth, saw the same reflected in magnified scale and idealized splendour in his heavenly visions. He describes the celestial worship after that of his own church at Ephesus, at the performance of the Liturgy.

If we look at the Epistle to the Hebrews, we find a curious slip in the account of the arrangement and furniture of the Temple. Dr. Davidson says : "The author betrays an imperfect knowledge of the Temple and its furniture. He is even mistaken in some particulars, a thing that could not be

asserted of Paul, who lived in Jerusalem for a considerable time.”*

The author by mistake puts the golden altar of incense *within* the veil, instead of outside, in the Holy Place. Our translators, aware of the discrepancy, endeavoured to mitigate it, by rendering the word *θυσιαστήριον* “censer,” and the word is ambiguous. It might thus be used, but this does not get over the difficulty, for the censer was not kept in the Holy of Holies, any more than was the altar of incense. That there is an error, a slip, we do not dispute—but we ask, How is it to be accounted for? Now the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in speaking of the golden altar of incense, uses the word which is continually employed by the early Fathers for the Christian altar. The writer was thinking back from the Christian Church to the old Temple, and showing how Christ was the fulfilment of all that was in the Tabernacle and Temple, in sacrifice and symbolic priestly act. In this process of going back, he saw the Temple through the Church, and by an oversight described the golden altar in the place to which in the Church it had been moved, in the same place in which S. John describes it, and not in the situation without, which it had occupied under the old Covenant.

“We have an altar,” the writer goes on, “whereof they have no right to eat which serve the tabernacle.” He goes on to show that the sacrifices were burnt “without the camp,” but the blood was brought within, “into the sanctuary,” that is, the Holy of Holies. So, he urges, let Christians bear reproach without, but draw near to the altar within, as partakers, “offering the sacrifice of praise to God continually,” using an expression which every instructed Christian would understand as referring to the Eucharistic oblations.

S. Methodius, a writer of the close of the 3rd century.

* *Introd. to Study of the N. T.*, 1868, Vol. I., p. 238.

makes precisely the same mistake, and for the same reason. He says that the Jews had "the golden altar within the Holy of Holies, before the Presence of the Testimony." He also is thinking back through the medium of the Church. "The law contained the images of good things to come. Let us then strip off the veil of the letter, and consider the true meaning. The Hebrews were commanded to ornament the Tabernacle as a type of the Church, to announce beforehand the image of divine things. For the pattern shown Moses in the mount, on which he was to fashion the Tabernacle, was a representation of the heavenly dwelling. Now the Jews prophesied our state, and we in turn foreshadow the heavenly; for the Tabernacle was a foreshadowing of the Church, and the Church is a foretype of Heaven." *

To sum up the results at which we have arrived :—

1. The type of the arrangement of a Christian church for worship was determined by the interior arrangements of a house of the better class at the Apostolic period, with court for the people and divan for the clergy. But this arrangement was not unaffected by the known disposition of parts of the Temple and the synagogue.

2. The basilicas, or halls of the palaces of the nobles, were eventually given up to the Church, and these being oblong introduced a modification, the body of the church being no longer square, or a succession of squares, but long, and sometimes divided into a nave with side aisles by pillars.

The basilica, and before that the church in the private house, had its one altar, in the chord of the apse, against the wall of which sat the presbyters facing the altar, the bishop's throne occupying the central place behind the altar. Lights, usually oil lamps, were placed about, hanging from the roof,

* Symposium, V. c. 7, 8.

or supported on stands. It will be remembered that there were "many lights" (lamps) "in the upper chamber," at Troas, in which "the disciples came together to break bread."

The commencement of S. John's vision represents an analogous scene; there is the altar, on which is the Victim Lamb, before the throne of the Father, and semi-encircled by the seats of the four and twenty elders; the angels are represented hovering round, as in the church the white-robed deacons hurried to and fro. A brightly coloured veil is furled back; there are seven lamps of fire burning before the Divine Presence, as they burnt in the temple, and as in the synagogue, one lamp burnt before the ark that contained the Law. Outside is a vessel filled with water—a tank or "sea." In the Apocalyptic vision angels bear censers with incense, and the fragrant smoke rises and fills the house. It is remarkable that in the "Constitutions" there is no mention of incense in divine worship, that Tertullian speaks of a Christian never buying the grains of fragrant gums, and that Irenæus implies that in his time incense was not used. Even as late as 320, Eusebius, in his "*Demonstratio Evangelica*" (III. 3, § 7), declares that smoking sacrifices do not belong to the immortal and eternal God. Is it that in the church of the Seer incense was a peculiar introduction, or that he looked forward in his ideal vision to the time when the Church, freed from the cramping bands of fear, might develop her ritual and add the oblation of the symbolic incense to the actual offering of prayer?

CHAPTER X.

THE COLLECT.

THE CHURCH LIKENED TO A SHIP IN THE SECOND BOOK OF THE "CONSTITUTIONS"—A ROMAN SHIP—BEGINNING OF THE PRO-ANAPHORA—THE LITANY OF INTERCESSION—REMAINS IN THE LITURGY OF S. MARK—THE NINE KYRIES IN THE ROMAN MASS—HOW THE REFORMERS DEALT WITH THEM—THE TEN COMMANDMENTS—THE COLLECTS—WHAT A COLLECT MEANS—THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE COLLECTS THROUGHOUT THE YEAR—WHICH ORIGINALLY BELONGED TO THE LITANY OF INTERCESSION—PRAYER FOR THE KING OR QUEEN — TRANSFORMATION OF THE LITANY COMPLETE, BUT IN ESSENCE RETAINED.

"WHEN, O bishop, thou callest an assembly of the Church, as one that is commander of a great ship, appoint the assemblies to be made with all possible skill, charging the deacons as mariners to prepare places for the brethren as for passengers, with all due care and decency. And first, let the building be long, with its head to the east, with its vestries on both sides at the east end, and so it will be like a ship."

Thus begins the account of the liturgy in the second book of the "Constitutions"; and, before going further, it will be well to explain the analogy of the ship.

A Greek or Roman ship was propelled both with sails and with oars. In the poop was the *aplustre*, or covered-over stern of the boat, a semi-circular screen or shelter, in which sat the steersman, who with two large paddles (*pedalia* or *gubernacula*) turned the vessel about. There was no hinged rudder. Near the steersman stood or sat the *proreus*, the mate, who observed the sky, looked out ahead, and advised

the steersman in what direction to turn the peak of the vessel, and what dangers to avoid. He issued the orders to the common sailors. The rowers who propelled the ship were under the direction of the *pausarius*, who gave the stroke with the sound of a pipe. Now we can see how a Church resembled a ship. In the apse, on the *bema*, the raised platform, sat in the midst the bishop as governor. About him were the presbyters as *prorei*, or mates, advising him and directing the deacons, who resembled the mariners, and the deacons both managed the business of the church, and also kept the people in place in the body of the church, and gave signals for their responses.

Unfortunately we have no full account in either the second or the eighth books of the "Constitutions" of the beginning of the Pro-Anaphora, the Mass of the Catechumens, but we cannot be far wrong in supposing that it was opened with a prayer of preparation and a psalm. All the liturgies have these introductory prayers, and we have in our own Communion Service the beautiful invocation of the assistance of the Holy Ghost: "Almighty God, unto whom all hearts be open . . . cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of Thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love Thee, and worthily magnify Thy holy Name." This is a representative of the Prayer of Approach in the liturgies of S. Mark, S. James, &c.

The psalm has perpetuated itself in the Introit. We come now to a feature that has gone through extraordinary changes.

The liturgy of S. Mark has the remains of this—

Call of Deacon : Pray for the King.

Response of People : Lord, have mercy.

Lord, have mercy.

Lord, have mercy.

Collect of Priest : Prayer for the King.

Call of Deacons : Pray for the Pope (*i.e.*, Patriarch of Alexandria) and the Bishops.

Response of People : Lord, have mercy.
Lord, have mercy.
Lord, have mercy.

Collect of Priest : Prayer for Patriarch, bishops, presbytery-deacons, and all orders in the Church, the whole Catholic Church, subjugation of enemies of the Church.

Call of Deacon : Stand for prayer (for yourselves).

Response of People : Lord, have mercy.
Lord, have mercy.
Lord, have mercy.

Collect of Priest : Blessing on the flock.

In the Armenian Liturgy we find a prayer of Invocation of the Holy Spirit at the beginning, corresponding to that in the English office, but the Litany of Intercession has dwindled to this short collect.

“O Lord our God, save alive Thy congregation, and bless thine inheritance; keep whole the fulness of Thy Church; sanctify those who in love visit the beauty of Thy house; do Thou glorify us, O Lord, by Thy divine power, and forsake not those who put their trust in Thee.”

Traces of the Intercession in this place remain in most liturgies. The reader will have doubtless observed that the form in S. Mark's liturgy is a ruin. Originally the Kyrie Eleison followed each petition singly, and the form, judging from the other litanies, was in the first place, as under:—

Deacon : Let us pray for the Emperor.

People : Lord, have mercy.

Priest : Collect of Intercession for the Emperor.

Deacon : Let us pray for the magistrates and rulers.

People : Lord, have mercy.

Priest : Collect of Intercession for magistrates and rulers.

Deacon : Let us pray for the army.

People : Lord, have mercy.

Priest : Collect of Intercession for the army.

So also for bishops, presbytery, and deacons, for the faithful and for Catechumens, &c. But as the intercessions by this triple arrangement of bidding prayer, response, and collect, so often repeated in the service, made it enormously long, and was only tolerable when the Pro-Anaphora was a separate service for the Sabbath, as soon as it was joined on to the Lord's Day Eucharist, it suffered curtailment with the knife, and very little indeed of it was left.

It is observable that in the Roman Mass all has disappeared except nine Kyries. "Lord, have mercy upon us" (*thrice*). "Christ, have mercy upon us" (*thrice*). "Lord, have mercy upon us" (*thrice*). So in the liturgy of S. Mark, there are nine Kyries in three groups, and the bidding prayers and collects have shrunk to three. We in our English Eucharist have retained *ten* Kyries, and have interjected between them the Commandments. The Reformers found the nine Kyries, and were puzzled what to make of them, for certainly as they stand in the Roman Mass they are meaningless. The Reformers kept the nine, and added a tenth in a somewhat altered form, and gave them a new but not inappropriate signification. The necessities of the time called for something of the sort. The Lutheran doctrine of Free Justification was in the air, dissolving the basis of all Christian morality. The English Reformers, in their desire to emphasize the obligation of the moral law on Christians, and finding these nine Kyries in a mass, like empty husks, did the best they could with them, turned them to a purpose greatly needed at the moment. We have no reason to regret it. We have these Kyries revived and given cogency, whereas they lie about in other liturgies as effete forms.

Now we come to the Collects for the Day. Their history is closely bound up with this Litany of Intercession. It will be necessary first of all to say something about the word *Collect*.

In Greek, the assembly of the congregation for prayer is called a *Synaxis*, in Latin a *Collectio*.

At first by Collect was meant a gathering together of the faithful for prayer. But it acquired a further meaning; it was applied to the prayer of the Celebrant after the bidding call and Kyrie, as the summing up, and collecting into one, of the desires and petitions of the people. A Collect presupposes the call of the deacon to Intercession, and the response of the people.

In the Roman Mass the *Gloria in Excelsis Deo* came in after the Kyries and before the Collects—but we know that this was a late insertion. It was inserted in this place when all recollection had been lost of the intimate original relation of the Kyries to the Collect.

In the English Communion Service we have had restored before the Collect for the day, a Collect for the Sovereign; and very happily, for the litany began with bidding prayer, Response, and Collect for the King. Such a restoration is ritually correct; so that in the beginning of our Pro-Anaphora we go nearer by far to primitive models than the Roman Mass.

We hear not infrequently sneers at the intercessions for the Queen that occur *twice* in the liturgy; as if it was a piece of base adulation on the part of the Anglican Church to the Crown. But such critics knew nothing of the early liturgies, or they would speak with less captiousness. In the primitive Eucharist, made up of Pro-Anaphora and Anaphora, there were *four* Collects for the King, beside the bidding prayers of the deacon.

Anyone examining the Collects will see in them how strongly comes out the flavour of intercession. It is almost

possible to reconstruct out of them the entire chain of Collects for all conditions of men.

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| 1st Collect. | For the King and all in authority. |
| 2nd „ | For the Church (15th Sun. after Trin., 16th after Trin., &c.) |
| 3rd „ | For all orders and conditions in the Church (Good Friday, 2). |
| 4th „ | For the Jews, Turks, infidels, heretics (Good Friday, 3). |
| 5th „ | For the distressed, the weak (2nd Sun. in Lent). |
| 6th „ | For the Catechumens (3rd Sun. after Easter). |
| 7th „ | For the Penitents (Ash Wed.). |
| 8th „ | For the Energumens (6th Sun. after Epiph.). |
| 9th „ | For the Flock (Good Friday, 1). |

Though we may perhaps be disposed to regret the loss of the grand *Ektene*, or Litany of Intercession, with its Collects, gone from the beginning of the Communion Service, yet we cannot but feel that it has left us a splendid heritage—to us in the West—in the varying Collects for the Sundays and Festivals. The East has lost this. In the East this Litany was cut down more and more, till it remained only as a prayer for the Church or the congregation. The West was reluctant to abandon it, chary of applying the knife. Accordingly it broke up the Litany into parts; and on one Sunday prayed for the King, on the next for the Church, on another for heretics and heathens, on another for the Catechumens, and so on; and thus out of the Litany of Intercession, at first employed at the opening of the Pro-Anaphora every Lord's Day, came that glorious chain of pearls, the Collects for the Christian year.

CHAPTER XI.

THE LECTIONS.

CONTINUATION OF ACCOUNT IN SECOND BOOK OF THE "CONSTITUTIONS"
—THE LECTIONS FOUR : 1. THE LAW ; 2. THE PROPHETS ; 3. THE
EPISTLES ; 4. THE GOSPELS—THE BEMA OR AMBONE—THE READING
OF THE LAW IN THE SYNAGOGUE—THE HAPHTARAH—A PSALM—THE
EPISTLE — THE GOSPEL — STANDING FOR THE GOSPEL-LECTION
—TRACES OF THE FOUR LECTIONS IN THE LITURGIES—MENTION OF
THE FOUR LESSONS BY THE FATHERS—THE SERMON—FORMERLY
MORE THAN ONE—PROBABLY AN EXPOSITION FOLLOWED EACH
LECTION—THE PROCESSION WITH THE GOSPEL—THE SCENE AS DE-
SCRIBED BY S. JOHN IN HEAVEN—AS SEEN IN MILAN CATHEDRAL—
THE WOMEN'S ENTRANCES INTO THE CHURCH—REGULATIONS FOR
THE OBSERVANCE OF ORDER—THE PATTERN OF THE SHIP—NO
FORM OF PRAYER GIVEN IN THE DESCRIPTION IN THE SECOND BOOK
OF THE "CONSTITUTIONS"—DIFFERENT IN THE EIGHTH BOOK—
BENEDICTIONS AND RESPONSES.

THE directions in the second book of the "Constitutions," which we have interrupted to give an account of the Collect, go on :—

"In the middle let the bishop's throne be placed, and on each side let the presbyters be seated ; and let the deacons stand near in close and small-girt garments, for they are like the mariners and managers of the ship. With regard to the laity, let them sit on the other side": that is of the step, like those in the body of the ship below the quarterdeck.

"In the midst, let the reader stand upon some high place : let him read the books of Moses, of Joshua son of Nun, of the Judges, and of the Kings, and of the Chronicles, and those written after the return from Captivity ; and besides

these the books of Job and of Solomon, and of the sixteen prophets. But when two of these have been severally read, let some other person sing the Psalms of David, and let the people join in at the conclusion of the verses. Afterwards let the Acts be read, and the Epistles of Paul, which he sent to the Churches, under the conduct of the Holy Spirit ; and afterwards let a deacon or a presbyter read the Gospels. And while the Gospel is read, let all the presbyters and deacons and all the people stand up in great silence."

The lofty place from which the lessons are read must be explained from the synagogue, where there was a sort of desk at which the reader stood, on one side of the building. This was reproduced in the Christian Church in the *ambone*. This name for the desk is etymologically the same as that for the *bema*, and means a projecting elevated platform,* which took the form of a semicircle, and on which stood the curule chair, whence the Latin name of Tribunal. This platform came to be used for all persons of eminence when seated in public, and was used for the clergy of the Church in divine worship. Origen gives us a fuller detailed account than that in the "Constitutions ;" according to him the *bema* was semicircular, and the priests sat along the curve, with the throne of the bishop in the midst. In the 56th Canon of the Synod of Laodicea the presbytery were forbidden to seat themselves there before the bishop had taken his place. The *ambone* was probably a portion of this platform, projecting into the body of the church, or there may have been a separate raised dais in the nave, whence the Lections were read. In the third vision of Hermas, a work of the beginning of the second century, we have the Church herself represented as an old woman surrounded by four deacons, who shows him an ivory throne covered with a linen cushion, and overspread with fine white linen. She leads him to this seat, but he hesitates

* Bema, from βᾶω, βαίω ; Ambone, from ἀναβαίω.

to occupy it till the presbyters have taken their seats. We can see in this that the arrangement of the *bema* was in vogue as described in the "Constitutions" at a much earlier period. In the catacombs Christ is represented on the throne as teacher in the midst of the Apostles, just as the bishops sat surrounded by the clergy. But about the fourth century we meet with the *ambo* as a raised desk, a distinct article of furniture, used both as a place whence Lections were read and sermons were preached. Probably originally the Lections were read from the step of the *bema*.

In the synagogue, the Torah, or Law, was divided into 153 sections, so that in three years the whole was read through. Subsequently these sections were made three times as long, and the whole Law was read through in one year. This was the practice at Babylon, but it was not adopted in Palestine in the first century, and the portion read each Sabbath was about fifty verses. In all probability the Early Church adopted the division already in use in the synagogue. After the reading of the Law came an explanation given by the reader; then came a second reading, from the Prophets. This was called the *haphhtarah*, the closing lesson, because it completed the service. It will be remembered that Christ at Nazareth at the commencement of His ministry read the *haphhtarah* in the synagogue (Luke iv. 16-19), and afterwards gave an explanation of it, which led to an uproar. It will be seen that in the Church the same sequence was observed, the Law first, and then the Prophets. Whether in the synagogue the psalms were sung between the lessons, we do not know; but psalmody was certainly used. It will be seen by the order in the "Constitutions" that a psalm was to be sung after the conclusion of the reading from the Prophets, before the reading of the Epistles; and that the psalm was to be one with a refrain, in which the congregation could join, as the 100th: P. "O give thanks unto the Lord, for He is gracious." R. "And His mercy endureth for ever."

After the psalm came the Epistle, and then the Gospel, for which all stood. The usage of standing for the Gospel Lection therefore dates back to a remote antiquity. In the liturgy of S. Mark, the deacon calls to the congregation, "Stand: let us hear the holy Gospel."

If, as we suppose, there was no written formulary of prayers and thanksgivings for the Eucharist for two or three hundred years, there may, nevertheless, have been a sort of schedule of what the structure of the service was to be; and then this schedule may have been filled out in after times. With regard to the four Lections ordered in the "Constitutions," we may note that traces of such readings remain in many liturgies. In the Constantinopolitan are three Lections, one from the Old Testament, then Epistle and Gospel. In the Seleucian are all four, with the psalm between the Prophet and the Epistle, and again between Epistle and Gospel. In the Armenian liturgy are, Prophet, Epistle, and Gospel; in that of North Africa, according to S. Augustine, it was the same. In the Ambrosian use of Milan it was also so, with the psalm as directed in the "Constitutions," and this liturgy is still employed. In the Roman Missal the prophecy is retained on certain days.* In the ancient Gallican, and in the Spanish, both founded on the use of Ephesus, there are Prophet, Apostle, Evangelist, with the psalm with response, in the same place as described in the "Constitutions." We may certainly conclude that in the Apostolic Church the service began with a reading of the Law, then with a lesson from a Prophet; when the Apostles sent Epistles to the Churches, then these Epistles were read; and when, finally, the Gospels were composed, then they took the place of the narrative of Christ's life, and acts, and words, related by the preacher.

The references to the four Lections, more or less distinct, that

* In our own Liturgy on certain days the Prophet is substituted for the Apostle, before the Gospel.

we find in the early Fathers are numerous. It is not, indeed, always certain that they are speaking of Law, Prophet, Epistle, Gospel as Lections, but it is probable that the allusions they make owe their significance to the familiarity with this quadruple reading of those to whom they write. Thus Clement of Alexandria speaks of the "ecclesiastical symphony of Law and Prophets, and the Apostles with the Gospel."*

In the very early Epistle to Diognetus, in the hyperbolic description of the Eucharist, towards the close, of which the writer will not give particulars, but which he promises Diognetus shall know if he places himself under instruction, he says of the service: "Then the fear of the *Law* is chanted, the grace of the *Prophets* made known, the faith of the *Gospel* is established, the tradition of the *Apostles* is preserved."†

From Origen we learn that the Lections of the wars of the Israelites would not have been read in the Church were it not that they symbolized the struggles of Christians against their spiritual foes; and he refers the institution of these Lections to S. Paul. He speaks of the lessons being in portions. After having given a homily on Isaiah, he says that his hearers will learn something to the purpose from the reading in Leviticus which will occur in the next "collect" or assembly.‡ Tertullian, in one of his grand passages against heretics, appeals to the unity of the tradition and usages of the Church, traceable to Apostolic sources; and then, speaking of the African Church, he says: "She mingles Law and Prophets with the writings of Evangelists and Apostles, from which she drinks her faith; this she seals with the (baptismal) water, arrays with the Holy Ghost, feeds with the Eucharist, and cheers with martyrdom."§ This may mean merely that the Church has the books, but he seems to associate it with a Mass of the Catechumens.

* Strom. vi., c. 11.

† Ep. ad. Diognet. c. 11.

‡ In Isai. Hom. i.

§ De Præscrip. c. 36.

The "Constitutions" continue thus :—

"In the next place, let the presbyters one by one, not all together, exhort the people, and the bishop in the last place, as being the commander."

It would seem from this that the Lections were followed by a series of exhortations, but this is not quite certain. The Jewish method in the synagogue was for the reading of the Law to be followed by an explanation, and then the reading of the Prophet to be succeeded by another. Perhaps this was what took place in the early Church, and the direction in the text may mean, not that after the lessons were finished there ensued a succession of short sermons, but that after the reading of the Law one of the presbyters stood up and gave an exhortation thereon, showing what in the Law was abrogated, and what remained fast, and how that the sacrifices of the Law pointed to Christ. When he sat down, then followed the reading of the Prophet, after which another presbyter rose and showed how that the prophecy declared the coming of the kingdom and the incarnation, the passion and the glorification of Christ. Then ensued the psalm with its responses. Next came the reading of an Apostolic epistle, and this also was followed by a word of exhortation on the subject. After the Gospel the bishop rose, and he delivered the final address on the mysteries of the Gospel.

In the account of the worship of Heaven by S. John the book is in the hand of the Eternal One on His throne. And the Lamb, "as it had been slain . . . came and took the book out of the right hand of Him that sat upon the throne." The meaning is the Revelation of the Gospel; the mystery of the Incarnation which was hid is taken by Christ, the priest and victim, and He reveals the purpose of God to man. But S. John is probably describing or referring to some ceremony in use in the Church on earth, and this was the taking of the Gospel, which was in the hand of the bishop, and

bringing it forward to the *ambone*, to be read to the people.*

The bishop in the Christian Church sat where in the synagogue is the ark containing the Law ; and the fetching of the sacred roll and the bringing it to the desk is attended with much ceremony. When the Church possessed the Book of the Gospels, the ceremony which in the synagogue attended the bringing forth of the Torah was transferred to the bringing forth of the Gospel. To the present day in the Roman Church it is done with some pomp. At Milan, in the splendid and solemn cathedral, the writer has seen a lector robed in green and black take the Book of the Gospels from the altar, committed to him by the celebrant who represents the bishop, and then, attended by burning lights and attendants, he passed down the choir, and ascended a flight of stairs to the *ambone*, a pulpit on the same level and of the same size as that from which sermons are preached, but on the north side instead of the south, and there read the Lection for the day. Now it must be remembered that the Milanese use was probably brought from Ephesus, and it was at Ephesus that S. John the Divine passed his latter days, and there wrote his Gospel, and perhaps also the Apocalypse. He seems in that vision of the taking and bringing forward of the book to allude to an usage analogous to the production of the Torah in the synagogue, but transferred to the solemn bringing forth of the Gospel. But in that vision he shows that Christ is not only priest and victim, but also the lector, the declarer of the mysteries of God to the people.

The "Constitutions" order further :—

"Let the porter stand by the entries of the men, and observe them. Let the deaconesses also stand at those of the

* With this agrees the account in the visions of Hermas, where the Church herself is represented on the Episcopal throne, holding the book in her hand.

women, like shipmen. For the same description and pattern was both in the Tabernacle of the testimony and in the Temple of God."

In an Eastern house—and it was the same in a Greek and Roman house—the women had their court and apartments communicating with the main court by a passage and door. We can see how this arrangement continued later. When there was a church built, then the men were expected to enter by the main door, and the women came in and went out by a side door. Such doors are found in the old rude churches in the catacombs. The doorkeeper was an important functionary ; he had to watch in time of persecution that none but the faithful and those under instruction for baptism were admitted. So important was his office considered, in that he held the life of the faithful in his hands, and any want of caution on his part might lead to disastrous results, that he was after a while regarded as a minister of the Church, invested with special sacredness.

"If anyone be found sitting out of his place, let him be rebuked by the deacon, as a manager of the foreship, and be removed into the place proper for him ; for the Church is not only like a ship, but also like a sheepfold."

Here we have an allusion to the benches of rowers in the ship, and the ruler of the rowers putting the right men on their proper benches. In a trireme there were three stages of oars and rowers. So in a fold there is a compartment for the sheep, another for the goats. It will be seen by the plans of churches in the catacombs that these also were divided into pens or sections. The meaning of the text is that the faithful are to be all together in their special part, the Catechumens preparing for baptism in their part, the penitents again separated, and the energumens, the insane, also apart. As there was a ruler over each stage of oars in a ship, so was there a deacon to look after each class in the Church, and to see that the

classes did not mix. We shall see presently that there was a necessity for this, to avoid confusion. That this is the meaning of the order is made abundantly clear by what ensues.

“For as the shepherds place all the brute creatures distinctly, goats and sheep, according to their herd and their age, and all go together, like to like; so is it to be in the Church. Let the young sit by themselves, if there be a place for them; if not, let them stand upright. But let those that are already stricken in years, sit in order. For the children which stand, let their fathers and mothers take them to them. Let the young women also sit by themselves, if there be a place for them; but if there be not, let them stand behind the (elder) women. Let those women which are married, and have children, be placed by themselves; but let the virgins, and the widows, and the old women, stand or sit before the rest; and let the deacon be the disposer of the places, that everyone of these that comes in may go to his proper place, and may not sit at the entrance. In like manner, let the deacon oversee the people, that nobody whisper, nor go to sleep, nor nod; for all ought to stand in the Church wisely, soberly, and attentively, having their thoughts fixed upon the word of the Lord.

“After this, let all rise up with one consent, and looking towards the East, after the Catechumens and penitents are gone out, pray to God eastwards.”

It will be noticed that in all this we have not a single form of prayer; only a general sketch of the conduct of divine service and the order of the parts. In the complete liturgy given in the eighth book all this is altered; there we have full detail. That which is there given agrees with what is directed in the text we have taken from Book 2, but it is filled out. The times of persecution were over, and the compiler had no scruple in writing down the form of prayer and thanksgiving.

What he gives is quite as ancient as the rules in the second book, though committed to writing later.

This is the account in the eighth book.

“After the reading of the Law and the Prophets, the Epistles, and Acts, and the Gospels, let the bishop salute the Church, saying: The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God and our Father, and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all.

“And let all answer: And with thy Spirit. After this, let him address to the people words of exhortation, and when he hath accomplished the word of teaching, then all standing up, let the deacon ascend to some high place, and proclaim: Let none of the hearers: let none of the unbelievers (remain).”

CHAPTER XII.

THE GOSPELS.

THE EFFECT OF THE PRO-ANAPHORA ON WORSHIPPERS—A SERVICE OF WITNESS-BEARING TO CHRIST—THE CONTRAST TO THE SCENE IN THE HALL OF CAIAPHAS WITH HIS FALSE WITNESSES—LIGHTS AT THE GOSPEL—THE ORIGIN OF THE USAGE—THE ORIGIN OF THE FOUR GOSPELS—THE APOSTOLIC MEMORABILIA NOT ORIGINALLY UNITED INTO GOSPELS—DIFFERENT MEMORABILIA IN USE IN DIFFERENT CHURCHES—THE ORIGIN OF S. LUKE'S GOSPEL—OF S. MATTHEW'S GOSPEL—OF THAT OF S. MARK—SAME MATERIAL WORKED UP IN THE GOSPELS OF SAINT MATTHEW AND SAINT MARK—THE ONLY SATISFACTORY WAY OF ACCOUNTING FOR THE DISCREPANCIES IN THE SYNOPTICAL GOSPELS—DIFFICULTY OF CHRONOLOGICAL ARRANGEMENT ACKNOWLEDGED BY ORIGEN—FAITH DOES NOT DEPEND ON ORDER OF CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE, BUT ON THE TRUTH OF THE FACTS RECORDED.

THE Divine Service, as far as we have now seen it rendered, must have had a solemn and impressive effect on hearers and the uninstructed who were suffered to be present.

The effect was one of the stepping forward of testimony on testimony to Christ. First came Moses. The Law was brought forward to the elevated place above the floor where stood the people, and he gave his witness. Then came forward the Prophets. Their words of rebuke, and warning, and vision, as to the coming of the Messiah were read. Next advanced the Apostles ; their epistles were read, showing their living, burning faith. Lastly, Christ Himself stood forth, revealed in the Gospel of His words and works.

There was something even dramatic, unconsciously dramatic, in the arrangement. The sequence grew up quite naturally ;

but when established, it constituted a wondrous whole, which not only must have impressed the audience, but which did—for we find evidence of the impression in the early Apologists, as we shall see presently.

But there was another feature in this coming forward of testimonies to Christ which was significant, and which deserves notice. To understand its force, we must go back to the scene on Good Friday morning in the hall of Caiaphas.

That hall was an atrium, in which burnt the fire at which the servants and Peter warmed themselves. Raised a step or two above it, at the further side to the entrance was the *tablinum*, with seats against two of the sides, on which sat the council of the priests. On each side of the *tablinum*, sometimes opening out of the *atrium*, sometimes out of the *tablinum*, were two doors communicating with small rooms. In one of these, that on the further side to Christ, lurked the false witnesses. According to Jewish law, the witnesses remained hidden from the eye of the accused till the time came for them to produce their testimony. Whilst in concealment, however, they were required to observe the face of the accused, so as to be quite satisfied as to the identity of the man; to facilitate their observation of him, if needful, lights were held before his face, strongly illuminating his features, whilst the witnesses were unobserved in the dark.

Now picture the scene. The servants of the high priest hold up their torches before the Lord, as He stands before the chief priests in the *tablinum*, and from the dark door into the windowless store-room at the side peep the witnesses. The signal for them to advance is given, and forth they glide, one after another, mount the *bema*, and produce their false testimony. Change the scene. Again an *atrium*, in which stands thick a Christian congregation. Round the *tablinum* sit the elders of the Church which has risen out of fallen Jewdom. Forth from the side doors come the Jewish testimonies. But who are they? Moses and the Prophets come

to bear true witness to Christ. Then the Apostles themselves, and lastly, with torches held aloft before Him, Christ in His Gospel.

This custom of holding lights at the reading of the Gospels is very ancient. S. Jerome speaks of it, "that by the symbol of natural light, that light might be shown forth of which the psalmist speaks when he says, Thy Word is a lamp to my feet."* When did this custom spring up? Was it merely a late homage to the Gospel, a symbolic act to show forth the truth that Christ was the true light? Or did it descend from Apostolic institution—a recollection of that scene in the hall of Caiaphas, and a desire to show honour to Him whom the Jews dishonoured—that as they produced false witnesses, the Church should produce true witnesses; as they exhibited Him by torches that He might be falsely accused, the Church should honour Him with torches, revealing Him as the very eternal and superhuman light of the world? We cannot say.

On the way to Emmaus Christ had Himself indicated the line along which proof of His mission was to be sought and found. "Beginning at Moses and all the Prophets, He expounded unto them" (the disciples on the way) "in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself" (Luke xxiv. 27). Moreover, in the parable of Dives and Lazarus, He had referred back to "Moses and the Prophets."

In the vision of Ezekiel, where the throne of God is described, there are lamps of fire moving about it; and there are the four mystic beasts, which, as soon as the canonical Gospels were fixed at four, were taken to symbolize the evangelists. The greatest reverence was shown to the Gospels in the early Church after the canon was fixed. At a Council of the Church the Gospel Book was placed in the midst of the assembly, to show that Christ Himself was the Head and authority of the Council; and it was placed in a position

* Cont. Vigil. c. 3.

of honour in the church, in a sort of ark or cabinet, when not exposed on a small table or altar. As, however, we are considering Christian worship at the earliest period, before the canon was fixed, it will be necessary at this point to say something about the origin of our four Gospels.

It must be borne well in mind that Christian worship was organized long before the Gospels were written, and when there were only the Law and the Prophets as recognized authoritative Scriptures. But before the Church had the Gospels, the Epistles were read in divine service.* It is probable that when the Apostles founded Churches, their instructions on the sayings and doings of Jesus were taken down, and in the absence of the Apostles these were read to the congregation. In the account of the liturgy in the eighth book of the "Constitutions," the Gospels are already fixed and ordered to be read; so also in the account in the second book; but it was not so, as already shown, in the original liturgy of S. James. The ancient Gospels were not divided into chapters, but into *pericopes*, or portions read to the congregation. But when we say that the Gospels were so divided, we are speaking of a later use. Originally only these fragmentary memorials of our Lord by the Apostles existed, and the extant Gospels are made up of these portions more or less chronologically pieced together, again to be broken up into Sunday and festival Lections without regard to the original pericopes. To these fragmentary records S. Luke alludes when he says that "many had taken in hand to arrange in a consecutive account (*ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν*)† those things which were most fully believed" among the faithful. These he "traced up from the beginning accurately one after another" (*παρηκολούθηκόντι ἀνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς καθεξῆς*).

Here we have clearly the existence of records, disconnected

* Col. iv. 16; 1 Thess. v. 27. They were handed on from one Church to another (Col. iv. 16).

† This may however be rendered "To go regularly through again."

in the first place, which many strung together in consecutive order, with more or less success, and S. Luke takes pains, as he tells us, to make this order chronological. Some Churches had one set of memorabilia—recollections of the Lord's sayings and doings by their Apostle—others had a different set. That of Antioch had the memorials of S. Peter, that of Jerusalem the recollections of S. James, S. Simeon, and S. Jude. S. Luke indicates the source whence he drew his account of the nativity and early years of the Lord, the recollections of the Virgin Mother, communicated to him orally. He speaks of her as keeping in her heart the things that happened, and pondering on them (ii. 19, 51). Another time it is contemporaries, Mary certainly included (i. 66). On both occasions it is in reference to events connected with the Infancy. Why did he thus insist on her having taken pains to remember these things? Surely to show whence he drew his information. He narrated these events on the testimony of her word; and her word is to be relied on; for these things, he assures us, were deeply impressed on her memory.

The memorabilia in use in the different Churches founded by the Apostles would probably be strung together in such order as they were generally read. Such an order would be only approximately chronological; therefore many took in hand, as S. Luke tells us, to correct this, and he took special care to give the sequence of events as they occurred, not as they were read, by obtaining information from the best sources available.* It is probable that the "Recollections"

* The author has gone into the matter with considerable fulness in his "Lost and Hostile Gospels," Williams and Norgate, 1874, to which he refers his readers for particulars. It is noticeable that Justin Martyr always speaks of the Gospel records as the "Memoirs of the Apostles." In the 1st Apology: "The Apostles, in the Memoirs composed by them, which are called Gospels;" "we find recorded in the Memoirs of His Apostles" ("Dial. c. Trypho," c. 100, cf. also c. 103, c. 106); and his quotations are not apparently made from any of the Gospels as we have them.

of S. Peter, written in disjointed notes by S. Mark, were in circulation through many Churches before S. Mark set to work to co-ordinate them and compile them into the Gospel that goes by his name. From Antioch to Rome they were read at the divine service, and some of these, which had found their way to the Churches of Asia Minor, have been taken up by S. Luke and incorporated into his Gospel. Others circulating in Palestine were in the hands of the compiler of S. Matthew's Gospel.

S. Luke was not himself a Jew,* and when he wrote the Acts he wrote in Greek, free from Hebraisms; but it was otherwise with the Gospel. The first two chapters are totally distinct in style from the rest, and are so coloured with Hebraisms that they may be translated into Aramaic almost verbatim. They reveal their origin as a Greek version from an Aramaic text, just as certainly as a poor translation from the French, by the structure of the sentences, declares that it is not English in origin. As S. Luke, S. Mark, and the composer of the first Gospel acted independently, their chronological sequences differ. Their Gospels are three kaleidoscopic groups of the same pieces.

According to a fragment of a lost work by Papias, a contemporary of Polycarp, who was a disciple of S. John, and who carefully collected all information he could obtain concerning the Apostles, "Matthew wrote his sayings in the Hebrew dialect, and everyone translated it as he was able."† Irenæus, a disciple of Polycarp, and therefore likely also to have trustworthy information on this matter, says; "Matthew, among the Hebrews wrote a Gospel in their own language, while Peter and Paul were preaching the Gospel in Rome, and founding the Church there."‡ In a fragment also of Irenæus it is said that "the Gospel according to Matthew was written to the Jews."

* Col. iv. 11, 14.

† Euseb., II. E., iii., c. 39.

‡ *Ibid.*, v., c. 8.

From what Papias says, the Gospel as originally written was—1. In Hebrew; 2. Was a collection of the sayings of Jesus. These sayings, “logia,” could only be His discourses, and Papias gave his book accordingly the title of “Commentary on the Sayings of the Lord.”

This brief notice is sufficient to show that S. Matthew’s collection was not the Gospel as it now stands. It was not a biography, it was solely a collection of Christ’s discourses. This is made clearer by what Papias says in the same work on S. Mark. He relates that the latter wrote not only what Jesus *said*, but also what he *did*; whereas Matthew wrote only what had been *said*.

The work of Matthew, therefore, contained no record of the doings of our Lord, and the sayings were given in the vernacular Aramaic.

According to the preface of Papias, he had obtained his knowledge, not directly from the Apostles, but from the mouths of men who had companied with the old priests and disciples of the Apostles. Besides the testimony of these, Papias appealed further to the evidence of Aristion and the priest John, disciples of the Lord, still alive and bearing testimony when he wrote.

Papias said of S. Mark’s Gospel:—

“John the Priest said this: Mark being the interpreter of Peter, whatsoever he recorded he wrote with great accuracy, but not, however, in the order in which it was spoken or done by our Lord; for he himself had neither heard nor followed our Lord, but, as before said, he was in company with Peter, who gave him such instruction as occasion called forth, but did not study to give a history of our Lord’s discourses. Wherefore Mark has not erred in anything, by writing this and that as he remembered them; for he was carefully attentive to one thing—not to pass by anything he had heard, nor to state anything falsely in these accounts.”*

* Euseb., H. E., iii., c. 39.

John accordingly gives five characteristics of the work of Mark :—

1. A striving after accuracy.
2. Want of chronological succession in his narrative, which had rather the character of a string of anecdotes and sayings than a biography.
3. It was composed of records of both the sayings and the doings of Jesus.
4. It was no collection of sayings only (*σύνταξις λογίων*), like the work of Matthew.

These characteristic features of the work of Mark, as described by John the Priest, agree with the Mark Gospel as we have it, some of the special features of which are :—

1. Want of order : it is made up of a string of episodes and anecdotes, and of sayings manifestly unconnected with each other.
2. The order of events is wholly different from that in the other Gospels.
3. Both the sayings and the doings are given in it.
4. It contains no long discourses, like those in the Gospel of S. Matthew, arranged in systematic order.
5. It contains many incidents which point to S. Peter as the authority for them, and recall his preaching.

To this last belong—the manner in which the Gospel opens with the baptism of John, just as S. Peter's address (Acts x. 37-41) begins with that event also ; the many little incidents mentioned which give token of having been related by an eye-witness, and in which the narrative of S. Matthew is deficient.* S. Mark's Gospel is also rich in indications of the

* Mark i. 20, "They left their father Zebedee in the ship *with the day-labourers*;" i. 31, "*He took her by the hand*;" ii. 3, "A paralytic, *borne of four*;" ii. 4, "They broke up the roof and let down the bed;" iii. 10, "They pressed upon Him to touch Him;" iii. 20, "They could not so much as eat bread;" iii. 32, "The multitude sat about Him;" iv. 36, "They took Him *even as He was*,"

feelings of the people towards Jesus, such as an eye-witness must have observed,* and of notices of movements of the body—small, significant acts, which could not escape one present, who described what he had seen.†

That the composer of S. Matthew's Gospel as we have it made use of the materials out of which S. Mark compiled his, that is, of the Memorabilia of S. Peter, is evident. Whole passages occur word for word, or nearly so, in the Gospel of S. Matthew.

That this incorporation took place before the Gospel of S. Mark was put together into one consecutive narrative—that is, while it was in circulation merely as anecdotes of the Lord, is also apparent, because the order in S. Matthew and the order in S. Mark differ. The compiler of the first Gospel not only used these anecdotes written down from the mouth of S. Peter by his disciple, Mark, but he also slightly altered them in some places, where he either misunderstood them, or thought they wanted explanation. Two instances will suffice.

In S. Mark (xii. 8) it is said that the vine-dressers, when the son came to them, "slew him and cast him out," meaning that they slew the son and cast forth the dead body. The compiler of S. Matthew did not catch this, so he altered the sentence into, "They cast him out : and slew him."

In S. Matthew (x. 11) occurs the unmeaning command,

without His going home to get what was necessary; iv. 38, "*On a pillow*;" v. 3-5, 25-34; vi. 40, the ranks, the hundreds, the green grass; vi. 53-56; x. 17, "There came one running, and kneeled to Him;" x. 50, "Casting away His robe;" xi. 4, "A colt tied by a door without in a place where two ways met;" and many others.

* Mark i. 33, 45; ii. 2, 13; iii. 9, 20, 32; iv. 10; v. 21, 24, 31; vi. 31, 55; viii. 34; xi. 18.

† Mark i. 7, "He bowed Himself;" iii. 5, "He looked round with anger;" ix. 38, "He sat down;" x. 16, "He took them up in His arms, and laid His hands on them;" xiv. 3, "She brake the box;" xiv. 40, "They knew not what to answer Him;" xiv. 4, 67; &c.

“Into whatsoever town or village ye enter, remain therein till ye leave it.” The true sense is only ascertained by reference to S. Mark, where (vi. 10) we find that the command ran, “Wherever, in whatsoever town or village ye enter into a house, remain in that house, till ye leave that town or village.” This is the paraphrase ; by leaving out the word “house,” the Matthew compiler made nonsense of the sentence.

It is abundantly evident that the deutero-Matthew, he who ingrafted into the book of the Sayings of the Lord Jesus the anecdotes of His doings, laid under contribution a large number of fragmentary memorabilia. He sorted them out, and wove them in with the “Logia,” written by S. Matthew, and *afterwards*, independently, S. Mark compiled his Gospel. Thus, S. Matthew’s is the first Gospel in order of composition, though much of the material of S. Mark’s Gospel was written and in circulation first.

The theory that the Synoptical Gospels were composed of various disconnected materials, variously united into consecutive biographies, was accepted by Bishop Marsh, and it is the only theory that relieves the theologian from the unsatisfactory obligation of making “harmonies” of the Gospels. If we adopt the received popular conception of the composition of the Synoptical Gospels, we not only go against distinct testimony, given by those of the age nearest the apostolic times and to the composition of the Gospels, but we are also driven to desperate shifts to fit them together, and reconcile their discrepancies. The difficulty of effecting such a harmony was felt by the early Christian writers. Origen says that the attempt to reconcile them made him giddy. Eusebius adventured on an explanation “of the discords of the evangelists.” S. Ambrose exercised his pen on a concordance ; S. Augustine, in his efforts to force the Gospels into agreement, was driven to strange suppositions—as that when our Lord went through Jericho there were two blind men there,

one by the road-side leading into the city, another by the road-side leading out of it on the further side, and that both were healed under very similar circumstances.

Such an admission as that the Synoptical Gospels were composed in the manner pointed out in no way affects their incomparable value. Faith does not depend on the chronological *sequence* of the events, but on the verity of the *events* themselves. "Never mind," said Tertullian, "if there does occur some variation in the order of the narratives, provided that there be agreement in the essential matters of the faith." "See!" exclaimed S. Chrysostom, "how, through the contradictions of the evangelical history in minor particulars, the truth of the main facts transpires, and the trustworthiness of the authors is made clear."

In every thing, both human and divine, where united, there is a union of infallibility in that which is essential, and of fallibility in non-essentials. "Many things divine—many things human," was the motto Tholuck inscribed on his copy of the sacred oracles.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE DISMISSALS.

THE ORDER TO DEPART—EARNEST HEARERS ADMITTED TO THE PRO-ANAPHORA — THE DIVISIONS OF THE CATECHUMENATE OF COMPARATIVELY LATE DEVELOPMENT—THE COMPETENTES—IT IS DOUBTFUL WHETHER THOSE ABOUT TO BE BAPTIZED WERE INSTRUCTED IN THE MYSTERY OF THE EUCHARIST—THE TERM COMPETENTES PROBABLY EXTENDED TO THE BAPTIZED UNDER INSTRUCTION FOR THE EUCHARIST—THE COMPLETE FORMS OF DISMISSALS NOT PART OF THE ORIGINAL PRO-ANAPHORA—PARALLELISM IN THE DISMISSALS—THE FORM OF DISMISSAL AS IT STOOD ORIGINALLY—REMAINS OF THE DISMISSALS IN THE LITURGIES—WEEKLY COMMUNION THE RULE—DECLINE OF ZEAL AND CESSATION OF FREQUENT COMMUNION—CONSEQUENCE, EITHER THAT THE NON-COMMUNICANTS WENT OUT WITH THE CATECHUMENS—OR THAT THEY REMAINED ON WITHOUT COMMUNICATING — THE LATTER ARRANGEMENT GENERALLY ADOPTED—DOUBTFUL WHICH WAS AND IS THE BEST PLAN—THE ENGLISH CHURCH LAYS DOWN NO RULE.

AFTER the sermon, the deacon, "ascending some place," proclaimed, "Let none of the hearers (remain). Let none of the unbelievers (remain)."

S. Paul speaks of the unlearned and unbelievers being admitted to the service of the Church (1 Cor. xiv. 16, 23), so that, no doubt, whenever it was possible without incurring risk, such earnest heathen were admitted as were inquiring into the tenets and worship of the Christians, but who had not as yet made up their minds to enrol themselves as Catechumens.

After their departure, "When quiet has been resumed," continues the rubric in the liturgy, "Let the deacon say, Ye that are Catechumens, pray."

The discipline of the Catechumenate was not developed in

the Apostolic age, but the question must soon have arisen, how and for how long seekers were to be trained, before they were admitted to full knowledge of the truth, and admitted to full privileges. Various names are employed by early writers to designate these candidates, and it has been fancied that a whole category of classes was elaborated, going by the different names. Modern criticism has dispelled this theory.* The length of preparation depended on the sincerity of the candidates. They were instructed in the first principles of the faith till they were thought ready to be baptized, when the final instructions were given them on the deepest mysteries of the faith, and they were made to learn a creed by heart. The giving to them of the creed was called the *Tradition*, and their recital of it, the *Reddition*. In the final stage, when fasting, making amends for wrongs done, effecting reconciliation with enemies, paying up debts previous to baptism, they were called *competentes*, or *photizomenoi*, those that were being illuminated.

A question still remains not fully solved, whether some sort of preparation was not gone through *after* Baptism, before admission to the Eucharist, to Communion; and if so, whether the designation of Seekers and Those-being-illuminated, being initiated, may not originally have applied, not only to those preparing for the minor initiation by Baptism, but for the major initiation through Communion; that is to say, whether the full explanation of the Eucharistic mystery was not made *after* Baptism, and not before. A seal, the sign of the cross, was the token of admission into the class of Catechumens; then came instructions on the truths of Christianity and the acquisition of the Creed, the preparation for Baptism.

Then came the initiation into the doctrine of Communion

* Funk : in Tübingen Quartalschrift, 1883 ; see also Rochat : de Catéchuménat au IV^{me} Siècle ; Paris, 1875.

with Christ by the Eucharist. Unfortunately we have not sufficient information as to the system in the first ages to answer with certainty whether this was the rule, but it seems most probable that it was so, and that the term "those being illuminated," "those being initiated," may have applied to both classes, such as were preparing for initiation by Baptism, and such as were preparing for perfection by the Eucharist.* Be this as it may, we must conclude that at a tolerably early period some sort of discipline must have been agreed upon both as to Catechumens and as to those Christians who had lapsed after baptism into grievous sin, and who repented. S. Paul implies some sort of penitential discipline, when he writes about the incestuous Corinthian (2 Cor. ii. 6, 7).

The form of service as given in the "Constitutions," Book viii., shows us the discipline respecting Catechumens and other classes fully developed. This form of service did not belong to the original office; it was an adjunct appended when it became advisable to make some distinction between classes not admitted to the Eucharist.

Originally all non-communicants went out when the deacon called to the hearers and unbelievers to depart, and then the Eucharist began at once with the Offertory.

But probably soon a change was made. In the Eucharistic

* The usual, the received notion is that the baptized passed at once to participation in the Eucharist; that therefore the greatest of mysteries was confided to the candidate before he had shown himself worthy of the first. Is this likely? Moreover, Dionysius, in his "Terrestrial Hierarchy," clearly implies a double and consequent initiation. There are, according to him, several Teletes or ends to which the aspirant strains. The first Telete is the spiritual generation, the initiation into supernatural life, which is accomplished in Baptism. The ceremonies he describes minutely, then gives what he calls the contemplation, *i.e.*, the inner spiritual signification of the symbolic acts. After that comes the mystery of the synaxis or communion, to which Telete the aspirant is next initiated, whilst still in his baptismal white robes, which were worn for some time, probably till he had been admitted to the Eucharist, after which, being fully illuminated, he laid them aside. The Eucharist was, according to Dionysius, the Telete of Teletes, summing up in itself all precedent mysteries.

Service, after the oblation of the elements, ensued a great intercessional Litany, in which among other classes prayed for were those seeking baptism—the penitents, the insane, and those seeking perfect illumination. In order to construct a service for them, the bidding prayers, responses, and collects referring to them were removed from this Litany, and were put at the end of the Pro-Anaphora, to form the conclusion of that service ; so that there might be an orderly sequence of dismissals, first of the—(1) Catechumens ; (2) next of the insane ; (3) then of those seeking illumination ; (4) lastly, of the penitents.

We can see how here a certain parallelism was observed.

- A. The 1st class of seekers after Light.
- B. The 1st class of those darkened by Satan.
- C. The 2nd class of seekers after Light.
- D. The 2nd class of those darkened by Satan.

If, as we are inclined to suspect, the first class of seekers after Light meant those seeking illumination through Baptism, and the second class those seeking illumination through the Eucharist, we can see how also in the antithetical dismissals we have also two distinct stages. The first are those possessed in mind by the evil spirit, to be expelled by exorcism. The second are those who have fallen in heart and soul under the power of the evil spirit, to be expelled by repentance previous to reception.

The formulary used for each class is remarkable. We give that for Catechumens. The others resemble it with the solitary exception of that for the possessed. *They*, and they only, are not bidden pray for themselves, because mentally incapable, or supposed to be incapable, of so doing.

Deacon. Ye that are Catechumens, pray.

People. Lord, have mercy.

Catechumens pray (kneeling) in silence.

Deacon. Bidding prayer for the Catechumens.

People. Lord, have mercy.

Catechumens, still kneeling, continue in prayer.

Deacon. Call to *Catechumens* to rise up and pray standing.

Catechumens stand up and pray silently, standing.

Deacon. Call to *Catechumens* to bow the head for the blessing.

Catechumens bow the head for the blessing.

Bishop. Collect of intercession and benediction for the *Catechumens*.

Catechumens still with bowed head.

Deacon. Call to *Catechumens* to depart in peace.

Catechumens leave the church.

This, of course, looks more intricate than it is ; in reality it is not so ; three attitudes are prescribed to the *Catechumens*—kneeling, standing, bowing, and twice they hear prayers over them, from the people and from the bishop.

There was probably from the beginning some form of dismissal for all those who were not competent to remain, but the elaborated and classified form of dismissals was an accretion that only lasted as long as the disciplinary system of the Church remained in force ; nevertheless traces of the dismissal remained in most liturgies.

In no liturgy is the form so full as in that in the "Constitutions." It can hardly have begun before the 2nd century, nor lasted after the 5th.

In the liturgy of S. James, the deacon proclaims, "Let none of the *Catechumens*, let none of the uninitiated, let none of those who are not able to join with us in prayer (remain). Look at each other. Keep the doors!"

S. Chrysostom mentions the prayer over and dismissal of those afflicted with evil spirits, and the penitents, as well as of the *Catechumens*.

In the Syriac version of S. James, the deacon proclaims,

“Go in peace, ye hearers, go in peace. Draw near, ye that are baptized to your peace. Shut the doors.”

In the Armenian service, the deacon dismisses with these words, “Let none of the Catechumens, no men of little faith, none of the penitents, nor of the unclean (*i.e.*, possessed), draw near to this divine mystery.”

The ancient liturgy of the Church of Alexandria remains only in a fragmentary condition in two MSS. In it are traces of the dismissal, in the call of the deacon, “See that none of the Catechumens——.” The rest is not given.

The dismissals have gone out of the Ethiopic liturgy of the Twelve Apostles, but remain in that of SS. Adæus and Maris, in use among the Syrian Nestorians.

In the Canons of the Council of Laodiceæ (mid. 4th cent.) is one to this effect. “Let the prayer for the Catechumens be said separately after the homily delivered by the bishop; and when the Catechumens are gone out, then let the prayer for the penitents be said, and after they have received the imposition of hands, and have, in like manner, gone out, then let there be three prayers for the faithful.” (Can. 19.)

This canon was passed because of the tendency manifest, which became more and more accentuated, to run all the collects together into one prayer of intercession for all these classes *en bloc*, and then to dismiss them all together, making one great exit. When this was the case, a number of the faithful, who were either careless, cool, or conscious of their unfitness to communicate, took advantage of the rush out of church to join in the stampede.

The Council of Laodiceæ endeavoured to restore the old usage, but failed, and the Church was left to face a very perplexing problem, how to deal with the lukewarm and indifferent. Were they to be allowed to depart—to virtually excommunicate themselves, or were they to be required to remain through the entire Eucharistic service, and not to be required to communicate?

As the Church increased, and infant baptisms became general, the number of Catechumens greatly dwindled, whereas the number of cool, careless, indifferent Christians enormously multiplied. Tertullian greatly doubted the expediency of infant baptism for this very reason. The Church was being flooded with a chill influx of Christians in name and profession, who in their lives were but little better than the heathen. As the Church grew in geometrical progression, in like inverse proportion decreased the number of daily and even of weekly communicants.

In Apostolic times and for three centuries the rule, the privilege was—weekly, if not daily communion. All who were qualified to communicate did communicate every Lord's Day at least. The dismissals were a provision for eliminating from the congregation all such as were not qualified, that only communicants might remain.

With the change of condition of the Church, two opposed practices grew up. One, non-communicating attendance; the other practice was for those who rightly or wrongly deemed themselves unfit to approach the Lord's Table, to associate themselves with the Catechumens, and penitents, and insane, in leaving the church after the sermon. It is hard not to suspect that some such practice subsisted in England through the Middle Ages, though we have no direct evidence of the fact; otherwise it is not easy to explain the sudden recrudescence in the 16th century of a custom which sprang up as an abuse in the 4th or 5th century, and which has not been sanctioned in the Prayer Book.

In the life of John the Almsgiver, patriarch of Alexandria (A.D. 609-620) by Leontius, a contemporary, we learn that the abuse had grown to a head in the Church of Alexandria. After the sermon out trooped a large portion, if not the major half of the congregation, and remained chatting in the portico and court without, whilst the Anaphora took place. The patriarch, to break this custom, left his throne and went

out among the non-communicants, saying pleasantly, "Where the sheep are, there the shepherd must be also."

It appears that for the time at least, John stopped the custom, and that thenceforth all remained, whether they intended to communicate or not.

In the Apostolic Canons, which date from the 2nd and 3rd centuries, there are two which bear more or less on the point.

Canon VIII. If any bishop, priest, or deacon, or person on the clerical roll, does not partake when the oblation takes place, let him state the reason. And if that be satisfactory, let him be excused; but if he does not tell it, let him be excommunicated, as deserving blame, and raising a suspicion in the congregation against the celebrant.

Canon IX. All who enter church, and hear the Scriptures, but do not remain for the Prayer and the Communion, must be excommunicated, as occasioning disorder in the church.

The first of these refers to those clergy who, by abstaining from Communion, cast a slur on the celebrant, as holding him to be unorthodox, and so exciting a prejudice against him. It does not really concern non-communicating attendance, as we are considering it. The other Canon evidently refers to those who slipped out along with the classes dismissed before the Anaphora. The prayer mentioned is the Great Eucharistic Prayer; it enjoins attendance at that, and also at the Communion, clearly that all may receive together. If some do not, and remain self-excommunicated, then the Canon enjoins that they shall be formally recognised as excommunicate persons, and struck off the Church roll.

The Second Council of Antioch, A.D. 341, ordered—

All who attend God's church, and hear the Holy Scriptures, but who do not communicate in the prayer along with the congregation, or turn away from the Communion of the Eucharist in any disorderly way, are to be cast out of the Church, until having made confession and shewn fruits of repentance, and made entreaty, they may be able to receive pardon.

This Canon is plainly modelled on the older one cited above, and puts the matter on exactly the same footing. Moreover, Dionysius the Little, who made a Latin translation of the

Apostolic Canons in the 6th century, rendered the phrase "remains for Communion," in the Apostolic Canon, "receive the Communion." If Balsamon, in the latter half of the 12th century, in his Treatise on the Canons, interpreted the words otherwise, that merely shows how far removed he was in mind, influenced by late usage, from the tone of feeling in the Early Church. When these Canons were drawn up, indifference had not made such strides that the majority of Christians in profession had ceased to be communicants; and these Canons show us the Churches striving in the face of the rise of indifferentism to maintain the traditional, Apostolic institution of weekly Communion.

In the last year of the 4th century a Canon of the First Council of Toledo enacts: "Concerning those who come to Church, and are noticed never to communicate, let them be warned that if they do not communicate, they must undergo penance." From this we see that already the practice of non-communicating attendance had invaded the Church, and was to some extent recognized, for those only are put to penance who "never" communicate. Eusebius of Alexandria, about A.D. 415, says: "Be early in church. . . . Abide during the divine and holy Eucharistic Service, by no means leave before the dismissal (*i.e.*, the final dismissal). If thou hast thy conscience clean, approach and communicate, . . . but if thy conscience condemn thee, decline the Communion till thou have amended by repentance."

S. Cæsarius of Arles, about A.D. 500, advises:—

"I beseech you, dearest brethren, and warn you with fatherly affection, that as often as Mass is celebrated, either on Sunday or on other greater festivals, no one may go out of church until the Divine Mysteries have been completed. And although there are many in whose faith and devotion we rejoice, yet there are more who, thinking less of their souls' health, depart from the church immediately after the Divine Lessons have been read. . . . Mass is not celebrated when the Divine Lessons are read in church, but when the oblations are made, and the Body and Blood of the Lord is consecrated. As to the Lessons, whether from the

Prophets, or the Apostles, or the Evangelists, you might either read them yourselves at home, or hear others read them ; but you will not be able to see the consecration of the Body and Blood of the Lord anywhere else but in the house of God. . . . Truly he is ignorant how much benefit is gained in celebrating Mass who is in a hurry to leave church. . . . And so, brethren, warn those who are neither willing to say the Lord's Prayer nor to receive the Benediction, and do not cease to rebuke them, telling them, and plainly warning them, that it is no profit to them to hear the Divine Lessons, if they depart before the Divine Mysteries are completed." *

This passage is of great interest. It shows us that in the Church of Gaul, at the beginning of the 6th century, there was such a rush out of Church as we are accustomed to see in our own country after the Gospel and Sermon. S. Cæsarius, like John the Almsgiver, endeavoured to alter this custom into one of all staying through the Anaphora. In 506, a Canon of the Council of Agde in Spain, ordered :—

Canon 18. Laymen who shall not have communicated at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide may not be held for Catholic, nor be counted among Catholics.

Canon 47. We ordain by a special decree that the whole of the service of Mass shall be attended by laymen on Sunday, so that the congregation presume not to go out before the priest's benediction. Those who shall do so shall be publicly rebuked by the Bishop.

Two Councils of Orleans enact similar canons in 511 and 538, and the witness of the English Church in the following century appears in a canon of S. Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury, about 668.

"When the people come to celebrate Mass in the name of the Lord, they may not depart from the Church till Mass is ended, and the Deacon cries : ' Ite, missa est.'"

We see that the practice was for the non-communicants to solve the difficulty their own way, and not in the only way in which it ought to have been solved, and we see the Church endeavouring to enforce a half measure, as it could no longer exact the whole.

* In App. to Benedictine edition of S. Augustine, No. 281.

Which was, which is, the best plan—for the non-communicants to depart when, of old, the penitents, the possessed with devils, and the unbaptized left the church, or to require them to remain through the whole liturgy without partaking of the Eucharistic feast, remains where the English Church has left it, an open question. It is one of expediency, and of expediency alone, not of principle.

The writer has had much experience of both systems. He has been a great deal in foreign Catholic countries, and is familiar with the Eucharistic Service, Greek, and Latin, and English ; he has seen the advantages and the abuses of both practices, and is obliged to acknowledge also, as the result of his experience, that his mind remains in suspense. Each is a departure, a deplorable departure from primitive fervour, and it is doubtful which causes the heart the greater ache—the irreverence of crowds assisting with indifference, some with contempt, at mysteries that were hid of old from all but the sincere, mysteries before which angels and archangels veil their faces ; or the coldness and self-complacency with which so many troop out of church, unwilling to draw nigh to the Lord's table, and taste as well as see His graciousness.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SABBATH.

THE FIRST CHRISTIANS JEWS—ACCUSTOMED TO THE SYNAGOGUE SERVICES-- NO ANTAGONISM BETWEEN THE LAW AND THE GOSPEL—OBSERVANCE OF THE SABBATH—CONTINUED IN THE CHURCH—SATURDAY CALLED THE SABBATH—THE SABBATH MORNING SERVICE OF THE SYNAGOGUE—THE PREFACE AND SANCTUS TAKEN FROM THIS SERVICE—TERTULLIAN ON WASHING BEFORE PRAYER—THE SABBATH SERVICE TRANSFERRED TO THE EVENING—THEN BECOMES THE PRO-ANAPHORA ON THE LORD'S DAY—THE CONNEXION OF THE SERVICES—THE AGAPE INTERVENED.

THE Apostles had grown up from infancy to manhood familiar with the devotions of the synagogue and with the solemn worship of the Temple. Christ had himself attended the Sabbath services of the synagogue, and had shown His zeal for the honour of His Father's house. After the Ascension, the Apostles thought themselves justified in continuing their attendance in both synagogue and Temple.

The first Christians were also Jews and proselytes. To such the wrench would be great to cease from those services of instruction and prayer and praise in which they had grown up, and which they had come to love ; services which had opened and prepared their hearts and minds to receive the fuller truth.

There was nothing, absolutely nothing, in that worship opposed to their faith, the sacrifices of blood only excepted. These were fulfilled in Christ ; not so the other services, which had but acquired a new, a deeper signification and purpose. The synagogue service was good, it needed emphasis only to make it very good. The Law was the pedagogue entrusted by

the Father with His child to lead him to Christ, and the Law failed in its obligation only when it clutched the child's hand and led him past Christ. The synagogue was a preparatory school for the College of Christ; it was only faulty when it regarded itself as a finishing school.

The early Fathers are very emphatic on the relation between the Church and the Synagogue, between the Gospel and the Law. There was no antagonism, there could be none, between the flower and the stalk; between the harp and the music drawn from its many strings.

The antagonism that sprang up after awhile was due in part to the bitterness with which the Jews regarded the Christians, and refused to extend to them that legal protection which they, themselves, bought with a tax, and partly to the retrograde tendency of Jewish believers, who refused to allow the Gospel to be more than an adjunct to the Law, and the Church to be other than a new wing to the Temple.

We notice the conservative tendency of the Apostles and their converts manifest in the observance of the Sabbath. The "Constitutions of the Apostles" exact its observance. They order, "Assemble yourselves together every day, but principally on the Sabbath Day; and on the day of the Lord's resurrection meet more diligently" (ii. 59). "Keep the Sabbath and the Lord's Day, because the former is the memorial of Creation, and the latter of the Resurrection" (vii. 23). "Let the slaves work five days, but on the Sabbath Day and the Lord's Day let them have leisure to go to church for instruction in piety" (viii. 33).

In the epistle of Barnabas the Sabbath is not spoken of as abolished: "We shall be able to sanctify it, having first been sanctified ourselves. . . Also we keep the eighth day with joyfulness, the day on which Christ rose from the dead" (c. 15). Ignatius, in his Epistle to the Magnesians, enjoins: "Let every one of you keep the Sabbath after a spiritual manner, rejoicing in meditation on the law, not in relaxation

of the body. . . And after the observance of the Sabbath, let every friend of Christ keep the Lord's day as a festival, the Resurrection day, the queen and chief of all days" (c. 9). And though Justin Martyr and Tertullian speak of the abrogation of the Sabbath, they do so only as to the obligation of cessation from work on that day, not as to its cessation as a festival commemorative of Creation.

Irenæus says that the Sabbath, as a day of commemoration of the rest God took from His works, is to be observed by man as one in which to serve God, rest from servile labour, and on which to "partake of God's table."*

Clement of Alexandria speaks with approval of the heathen poets and philosophers who recognized the sanctity of the seventh day.† In the Apostolic Canons fasting on the Sabbath, as well as on the Lord's Day, is forbidden (Can. 64). S. Augustine says that they who hunger for the Word of God make a point to attend church on the Sabbath. The Easterns reproached the Christians of the West for fasting on the Sabbath. Sozomen says that in his day (circ. 440) the Sabbath was observed as well as the Lord's Day in Constantinople.‡ In some Churches so strictly was the Sabbatical service of the synagogue followed that, on the Sabbath, only the Lectures of the Old Law were read.§

Among Christian inscriptions in the catacombs, the Sabbath is mentioned in a Greek inscription in A.D. 222, and on a Latin one in A.D. 404.

So strongly had the observance of the Sabbath stamped itself on those nations which first accepted Christianity, that the Saturday took the name of Sabbath everywhere, except among the Teutonic or Scandinavian peoples, who received the faith after the observance of the Sabbath had been abandoned.

* Adv. Hæres, iv, 1.

† Strom., v. 14.

‡ Hist. Eccl., vii. 19.

§ Conc. Laod., Can. 16.

Now let us see what were the synagogue services for the Sabbath.

The Jews had four services of prayer in the day, Schacharith, Musaph, Mincha, and Arbith.

The Schacharith was the morning prayer, Arbith the Compline. Musaph, in practice, was usually joined to Schacharith, but it might be said any time before sundown.

The Morning Prayer is composite—it consists of a reproduction with modifications of the old Temple rite, when there was purification, and sacrifices were offered, first of blood, then of incense. This was followed by psalmody and the recitation of the Schema, which consists of a benediction for light and the Law, and the "Hear, O Israel," together with other passages from Deuteronomy and Numbers. But the principal service consists in the bringing forth of the Law, and in reading from the Law ; then from the Prophets, followed by an exposition. After that comes psalmody and prayer. If there be a priest present, the Aaronic blessing is given to the people, and with a short prayer for peace, the service closes.

Unfortunately we have no earlier authorities for the ritual and prayers of the morning service of the synagogue than the 5th century, and we know that much change took place in the service after the destruction of the Temple, and the cessation of the sacrifices. Nevertheless, we know of what the general outlines of the service consisted, both from internal evidence and from incidental notices in the Gospels and in the Acts. For instance, we know not only from the Mischna, but from the New Testament, that the Law, and then the Prophets, were read. S. James (Acts xv. 21) declared that the Books of Moses were read in the synagogue every Sabbath Day ; and Josephus says much the same. S. Luke speaks of the reading of the Prophets (iv. 16), and of the discourse or sermon that followed it. One passage of the Acts (xiii. 14) gives us the order—first the Law, then the Prophets, after which the Sermon.

Sundry portions of the liturgy remind one strongly of the forms in the synagogue; for instance, the Preface and Sanctus are a Christian version of the Keduscha.

The precentor says, "Let us hallow Thy name on earth, as it is hallowed in the heavenly heights; as it is written in the prophet: One called to another and said":—Whereupon the congregation respond, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts! All the earth is full of Thy glory." The precentor continues, "The Ophanim, the holy beings, with a great rushing sound, rise to the Seraphim, who rejoin with praise":—The congregation respond, "Blessed be the Glory of the Lord from His habitation, The Lord shall reign," &c.

We have in the synagogue service also, "O Lord, open Thou our lips:—And my mouth shall declare Thy praise."

We have the prayer for peace, to which corresponds a prayer in the liturgy, and the Great Intercession answers paragraph to paragraph to the intercession in the synagogue, only that the response in the former is, Lord, have mercy, and in the latter is Amen. Words also have been taken over by the Church from the synagogue, as Hallelujah! Hosanna! and Amen.

Tertullian speaks of the custom of the Christians of always washing their hands before prayer—it had become a piece of mere formality. The tank in the atrium was incessantly dipped into, as though prayer were unavailing without this continuous washing; and this was taken from the Temple where the washing and sprinkling preceded every sacrifice. Indeed, in the synagogue morning service there is now the memorial made of this purification at the beginning. "The Lord spake unto Moses, When Aaron and his sons go into the tabernacle of the congregation, let them wash with water, that they die not . . . so they shall wash their hands and their feet, and this shall be a statute for ever to them, and to his seed throughout their generations."

The Aaronic benediction was retained, with the same gestures. The same positions of prayer were retained, only added to by the extension of the arms, to signify the Cross of Christ.

It is not possible to doubt that the Pro-Anaphora is no other than the Sabbath morning service of the synagogue expanded, and given a Christian conclusion.

At first, after Pentecost, the Apostles and the faithful continued to attend the synagogue service on the Sabbath; but also, to hold their own assemblies for the Eucharist, on the Lord's Day, in private houses. But when they were cast forth from the synagogue, it became impossible for them to continue to frequent the same places of worship with the Jews; and as, wherever ten persons were found, there a synagogue could be established in a private house, so the first Christians transferred the Sabbath service from the synagogues, whence they had been expelled, to the private houses, where, on the following day, they held their special Christian worship. As the Law prepared the way for Christ, so did the Sabbath prepare for the Lord's Day. Christ had abrogated the necessity to abstain from work on the seventh day, but not the duty to keep it by assembling for Divine worship. Moreover, the synagogue service, amplified, and given a Christian completion, formed an admirably suitable form of worship, to which to admit hearers and seekers after truth.

But practical difficulties arose in the way of the observance of the Sabbath and the Lord's Day in succession; all religious meetings were illegal, all persons attending them were guilty, capitally, according to the law. The law might not always be enforced but it hung over the heads of the Christians, ready to fall when invoked by any who bore them a grudge. To minimise to the utmost the danger in which they stood, the Eucharist was celebrated early, and the Sabbath Day service thrust forward to the last hours of the Saturday. It became the evening service preparatory to the Eucharist, from which it was separated by the Agape, or Love Feast. The Sabbath

service, the Agape, and the Eucharist were made to follow in immediate succession, so that one assembly did for all purposes.

We cannot, indeed, say for certain that this was so ; but this explanation accounts in the simplest manner for the curious phenomenon of the transfer of the Sabbath morning service to another place. When the Agape was abolished, then it coalesced with the Eucharist, thrust still further forward, from the Sabbath morning to the Sunday morning ; still with the idea that this service of Jewish origin was a proper introduction to the specially Christian service, just as the Law led to Christ.

That the union of the services, and their performance in close succession, had become an accomplished fact at the time when the "Constitutions" were put together, appears not only from the two accounts of some length in them, but from other notices. For instance, "O Bishop, when you go to prayer, after the Lessons and the Psalmody and the instruction out of the Scriptures, let the deacons stand nigh ;" and the writer proceeds with an exhortation on reconciliation of enemies founded on the Kiss of Peace, and then with a paraphrase of the Great Eucharistic Prayer and Intercession ; then goes on to the Lord's Prayer and allusion to Communion (II., c. 54, 55). Again, II., 59, "On the day of the Lord's resurrection, which is the Lord's Day, meet, sending praises to God who made the universe by Jesus, and sent Him to us, and condescended to let Him suffer, and raised Him from the dead" (a condensation of the Eucharistic Thanksgiving). "Otherwise what excuse will be made to God by him who does not assemble on that day to hear the saving word concerning the resurrection, . . . in which is performed the reading of the prophets, the preaching of the Gospel, the oblation of the sacrifice, the gift of the Holy Food?" Here we have together the Pro-Anaphoral Lectons, then the Eucharistic oblation, followed by the Communion.

The transfer of the Sabbath morning service to the Sunday morning in a manner resembles the curious transfer in popular Protestant terminology of the title Sabbath to the Lord's Day. That the transfer did take place can hardly be disputed. The Pro-Anaphora is the Sabbath Day service. When it was so, it was regarded as preparatory to the Lord's Day celebration; and when difficulties stood in the way of the observance of both days, then the preparatory service was said before that to which it led, either on the Sabbath evening, or was thrust still further forward to Sunday morning. That which makes us think it may have been used in the evening is that it would serve to lead on to the Agape, which, in turn, after midnight, led to the Eucharist, and the Offertory originally embraced oblations for both Agape and Eucharist. Moreover, in the suture of Pro-Anaphora and Anaphora there is an uncertain portion which is attributable to the one service or to the other, just where the Agape intervened, and which seems to imply that the Pro-Anaphora was attached to the Offertory and Agape, and that at one time it preceded it. The following table will show the over-lapping of the parts.

AGAPE, NIGHT OF SABBATH DAY SERVICE.	MASS OF THE CATECHUMENS.	PRO-ANAPHORA.	{ 1. Introductory Prayers. 2. Litany of Intercession. 3. Lessons. 4. Sermon. 5. Prayers for and Dismissal of Catechumens. 6. Kiss of Peace.* 7. Offertory. 8. (Litany of the Faithful.)†
LORD'S DAY EUCHARIST, SATURDAY TO SUNDAY.	MASS OF THE FAITHFUL.		
		ANAPHORA.	{ 9. Preface and Triumphal Hymn. 10. Great Eucharistic Prayer of Thanksgiving. 11. The Consecration, consisting of— A. The Institution. B. The Observance. 12. The Great Intercession. 13. Preparation for Communion. 14. Communion. 15. Thanksgiving and Dismissal.

* Sometimes kiss before the Offertory, sometimes after.

† The original position not quite certain, whether before or after the Offertory. Probably the latter.

In our opinion, the combination took place as indicated above.

We are confronted with this remarkable fact, that the Torah, the *second* part of the Jewish morning service, comes to us in its altered form as the *first* part of the Christian morning liturgy. We shall see in the ensuing chapter that the *first* part of the Jewish morning service—which is the morning sacrifice of the Temple—finds its reproduction in the *second* part of the Christian liturgy. The order of succession is reversed. The suggestion made explains this. The Torah became the Sabbath Day service of the primitive Christians ; and the Temple Eulogy in the morning became their Lord's Day Eucharist. When the Sabbath celebration was abandoned, then the Sabbath service, the Torah—the Pro-Anaphora was thrust forward to Sunday morning, and so took its place in the Christian Church in exactly the reverse order to that it occupies in the Jewish liturgy.

CHAPTER XV.

THE JEWISH MORNING PRAYER.

ANECDOTE OF A PRIEST DURING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION—WHAT JERUSALEM WAS TO THE JEW—THE SACRIFICES THERE OFFERED OF GENERAL APPLICATION—JEWISH MORNING PRAYER BASED ON THE MORNING SERVICE OF THE TEMPLE—THE TORAH SPECIAL TO THE SYNAGOGUE—THE SCHEMA—THE SCHMONEH ESREH—PRAYERS THAT MUST BE SAID STANDING—THE MORNING SERVICE IN THE TEMPLE—THE KEDUSCHA—THE CHANGE OF POSITION OF THE SINGERS IN THE HEAVENLY SANCTUARY—HOW THE EUCHARISTIC ANAPHORA FOLLOWS THE ORDER OF THE FIRST PART OF THE SCHACHARITH—THE APOSTLES INTIMATELY FAMILIAR WITH THAT—THE INSTITUTION PROBABLY FOLLOWED ITS ORDER.

THE author of this book was shown, nearly forty years ago, at Blaye, on the Gironde, a cell in the fortress, where, during the Terror, a priest was confined. Every morning, far away on the other side of the river in a cottage, a priest secretly said Mass, and when he did so, a stick with a white handkerchief was stuck up in the cottage garden hedge. The prisoner, holding to the iron stanchions of his cell window, waited till he saw the flutter of white, and then in heart and soul was before the humble altar, uniting in the worship of his God. That was his great consolation and source of joy in his prison.

To the Jew there was but one place in all the earth that was holy for the sacrificial worship of God, and on but one altar there was the sacrifice of blood made.

Wherever he was, in Egypt, in Babylon, in Asia Minor, at Rome, in heart the Jew turned morning and evening to

Jerusalem, and in that direction looked as he made his "spiritual communion" with the sacrifice offered in his glorious temple, in that loved city which was "the joy of the whole earth."

Wherever he was, he spiritually associated himself with the worship in the Lord's courts, and his morning and evening prayers were echoes of the devotions offered morning and evening in the Temple at Jerusalem.

As the priest who offered incense, filling the house with smoke, when he came forth, and through the day bore about with him, in his hair, his raiment, his breath, the fragrance of that incense, so did the Jew, though only visiting the Temple once in the year, carry about with him everywhere and always the scent of its blessed courts. "All thy garments smell of myrrh, aloes, and cassia."

The sacrifices offered in the morning and in the evening were propitiatory sacrifices for the whole people, wherever scattered; and the Jew above the cataracts of the Nile, he also beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and the Hebrew sitting sad by the waters of Babylon, all alike had part in the daily sacrifice. Distance did not affect its efficacy, the blood pleaded for all alike everywhere. The Jew knew this, and this knowledge deeply affected him.

Holding this, he acted on it, and his morning and evening prayers savoured of the Temple sacrifices.

Privately, in the Schacharith (morning prayer) and in the Mincha (evening prayer), he commemorated these daily sacrifices. In them he made what a Catholic would call his spiritual communion with the sacrifice in the Temple.

Where ten Jews resided, there a synagogue was established, and the synagogue service, naturally, was but the private devotion of every Jew said in common. That is to say, the morning and evening prayers of the synagogue were a reflex of the daily sacrificial worship in the Temple.

The Temple is gone, not one stone is left on another; Jerusalem is trodden under foot of the Gentiles: the sacrifices

have ceased ; but the memorials of these sacrifices linger on in the morning and evening prayers of the Jews, and from them, and the notices we have in the Talmud, we are able to reconstruct with tolerable accuracy the whole ceremonial and liturgy of the morning and evening sacrifices in the Temple.

But the Jewish prayer-book of to-day contains more than these reminiscences.

The old houses of assembly of the Jews were originally termed "Houses of Prayer," but gradually lost that name, and came to be designated "Houses of Assembly, or Synagogues."* For a new element entered into their meetings. These came to be regarded as gatherings, not only for prayer, but for edification, and to the first service, which was a repetition of that in the Temple, was appended another, the Torah, which consisted in the reading and expounding of the Law and the Prophets. We also have, in our Eucharistic Service, two distinct parts, the Pro-Anaphora, which is for edification, altogether subjective ; and the Anaphora, which is for worship, mainly objective. With the Jews, the objective service came first, and the subjective second. With us, the order is reversed. Why so, we have seen.

Now, there are certain forms that are obligatory on every Jew, forms that he is bound to go through daily, and these are the *Schemah* and the *Schmouch Esreh*.

The Schema now consists of three extracts from the Law—Deut. vi. 4-9 ; xi. 13-21 ; Numb. xv. 37-41—to which are prefixed two prayers, the Jozer and the Ahaba, and a third prayer, the Gëula, is affixed.

The first extract from the Law is this :—

"Hear, O Israel ; the Lord our God is one Lord : and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might," &c.

* Zunz : Gottesdienstliche Verträge d. Juden, Berlin, 1832, p. 1-2.

This is the key-note of the whole song of praise, the note on which the whole Jewish life is bound to form its harmony. To the Jew it is what the "Allah is great, and Mohammed is his Prophet" is to the Mussulman, a confession of faith and a shout of triumph. The second paragraph is hortatory, "If ye shall hearken diligently to My commandments. . . I will give you the rain in due season. . . Take heed to yourselves, that your heart be not deceived, and ye turn aside," &c.

The third extract concerns the fringes on the garments.

The object of the daily recitation of the Schema is to impress on the Jewish mind the obligation of allegiance to the One true God, and the danger of leaving Him. It gives the stamp to the Jew, just as the sign of the cross stamps the Christian, and the "La illa Allah" stamps the Mohammedan.

The Schema was unquestionably recited in the Temple, it was proclaimed from the Temple steps as the priest came forth after the oblation of incense—so, at least, we may almost surely conclude from its position in the Jewish Synagogue liturgy.

Maimonides (Jav Hasasaka, c. vi., § 4) says that previous to the Schema the Decalogue was recited.

The second obligatory formula is the Tephilla (*i.e.*, *The Prayer*), otherwise called the Schmonch Esreh, or the Eighteen Benedictions. This at present consists of nineteen exclamations, which are partly prayer, and partly blessing, and which belong to very different periods. On the Sabbath, and on festivals, the first three and the last three only are said, and these six are alone obligatory, one prayer being interpolated with reference to Sabbath or festival, upon which the Benedictions are recited.

They begin with :—

"O Eternal, open Thou my lips, that my mouth may declare Thy praise.

1. Blessed art Thou, O Eternal, One God! the God of

our fathers, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob ; the great, mighty, tremendous God ! the Most High, who bestowest favours ; possessor of all things, who rememberest the piety of the Patriarchs, and who, loving us, wilt send a Redeemer to their posterity, for His Name's sake.

11. Thou art mighty for ever, O Eternal ; Thou restorest life to the dead, art mighty to save [*in winter* causing the wind to blow, and the rain to fall]. Thou sustainest the living by Thy goodness, revivest the dead with mercy, supportest the fallen, healest the sick, releasest the captive, accomplishest Thy faith in them that sleep in the dust. Who is like unto Thee, Lord of mighty deeds? Who is equal unto Thee, the Supreme King, who orderest death and restorest life, and causest salvation to spring forth.
111. Thou art holy, Thy Name is holy, and holy people shall praise Thee. Selah. Blessed art Thou, O Eternal ! the holy God."

We need not give all, these will serve as a sample. They belong to three periods ; and although Zunz holds that those asking for the rebuilding of Jerusalem and release from bondage and restoration of Judges, belong to the period of the Babylonish captivity, it is not impossible that they may be later, belonging to a period subsequent to the final destruction of the Temple and dispersion of the people.

The Jewish prayer book, as we now have it, has been added to and altered by the ritual reformers of the 10th century, when a school sprang up under Elasar ben Jacob Kalir, called the Peitan, who made considerable alterations in the devotions of the Jews, introducing alphabetical order and rhythm, after a fashion that commended itself to their

taste. "Kalir," says Zunz, "tyrannized over the Hebrew, forced it into capricious forms, but with such strength and vehemence, that one is disposed to excuse the awkwardness of expression for the sake of the majesty of thought it utters." Words and phrases were tortured to accommodate themselves to acrostic structure. The very ruggedness of his language and artificiality of his arrangement, however, serve to distinguish his work and that of those who followed in his footsteps from the original material.*

Among the Jews, certain prayers and formularies were to be said in certain positions. The Schmoneh Esreh, for instance, had to be recited standing. There is another form, to which, as of special dignity, the same rule applies, and that is the Eulogy in the first part of the morning prayer, when the oblation of the incense took place. The Hallel, Ps. 113—118, was only sung on the great festivals.

We know pretty well what was the order of the morning sacrifice.

After the opening of the Temple gates, the priest on whom the lot had fallen ascended to slay the lamb at the altar of sacrifice, having first washed himself at the laver. No doubt he said a prayer of humble approach and the Psalm of Degrees as he mounted the Temple steps, for these we now find in the beginning of the service of the Jews.

After the slaying of the lamb, the priest on whom the lot had fallen took incense, and went into the Holy Place, and there made offering of the fragrant gums, filling the house with smoke. Whilst he was thus engaged the people remained outside.

Then came the great song of thanksgiving.

The Jewish Liturgy contains at this place a magnificent Eucharistic hymn which begins, "Blessed is He who spake,

* Zunz, *op. cit.*, p. 381-4.

and the world was made. Blessed is He who made creation. Blessed is He who speaketh and it is done. Blessed is He who ordaineth and establisheth. Blessed is He who hath compassion on all the earth, who pitieth His creatures," &c. Then follows Ps. cv., then Psalms that vary, Ps. cxlvi.-cl., then 1 Chron. xxix. 10-13, the blessing of David commemorating the glories of God, then from Nehem. ix. 5-12, the memorial of Creation, the call of Abraham, and the delivery by Moses, and then the hymn of Moses.

Along with this came the *Keduscha*, which bears so striking a resemblance to the Preface and Sanctus in the Christian Liturgy.

The Psalms were sung by the priests and Levites on the steps leading up to the Holy Place, with instrumental accompaniment, and this great Eucharistic oblation of hymnody to God was associated with the oblation of incense on the altar of gold within.

Probably after this the Schema was declared with loud voice; but though it is not quite certain, this is the position in the Jewish Liturgy now. Some think it occupied an earlier place.

After the priest who had offered incense came forth, the sacrifice was burnt on the altar in the court; then, with a benediction, the service closed.

The *Keduscha*, to which we have already alluded as bearing a most marked resemblance to the Christian Eucharistic Preface, and Sanctus, occupies a somewhat uncertain position in the Jewish Liturgy, for it is found in several places. It occurs in the morning service before the Schema, and again it interrupts the Eighteen Benedictions, coming after the third. Apparently it was a movable invitatory to praise, and we are perhaps justified in thinking that originally it initiated the great Eulogy sung on the steps leading into the Holy Place.

In the vision of S. John, in the Apocalypse, we have the same (Rev. iv.8), but this remarkable difference occurs, that in his description of the Triumphal Song, it is no longer sung on the

steps leading into the Holy Place, but in the Holy of Holies itself, precisely where it is sung in the Christian Church. This is one of the many indications that show that S. John drew his picture from the worship of the Church, which he idealized and perfected, and not directly from the Temple. It resembles that of the Temple only so far as the Christian Eucharist is derivable from the Temple service, and it follows all the developments and alterations and adaptations that had taken place to convert the Jewish service into one for the Church.

That must have been a glorious scene, when the congregation stood in the Temple court and looked up to the great gates of the Holy Place, and saw harpers, trumpeters, and singers ranged there, with the incense steaming out from behind them through the parted curtains, and before them the altar of sacrifice with the blood streaming from it. Then suddenly, with a loud voice, came the call to thanksgiving and glory, in union with angels, and cherubim, and seraphim, and with a clang of harps and blare of silver trumpets, and the shout of a great multitude, priests and Levites robed in white, there rose the song—

“Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts, heaven and earth are full of Thy glory.”

And there is deep significance in the change as shown by S. John. The altar of sacrifice, identified with the altar of incense, is no longer without in the court, nor the golden altar in the Holy Place, but the combined altar of sacrifice and incense is within the veil in the Holy of Holies, and *there* around it are the white-robed harpers, and incense bearers, and singers, and *there*, on it, is the Lamb that had been slain.

We lose wholly the significance of the vision of S. John, unless we first picture to ourselves the scene at the morning sacrifice in Jerusalem below, and then see in what

points the service differs, as revealed in the Jerusalem which is above.

According to Maimonides, in the place already referred to, the order of service was—1. Ahaba ; 2. Decalogue ; 3. Schema ; 4. The last three of the Eighteen Benedictions, together with the Aaronic Benediction ; 5. A Psalm varying according to the day of the week.

As we shall see, the Eucharistic service contains the elements of the Jewish Liturgy. It follows the morning service step by step, only the sacrifice of blood is taken away, and the “unbloody sacrifice” takes place where, in the Temple, came the oblation of incense.

For the Psalm of Degrees we have the Introit.

For the washing by the priest comes the ablution of hands by the priest.

For the entrance through the veil into the Holy Place, comes the Prayer of the Veil found in the Eastern Liturgies, and which has left traces of its presence in the West.

For the oblation of the incense comes the oblation of the bread and wine.

For the Kedescha comes Preface and Sanctus.

For the great Eulogy, praising God for creation, for protection, for continued mercies, for the call of Abraham, for the delivery of Israel by Moses, comes the great Eucharistic prayer, commemorating all these events, and continuing to the end of Redemption.

And as the Jew when absent, by a memorial, recalls the institution of sacrifice, so does the Christian priest commemorate the Institution of the Eucharist.

For the Schema, “Hear, O Israel, the Eternal, our God, the Eternal, is One. Blessed be the name of the glory of His Kingdom for ever,” came the *Sancta Sanctis*, when, as S. Chrysostom says, the priest with a loud voice, standing aloft with raised hands, as a herald, proclaims, “Holy things to the holy !” and the people respond with a shout, “There

is One Holy, One Lord, Jesus Christ, to Whom be glory for ever and ever."

Both services conclude with a benediction.

If we do not much mistake, the Christian Eucharistic service, from the Offertory to the end, that is to say, the Mass of the Faithful, is as unmistakably based on the morning service of the Temple, as is the Ante-Communion Service, the Mass of the Catechumens, based on the second part of the Jewish Liturgy for the morning, the Torah, the part special to the synagogue. How it was that the order of the parts was reversed in the Church, we have seen.

How it is that the Anaphora follows the order of the Temple service for the morning was, we believe this:—that Christ instituted the Eucharist after midnight,—that He began the usual morning prayer before leaving the upper room, but that He transformed that morning prayer with its memorial of sacrifice, and of incense, into the Eucharistic service for His Church, by the institution in it of the New Sacrament that summed up the old memorials into One Oblation.

The study of the Jewish service for the morning is eminently instructive, with its glorious prayers and benedictions, rich in sacred beauty. The student comes on many links of association with the Christian Liturgy.

And this is not to be wondered at. The Apostles had been accustomed from childhood to this morning service, whether seen performed in all its sacred pomp at Jerusalem, or less ornately in the synagogue, or in the private closet. It was the same service always, every day, becoming a part of the web of their minds, an integral portion of their inmost and holiest thoughts. Christ, when with them, must have recited the same Schacharith daily; and after He was gone, when they came to organize divine worship, what more likely, what more certain, than that the worship they organized should savour of that to which they had been accustomed all their lives?

Moreover, if, as we think probable, our Lord, at the institution of the Eucharist, actually began the Schacharith, and continued it, adding and developing, and exchanging the oblation of incense for the oblation and consecration of the bread and wine, then the Apostles would most certainly follow exactly, or as near as might be, every line He laid down. This would have a double advantage, for not only would the liturgy be a faithful reproduction in every particular of the Institution in the Upper Chamber, but also, it would be a service that would be quite familiar in its main outlines to all Jewish converts. They believed, were baptized, passed into the Church without a break of continuity in their prayers said every day, save that the Eucharist was their morning prayer, to which was given a new and deeper signification. It was no more a mere memorial of the slaying of a lamb, but of the blood-shedding of the Lamb of God ; no more a memorial of the priest offering incense, but a memorial of the all-prevailing intercession of Jesus, the great High Priest ; no more a memorial of the consumption of the sacrifice by fire, but an actual participation by the communicants of the gifts presented at the altar.

For reference we add an analysis of the Schacharith, or morning prayer of the Jews, eliminating those portions only which are certainly additions since the destruction of Jerusalem.

The Schacharith.

INTROIT.	“ How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob,” &c.
PRAYER OF APPROACH.	“ I will call upon Thee, and Thou wilt answer ; incline Thine ear, and hearken unto my prayer,” &c.
SONG OF DEGREES.	“ I was glad when they said unto me, We will go into the house of the Lord,” &c.
AARONIC BLESSING.	“ The Lord bless thee and keep thee, the Lord make His face to shine upon thee, and give thee peace,” &c.

PRAYER “May it be Thy will, O Lord our God, to make us
 LIKE THE walk in Thy law. Lead us not into sin. Suffer not an
 “OUR FATHER.” evil imagination to prevail, but deliver us from evil
 associates. Cause us to become attached to virtue.
 Grant us this day Thy grace. Blessed art Thou, O Lord,
 who bestowest favours on Israel.”

“O Lord, may it be Thy will to deliver me this day from
 evil men, evil associates, evil neighbours, evil accidents
 and the devil,” &c. This has its exact counterpart in the
embolismos of the Greek Liturgies.

PRAYER OF “Lord of all the earth, not trusting in our own
 HUMBLE righteousness—but coming as Thy people and the sheep
 ACCESS. of Thy pasture—we are bound to give thanks to Thee
 for ever.”

SHORT SCHEMA. “Hear, O Israel for ever and ever.”

MEMORIAL OF Exod. xxx. 17-21.
 WASHING.

MEMORIAL OF Numb. xxviii. 1-11
 OBLATION OF
 THE LAMB.

MEMORIAL OF Levit. i. 2.
 SLAYING THE
 LAMB.

MEMORIAL OF Exod. xxx. 34.
 OBLATION OF
 INCENSE.

GREAT “Blessed is He who spake, and the world was made.
 EULOGY, —Blessed art Thou, O Lord, a King adored with
said standing. praises.”

Several psalms differing on week-days from those on
 the Sabbath.

“Blessed be the Eternal for ever.—Blessed be His,
 glorious Name : let the whole earth be filled with His
 glory, Amen and Amen.”

The thanksgiving song of David, extolling the
 Majesty of God.

The thanksgiving for creation, for the call of Abraham,
 for the deliverance from Egypt (Neh. ix. 5-12.)

The thanksgiving of Moses (Exod. xv. 1-19.)

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- HYMN OF PRAISE.** "The souls of all living shall bless Thy Name, O Lord our God," &c.
- KADDISH.** "Let the name of the Lord be praised.—Bless ye the Lord, the ever blessed."
 רַךְ. "Blessed be the Lord, blessed for ever and ever."
- BENEDICTION.** Praise of God, the Creator of light, who called and chose Israel.
- SHORT KADUSCHA.** Invitatory to praise, based on Is. vi. 2-3.
- SCHEMA.** { Two prayers.
 Deut. vi. 4-9 ; xi. 13-22 ; Numb. xv. 37-41.
 One prayer.
- SCHMONEH ESREH.** Of the eighteen benedictions on the Sabbath only the first three are said, after which the Kaduscha in full. Then the last three benedictions.
- BENEDICTION.** "Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who blessest His people with peace."

Then follows the Service of the TORAH.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE PASCHAL LAMB.

THE PASCHAL CONTROVERSY—POLYCARP, BISHOP OF SMYRNA—HIS CHARACTER—THE CLASH OF CUSTOMS RELATIVE TO EASTER : DECISION OF THE COUNCIL OF NICÆA—THE PASCHA—THE FOURTEENTH NISAN THE DAY OF CHRIST'S DEATH—THAT THE DAY OBSERVED BY THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH—DIFFERENCE OF USAGE, THE ASIATICS OBSERVED THE FOURTEENTH NISAN, THE REST OF THE CHURCH THE NEAREST FRIDAY TO FOURTEENTH NISAN—DIFFERENCE AS TO WHEN THE FAST TERMINATED—THE ASIATICS KEPT THE PASCHAL SUPPER AT THE SAME TIME AS THE JEWS—THE ASIATICS HAD NO EASTER FESTIVAL, ONLY THE PASCHA AS 14-15TH NISAN—THE PASCHAL CONTROVERSY NOT ABOUT EASTER, BUT ABOUT THE DAY OF CRUCIFIXION—COMPLICATION OF THE QUESTION—DID CHRIST ANTEDATE THE PASSOVER ?—ALMOST CERTAINLY CHRIST DIED ON 14TH NISAN—THE ANALOGY BETWEEN HIS DEATH AND THE DEATH OF THE PASCHAL LAMB, AND HIS RESURRECTION AND THE OBLATION OF THE FIRST FRUITS — EXPLANATION OF THE APPARENT DISCREPANCY — THE USE OF LEAVENED BREAD A TESTIMONY TO THE TRADITION OF 14TH NISAN—APOLLINARIS AND POLYCRATES ON THE CONTROVERSY—PETER AND ANATOLIUS.

THE first controversy in the Christian Church that threatened it with disruption sprang up out of difference in the usage of the observance of Easter. The Churches of Asia Minor claimed S. John and S. Philip as their authorities for holding the Pascha on the 14th of Nisan, on whatever day of the week it fell. The Church of Rome always kept the commemoration of the Crucifixion on the Friday nearest to 14th Nisan, and claimed the authority of SS. Peter and Paul for this practice.

Every student of Church History knows of the visit paid about A.D. 158 by Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, the disciple of

S. John, to Anicetus, Bishop of Rome. Anicetus was seventh bishop of the Church in the imperial city since the beginning of the century. Polycarp had occupied the see of Smyrna during the whole time. There was no bishop of the Western Church comparable with him in this respect. As Bishop Lightfoot has pointed out in his introductory essay to the Epistle of Polycarp, he was a man of very ordinary intelligence, who in his writings never shows a gleam of originality; his distinguishing feature is intense tenacity to his convictions, whether in matters of faith or of practice. What he had received from S. John he held to, and nothing could make him alter or develop it. He was constituted by mental organisation a narrow Conservative, but it is precisely this unthinking conservatism which makes his testimony so valuable. Polycarp and Anicetus met, discussed the point of difference, neither could persuade the other to yield, and they separated in perfect amity.

But when the Faith had spread, and the Churches of East and West met, there was a clash of customs which proved distracting to such as occupied that strip of sand where the two seas met. The controversy threatened to provoke schism; and the Council of Nicæa was obliged to settle the question for the sake of Christian unity. It decided in favour of the Western usage. Some Christians, reluctant to yield, continued for a while to adhere to their traditional observance, and so originated the Quartodeciman schism, provoking much bitterness and angry polemic. The question got further mixed and confused by errors in calculation, but the original point of difference was simple. It was briefly this:—

The Church from the first continued to commemorate the day of the Lord's death—the 14th Nisan, the day of the preparation for the Passover, according to S. John; and to this commemoration the name of *Pascha*, the Passover, adhered. It was observed as a day of fasting and tears till sunset,

when the Church assembled to eat the Agape, as a sort of Paschal Supper, with rejoicing. The Asiatic Churches always, from their foundation, observed the 14th Nisan, so that they fasted and wept for the Crucifixion, sometimes on one day of the week, sometimes on another.

The Church of Rome, and probably also the Churches of Jerusalem and Antioch and Egypt, held to the day of the *week*, not of the *month*, on which Christ died. Consequently they celebrated the Pascha, that is, the commemoration of the Death and Resurrection, beginning always on the nearest Friday to the 14th Nisan.

This was the first point of difference.

But there was another. In Rome, Egypt, Palestine, the Christians remained fasting from Friday till Sunday at dawn, on which day they broke their fast with the Eucharist. The intervening Sabbath was the only Sabbath in the year on which fasting was permissible ; on that it was enjoined.*

The Westerns considered the death of Christ from its historic side, and placed themselves in the disposition of mind in which the disciples were on the day when Christ was crucified, and wherein they remained till the Resurrection.

The Orientals, on the other hand, regarded it from its dogmatic side, as the Day of Redemption ; and although they fasted till the ninth hour, after that they laid aside their mourning, and began their festivity along with the Jews, who at the same time ate the Passover.†

The controversy can only be clearly understood by remembering that the Pascha, Easter, did *not* mean primarily the Feast of the Resurrection, but the commemoration of Christ's Death. So Tertullian writes :* " On the day of the Pascha, when the religious observance of a fast is general, and almost

* Can. Apost. 64 ; Const. Apost., vii. 23.

† Hefele, Concilien Gesch., Bk ii., § 37.

* De Orat., c. 18.

public, we forego the kiss (of peace).” But he speaks also of the annual commemoration of the Lord’s Resurrection as the day on which there was no kneeling in divine worship.* He speaks of the Paschal solemnities as lasting all night, but these are the solemnities of the Maundy Thursday night, or of the night of Easter Eve, it is uncertain which.† A more explicit statement is that in his “Answer to the Jews,” in which he clearly points out that the death of Christ took place on the 14th Nisan.

“Moses prophesied, foretelling that all the community of Israel should at eventide sacrifice a lamb, and eat this solemn sacrifice—the Passover of unleavened bread with bitterness; and he added that it was the Passover of the Lord,—that is to say, the Passion of Christ. Which prediction was fulfilled, for on the first day of unleavened bread ye slew Christ.”‡

There was no doubt at all as to the *day* on which Christ died; it was on the Day of the Preparation, the 14th Nisan; therefore the institution of the Eucharist took place on the night of the 13th–14th, and was preceded by the Last Supper. About that, also, there was no dispute.

The difference sprang up relative to other matters; there were three usages for the observance of the Pascha.

That of Lesser Asia consisted, as already said, in the observance of the 14th Nisan as a solemn fast, on whatsoever day of the week it fell, and of keeping the Agape *at the same time* as the Jews ate the Passover; *i.e.*, of continuing the Passover under another form, a love-feast, followed by prophesying, exhortation, and psalm-singing; till early morn, when the Eucharist was celebrated.

The Lesser Asian Churches, so far as we know, had no annual commemoration of the Resurrection. They observed, along with the Jews, the Paschal night, but by so doing, they laid themselves open to the charge that they were not

* De Orat. c. 23.

† Ad Uxorem, ii. c. 4.

‡ Adv. Judæus, c. 10.

commemorating the Last Supper and the institution of the Eucharist on the same night as that on which Christ partook of the Supper and ordained the Eucharist, but on the night that followed. They replied that Christ antedated the Institution, because it was not possible for Him to institute the New Passover on the night of the 14th-15th Nisan, since He, the Paschal Lamb, would die on the evening of the 14th.

Moreover, S. Paul's words certainly do seem to imply that he held that Christ died on the 14th as the Paschal Lamb, and that the Christian Passover should be eaten on the ensuing night.

"Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us," he says, and the inference is—at the same time as the typical lamb. "Therefore," he adds—Our Lamb being slain, "Let us keep the feast—with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth" (1 Cor. v. 7). Here he clearly associates the Eucharistic commemoration with the celebration of the Jewish Passover on the night of the 14th-15th. He does more, he goes further. On the 16th Nisan the first-fruits were brought in procession early to the Temple, and were lifted up, and waved before God at the altar. "Christ," S. Paul goes on to say, "is risen from the dead, and became the first-fruits of them that slept" (1 Cor. xv. 20). If Christ died when the Paschal lamb died, and rose when the first-fruits were lifted up, the double type is complete, and the significance of S. Paul's words is apparent.

O. T.	N. T.
14th. Nisan (afternoon). The Paschal Lamb slain outside the Temple, in the court.	14th. Nisan (afternoon). The true Lamb of God slain outside the city.
16th. Nisan (early morning). The first-fruits raised up in the Temple.	16th. Nisan (early morning). The first-fruits of all men raised from the dead.

The Lesser Asian usage led to conflict with the general usage, in that it followed the Jews in always adhering to the 14th Nisan, and so changing the day of the week. It

might therefore happen, and did happen, that when the 14th Nisan fell on a Sunday, the Asiatic Christians would be found fasting and weeping for the death of Christ, on the weekly festival of the Resurrection. If they observed the Feast of the Resurrection on a set day of the week, the inconvenience of their observing the day of the Crucifixion by an annual commemoration, fixed by the day of the month, was obvious. So obvious, so incongruous did this seem to the rest of the Church, that everywhere else the commemoration of the day of the Crucifixion was determined by the Friday next to the 14th Nisan.

The arrangement of the Asiatic Church was so natural, so easily made, and so soon proved unsuitable, that we can at once see that it was the earliest arrived at, and that the other usage was a modification of the usage to counteract or get over the difficulties. That the Sunday had been fixed in Apostolic times as the weekly memorial of the Resurrection is certain; that the annual memorial of the Crucifixion was observed is almost certain; the Christians were annually reminded of it—it was fixed for them by the Jews making their preparations for the Feast. Thus, the Asiatic arrangement was one into which they would fall naturally—without any drawing up of a festal calendar for themselves. It was settled for them, Christ died on the day of the preparation, and when they saw the Jews preparing annually on 14th Nisan for the Passover, they recalled the events of the death of Christ, and wept, and fasted. But the very first time that the 14th Nisan fell on the Lord's Day, the unsuitableness of this system would appear, for the Christians would be weeping for the Death on the day in which they were bound to rejoice for the Resurrection. Consequently, universally, excepting only in Asia Minor, a change was made, substituting the Friday nearest to the Passover, as the appropriate day for commemoration of the Crucifixion, instead of the month-day, as previously observed.

We repeat that the custom of the Asiatic Churches is that which was obviously the earliest, and that the other usage was as obviously a later rectification.

Now we come to the next variation.

As already said, the Asiatic Christians continued to observe the Passover on the same night as the Jews, the 14-15th Nisan, only they gave it a new signification as a memorial of the Lord's Supper, and it was followed at early morning by the Eucharist. This met with two objections.

Firstly: It was Judaising. Christ ate the Last Supper after sunset of the 13-14th Nisan, and instituted the Eucharist in the early morning of the 14th. The Asiatic Christians were therefore clinging to Jewish customs in postponing their Christian Passover till the night after the Crucifixion.

On account of the movable character of the commemoration, in the second place, the Lesser Asiatics were feasting when other Christians were fasting, and fasting when others were feasting.

So far as we know, the Asiatics had *no annual* commemoration of the Resurrection; they kept the weekly commemoration only.

But the rest of the Church kept *both the annual and the weekly* memorials of the Resurrection, and by the simple arrangement of observing the Friday nearest to 14th Nisan, they were able to do so without inconvenience.

The Asiatic Pascha lasted only one day.

The rest of the Church kept the Pascha from the Thursday night to the Sunday morning. The Friday was the Pascha of the Crucifixion (*πάσχα σταυρώσιμον*) and the Sunday was the Pascha of the Resurrection (*πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον*).

We can realise the feeling of a Western by something analogous amongst ourselves. Good Friday is among Dissenters a day on which in the evening great public teas and rejoicings with brass bands and flags flying take place; and a devout Churchman regards such demonstrations

with ill-controlled horror and aversion. He looks on such exhibitions on the day of the Lord's death as comparable only to the rejoicing of the Jews over the judicial murder of the Messiah. Such a feeling is very natural, but also very unjust.

In the same way, when Western Christians on Good Friday, or the Pascha, as they would call it, saw Eastern Christians preparing for a feast, they could not contain their anger and disgust. The Eastern behaviour was unseemly, Jewish, devilish; and as the Jews were at the same time keeping their Passover, the Westerns denounced this observance as an adherence to Mosaic traditions that warred against true Christianity.

There came in other questions to further complicate matters. The Jews had got out of their reckoning of the proper day, so that the 15th Nisan did not any longer coincide with the full moon. Theoretically the 15th Nisan was the first full moon after the Spring equinox, but the Jewish calculation had become so wrong, that the moon and the month-day no longer came together. The rectification of the calendar was the occasion of an astronomical controversy which entered into, became entangled with, and bewildered the original dispute. Into this we need not enter.

The whole Church, not the Asiatics only, kept the memorial of the Last Supper, and the subsequent institution of the Eucharist; but the Church generally observed it on the night of the Thursday—Friday, nearest to the full moon after the vernal equinox. Consequently even when the Asiatic and other Christians kept the memorial of the Crucifixion on the same day, that is when Friday and 14th Nisan coincided, yet still there was this difference between them, that the Christians of Syria and of the West held their Agape and Eucharist on the night 13th-14th, whereas, the Lesser Asian Christians held theirs on the night 14th-15th, along with the Jews.

We can quite understand how that converts from Judaism

were reluctant to abandon the Passover. Their God had delivered them from Egypt, and had appointed the Passover as an everlasting memorial of the Deliverance. They recognized an additional, or spiritual, delivery as well ; but if Christ came to fulfil, not to abolish, the Law, then the Christian Passover would be an amplification of the Jewish Passover, and would not abrogate the celebration on the prescribed night. Sincere Christians though they might be, they would hesitate to abandon the Paschal commemoration altogether on the night prescribed ; when they were charged with Judaising, they invoked as their justification the command of God, making of it a perpetual obligation. It was only when the Gentile element enormously preponderated in the Church, that this clinging to the Passover could be relaxed.

We come now to the question, Did Christ die on the 14th Nisan, as S. John leads us to believe, or on the 15th Nisan, as we are led to conclude from the Synoptics ?

This is a question which has been pretty well threshed out ; and so much has been said on both sides, that it may seem presumptuous in the writer to add anything to this controversy.

At first sight, it certainly seems that the Synoptics assert that the Last Supper and the Passover took place on the night of the 14th-15th ; and that Christ died on the 15th. Here is a quotation of their statements :—

“ Now the first day of unleavened bread, the disciples came to Jesus, saying unto Him, Where wilt Thou that we prepare for Thee to eat the Passover ? ” (Matt. xxvi. 17). “ I will keep the Passover at thy house ” (xvi. 18). “ They made ready the Passover ” (19).

Similarly, in the Gospel of S. Mark (xiv. 12-17) : “ And the first day of unleavened bread, when they killed the Passover, the disciples said unto Him, Where wilt Thou that we go and

prepare, that Thou mayest eat the Passover?" "The Master saith, Where is the guest-chamber, where I shall eat the Passover with my disciples?" "And they made ready the Passover. And in the evening He cometh with the twelve. And as they sat and did eat," &c. And in the Gospel of S. Luke (xxii. 7-15): "Then came the day of unleavened bread, when the Passover must be killed." "Go and prepare us the Passover, that we may eat." "Where is the guest-chamber where I shall eat the Passover with my disciples?" "With desire have I desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer." There are two points to be considered in the consideration of these passages.

1. The Jewish day began at sundown: consequently, if the sun had set, the first day of unleavened bread had begun with the dusk of the Thursday, and nearly all these passages quoted will apply to the same day as that stated by S. John, if we suppose Christ to have entered Jerusalem in the evening.

2. That Passover which Christ desired with desire to eat was *not* the rite that was to be abolished, but the rite He was about to institute. Consequently when He spoke of the Passover His thoughts were directed to the Eucharistic institution, but His disciples understood Him to be speaking of the legal rite.

But there is a third point that deserves to be noted. The Passover began on the evening of the 13th-14th Nisan with the solemn search with lights for leaven, and the putting it away to be burnt before mid-day on the 14th, a rite attended with certain prescribed prayers. When, therefore, Christ bade His disciples go and prepare for the Passover, they went and secured a room twenty-four hours before the Passover was to be eaten, so that the full ceremonial might be observed, beginning with the search for leaven that evening.

Moreover, it is inconceivable that Christ should not have come into Jerusalem and begun to provide before the afternoon of the 14th, for there was much to be done that day, the leaven

to be burnt, and the lamb to be taken to the Temple to be sacrificed. The ordinary evening service in the Temple would be begun at 12.30 p.m., and over by 2.30, when the sacrifices would be made, that is, the slaughtering of the lambs for the Paschal meal would take place. Christ would have to be in Jerusalem early on the 14th to secure a lamb, and next to attend the court of the Temple in the afternoon with the lamb, and then prepare for the roasting of the lamb. Is it not most probable that He and His Apostles would come into Jerusalem the day before and secure their room, and be ready for the business of the Paschal Day of Preparation? To come into Jerusalem on the very day of Preparation would involve great difficulties, the uncertainty of getting a lodging, the uncertainty of securing a lamb, and the neglect of the obligation to put away the leaven on the previous evening. It would be quite inconsistent with the gravity and calm of Christ to leave all this to be done in a scramble at the last moment.

If we put ourselves in the position of reckoning days from sundown, the difficulties disappear, and the Synoptics are reconciled with S. John, who, in his account leaves no doubt about the matter.

S. John says that Jesus ate the Last Supper "on the day before the Feast" (xiii. 1), that is, on the night between the Thursday and Friday, the day with the Jew beginning with the first twilight. In xviii. 28, S. John says of the Friday, "and they themselves (the Jews) went not into the judgment hall, lest they should be defiled, *but that they might eat the Passover.*" This implies that when Jesus was brought before Pilate, the Paschal Supper of the Jews was still future, of which they were to partake on the following evening. Again, in xix. 14, we read "*it was the preparation of the Passover;*" *i.e.*, the 14th of Nisan was the day on which Christ suffered. Lastly, in xix. 31 it is stated "for the Sabbath day was a high day." Here the Sabbath, beginning with the evening of the

day of crucifixion, is called "a great day," because it coincided with the first day of the festival proper, *i.e.*, the 15th Nisan. When Christ was dead, says S. Mark, there was haste made to bury Him, "because it was the Preparation, that is, the day before the Sabbath" (xv. 42). S. Matthew is in complete accord when he says, speaking of the Sabbath, "The next day that followed the Day of the Preparation" (xxvii. 62).

Christ had been at Bethany; on the evening of the Thursday He started for Jerusalem, to make ready for the Passover—to secure a suitable room, to put away the leaven, and to institute the Eucharist. As He spoke of the Passover—the New Passover—his disciples naturally thought He spoke of the Mosaic Supper for which they were to prepare, by the purchase of a lamb on the morrow morning, and the leading it to the altar of sacrifice in the afternoon. Perhaps they may have asked, "Where is the lamb?" What would happen should there not be sufficient for sale? Or should there be blemish found? And then, perhaps, Christ may have answered as had Abraham, "God will provide Himself a lamb for a burnt-offering." So they went on their way together.

Little did the Apostles then think that He who was then with them was the Lamb, and that He would be slain on the morrow. Their minds were turned only to the types—the Lamb, the Supper, and could not see the antitypes, which were before the eyes of their Master, the Sacrifice of Calvary, the Eucharistic feast.

For that anniversary there was no need to provide a lamb. God had given them the true Lamb. There was no need for them to lay out money in the purchase. The Lamb was already bought at the price of thirty pieces of silver. There would be no need for them to drag the reluctant animal to the slaughter, the True Victim would be drawn to the place of sacrifice by the hands of the Jews.

If we allow that the Paschal lamb found fulfilment in

Christ—and S. Paul insists that He was the very Paschal lamb—then assuredly the type loses half its significance, if the fulfilment, the sacrifice of the antitype, did not take place simultaneously with the death of the type. If Christ be the first-fruits—and S. Paul says that He is—then the oblation of the first-fruits loses half its significance if it did not take place at the same time on the same day as that on which Christ rose from the dead.

If we insist on the synoptic Evangelists as asserting that the Institution was on the night of the 14th-15th—then we make them contradict themselves, for they assert that He died on the Day of the Preparation, precisely as does S. John, (Matt. xxvii. 52 ; Mark xv. 42).

The tradition of the Church, burnt into its heart, is that Jesus died on the 14th Nisan ; and this tradition should have great weight in determining the day. The reason why the confusion has arisen, and the Synoptics have been supposed to contradict themselves and S. John is that, in the first place, the mind fails to grasp the division of days from sundown to sundown, and next, that the Last Supper has been supposed to have been the Paschal Supper, or to have been immediately connected with it. If the Paschal Supper was eaten, then it has been contended, this must have been eaten on the night of 14th-15th; and if so, then Jesus must have died on 15th Nisan. But, there are two serious objections to this calculation. In the first place, Christ's Institution was a fulfilment of the Passover, consequently it bore a strong resemblance to the Paschal rite, so that a description of the Institution would, up to a certain point, be a description of a Paschal supper also. The Institution was a Passover into which new significance had been poured, the old prayers, and benedictions, and ritual were observed, but modified, altered, glorified. In the second place, the unwavering usage of the Church in the first centuries, the never altered usage of the Oriental Church to the present day, has been to employ for the

Eucharist leavened bread, *because* Christ instituted the Holy Sacrament on the evening of the 13th-14th Nisan in leavened bread. The introduction of unleavened bread, as we show later, began in the West comparatively late. If Christ had instituted on the following night, He must have used unleavened bread.

The tradition of the Church in this particular is of the greatest weight. She would not have dared in those first ages, when every point of the Institution was observed with scrupulous exactness, to make an alteration so great as this. When unleavened bread was introduced in the West in the 5th and 6th centuries it was under a misconception—the supposition that Christ had ante-dated the Passover, and accomplished the formality of the law (on the wrong night) before He appointed the new rite, that was to take its place.*

Melito, Bishop of Sardis, wrote a book on the Pascha, the commencement of which is given by Eusebius, but unfortunately he does not give us his line of argument. But a contemporary, Apollinaris, Bishop of Hierapolis, a friend of Melito, also wrote. His date was about A.D. 170, and he was a contemporary of Polycarp. Fragments of his work are preserved in the Paschal Chronicle. He says, “There are some who through ignorance contend about these things. . . . They say that the Lord ate the lamb with His disciples on the 14th, and that He Himself suffered on the Great Day of unleavened bread; and they declare that Matthew says what they understand the matter to be,” &c. It will be seen that there were some even at that day who tried to make out that Christ died on the 15th Nisan; but Apollinaris answers: “The 14th is the true Pascha of the Lord, the Great Sacrifice, the Son of God dying in place of the

* The ablest advocate of the theory that Christ died on the 15th Nisan, and ate the Jewish Passover on the 14-15th, Dr. Edersheim (“The Temple and its Services,” R. T. S., London, 1874, Appendix), fails, we think, to establish the argument in face of some of the objections above stated.

(Paschal) Lamb . . . and He poured from His side water of blood . . . and He was buried on the day of the Pascha." Here he opposes to these strange opinions the tradition of the Church.

In 190 Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, addressed a letter to Victor of Rome, in which he says, "We observe the genuine day," and he insists that Philip the Apostle, and S. John, "who rested on the bosom of the Lord," Polycarp, the disciple of John, "and all the bishops of the Churches in succession," had observed "the 14th Nisan, the day of the Pascha, according to the Gospel, deviating in no respect; but following the Rule of Faith."

But the controversy with Victor was not about the day being the 14th or 15th, but about the observance on the month-day or the week-day. Polycrates adhered to the month-day observance, Victor to the nearest Friday to the month-day.*

Peter, Bishop of Alexandria and martyr, wrote A.D. 306, about the observance of Easter. He says: "The Passover is on the 14th day of the first of months.—We have no other object than to keep the remembrance of His passion, and that at this very time, as those who were eye-witnesses of it handed down from the beginning, before the Egyptians received the faith.—Up to the period of the Lord's death and to the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, the people of Israel, rightly observing the 14th of the first lunar month, celebrated the Passover of the Lord—Christ said, I came not to destroy the law, or the prophets, but to fulfil them. But after His public ministry He did *not* eat of the lamb, but He Himself suffered as the true Lamb at the Paschal Feast, as John the Divine and Evangelist teaches. On that day, therefore (the Day of the Preparation) in which the Jews were about to eat the Passover in the evening, our Lord and Saviour

* For the account of the Paschal Controversy, see Hefele: "Concilien Geschichte," Bk. ii., § 37; Weitzel: "Die Christliche Passafeir," Pforzheim 1844; "Kraus: Real-Encyclopädie d. Christl. Alterthümer," 1886, ii. 565.

Jesus Christ was crucified, being made the victim—and not as some ignorantly affirm that after He had eaten the Passover He was betrayed; which we neither learn from the holy Evangelists, nor has any of the blessed Apostles handed down to us. At the time, therefore, in which our Lord and God, Jesus Christ suffered for us, according to the flesh, He did *not* eat the legal Passover; but, as I have said, He Himself suffered for us on the feast of the typical Passover, on the Day of the Preparation, on the 14th of the first lunar month." Anatolius of Laodicea, also, about A.D., 270 wrote, "Nothing was difficult to such as lawfully kept the Passover on the 14th of the moon after the equinox. Following their example up to the present time, the Bishops of Asia celebrate the Paschal Feast every year, on the 14th of the moon, when the lamb was sacrificed by the Jews after the equinox was passed, in this differing from the successors of Peter and Paul, who celebrated the solemn festival of the Resurrection only on the Lord's Day." Then speaking of the contention that arose, he adds, "One party kept the Paschal day on the 14th of the first month, according to the Gospel. And the other party, passing the day of the Lord's Passion in sadness and sorrow, hold that it is not lawful to celebrate the mystery of the Passover (Eucharist) at any other time than on the Lord's Day, when Christ rose, for it is one thing to be sad with the sad, and suffer with Him who endures the cross, and another to rejoice with the victor as he triumphs over the old enemy."

Dr. Edersheim contends that the words of S. John can be tortured into agreement with those of the Synoptics, which seem to imply that Christ ate the old Passover on the legal night. But the testimony of tradition has been left out of account. S. John wrote after the Synoptics; and S. Polycarp, his disciple, certainly had no doubt whatever as to what S. John's meaning was:—that Christ died on the Day of the Preparation; that, therefore, He ate the Last Supper on the night before the legal Passover night. We have the Churches

of Asia Minor strongly insisting on this tradition as Apostolic; and it is inconceivable that they should have misunderstood their organizer, if not exactly their founder, S. John. As we have seen, the Church of Alexandria held the same. S. Cyril of Jerusalem, in his Catechetical Lectures, testifies that the Church over which he presided had the same tradition (*De Symb.* xiv. 22).

S. Hippolytus (A.D., 225), in his "Refutation of all Heresies," shows us (viii. 11) that the controversy with the Quartodecimans was not relative to the day, but relative to the mode of observance of the day.

Besides,—Every other Church held the same tradition. There was no contention as to the month-day of Christ's death, the whole Church held that it was on the 14th Nisan. In face of this general witness we cannot believe that the theory is right that Christ died on the 15th. The annual Jewish Preparation Day for the Passover served as an annual reminder to Christians, whenever they were in proximity to Jews, that the saddest day in the world's history had come. The weight of the custom of the Church is all on one side.

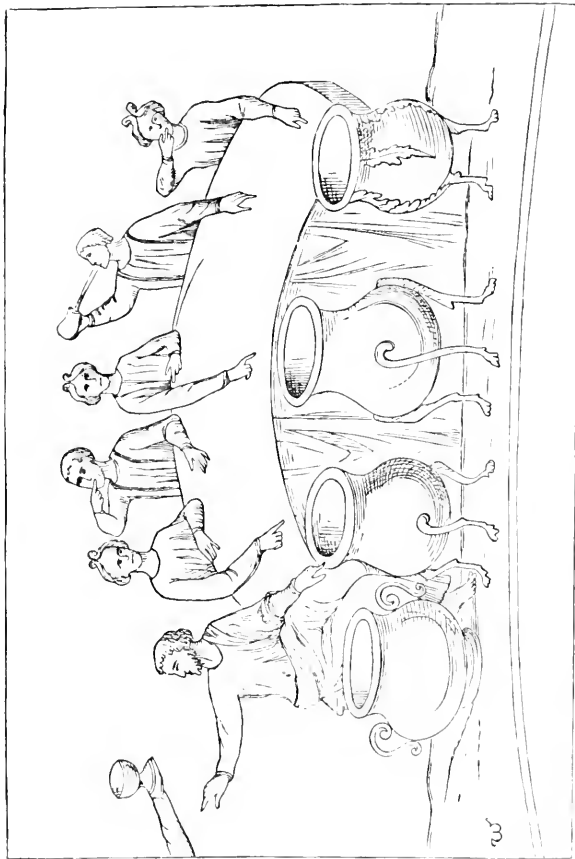


FIG. 1.—FEAST (AGAPE), from a painting in the Catacomb of SS. Peter and Marcellinus.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE AGAPE.

THE CONTROVERSY AS TO THE TIME OF BREAKING THE PASCHAL FAST—THE LORD'S SUPPER TOOK PLACE IN THE EVENING—THE AGAPE THE COMMEMORATION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER—THE EUCHARIST DISTINCT, BUT STILL TERMED THE LORD'S SUPPER, BECAUSE ORIGINALLY THE AGAPE AND EUCHARIST WERE UNITED—SCANDALS AT THE AGAPE IN S. PAUL'S TIME—SCANDALOUS STORIES ABOUT THE AGAPE—NOT ALTOGETHER UNFOUNDED—THE FREE PROPHECY AFTER THE FEAST—TERTULLIAN'S ACCOUNT OF THE AGAPE—HE ALSO HINTS AT IMMORALITIES—S. CYPRIAN ON THE SEPARATION OF EUCHARIST AND AGAPE—THE EDICT OF TRAJAN—THE AGAPE UNITED TO THE EUCHARIST ONLY ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE INSTITUTION—LINGERS ON WITH ALTERED MEANING—FASTING COMMUNION THE PROTEST OF THE CHURCH AGAINST ITS ABOMINATIONS—THE AGAPE AS A FUNERAL BANQUET—A MEMORIAL FEAST TO MARTYRS—NOT HELD IN CHURCHES, BUT IN DINING HALLS—PICTURES IN THE CATACOMBS—REMAINS OF THE AGAPE IN THE ANTIDORON AND PAIN BÉNIT—THE OFFERTORY—MILAN USE—LINCOLN.

THE difference between East and West as to the observance of the Pascha, the Day of the Crucifixion, became most pronounced when both Orientals and Occidentals happened to coincide as to the day of the week on which it was observed, that is, when it chanced that the 14th Nisan fell on a Friday; for then the Easterns met to feast on the ensuing night, whereas the Westerns maintained their fast.

As soon as three o'clock was past, then the Eastern Christians began their preparations for the Lord's Supper, the *δείπνον κυρίου*.

As Jesus ate with His disciples, first a supper, which some supposed was an anticipatory Passover, but others maintained was an ordinary supper, so did the early Christians begin their commemoration with a supper in the evening, and that being ended, as the Lord's Day drew towards dawn, they celebrated the Eucharist.

It would seem, from the account given by the Evangelists, that the order of proceedings on the night previous to the Death was this :—

1. (Probably :—Evening Prayer.)
2. The washing of the feet.
3. The Last Supper.
4. The long address as recorded by S. John on the Vine and on Unity.
5. The Institution of the Eucharist.
6. The Hymn of Praise.

After this came the departure to the Garden, where Christ was taken just before dawn.

The Western view was that Christ celebrated the Passover by anticipation in the evening, as closing the old covenant by its most solemn institution, and that then, at the turn to the new day, He appointed the Eucharist as the most solemn institution of the New Covenant. But we need not now consider whether what first was eaten was the Passover or a common supper. Whichever it was, it was the Lord's Supper; and both East and West thought proper to reproduce, as nearly as might be, in the commemoration of Christ's Passion the exact sequence of events that took place on the eve of His death, only transferring the whole in the *Weekly* Commemoration to the night between Saturday and Sunday, and in the *Annual* Commemoration, in the East, to the night between the 14th and 15th Nisan; in the West, to the night of 13th and 14th Nisan.

The Pascha, the annual celebration, was infinitely the most

solemn. It is not quite certain that the entire dramatic sequence was observed *every* week, or even monthly.

According to the custom of religious Jews, it can hardly have been otherwise than that Christ and His Apostles began the evening with the Psalms and Prayers of the evening; after which they sat down to supper. So also, when Christians assembled, they doubtless began with prayers and psalms; then went on to partake of the Lord's Supper, the Agape, or Love Feast. So indissolubly united in the general mind were the Agape and the Eucharist, that, although the former has been discontinued for centuries, the Eucharist still retains the name of *Cœna Domini*, the Lord's Supper, given to it when held in conjunction with the Agape, a designation proper only to this precedent Supper.

In S. Paul's time (A.D. 57, 58) the Eucharist was plainly combined with this supper. The instructions he gives to the Corinthians (1 Cor. xi. 20-34) seem to imply it. The assembly was held, and in eating the Lord's Supper (the Agape) there was a sad exhibition of greed and bad manners. There were cases of drunkenness. Some of the guests were left hungry because of the coarse selfishness of those who snatched the food for themselves. This occasioned "dissensions," irritation, and recrimination. The Love-Feast, instead of fulfilling its name, provoked heart-burnings, animosities, and flagrant breaches of brotherhood.

Then—immediately after, came the Eucharist, the institution of which S. Paul proceeds to give, and finally warns the Corinthians of the danger of unworthy Communion if they venture to receive the Eucharist in the state of acerbity, inebriation, and disorder in which the Love-Feast has plunged some of them. "What!" he exclaims, "have ye not (your own) houses to eat and to drink in? or despise ye the Church of God, and shame them that have not?—Wherefore, my brethren, when ye come together to eat (the Agape), tarry one for another. And if any man hunger, let him eat at

home ; that ye come not together unto condemnation"—that is to say, lest the bad blood engendered, the surfeiting and drunkenness which have taken place by abuse of the meats and drinks at the Agape, cause you to "eat the bread and drink the cup of the Lord" in the consequent Eucharist "unworthily," and so become "guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord."

In the account of the assembly at Troas, the same order was probably followed. "Upon the first day of the week" (*i.e.*, after sunset on Saturday), "when the disciples came together to break bread" (in the Agape), "Paul preached unto them, ready to depart on the morrow, and continued his speech until midnight." There were the breaking of bread and instructions first, as on the occasion of the Last Supper ; first the supper, and then the discourse. Then came midnight, and *after* midnight, as we are expressly informed, ensued the Eucharist, the second breaking of bread.

That the Agape provoked scandals elsewhere than at Corinth, we are informed by S. Jude, who says that certain men invaded these assemblies who misconducted themselves: "These are spots in your Agapes, when they feast with you, feeding themselves without fear—murmurers, complainers, walking after their own lusts."

From the Epistle of Ignatius to the Smyrnians, the date of which is about A.D. 112, it is clear that the separation of the Eucharist from the Agape had not taken place in Asia Minor at that date. He says, "It is not permitted without a bishop either to baptize or to hold an Agape." In such a connexion, says Bishop Lightfoot, the omission of the most important function in the Christian Church, the Eucharist, is inconceivable: "Therefore the Eucharist must be implicitly contained in the Agape. The expression here, in fact, is equivalent to the *tingere et offerre*, which are mentioned by Tertullian as the chief functions of the priestly office."

Of the same date as the letter of Ignatius is that of Pliny the Younger, governor of Bithynia, to Trajan, relative to the assemblies of the Christians; and it is clear from it that the Agape had begun to provoke unfavourable comments outside the Church. The stigma of "Thyestian" banquets and "Œdipodean pollutions" was already attaching to them.

Pliny inquired of renegades, and questioned Christians by torture, to ascertain the nature of the assemblies; and he wrote to the Emperor, "These men affirmed that their fault or error amounted to this only, that they were accustomed to meet on a regular day, before it was light, and to join in a set form of words addressed to Christ as to God. (They also entered into a sacred obligation, which had no criminal tendency, but only bound themselves not to steal, or commit adultery, or break their word, or refuse to restore pledges.)* When this was over, they were in the habit of breaking up, until they met again to partake of a common meal, at which persons of all ranks attended, but in a manner perfectly harmless."

We have here apparently the first meeting for the Eucharist on Sunday morning, and then the Agape already detached from the Institution, and postponed to the Sunday evening.

S. Methodius, the martyr, who suffered A.D. 312, gives us in his Symposium what is, no doubt, a painting of an allegorical subject on the lines of the old Agape. He represents ten virgins assembled to a sacred banquet in the garden of Arete (Virtue). After the supper each rises and utters a discourse on chastity, and this is followed by prayer and a hymn with response by way of antiphon.

That the service of combined preparatory office, Agape, and Eucharist occupied the whole night, we see from the account of the assembly at Troas.

* Pliny has mixed up the baptismal pledge with the Eucharist. One can easily understand how he could do this, taking down the confessions of men on the rack.

Tertullian, in dissuading Christian women from marriage with heathens, refers to these long night assemblies, and very pertinently asks what the husbands will think of them. "Who will willingly bear her being taken from his side by nocturnal convocations? Who, without suspicion, will endure her absence all the night at the paschal solemnities?"* In his time the Agape was therefore limited, in connexion with the Eucharist, to the Paschal celebration.

To the floating rumours of horrible scenes of licentiousness and savagery, Tertullian devotes himself in his Apology, and with caustic wit turns the tables on the heathen.† Clement of Alexandria has a word on the abuse of the Agape, "the pots and pouring out of sauces, the drink, the dainties, the games," "the sweetmeats, and honey-cakes, and sugar-plums," which are found at the Agape. "Such entertainments," he says, "the Lord did not call Agapæ."‡

In the first part of the Epistles on Virginitv attributed to Clement of Rome, and which, if not by him, are certainly very early productions, there is not merely allusion to the scandals occasioned by the Agapæ, but an admission that the charges of immorality attaching to them were not unfounded. "We speak in consequence of the evil reports . . . Some eat and drink (with maidens) at entertainments, allowing themselves loose behaviour, and much uncleanness — such as ought not to be among believers, and especially among such as have elected holiness for themselves."

In the "Apostolic Constitutions," the Agapæ have changed character, they are either charitable feasts made by the rich for the poor,§ or they are feasts held on the anniversaries of martyrs.¶ Then, the writer says, "remember to feast in good order, in the fear of God, . . . since you are presbyters and deacons of Christ, be sober, both among yourselves and abroad. We do not say, that they are not to drink at all,

* Ad Uxorem. ii. c. 4. † Apologet. cc. 7-9. ‡ Pedag. II. c. 1. § II. c. 28. ¶ VIII. c. 44.

which would be reproaching God for what He has made to cheer us, but not to drink wine in excess. Scripture does not say, Drink not wine, but drink not wine to drunkenness ; nor do we address this to the clergy only, but to every lay Christian."

That the charges of immorality were not altogether unfounded we gather, not only from the admissions of the Apostle Paul, but also from the fact that among heretical bodies that broke away from the Church and carried with them the usages of the Church, gross immoralities did occur, and the heathens unable to distinguish between the sects and the Church, attributed to the latter things perpetrated by the former, and, indeed the Apologists complain that the heathens misjudged the Church by confounding the heretics with it.

Mark, founder of the Marcosites, who lived in the latter half of the 2nd century, was followed by trains of women prophetesses. His custom was, in the religious assemblies, to extend a chalice to a woman saying, "The grace of God, which excels all, fill all your inner being and increase His knowledge in you, dropping the grains of mustard-seed into good ground." A scene like a Bryanite revival followed. The woman was urged to speak in prophecy ; she hesitated, declared her inability. Warm, passionate appeals followed closely one on another, couched in equivocal language, exciting the religious and sensual passions simultaneously. The end was a convulsive fit of incoherent utterances, and the curtain fell on the rapturous embraces of the prophet and his spiritual bride.*

We can even see whence Mark drew this hideous parody. Tertullian, in an account he gives of the Agape, informs us that it was followed by those present singing hymns, either of their own composition, or from Holy Scripture. His

*Epiph. Hæres. xxxiv. 1 ; Iren. Hæres. i. 9.

account shows us the faded remains of the wild scene which S. Paul describes. "How is it, brethren, when ye come together," *i.e.*, to the Agape, that after it, "every one of you hath a psalm, hath a doctrine, hath a tongue, hath a revelation, hath an interpretation" (1 Cor. xiv. 26). Those who had risen from the love-feast were flushed, some with religious fervour, others with wine; others again were in that maudlin condition of pious inconsequence, which is a combination of both. There was a difficulty then, through ignorance of physical and psychical sciences, of distinguishing between what is genuine and what is the result of disease and hysteria. Just as there were simultaneously real possession by evil spirits, and insanity, and both insane and possessed were alike involved in the one idea of energumens, so was there real inspiration and hysterical ecstasy. There was a real gift of tongues, and there was the incoherent jabber of semi-delirious enthusiasts charged with wine and vanity.

S. Paul allows us a glimpse of a curious scene; he lets us look through the door after the conclusion of the Agape, and suffers us to be deafened by the clamour of all speaking with tongues, some shouting hymns, some maundering over their spiritual experiences, some, half-tipsy, muttering prophecies, some insisting on their interpretations being listened to as serious revelations, and a few sorrowful souls looking on, wondering whether this unseemly exhibition was an advance on the orgies of Mithras and Dionysus.

"If there come in those that are unlearned or unbelievers," says the Apostle, "will they not say that you are mad?" That scene was in A.D. 57. It occurred when no very certain knowledge existed concerning nervous disorders, hysteria, and its cognate forms of excitation. S. Paul was undecided how to consider these wild ebullitions. But one occasion of scandal could be cut off, the Agape could be removed to another time than that preceding the Eucharist.

Tertullian writes about A.D. 190, and we see how that

ecclesiastical discipline had effected a change. The Agape was banished from its place on the night before the Eucharist; it retained this place on one night only in the whole year, the night of the Cœna Domini, the anniversary of the Last Supper. The Agape led up to a very modified version of that free prophesying which startled and offended S. Paul. It was now reduced to the recitation of hymns. Tertullian says, "I will at once describe the peculiarities of the Christians' society, that, as I have refuted the evil charged against it, I may also show what is the positive good in it. We meet together, as an assembly, and offer up prayer to God with united force. We pray for the Emperors, their officers, and all in authority, for the welfare of the world, for the prevalence of peace, for the delay of the final consummation." We see he is referring to the Ektene, or Litany of Intercession.* "We read our sacred writings. Also in the same place exhortations are made, rebukes and censures are administered." Here, then, we have the Pro-Anaphora, with its Litany, Lections, and Sermon. "On the monthly collecting day, each puts a small donation into the treasury, if it be his pleasure, and as he is able."

Then he goes on to describe the Agape, following the Pro-Anaphora. "You also abuse us for our humble feasts, on the ground of extravagance and infamous wickedness. . . . Our feast explains itself by its name. The Greeks call it Love (Agape). With the good things of the feast we benefit the needy. As it is a religious rite, it permits no vileness or immodesty. The participants, before reclining, taste first of prayer to God. As much is eaten as satisfies the cravings of hunger; as much is drunk as benefits the chaste. After washing of hands, and the bringing in of lights, each is asked to stand forth, and to sing as he is able, a hymn to God,

* That *before* the Lections, of which our Kyries and Collect for the Queen and for the day are the remains.

either taken out of Holy Scripture, or one of his own composition. As the feast commences, so does it close, with prayer."*

This is evidently painted in rosy tints, but that the Agape was not always, even in that age, innocent, Tertullian hints, without openly stating it, in a later tract.

"With you," he says, "love (Agape) shows its favour in saucepans, faith warms itself in kitchens, hope lurks in pipkins, but of far greater account is Agape, because—*per hanc adolescentes tui cum sororibus jacent.*" † That this is an allusion to the Agape follows from what he says afterwards about the presence of the presbyters and their taking double shares of meat and drink, and we know from the "Constitutions" that at these love-feasts the clergy had their portions allotted according to their rank.

S. Cyprian, in a curious and peculiarly difficult passage in his letter to Cæcilius, speaks of the separation of the Eucharist from the Agape. The passage is so difficult that we will here quote it, and then explain it. He is writing against a use which had been introduced by one or more clergy of employing water in place of wine at the Eucharist. This was an encroachment of Paganism on Christian worship, for in the Mithraic rites there was a ceremonial act something like the Eucharist, in which bread and water were employed. ‡ Timid Christians favoured this innovation, because in time of persecution they could be detected by the smell of the Eucharistic wine on their lips early in the morning.

Cyprian, writing in A.D. 253, says, "Does anyone perchance flatter himself with this notion, that although in the morning water alone seems to be offered, yet when we come to supper we offer the mingled cup? But when we sup, it is not legitimate to call the people together to our banquet, thereat to celebrate the truth of the sacrament in the

* Apol. c. 28.

† "De Jejunio," c. 17.

‡ Justin M. Apol., i., c. 66.

presence of the brotherhood. But still, it may be said, it was not in the morning, but after supper, that the Lord offered the mingled cup. Ought we, then, to celebrate the Lord's rite after supper, that so by continual repetition of the Lord's institution we may offer the mingled cup?"* He goes on to argue against evening Communion, but with that we will not now concern ourselves.

The only interpretation of this difficult passage which will fit in with his argument is this. We will paraphrase his words.

"Suppose, then, that we use water for the Eucharist in the morning, can anyone satisfy himself that he is fulfilling the commandment, 'Do this in remembrance of Me,' if he uses water at the Eucharist, and employs the mixed cup of wine and water in the evening at the Agape? It is no fulfilling of the command, for it is not lawful for us to celebrate the Eucharist along with the Agape. Christ, indeed, combined the two, because the circumstance of His coming death necessitated it; but this is not any longer lawful for us."

The edict of Trajan against club-gatherings probably led to the severance of the Agape from the Eucharist in the first years of the second century; indeed Pliny says, in his letter, that at his command the Christians in Bithynia had abandoned their love feasts. "There can be but little doubt," says Bishop Lightfoot, "that the union of the two did not generally survive the persecution of Trajan." Certainly, when Justin Martyr wrote, twenty-eight years later, the two were separated. It is by no means unlikely that the Church was relieved to have an excuse for getting rid of that which, adopted out of pious desire in all things to conform to the example of Christ, had proved experimentally to be a source of scandal.

* Ad Cæcil. c. 16. "An illa sibi aliquis contemplatione blanditur, quod etsi mane aqua sola offerri videtur, tamen cum ad cœnandum venimus, mixtum calicem offerimus? Sed cum cœnamus, ad convivium nostrum plebem convocare non possumus, ut sacramenti veritatem fraternitate omni præsente celebremus." We have taken "non possumus" as equivalent to "non licet."

The Agape, however, remained united to the Eucharist, preceding it on one night in the year, the commemoration of the Last Supper and Institution. Socrates, in his "Ecclesiastical History" (v. 27), says that the Egyptians in the neighbourhood of Alexandria and in the Thebaid held their assemblies on the Sabbath, and that after a feast in the evening they made the Eucharistic oblation, and received the Communion. Sozomen says the same (vii. 19), so that even to the end of the fourth century the earlier usage hung on in places. But Tertullian, when he speaks of the Christian wife of the unbeliever spending the entire night in the Christian assembly, speaks of it as only occurring at the Paschal solemnities, so that in the African and Roman Churches the combination survived solely on the Maundy Thursday night. The third council of Carthage, A.D. 397, enjoined that the Holy Communion should be received fasting, "except only on that one anniversary day on which the Lord's Supper is celebrated."

In the Latin and African Churches the commemoration of the Last Supper took place on Maundy Thursday night; whereas in the Lesser Asiatic Churches it took place on the evening of the commemoration of the Crucifixion, taking the place of the Jewish Passover.

The Council in Trullo, A.D. 692, finally removed even this concession, and made the rule of fasting Communion general.

It is hard to understand the emphasis with which the Church enjoined fasting Communion, except as the shudder of her conscience at the recollection of the disorders and profanities that ensued on the Agape.

Love-Feasts were associated with the anniversaries of the martyrs. The heathen were accustomed to have banquets in the *cellæ* of the cemeteries, erected for the purpose, solemn feasts of the dead, and the Christians made use of this custom as a means of having love-feasts in the cemeteries of their dead, on the anniversaries of the deaths of the martyrs, without attracting observation and provoking suspicion.

S. John Chrysostom entreats his hearers to partake of the meal to be appointed in honour of the martyr Julian, beside the church, instead of trooping off to Daphne, the grove and suburb of Antioch, of old dedicated to the goddess, but which came to be a sort of Prater, or Champs Elysées, to Antioch.

There was drunkenness even when the Agape had been dissociated from the Eucharist, and was not held inside a church. S. Augustine* and S. Ambrose† both speak of it. The Council of Laodicæa forbade the holding of these feasts in churches and the houses of God (Can. 28); and rebuked the clerks or laity who carried home with them the food prepared for the feast (Can. 27). The Council of Gangra, held about the same date (latter part of 4th century), on the other hand, rebuked those who disregarded invitations to Agapes and held aloof. The name Agape acquired a broader meaning, it came to be applied to all charitable dinners given by the rich to the poor; and their true successors among ourselves are the harvest-teas, school-treats, and club-feasts.

The Agape had gone through many modifications before it wholly disappeared. As a symbol of the banquet of eternal life, at which Christians would sit down together with the prophets and patriarchs, it was cherished, and, in spite of its abuses, allowed to remain; preserving, however, less and less of religious significance, the convivial side of it becoming more and more prominent, till finally the name ceased to have any sacred meaning, and was given to any feast that was associated with a baptism, a marriage, or a funeral.

The Agape went through these stages in succession:—

1. Celebrated in the evening, followed by prophecies, and psalms, and instruction, till after midnight. Then the Eucharist.
2. Postponed to the *evening after* the Eucharist; or,

* Ep. 22, ad Aurelium, c. 3.

† De Elia et Jejunió, c. 17.

postponed to *immediately* after the Eucharist. It is so spoken of by S. Jerome* and by S. Chrysostom.† Tolerated in its original place only on one night in the year, Maundy Thursday. This forbidden also in 692.

3. Ceased to be a religious feast. Became only a charitable banquet given to the poor. Also, all christening, wedding, and funeral feasts were given the same name.

We have no reason to suppose that the Agape was originally held in the same place as the Eucharist. When the liturgy was said in private houses, the Agape was probably given in the *triclinium*, the dining-room of the house, and when houses were given up to be churches, these *salles à manger* remained as the proper places in which the love feasts continued to be held. When churches were erected, then dining-rooms were built adjoining them. So, in the sermon of S. Chrysostom already referred to, the saint urges his hearers to come to the Agape in the building adjoining the church. But, no doubt, in some places, the dining-tables invaded the body of the church as well, and this will account for the canons of councils forbidding the abuse,‡ from the 4th century to the close of the 7th. In the catacombs there are many representations of banquets, but we cannot say for certain that they are love-feasts; though unquestionably they have some religious significance. It has been conjectured that they symbolize the refectory of the just in the heavenly kingdom. Christ said, "Blessed are those servants whom the Lord, when He cometh, shall find watching: verily I say unto you, that He shall gird Himself, and make them sit down to meat, and will come forth and serve them" (Luke xii. 37). The joys of heaven were therefore likened by Him to a feast; and perhaps the Agape was regarded as a foreshadowing of the "feast of

* Comm. in 1 Cor. xi.

† Hom. 27 in 1 Cor.

‡ Laod. c. 28; Carthag. iii. c. 30; Aurel. ii. c. 12; Quinisext, c. 74.

good things and wine on the lees," which would be made in Heaven for those that love Christ.

Formerly it was believed that the representations in the catacombs of feasts referred certainly to the Agape. This is now doubted, as we know that the love-feasts were not held in the catacombs, but in the *cellæ* above ground. It is not, however, unlikely that these representations may have a double reference, to the Agape as the symbol, and the Eternal Banquet in Heaven as the fulfilment.

It may now be asked, Has the Agape left any trace of its presence in the Divine Service of the Church? We cannot but think that it has.

As we have already seen, Tertullian speaks of the Pro-Anaphora as the introduction to it.

Tertullian speaks of the lighting of the lamps, and of the collection of alms once a month—alms in money—but we may well suspect that the money alms was a commutation of offerings in kind, bread, wine, oil, fruit, meat, &c. And this we know did take place. The Pro-Anaphora ended, the rich advanced and made their offerings of bread, wine, and meat, and fruit for the common meal. The "Constitutions" order what is to be offered; they forbid the presenting of more than bread, wine, and oil. From Tertullian's account, in his time this had been changed into a money collection, with which what was necessary was purchased; for, when the rich offered, there was sometimes superfluity, occasionally gluttony and drunkenness, and should the offerings come in scantily there might not be enough.

The writer was one Sunday in a little Bohemian church. At the offertory the men of the congregation stood up, and one after another walked up to the altar, and laid a coin on the south corner; and when they had finished making their gifts, the women followed in like manner.

One July day the writer was at Milan, and entered its wonderfully solemn Cathedral for service. Thirty-seven

architects were engaged on the plans, carrying out, altering, and undoing the work of their predecessors, and adding something of their own, yet the grand idea of the original creator of the church as seen within is unchanged. Few of those who visit Milan know, or, if they know, care for, the fact that this Church enjoys its own venerable liturgy. To the writer, however, this fact was of intense interest, and he watched the service with close attention.

Immediately after the sermon, where the Roman Mass has an unmeaning call to prayer, followed by no prayer, the Milanese liturgy has a Prayer of the Veil, which shall be spoken of later, and then from the altar descends the celebrant with his attendant deacons to the chancel steps, and at the same time there come up the church two old men in very long, full, white linen cloaks, like Roman togas, attended by two other men in short surplices, and two old women in semi-religious garb. These old men and women have their hands wrapped in white linen, and with the linen hold an offering of bread and wine, the bread in the right hand, the wine in the left. These oblations are received by the celebrant, who returns with them to the altar. The money oblation as offered in Bohemia is the remains of the changed gift, from kind to coin ; the offering at Milan represents the earlier, unaltered offering ; but now a select number only are allowed to make the oblations, and that offering is directed only towards the Eucharistic celebration, whereas the money offering is devoted to the poor. In our own service there is a double presentation, of alms for the poor, and of bread and wine for the Eucharist, but the bread and wine are no longer presented by the congregation, except in theory, for they are paid for by the churchwardens as representatives of the congregation. But the Church of Milan is the only Church in all Christendom which preserves the oblation of the elements by the people.

The reader, if he has been in France, may have been startled

and perplexed by seeing the choir-boys come round during the Mass with silver wire baskets, containing small loaves, which they distribute among the congregation. This is the *pain bénit*, and is, theoretically, the superfluity from the bread offered by the people at the oblation, and the congregation eat it in church. This also is a faint reminiscence of the old Agape united to the Eucharist, and is partaken of by them instead of communicating. In the Greek or Russian Church, after the liturgy, the priest comes round with small loaves, the *anti-doron*, which is actually the surplus bread, not wanted for the Eucharist, and this is given away among the congregation—again a reminiscence of the Agape, transposed, and put after the Eucharist.

There were other curious traces of it, now gone.

Mabillon, in his "Museum Italicum" (T. ii), gives a very curious invitation in one of the *Ordines Romani*. After Mass, the Pope solemnly invited those present to dinner. There was something similar in the old Lincoln use, where the Hebdomadarius entertained the clergy after Mass, at what looks much like a stand-up lunch.* These were the lingering relics of the primitive Agape.

In conclusion, we need only say a few words relative to the *time* at which the Eucharist was celebrated.

Through a curious confusion of ideas and ignorance of primitive usage, it has been often urged that the Holy Eucharist was instituted in the evening. We have no grounds for concluding that this was the case. The Last Supper was, indeed, eaten in the evening, and that was followed, probably after a considerable lapse of time—during which our Lord gave the discourses recorded by S. John, and offered His great prayer for unity and protection—by the institution of the new rite of the New Covenant at the beginning of the new day. If, as some believe, Christ ante-dated the Paschal

* See Wordsworth in "Archæologia," vol. 51. 1888.

Supper, then we can see a singular appropriateness in closing the old day with the rite of that covenant which was decaying, and about to be swept away, as there is a singular appropriateness in initiating the day of the New Covenant with the institution of the new rite.

The usage of the Church seems never to have swerved from morning celebrations. The tradition of the Church on this point is more reliable than on matters of pious belief ; for the Eucharist was of weekly repetition, and this incessant iteration hammered custom into a hard and unalterable conviction that the morning was the only suitable time of the day for the celebration of the Holy Communion.

The Lord's Supper, indeed, took place in the evening, and the Agape, its counterpart in the Church, was held to be most appropriately observed in the evening, and in the evening before the observance of the Divine command to " Do this in remembrance of Me." But the Agape was displaced almost in the lifetime of S. John ; at any rate, in that of the disciples of the Apostles. It was moved about till it was rejected altogether. But the conscience of Christendom, the universal conviction of the Church, never hesitated about the Eucharist—in affirming that it should be celebrated in the morning, as the festival of a dawning and ever-growing light, lightening to the perfect Day, not as a rite of darkness, decline, and extinction.

This appropriateness of associating the New Institution with the dawn of a new day was, however, not the first thought in the Christian mind. The first thought was to reproduce as exactly as might be in every particular, as to time, as to detail, the original Institution in the Upper Chamber. *That* is it which furnishes the key to explain all the special peculiarities of the Eucharist. We have seen how that it was this desire exactly to reproduce the order of events which induced the primitive Church to celebrate an Agape in the evening before the Eucharist, to combine a Lord's Supper

with the New Institution. It was this which caused the primitive Church universally to employ leavened bread, holding, as she did, that Christ instituted on the night of the 14th Nisan. The usage of unleavened bread came in only when there had arisen confusion in men's minds as to the real day of the Crucifixion. It was this which caused, as we shall see presently, many other usages and ceremonies to be associated with the Eucharist. In everything, down to the smallest gesture and act, the Church loved to hold to the example of Christ at the first Institution on the night preceding His Passion.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE FIRST-FRUITS.

THE CEREMONY OF THE FIRST-FRUITS—THE TYPE FULFILLED ON EASTER MORNING—S. PAUL SO SPEAKS OF CHRIST—THE GREAT ENTRANCE—THE REPRODUCTION IN THE CHURCH OF THE OBLATION OF FIRST-FRUITS—THE FATHERS SPEAK OF THE EUCHARISTIC ELEMENTS AS THE FIRST-FRUITS—BUT AFTER THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE CEASED TO UNDERSTAND WHY THEY WERE SO CALLED—THE ADORATION AT THE GREAT ENTRANCE EXPLAINED—THE APPLICATION OF THE TERM FIRST-FRUITS ANOTHER ARGUMENT IN FAVOUR OF THE CRUCIFIXION HAVING TAKEN PLACE ON 14TH NISAN.

IN the early morning of the 16th Nisan, the day after the Passover, a striking ceremony was performed in Jerusalem. On that morning the first-fruits of the corn that had slept in the earth, that had germinated and ripened, was brought with triumph from the vale of Kedron to the Temple, and there waved before the Lord.

On the previous evening delegates of the Sanhedrim went forth from Jerusalem over the brook to a cornfield, and bowed down some ears of corn with their hands to the earth. Then, when the sun was setting, one of them cried, "Lo! the sun is setting!" and the people answered, "It is well." Then he asked, "Shall I reap!" and they replied, "Reap." This was done thrice, then the corn was reaped and laid on the soil, where it lay all night, and the delegates returned to Jerusalem.

The people of the country places were, however, camping out by the roads, and sleeping outside the city in the fields, under tents, awaiting the coming day.

Early in the morning, one who was constituted the chief cried,

“Arise! let us ascend to Zion! to the House of our Lord God!” Thereupon all the people arose, and the chief took the corn that had been reaped, and the first-fruits of vine and fig, and went forward, all the people in train following him. They had, moreover, an ox leading the way, with gilded horns, and a crown of olive about its head.

A trumpet sounded and announced to Jerusalem that the procession approached; then the citizens came forth from their houses to salute the train.

From the left side the procession entered the Temple court, and there was met by the Levites, who sang Psa. xxx., “I will magnify Thee, O Lord, for Thou hast set me up, and not made my foes to triumph over me.”

He who bore the sheaf of the first-fruits, said, in the name of the people, “A Syrian ready to perish was my father, and he went down into Egypt, and sojourned there with a few, and the Egyptians evil entreated us, and afflicted us. And when we cried unto the Lord God of our fathers, the Lord heard our voice, and looked on our affliction, and our labours, and our oppression. And the Lord brought us forth . . . and brought us unto this land, even a land that floweth with milk and honey. And now, behold, I have brought the first-fruits of the land, which Thou, O Lord, hast given us.”

Then the priest took the sheaf and the first-fruits, and placed them before the altar, and waved the sheaf of new corn before the Lord (Deut. xxvi.).*

Now, accepting what seems to have been the conviction of the early Church, that Christ died on the 14th Nisan, then let us turn and look at Him.

He, the broken and cut-down ear of corn, had lain in the earth; but His Spirit had descended to those in prison, the prisoners of hope, those who looked for release through the

* Otho, “Lex. Rabbin,” 1757; s. v. Primitiæ.

Blood of the Covenant. To them Christ preached release. He broke the gates of brass, and smote the bars of iron asunder, and, as—and at the same time as—the great train from the country came streaming into Jerusalem, headed by the first-fruits, so did the mighty train of the redeemed and released rise from their sleep in the prison-hold of hope, “and appeared in the holy city after His resurrection.” He, our First-Fruits and our Sacrifice, of whom the sheaf and the ox were signs, on Easter morning, led the vast train of those who had waited on His salvation, into the city, the New Jerusalem of His Church, soon to be presented by Him in the Temple of God on high. The ceremony of the first-fruits was very real to S. Paul, and he associated it with the Resurrection in such a manner as to make us believe that he also held that the Resurrection took place on the same day as the presentation of the first-fruits, just as he also seems to imply, when he speaks of Christ our Passover being sacrificed for us, that Jesus died at the same time as the typical Paschal lambs were slain—on the afternoon of the 14th Nisan. “Now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the first-fruits of them that slept. . . . Every man [shall rise] in his own order.” He has the ascending procession in his eye—“Christ, the first-fruits ; afterward they that are Christ’s at His coming” (1 Cor. xv. 20, 23).

“Ourselves, which have the first-fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body” (Rom. viii. 23). “What shall the receiving of them [the Jews] be, but life from the dead? For, if the first-fruits [Christ] be holy, the lump is also holy” (Rom. xi. 16). These two passages show a reverse order of ideas in the mind of S. Paul. Having in the first spoken of first-fruits, and that in relation to the Holy Spirit, not Christ, still the mention of first-fruits at once drew his thoughts to the ceremonial offering on the 16th Nisan, and as that was associated with resurrection, he at once went on to speak of

the "redemption of the body." In the next passage it was otherwise ; there he was speaking of the reception of the Jews by the Church—there flashed through his mind the scene of the city Jerusalem turning out to salute and welcome the villagers coming in with the first-fruits ; and at once connecting that ceremony with the Resurrection, he went on to apply the idea, and draw an argument from it to prove his case. If Christ be the first-fruits, it is of the Jewish harvest field. If He be holy, then all the corn is holy too.

When S. Paul says, "Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us, therefore let us keep the feast ; not with the old leaven, but with the unleaven bread" (1 Cor. v. 7), his similitude loses half its force unless we understand him as referring to an actual synchronism of type and anti-type. On the afternoon of 14th Nisan, the lambs were slain for the Passover—so Christ our Passover was sacrificed for us. When the sun set the Paschal feast began, not with leaven, but with unleavened bread—so let us eat our Passover, Christ, with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.

In the Eastern Church is a very striking ceremony at the beginning of the Mass of the Faithful.

The Pro-Anaphora is over. The unbelievers, those possessed with evil spirits, those unworthy of the highest privileges, are gone out.

Then from the north side comes in a train of clergy, priests, deacons, acolytes, with candles, and incense, bearing the bread and wine for the Eucharist.

This is called the Great Entrance.

It is hardly possible to doubt, that this is a ceremony taken from the procession with the first-fruits. They are brought from the same side of the church, the left, as the original first-fruits were brought into the Temple, and as the first-fruits were heaved or waved before the Lord at the altar, so are the Christian first-fruits elevated in oblation to God.

If we had only the resemblance in ceremony to go by, we

might err in associating the Christian rite with that in Jerusalem ; but we have further grounds. The early Fathers call the Eucharistic oblation by that very name, "first-fruits."

Irenæus says that Christ gave to His disciples the command "to offer to God the first-fruits of His own created things. He took that created thing, bread, and gave thanks, and said, This is My Body. And the cup, likewise, He confessed to be His Blood, and taught the new oblation of the new covenant ; which the Church, receiving from the Apostles, offers to God throughout all the world, to Him who gives us the first-fruits of His gifts in the New Testament ; concerning which Malachi thus prophesied : From the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same My name shall be glorified among the Gentiles, and in every place shall incense be offered to My name, and a pure sacrifice," &c.* "We are bound," says he, in the following chapter, "to offer to God the first-fruits of creation. . . . The kind of oblation has not been abolished ; for there were oblations [among the Jews] and there are oblations here [in the Church]. Sacrifices there were among the Gentiles, and sacrifices there are in the Church also ; but [in this latter case] the *kind* of oblation is changed." He means that among the Jews were the oblations of the first-fruits, which remain ; † among the Gentiles were bloody sacrifices, those are done away with. He goes on, "It behoves us to make oblation to God, offering the first-fruits of His created things ; and the Church alone offers the pure oblation to the Creator with Eucharists of things taken from the creation. But the Jews do not offer this [*i.e.*, a pure offering], for their hands are full of blood." According to Irenæus, the Bread and Wine offered to God in the Eucharist are a first-fruits offering ; not that God standeth

* Adv. Heres. iv., c. 17.

† Among the Jews were also bloody sacrifices, but he is not alluding to these when he says that the kind remains.

in need of man's oblation, but that the Creator exacts of His people a representative offering of the things He has made.

Again, "It was fit that Moses should give manna as food to the fathers, but Joshua wheat, as the first-fruits of life, a type of the Body of Christ; for Scripture declares that the manna of the Lord ceased when the people had eaten wheat from the land." He takes manna as typical of the nourishment under the Law, and wheat as the first-fruits, the food of those led by Joshua (Jesus) under the New Covenant.*

These passages belong to the writings of a man of the second age after the Apostles, one who in his youth had known Polycarp, the disciple of S. John. "Polycarp," he says, "having received [information] from the eye-witnesses of the Word of Life, would recount things—and I listened attentively, and treasured them up, not on paper, but in my heart, and I am continually, by God's grace, turning these things over in my mind."†

In the eighth Book of the "Constitutions" the rubric concerning the bringing in of the oblations is very short: "Let the deacons bring the gifts to the bishop at the altar." In the Liturgy of S. James it is equally terse: "The priest brings in the holy gifts." In that of S. Mark: "The holy things enter to the altar."

The ceremonial of the Great Entrance, if modelled on that of the oblation of the first-fruits in the Temple, must have been so modelled before the destruction of the Temple, and be a portion of the ritual as ordered by the Apostles. Its signification, as we see from Irenæus, had begun to fade, and Origen goes about in quite a different direction to explain the term first-fruits applied to the oblations of Bread and Wine. After referring to the creation of "herb-yielding seed and tree-yielding fruit," he takes wheat as the firstling, or highest type, of the former class, the herb yielding seed, and the vine

* Iren. Fragm., 19.

† Iren. Fragm., 2.

as the noblest attainment of the tree-yielding fruit ; he says to Celsus, who had charged Christians with making oblations of first-fruits to demons, that "it was true Christians offered first-fruits of herb and tree, and poured forth prayers to Him to whom the first-fruits were offered, even to Him who has gone up into heaven, Jesus, the Son of God."* In the Great Intercession in the Liturgy of the "Constitutions" there is a prayer for all such as bring "offerings and first-fruits to the Lord our God" (τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἀπαρχάς), where the reference is apparently to the prophecy of Malachi, the "incense and pure offering" being the prayers and first-fruits, the oblation of Bread and Wine. †

At the Great Entrance in the Eastern Church it is the custom for the congregation to fall on their knees, and the Westerns have attacked the Orientals for what they suppose to be anticipative adoration of the elements before consecration. The Roman censors have abolished this in the Uniate rites ; and the Eastern liturgical writers have had great difficulty in defending the practice. The fact is that the practice has out-lived its original meaning.

The Great Entrance, as the representative of the oblation of first-fruits, was understood, at first, as the united offering by the Church, by priests, and people of Bread, and Wine as representatives of God's gifts to man in creation. And as the offerer in the temple put his hands with the hands of the priest to the sheaf when it was raised and waved, so did the people kneel at the entrance of the gifts, to show that they tendered them with the celebrant at the altar in one united oblation.

After the cessation of the Temple worship, the recollection

* Adv. Cels., viii. c. 34.

† In the Alexandrine Canons, wrongly attributed to Hippolytus, Can. 36 is on the dedication of the first-fruits; the next on the vesting of the clergy in white robes for the Eucharistic mysteries; the first-fruits, almost certainly, in the canon, mean the Bread and Wine.

of the wave offering of first-fruits died away, and the connexion of the Eucharistic oblation with it was no longer perceived, the relation was lost sight of.

When we remember that the Lord's Day was appointed as the feast of perpetual remembrance of the Resurrection, and that—if we are right that this took place on 16th Nisan—the Resurrection and the oblation of the first-fruits took place simultaneously, then we can see how appropriate was the recurrence every Lord's Day of the first-fruits offering.

We can see also how that the destruction of the Temple and the cessation of the oblation by the Jews would lead to the gradual extinction, in the mind of Christians, of the connexion as it originally existed, and how that such a connexion was never even surmised by Gentile converts, who knew nothing of Jewish rites.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE BREAD.

THE CONTROVERSY ABOUT UNLEAVENED BREAD—THE AZYMITES—MARTYRDOM OF MONKS—DID CHRIST INSTITUTE THE EUCHARIST IN UNLEAVENED OR LEAVENED BREAD?—WHAT WAS THE USAGE OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH—THE MEANING OF LEAVEN—THE SHEW-BREAD—UNLEAVENED, TYPIFIED CHRIST—IF CHRIST INSTITUTED THE EUCHARIST ON THE NIGHT OF 13TH-14TH NISAN, HE MAY HAVE EMPLOYED LEAVENED BREAD—THE TRADITION OF THE CHURCH THAT IT WAS LEAVENED—REASONS FOR THE USE OF LEAVEN—THE BREAD WHEATEN—IN ROME FERMENTED TILL THE TENTH CENTURY—REPRESENTATIONS IN THE CATACOMBS—THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND MAKES NO RULE AS TO LEAVENED OR UNLEAVENED BREAD.

IN the middle of the 11th century, the simmering antagonism between the Greeks and the Latins, bred of national antipathies and mutual grievances, became active. Michael Cerularius, patriarch of Constantinople, and Leo of Achrida, declared the Eucharists of the Latins void, because they used unleavened bread, and Constantine, an archer of the guard, broke into the Latin Church, got hold of the Eucharistic wafer, and insultingly, ostentatiously trampled it under foot. The Greeks called the Latins *Azymites* in scorn, and a fierce polemic broke out on the subject of leaven. For some time the Latins stood on the defensive. They could not deny that the use was of recent introduction, nevertheless they endeavoured to defend it on the ground that Christ had instituted the Sacrament in unleavened bread. To such extravagance did polemical fury rage on this topic, that in 1225, when the island of Cyprus was being reduced to the Latin obedience by

Hugh, the Lusignan king, and by Honorius III., thirteen Greek monks, who refused to allow that the Eucharist if consecrated in unleavened bread was valid, were burnt alive as heretics; and are now reckoned as martyrs by the Orthodox Church.*

The question whether unleavened bread is lawful in England at the Eucharist has been made of late years subject of dispute and of litigation. It is therefore well here to discuss—1. Whether Christ at the institution used unleavened bread; 2. What was the usage of the Early Church in this particular.

Under the old Law leaven was forbidden in all offerings made to the Lord by fire. The idea which underlies the prohibition is that leaven is a product of *corruption*, and that, therefore, it symbolises what is impure, and therefore evil. It is to this property of leaven that our Saviour points when He speaks of the “leaven (*i.e.*, the corrupt doctrine) of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees” (Matt. xvi. 6); and S. Paul when he exhorts to the rejection of the “leaven of malice and wickedness” (1 Cor. v. 7).

When, however, an offering was to be consumed by the priests, and not to be offered on the altar, there leaven was permitted. But an oblation to God of what was leavened was regarded in the same light as the offering of a blemished beast. Amos ironically bids the priests, “Offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving with leaven” (iv. 5). The twelve loaves which were exposed in the Temple as Shew-bread, were unleavened. These loaves were offered on the table every Sabbath, the old ones removed and replaced by new. Then the old ones were eaten by the priests in the Holy Place, as they might not be taken out thence.

Now it is remarkable that no explanation whatever was given to the Jews of the meaning of these loaves. They were called *Lechem pânîni*, “Bread of the Face, or Faces,” that is

* Boll. Acta SS., Aug. I., 156.

to say, Bread of the Presence. The term *Pânîni* is applied solely to the Bread and the Table on which it was exposed, nothing else showed the Presence, but that Bread only. To see the Face of God is to behold His presence; and it has been conjectured that this Shew-bread was the Bread through which was signified the presence of God among His people as their constant sustainer and protector.

“The Bread of the Face is that Bread through which God is seen, that is, with the participation of which the seeing of God is bound up, or through participation of which man attains the sight of God.”*

What that dark and unexplained rite of weekly iteration signified, that the primitive Church was not slow to understand and interpret. That Table of Shew-bread prefigured the Christian altar, on which alone the true Bread of the Presence is seen, through participation of which man attains to life and light and true knowledge.

“The Shew-breads,” says Origen, “were in themselves nothing; they had their end and fulfilment in the Eucharist.” “What atoning virtue,” he asks, “could reside in those loaves? But if from them you turn your eyes to the Great Mystery, then you will see that this was a memorial possessed of a mighty atoning efficacy. When you consider that Bread which came down from heaven and gave His life for the world, that Shew-bread which God has set forth for reconciliation through faith in His blood, and then when you reflect on that memorial, of which the Lord said, ‘Do this in remembrance of me,’ then you will find that this is the sole memorial that reconciles God with man. If then you attentively consider the mysteries of the Church, you will see that what the Law ordered, was the pre-figuring of the future Reality.”†

“The Shew-bread—the True Shew-bread—of which that

* Smith's “Dict. of the Bible.” s.v., Shew-bread. † In Levit. Hom., 13, n. 3.

of the Jews was a shadow, is that which God has shown forth for our atonement, through faith in His blood. Through faith in His blood, Christ, Himself, His person, is our atonement. The Shew-bread (of the Temple) cannot symbolize (spiritual) teaching, nor be the representative of (spiritual) means of nourishment. Let us go on to the next point. By the 'Bread which came down from heaven,' the teaching of Christ cannot be meant, for the context forbids that interpretation. The Bread that came down from heaven and the Bread that is for atonement are one and the same Bread. And this last is the person of the Redeemer, therefore so is the former."*

S. Cyril of Jerusalem, also, in his fourth lecture on the Mysteries, points out that the Eucharist is the fulfilment of the old rite of the Shew-bread.

The Shew-bread, in which was no leaven, and which was sprinkled with oil, typified Christ, in whom was no guile, and who was anointed by the Holy Ghost ; and as Christ instituted the Eucharist as the pledge of His abiding presence and earnest of His atoning Sacrifice in the Church, therefore the Shew-bread of the Temple symbolized Christ first, and then fore-shadowed His institution.

We can see, therefore, a reason why the Church might use unfermented bread on her altars, since she regarded the Eucharist as the fulfilment of the old institution of the Bread of the Presence in Tabernacle and Temple, and also as best representing Christ, whose nature was without the leaven of evil.

Next comes the question : Did Christ employ unleavened bread at the institution ?

On the 10th Nisan the lamb was set apart for the Paschal sacrifice. The Passover lasted seven or ten days, during which no leavened bread might be eaten. On the evening of the 13th the head of every household lighted a lamp and went

* De Orat., c. 27.

through the house, searching everywhere for leaven, or anything in a decaying condition, sour, and fermenting. Whatever was found in this state was thrown into a chest and locked up. Then the master of the house said, "All the leaven that was with me, what I have seen and what I have not seen, let it be as the dust of the earth."

The Jews anticipated the coming of the Messiah on the Paschal night, therefore they put away from them on the previous night all those elements which savoured of sin. The leaven had all to be destroyed, burnt, or thrown away, before midday of the 14th.

"Our learned men have declared that unleavened and leavened bread figure the good and the evil inclinations in us."* "He who on the Passover eats leavened bread, commits a sin equal to the worship of idols." † "Why are we bound to eat unleavened bread at the Passover? Because Israel at this time draws near to the holiness of God, therefore must it put away from it all leaven, that typifies evil lusts." ‡ "Rabbi Alexander was wont to say, at the close of his prayer, 'Lord of the world, Thou knowest that my desire is to fulfil, in all things, Thy will, but I am paralysed through the leaven in the lump (*i.e.*, the evil inclination in my nature).'" §

S. Paul also says, "Know ye not that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump? Purge out, therefore, the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump, as ye are unleavened. For even Christ, our Passover, is sacrificed for us: Therefore let us keep the feast, not with the old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth" (1 Cor. v. 6-8).

On the evening of the 13th-14th Nisan all leaven was put away, but sufficient leavened bread was allowed to be retained to serve for food during the next hours up to sundown of the ensuing day, *i.e.*, till sundown of 14th Nisan.

* Sohar, f. 17. † *Ibid.*, f. 71. ‡ *Ibid.*, f. 120. § Neveh Schalom, f. 191.

Consequently it is quite possible that Christ may have consecrated leavened bread if He instituted the Eucharist on the night of 13th-14th. At the same time, unleavened bread was used as well as leavened by the Jews, and is still by the Syrians, at other times than the days of obligation to eat only unleavened cake. The tradition of the whole Church, however, for several centuries was altogether on the side of leavened bread ; and this tradition is so important, and the date of the introduction of the unleavened is so recent—comparatively—that it is not easy to bring the mind to believe that Christ employed the Paschal wafer-bread.

Are there, however, any grounds for accounting for the change of unleavened into leavened bread in the Church, supposing that Christ had instituted the Sacrament in the former ?

There are three. The first is, that Christ had spoken of leaven as a symbol of the Gospel. “The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened” (Matt. xiii. 33). The measures of meal were taken to represent the whole mass of mankind, descended from the three sons of Noah. Or the three measures signified man made up of body, mind, and soul ; and the Divine leaven penetrated through, transformed and sanctified man’s complete nature. So leaven had a good significance, according to the Lord’s word. Moreover, when He condemned the leaven of the Pharisees, He implied as a correlative that His leaven, His doctrine, was good.

And leaven was specially appropriate to the Eucharist, for as leaven entered into and transformed the whole lump, so did the Eucharistic gift enter into and transform the carnal man into the spiritual man.

Again, it was possible—possible only—that the Early Church might have adopted leavened bread as a protest against Judaizing tendencies ; just as Sunday was taken in con-

tradistinction to the Sabbath. But neither of these reasons carries much weight. In the first age, in such a matter as the Eucharist, the Church was most conservative, it altered nothing; and the simplest explanation of the use of leavened bread is that in this, as in everything else, she followed the Institution of Christ. She used wheaten bread, because He had used wheaten bread; the mixed cup, because He had consecrated the mixed cup; covered her altars with fine linen, because fine linen covered the table He had used; lighted lamps above it, because over it had hung and burnt the Sabbatical lamp; and because He had employed leavened bread, so did she.

And, thirdly, passages in the Synoptics seem to imply that the time of unleavened bread had begun (Matt. xxvi. 17; Mark xiv. 12; Luke xxii. 7), though we believe that these refer to the Preparation, when the leaven was put away, beginning with the evening of 14th Nisan. Moreover, 1 Cor. v. 7, 8, was taken to imply the use of unleavened bread, and it was on the strength of these passages that the Western Church upset the earlier tradition.

Wheaten bread, we have said, has been used invariably. In the passage from Irenæus, already quoted, relative to the first-fruits that Christians offer in the Eucharist, he specially mentions wheaten bread. Clement of Alexandria* makes barley bread the symbol of Judaism, and "divine wheat" (*θεῖος πυρός*) the emblem of Christianity. So also Origen speaks of wheat as the food of the Gospel, the most perfect and nutritious of corn; whereas barley was a proper type of the Old Covenant that fed, but did not satisfy.†

In the East there has been no swerving from the employment of leavened bread. In the West our earliest notices of Eucharistic bread are in the Papal Pontifical Books, wherein we are given particulars relative to the orders of Melchiades

* "Strom.," vi. c. 11.

† See also "Irenæus, Fragm., xix."

(A.D. 311-4), Siricius (A.D. 384-398), Innocent I. (A.D. 402-417) about the Eucharist, which leave us in no doubt whatever on this point. (Oblationes consecratæ quod declarantur *fermentum*—ut nullus presbyter celebraret nisi consecratam susciperet, quod nominatur *fermentum*—presbyteri *fermentum* a nobis confectum per acolythos accipiunt).^{*} Moreover, no signs of polemic against the Westerns on the ground of the use of bread of a different nature from that employed in the East appears before Michael Cerularius (A.D. 1051), which would certainly have been the case had there been a difference of usage in the two Churches. That the employment of unleavened wafers came in by degrees earlier, but had not become general till the 11th century, is probable enough. The reason of the introduction was that all danger of Judaizing was at an end, and the conviction had impressed itself on the Western mind that Christ had instituted the Sacrament with unleavened bread, and that it was therefore advisable to employ it.

That the bread for the Eucharist was specially baked by Christians is most probable, for that which was offered in the markets had been sprinkled with water of aspersion to the idols, at least under Diocletian and Julian. Much later it was regarded as an abuse to employ ordinary bread, and this was forbidden by the sixth canon of the Sixteenth Council of Toledo, in 693, where priests are condemned for cutting off round slices from their common house bread, and the Council insists that only a whole loaf must be used. †

Among the heathen it was customary to bake little figures of dough, representing sacrificial animals, and these were offered in the temples in place of the beasts. Epiphanius says,

^{*} "Kraus, Real Encyklopædie," s. v. Brod.

† A point was made about all being partakers of *one* loaf. See Ignat. ad Philad., iv., "One loaf is broken to all; one cup distributed to all." Ad Eph., xx., "With one undivided mind, breaking one and the same bread, which is the medicine of immortality."

in reference to these, "In the Host one can see nothing like a human shape—what we see is round."* Sophronius of Jerusalem, who lived A.D. 630, says that the bread was broken into particles, according to the number of the communicants, and that a special piece for the celebrant was cut with a knife out of the loaf or cake. The breads for the Eucharist were marked with a cross, says S. Chrysostom. Sometimes the breads were round rings, and S. Gregory the Great accordingly calls them crowns.

We have already mentioned the *pain béni* in the French churches; these resemble the *antidora* of the Oriental churches, small round cakes or rolls, which are given to the congregation. In the French churches these have remained what they originally were, but the Eucharistic bread has been changed to the unleavened wafer. Originally all were one, and they were the bread that remained over, not required for the consecration, distributed among the faithful who did not communicate; now, they are different in quality and kind from the Eucharistic bread.



FIG. 10.—From a tombstone at Modena.

In the catacombs the Eucharistic bread is frequently represented, always as small round cakes or rolls. On an early tombstone of one Syntrophion, found at Modena, are two fishes, symbols of Christians, feeding on Eucharistic bread.



FIG. 11.—From the cemetery of S. Lucina.

In a very remarkable fresco in the cemetery of S. Lucina is a fish bearing a basket full of bread, and inside is what appears to be a glass with something red, probably wine. The

* Anchor., 57.

fish is Christ. S. Jerome seems to have had some such a picture under his eyes when he wrote of Eucherius, Bishop of Toulouse, "None can be richer than he who carries Christ's body in a plaited basket, and His blood in a glass vessel, about him."* In this fresco the breads are round.

The great question of the nature of the bread used by Christ at the Institution remains unsolved, and accordingly we may admire the wise moderation of the Church of England, which does not pronounce decisively for either leavened or unleavened; but rules, "It shall suffice that the bread be such as is usually eaten; but (if so, then) the best and purest wheat-bread that conveniently may be gotten."

* Ep. 125.

CHAPTER XX.

THE WINE.

THE MIXED CUP EMPLOYED AT THE INSTITUTION—FERMENTED WINE USED—THE MIXED CUP USED IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH—TESTIMONY OF THE FATHERS—JUSTIN MARTYR—IRENÆUS—CYPRIAN—ARMENIAN MONOPHYSITES ALONE USE WINE ONLY—THE ORIENTAL USE.

THAT at the institution of the Eucharist the Lord employed wine mingled with water is almost certain. It was the custom of the Jews so to drink; they were forbidden to use wine unmingled, and at the Paschal rite, certainly this was strictly enforced. No blessing could be said, according to the Rabbis, over a cup in which stood wine undiluted;* and the gloss on this rule in the Talmud is "that the wine is too strong when unmixed, it is only fit to be drunk when commingled with water."

That the wine was "the fruit of the vine" we know from our Lord's own words; that it was fermented we may be certain, both because wine has another name, "must," when unfermented, and because "must" would not keep a week without fermentation. Moreover, the time of the year when the Institution took place was not that of wine-making, when "must" would be available.

The early notices of the Eucharist show that water was mixed with the wine. Justin Martyr, in his first Apology, says, "There is brought to the president of the brethren

* Beracoth, f. 50.

bread, and a cup of wine mingled with water, and he taking them, gives praise and glory to the Father of the universe," &c.* Irenæus says, "When the mingled cup and the manufactured bread receive the Word of God, the Eucharist becomes the Body and the Blood of Christ," &c.† Again, "How could the Lord, with justice, if He belonged to another father (than the Creator), have acknowledged the bread to be His Body, while He took it from the creation to which we belong, and affirmed the mixed cup to be His Blood?"‡ Elsewhere he hints as much, when he says, "How can they be consistent with themselves?" He is attacking those who declared that the Creator was evil, and another God than the Father of Christ, "when they say that the bread over which thanks have been given is the Body of their God, and the cup His Blood, if they do not regard Him as the Son of the Creator, His Word, through whom the wood fructifies (*i.e.*, the vine produces grapes), and the fountains pour forth (water), and the earth yields corn."§ Clement of Alexandria, in his allegorizing of the Eucharist, says, "The blood of the grape, that is, the Word" (who hung on the Tree), "is mixed with water, so the blood is mingled with salvation. . . . To drink the blood of Jesus is to become partaker of the Lord's immortality. . . . Accordingly, wine is blended with water, so is the Spirit with man. And the one—the mixture of wine and water—nourishes to faith. The mixture of both—of the water and the Word—is called the Eucharist—renowned and glorious grace; and they who by faith partake are sanctified in body and soul."||

Elsewhere he writes against the Encratites, who used cups of water without wine, and this in an exhortation on moderation in drink. After having said, "As wine, when taken, makes people love it, so does water also," he attacks drunken-

* Apol. i., c. 65.

† Adv. Hær. v., c. 2.

‡ *Ibid.* iv., c. 33.§ *Ibid.* iv., c. 18.

|| Pædag. ii., c. 2.

ness, and says: "Our Lord Himself partook of wine, He blessed the wine, saying, 'Take, drink; this is My Blood—the blood of the vine.' . . . And that it was wine which He blessed, He showed again, when He said to His disciples, 'I will not drink of this fruit of the vine, till I drink it with you in the kingdom of the Father.'" *

S. Cyprian, also writing against those who pretended to receive the Eucharist in water only, says: "In offering the cup, the tradition of the Lord must be observed, and nothing done by us but what the Lord first did on our behalf, as that the cup which is offered in remembrance of Him should be offered mingled with wine. For when Christ says, 'I am the true vine,' the Blood of Christ assuredly is not water, but wine; neither can His blood, by which we are redeemed and quickened, appear to be in the cup, when in the cup there is no wine whereby the blood of Christ is shown forth. . . . In the sacrifice of Melchizedek, the priest was the figure of Christ's sacrifice, ordained in bread and wine; which thing the Lord completing and fulfilling, offered bread and the cup mixed with wine, and so fulfilled the prefigured image. Moreover, the Holy Spirit by Solomon shows the type of the Lord's sacrifice, making mention of the immolated victim, of the bread and wine, and of the altar, and of the Apostles, saying, 'Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath underlaid her seven pillars; she hath killed her victims; she hath mingled her wine in the chalice; she hath furnished her table; she hath sent forth her servants, calling whoso is simple, Let him come to me. To those needing understanding she saith, Come, eat of my bread, and drink of the wine that I have mingled for you.' He declares the wine mingled, foretelling with prophetic voice the cup that the Lord mingled with water and wine, so that in the Lord's Passion that was accomplished which was predicted. . . . We may not break even the

* *Padag.* ii. c. 2.

least of the Lord's commandments; how much rather is it forbidden to infringe such important ones, so great, so pertaining to the very Sacrament of our Lord's Passion and our own redemption, and change by human tradition what is divinely appointed. For if Jesus Christ is Himself the High Priest to God the Father, and first offered Himself a sacrifice, and then commanded this to be done as a memorial of Himself, then certainly that priest (only) truly discharges the office of Christ who imitates what Christ did; only so does he offer a true and full sacrifice in the Church to the Father, when he offers it according to Christ's institution. We cannot be pardoned if we who have been admonished and instructed by the Lord to offer the cup mingled with wine, according as the Lord offered, should neglect to urge our colleagues to observe the evangelical law and the Lord's tradition, and not to depart from what Christ taught and did." *

The Armenian Monophysites, in order to emphasize their heresy—that Christ's nature was but one—employed wine only in the Eucharist, and this was condemned by the Council in Trullo (A.D. 692) in its 32nd Canon. But the mixed chalice had been ordered before by the Council of Orleans, Can. 4 (A.D. 541); and by the fourth Council of Braga, Can. 2 (A.D. 675). The use of water with the wine is universal in the Orthodox Eastern Church, and has always been observed in the Latin, as a part of the Divine institution.

* Cypr. Ep. lxii. ad Cæcil.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE VEIL.

THE HOUSE OF SS. JOHN AND PAUL ON THE CŒLIAN HILL—PAINTING THEREIN—THE VEIL IN THE TEMPLE—WHAT STOOD WITHIN THE HOLY OF HOLIES—THE ENTRY OF THE HIGH PRIEST ONCE IN THE YEAR—THE RENDING OF THE VEIL—THE VEIL OF THE HEAVENS—THE AUTHOR OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS GIVES IT ANOTHER MEANING, THE FLESH OF CHRIST—MIXED METAPHORS—THE VEIL IN THE VISION OF S. JOHN—THE PRAYER OF THE VEIL IN THE LITURGIES—THE VEIL IN PRIVATE HOUSES—CURTAINS IN CHURCHES—S. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM REFERS TO THE VEIL—AND S. AMBROSE—CONTINUED WHEN NON-COMMUNICATING ATTENDANCE BECAME GENERAL—THE LENTEN VEIL—THE AUTHOR OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS SUPPOSED TO HAVE QUOTED FROM THE PRAYER OF THE VEIL—THE STRUCTURE OF THE PRAYER OF THE VEIL—THE PRAYER LOSES ITS ORIGINAL SIGNIFICANCE.

RECENTLY, a remarkable discovery has been made at Rome. On the side of the Cœlian hill stands the church of SS. John and Paul, chamberlains to Constantia, daughter of Constantine the Great. These men were put to death in their own house, and buried in it, by order of Julian the Apostate. Their Acts (Record of Martyrdom) have been so tampered with, that little or no reliance has been placed on them, and they have been treated as apocryphal. Recent research has, however, shown that they are an embroidery on a substratum of fact.

After the death of Julian, the bodies of the martyrs were exhumed, and in the reign of Jovian placed in a "Confession," or chapel; and Basilicus and his son Pammachius, the friend of S. Jerome, erected above their house a stately basilica in honour of the martyrs, so that visitors to the scene of

the martyrdom could descend into the house beneath the church, to which it served as a sort of a crypt. After a while, the basilica fell, and in its fall buried the house. When the new church of SS. John and Paul was built, the foundations were laid on the mingled mass of rubbish and ruin, and the existence of the house beneath it was forgotten. Only this year (1888) has it been in part exhumed and re-discovered, and it has been found in fair preservation. It presents to us the unique instance of an old house of a Christian in imperial times. Now, among the sacred paintings that adorn the walls and ceilings, is one that represents an *orans*, a man praying, before two curtains that are drawn back, one on each side. He is about to pass beyond these veils, and behind him are shown male and female worshippers bowed in devotion. There can, we think, be little doubt that this interesting painting of the fourth century represents the so-called "Prayer of the Veil." We will now address ourselves to the consideration of this prayer.

One of the most remarkable points of contact between the Church and the Temple, and at the same time one of the most remarkable evidences of the great antiquity of her liturgy, is the Veil. The Holy of Holies in the Temple was separated from the Holy Place by a great veil, or to be more exact, by two. When the Temple was rebuilt, a question arose whether the veil should hang on the inner or the outer side of the supporting pillars that divided the Holy of Holies from the Holy Place. To make sure of being right, two veils were hung, one on each side of these pillars or pilasters; but in the Evangelistic account, as by Josephus, the two are spoken of as one. The veil was woven in one piece of four colours, azure, purple, scarlet, and white; and a special officer of the Temple had charge of it, as of the other curtains of the sacred place.

Within the veil had stood the Ark with the Mercy Seat; that, however, had not any more a place within, since the return from Babylon and the restoration of the Temple.

Into the Holy of Holies entered the High Priest once every year, carrying the blood of sacrifice, wherewith he sprinkled the site of the Ark and walls. He entered in his plain white robes ; the censer he placed where the Ark had been, and filled the house with fragrant smoke.

The veil signified the sky. The Holy of Holies represented the heaven of heavens, where were the Throne and presence of God Almighty.

When Christ died, the veil of the Temple was rent asunder from top to bottom, to show that the way into heaven was now open to all.

As the High Priest passed behind the veil to make atonement before the Mercy Seat for the sins of the people, so did Christ our Great High Priest ascend into the heavens, where He ever standeth making intercession for us, there offering His most precious Blood for the remission of our transgressions.

As by Christ the veil was rent, so by Him also is the veil taken away that was on the face of Moses (2 Cor. iii. 13-16).

But the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews gave to the veil a further allegorical signification. It was the rent flesh of Christ, and it is through it that access is obtained to heaven (Heb. x. 20). To us sober Westerns of modern times, much of the figurative interpretation of the Apostle seems strained and fanciful ; not so to an Oriental.

In one place the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews mixes his metaphors. He speaks of " Hope as an anchor of the soul, which entereth into that within the veil ; whither the forerunner is for us entered, even Jesus, made our High Priest for ever " (Heb. vi. 19, 20). Here he sees Christ as the eternal High Priest on the Day of Atonement passing behind the veil of the heavens ; but then Christ is also our hope, and the symbol of hope is an anchor ; also the sea is a blue veil ; much as is the sky. As the

anchor, cast down through the blue sea, fastens to a rock and holds fast the ship, so is the ship of the Church held fast by its anchor passed through another blue veil, above, and is holding to the throne of God. Thus Christ is the Anchor of the vessel of the Church, fixed above, as well as the High Priest entered into heaven making intercession.

As we have already seen, in the vision of S. John of the heavenly Temple, the veil reappears, not covering the entrance to the Holy of Holies, but furled back on all sides, and forming thus furled a rainbow, through which the seer looks to the further glory, to the throne and the altar.

We have strong grounds for believing that when Christian worship was instituted by the Apostles, the veil was introduced and used, for we find numerous allusions to it ; but what is perhaps the most striking evidence of this is, that nearly every early liturgy had traces of a prayer used at the veil, as the celebrant passed through into the Sanctuary, but so displaced and altered as to have completely lost its original signification ; its presence, however, is only explicable on the supposition that in the original primitive worship of the Church the veil was used, and this prayer was uttered at it before entering into the bema, or sanctuary.

If, as we suppose, the first churches were private houses, and the worship of God was carried on in the *atrium* and *tablinum*, then the curtain or veil would be found there almost certainly. In Roman, Greek, and Oriental houses such curtains were common. A rod ran between pillars, and curtains on rings hung from them. Curtains decked the walls, and were suspended over doors. In the mosaics of S. Apollinaris, at Ravenna, of the 6th century, and in those of S. George's Church at Thessalonica, of the 4th, we see curtains used very generally between pillars and covering doorways. Almost certainly every house that had a divan opening into the court had a rod running across from one side to the other of the opening, with curtains hung to this

rod, easily drawn forward or back ; and we can well understand how that early Christians of Jewish origin would contrast their worship with that of the Temple in this matter of curtains. Under the Law the inner part was screened off ; in the temporary Christian churches it was thrown open. The presence of the drawn-back curtains would at once suggest this thought to a Jewish convert, especially when his mind was full of the thoughts of the rending of the veil at Christ's death, and of the significance of the veil, as indicated by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The veils were not put up for the sake of making a contrast, but the veils being there, the contrast naturally presented itself to the mind. When the Church escaped from secrecy, and had houses of her own, then, accustomed to these curtains, and associating them with the idea of the way into the Holiest of all being opened by Christ, of which the parted veil was a continual reminder, she introduced them into her new homes. Either curtains were hung across the entrance to the apse, or else a sort of canopy was erected over the altar, with four pillars, at each

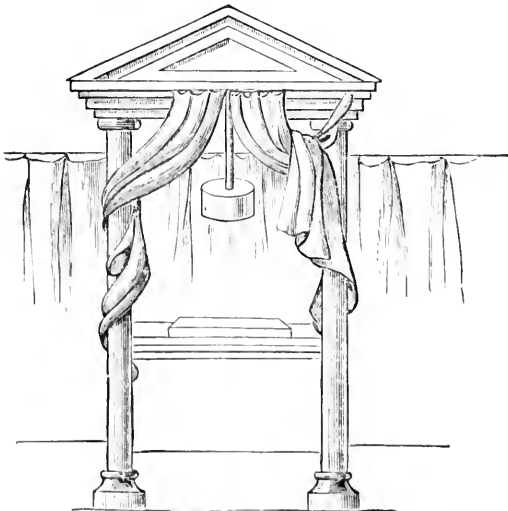


FIG. 12.—Ciborium and Veil from an ivory of the thirteenth century.

corner of the altar, and rods between these pillars were hung with curtains. When these curtains were drawn the altar was completely enclosed. Anastatius the Librarian mentions such in his lives of Popes Gregory III. (A.D. 731), Leo III. (A.D. 793), and Hadrian II. (A.D. 867); and Paul the Silentiary speaks of them in his description of the Church of S. Sophia at Constantinople. But we have earlier mention of them than these, for S. John Chrysostom alludes to the veil when he says in one of his sermons, "When thou hearest the call (of the deacon), then let all pray together with one accord; and when thou seest the veils let fall, then consider that the heavens are dropping (at the presence of God) and the angels descending."* Here he refers to the dropping of the veils at the consecration. In Oriental liturgies now, for the Consecration, the doors of the screen are closed, and curtains fall over them noiselessly, afterwards as noiselessly to be withdrawn, and the doors to roll back when the consecration is accomplished—and most striking the effect is.

S. Ambrose probably also refers to the veil, "Not all can look into the depths of the mysteries, because they are veiled by the Levites (*i.e.*, deacons), that they may not see and take and keep that to which they are not qualified to have access."† A passage which not only refers in all probability to the veiling and closing of doors at the oblation, but also to the relaxation of discipline which allowed non-communicants, perhaps also catechumens, and even hearers only, to be present.

It is possible, if not probable, that the dropping of the curtains was the protest against the presence of those unqualified to communicate. As the congregation became mixed, and it was no more possible to exclude the worldly, the indifferent, the easy livers, and the dissolute, even the heathen, then the Church kept hidden from vulgar and pro-

* Hom. 3, in Ep. ad Eph.

† De Offic. i. 50.

fane eyes the central mystery itself, the Consecration. An explanation of the dead Gallican Liturgy of the 6th century shows us that in the Ephesine family of liturgies the veil was used. For the author says, "The curtain before the mysteries is adorned, because that curtain, the sky, that veils the Lord who is exalted, that curtain also is besprent with wondrous splendour,"*

In an early epistle, attributed falsely to S. Clement of Rome, there is mention of a similar veil.

The Armenian Church still has a curtain hung before the altar; and the Latin Church, with that curious conservatism which manifests itself in Lent, in which season it retains so much that has been lost at other times, has a veil hanging before the chancel. The writer remembers a large marvellously embroidered or woven one in a single piece still employed in the Cathedral of Freiburg, which legend says was made by one woman in an old house in the market-place in the 15th century, and her loom is still supposed to be heard rattling in the attic on stormy nights.

"In England," says Dr. Rock, "the Lenten veil hung down between the people and the Holy of Holies. In cathedrals it parted the presbytery from the choir, in parish churches the chancel from the nave. It was only at the Gospel that it was pulled aside, and so remained till the *Orate fratres.*" †

Most liturgies retain a "prayer of the veil," which was said at the Great Entrance, when the celebrant entered the chancel; but in nearly all the meaning has been lost, and the prayer is turned to a different purpose—the uncovering of the elements. The original purport, however, is implied in some; for instance, the prayer of the veil in the Liturgy of S. James, which speaks of an "entrance into the Holy Place, through the new and living way which Thou hast consecrated for us through the veil of the Flesh of Thy Christ. We, to whom it hath been

* Martene, *Anecd.*, v. 95.

† Church of our Fathers, 1853, III, Pt. ii., p. 221.

vouchsafed to enter into the place of the tabernacle of Thy glory, and to be within the veil, and to behold the Holy of Holies, we fall down before Thy goodness."

It has been argued that instead of this prayer being a quotation from the Epistle to the Hebrews, the author of that Epistle quotes this prayer;* but the reasons urged are by no means convincing. The argument used is that in the prayer are found the thoughts and words found at length throughout the exposition, here condensed into a short prayer. "It is almost inconceivable that the compiler of that short prayer could have collected all these scattered expressions up and down this long chapter, and thus have fitted them to this purpose."† This we fail to see. The composer of the prayer, knowing the words of the epistle well, naturally fell into a form of expression which recalled it without literal and consecutive quotation.

The leading thoughts in the prayer of the veil are these :

1. We give thanks for the boldness with which we are able to enter through the veil into the presence of God.
2. We obtain this entrance only through the Flesh of Christ incarnate, which we partake of sacramentally in the Eucharist.
3. We fall down with awe and adoration.
4. We come to offer the Bloodless Sacrifice for our sins and for that of the people.
5. And we pray that we may be hallowed and cleansed in conscience.

In most liturgies this prayer has got adrift altogether, and is turned into one said whilst the pall, or silk veil, is removed from the elements which it has covered. The prayer has been very carefully traced through the liturgies by Mr. Field in the book referred to, and he fully establishes its presence originally in all, showing at the same time how com-

* Field : "The Apostolic Liturgy and the Epistle to the Hebrews," 1882.

† *Ibid.*, p. 241.

pletely in all—the original idea having been lost—the prayer had been altered to give it some other significance.

We can follow the course of alteration of this prayer pretty accurately.

1. At first it was used on entering into the sanctuary, in reference to admission to the Holy of Holies.

2. Then the association with the old Temple veil and the Holy of Holies faded out of men's minds, and the chancel or altar veils were used as veils to *hide* the mysteries from profane eyes.

3. With this altered significance of the veil from a revealing to a hiding piece of furniture, some other application for the prayer was sought; it was either turned into an ordinary prayer of worthy approach, all allusions to the veil being taken out, or:—

4. It was transferred to the place where the celebrant unveiled the chalice and patten, and the Eucharistic bread and wine, preparatory to consecration, so as to make the idea of revealing which lay in the prayer fit in with some act of uncovering or opening.

The immense changes which the prayer has gone through indicate the remote antiquity of the prayer itself, as a prayer of access associated with a veil. It cannot have been added to the liturgy after the destruction of Jerusalem, and its diffusion in all liturgies points to its having formed a part of the primitive Apostolic Eucharistic order.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE KISS OF PEACE.

THE KISS OF PEACE IN RUSSIA ON EASTER NIGHT—THE PAX IN THE ROMAN MASS—THE APOSTOLIC ORIGIN OF THE KISS OF PEACE—THE KISS IN THE LITURGY OF THE “CONSTITUTIONS”—COLLECT FOR PEACE—THE LITURGY OF S. JAMES—THE MALABAR LITURGY—THE ARGUMENT OF THE AUTHOR OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS IN CHAP. XII.—THE FATHERS MENTION THE KISS OF PEACE—ORIGEN ON THE KISS—THE PLACE OF THE PAX IN THE ROMAN LITURGY—THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PAX IN THE ENGLISH OFFICE—THE OUTWARD SYMBOL HAS GENERALLY BEEN ABANDONED.

ON the night preceding Easter day, the Russian churches are densely thronged with the people, standing in darkness, holding unlighted candles, silent, expectant. When the midnight hour has struck then from far away outside the church a plaintive strain of music is heard ; a thrill goes through the assembly ; the music approaches, waxes louder, sounding more joyous. The great western doors roll back, and light appears flowing into the church, attended by jubilant song. The procession of choir and clergy are entering with lights and incense, in gorgeous robes, a train of light and colour, of music and fragrance. Instantly the light is caught from the entering tapers, and runs in sparks through the church, flying from candle to candle, and every worshipper stands with his light burning, so that the vast gloomy interior is suddenly a palace of glory. But this is not all. At the same moment each turns to his neighbour, exclaiming “Christ is risen,” and kisses him. Christ is risen, love is shed abroad, all men are brothers !

The Kiss of Peace, which is given in the Greek and Russian Church on the day of the Resurrection, finds a place also in the West. In the Roman Liturgy it is also given, but not among the laity, but in the choir among the clergy, and not as formerly, at the commencement of the Eucharist, but immediately before the Communion. The command of the Apostles, "Salute one another with an holy kiss" (Rom. xvi. 16); "Greet ye one another with an holy kiss" (1 Cor. xvi. 20, 2 Cor. xiii. 12); "Greet all the brethren with an holy kiss" (1 Thess. v. 26); "Greet ye one another with a kiss of charity. Peace be with you all that are in Christ Jesus" (1 Pet. v. 14). This command, given alike by S. Peter and S. Paul, to Romans, Corinthians, Thessalonians, and the Church at large, was literally observed. Whether it was observed as part of the liturgy, in compliance with the Apostolic command, or whether the Apostles merely in their letters mentioned, emphasized, and approved a custom already by them established—and the latter supposition is the more probable—cannot be decided. We know, however, that the Kiss of Peace was universal, though not always introduced exactly in the same part of the service. Here it was given before the collection of the alms and oblations of the congregation, there it ensued only when those unqualified to communicate had withdrawn, elsewhere again immediately before participation in the Eucharistic food.

In the second book of the "Apostolic Constitutions" we have this order, "O bishop, when you are to go to prayer after the lessons, and the psalmody, and the instruction out of the Scriptures, let the deacon stand nigh you, and with a loud voice say, 'Let none have any quarrel with another; let none come in hypocrisy; that if there be any controversy found among you, they may not be affected in conscience, and may pray to God, and be reconciled to their brethren.' For if, upon coming into anyone's house, we are bound to say, Peace be to this house—how much more is it incumbent on

those that enter the church of God, before all things to pray for the peace of God" (ii. c. 54). Then at once follows a paraphrase of the Great Thanksgiving. From this we obtain the same order as elsewhere, only the Litany and Collect of Intercession are not mentioned. In the description of the liturgy in the 57th chapter of the same book we have— Lectons, Exhortation, expulsion of Catechumens, with Intercession, Offertory, then the Kiss of Peace. "As to the deacons, after the prayer (of dismissal) is over, let some of them attend upon the oblation of the Eucharist, ministering to the Lord's Body with fear. But let the deacon who is at the high priest's hand say to the people, 'Let no one have any quarrel against another; let no one come in hypocrisy.' Then let the men give the men, and the women give the women, the Lord's kiss. But let no one do it with deceit, as Judas betrayed the Lord with a kiss. After this let the deacon pray for the whole Church, for the whole world, and the several parts of it, for the priests and rulers, for the high priest and the king, and the peace of the universe. After this let the high priest pray for peace upon the people, and bless them in these words, 'The Lord bless thee, and keep thee: the Lord make His face to shine upon thee, and give thee peace.' Let the bishop pray for the people, and say, 'Save thy people, O Lord, and bless Thine inheritance, which Thou hast obtained with the precious blood of Thy Christ, and hast called to be a royal priesthood, and an holy nation.' After this let the sacrifice follow." Here we have the Kiss of Peace associated with the Litany for Peace and the celebrant's Collect for Peace.

As already said, in some uses the Kiss and Memorial of Peace have been moved to a place before the offertory, in reference to our Lord's saying, "If thy brother hath ought against thee, first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift."

In the liturgy in the eighth book this is the order. The

Litany and Collect of Intercession come first, then "Let the deacon say, 'Let us attend.' And let the bishop salute the Church, and say, 'The peace of God with you all.' And let the people answer, 'And with thy spirit;' and let the deacons say to all, 'Salute ye one another with the holy kiss.' And let the clergy salute the bishop, and the men of the laity salute the men, and the women the women."

In the Liturgy of S. James, the deacon exclaims: "Let us kiss one another with an holy kiss." In that of S. Mark, he says, "Kiss one the other," and this is followed by the celebrant's "Prayer of the Kiss:"—"Master, and Lord Almighty, look down from heaven upon Thy Church, and upon all Thy people, and all Thy flocks, and grant unto us Thy peace, and Thy love, and Thy help, that in a pure heart we may salute one another with an holy kiss, not in hypocrisy, as the apostle (Judas), but blameless and unspotted, in one spirit, in the bond of peace," &c. Then, in the Alexandrian use, follows the Offertory.

In the Malabar Liturgy it remains but as a savour, a fragrance of charity.

"Priest: Peace be with all.

"Deacon: With thee, and with thy spirit.

"Priest: Give the peace to each other."

It is deserving of notice how that the triple structure common to most parts of the service, in which celebrant and people join, is preserved. We have the deacon's Call to Salutation; then the people's Kiss of Charity; lastly, the priest's Collect of Peace.

Another point to be observed is the remarkable way in which the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews in his argument in chapter xii., seems to have had this part of the Eucharistic service in mind as he wrote. It is as though his mind, accustomed to the order of service, moved naturally in the sequence of its acts.

He had been referring to the Old Covenant in chap. xi., then he turns to the New in chap. xii. ; and on that bases a word of exhortation. Then, in verse 12, he calls to prayer, "Lift up the hands that hang down, and the feeble knees." Next he urges, "Follow peace with all men and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord," and then cautions against the admission of the renegade and the uncharitable and profane, and speaks of the expulsion of Esau from the covenant. After that he goes on to say, "Ye are come unto mount Sion, unto the city of the living God, and to an innumerable company of angels"—we catch an echo of the Preface leading to the Sanctus. There is no direct quotation, perhaps in the writer no conscious following, of the liturgy, and yet his words seem to be full of allusion to the ancient form and order of liturgy, and in a sequence, that can hardly be accidental.

Justin Martyr, in his Apology, offered to the Emperor in A.D. 148, speaks of the kiss. He says, "We offer hearty prayers in common for ourselves, and for the illuminated, and for all others in every place. . . . Having ended the prayers, we salute one another with a kiss" (1 Apol. c. 6). After which, according to Justin, comes the oblation of bread and wine. Here the order is not quite the same, there is clearly a Dismissal after the intercessions, then Kiss of peace, then the Offertory. Clement of Alexandria (*circ.* A.D. 190) refers to the kiss, but does not give sufficient particulars to enable us to decide when it came in the Alexandrian liturgy of his day. It may here be remarked that in the Coptic Church, the lineal descendant of that of Alexandria, the kiss is given to this day as of old ; it there comes after the intercessions. There the order is:—

1. Prayer of the Veil, 2. Intercession, (3. Creed), 4. Kiss of Peace.

Origen tells us (*circ.* A.D. 220) that the custom was observed

in the Church at the time of the celebration of the sacred mysteries;* that after the prayer of intercession, it was customary for the brethren to kiss one another. This usage, he says, was due to tradition founded on the Apostolic precept, "Greet ye one another with an holy kiss." Paul called it a holy kiss, therefore it must be pure and without hypocrisy; not like that of Judas, who gave the salutation with his lips, and had treason in his heart. The kiss of the faithful must be first pure, and then a kiss of peace and holy simplicity and undissembled love.† What was the custom in Egypt and Palestine was the custom at Rome also. Tertullian speaks of it in the same century, and gives its place after the intercessions, but before the oblations.‡ Only, he says, on the Pass-over—that is, on Good Friday—no kiss was given. "We go not up to the altar of God," says the same writer, "without composing first whatever discord or offence we have contracted with our brethren. For what sort of deed is it to approach the Peace§ of God without peace? to approach the remission of debts whilst you retain them? How appease the Father when angry with one's brother?"|| From this we may gather that *possibly* in the Roman and Carthaginian Churches there was a reconciliation and kiss of peace in the place where it now stands in the Roman Liturgy, before the Communion; but not necessarily, for the words of Tertullian may mean that the reconciliation begins the whole service.

The Kiss of Peace and Call to peace have not left our liturgy without a trace of their presence, and that in the primitive rather than in the later Roman place. "Ye that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins, and *are in love and charity with your neighbours*, draw near with faith." And

* In Cantic. i.

† Ad Rom. x. c. 33.

‡ De Orat., c. 18. Elsewhere he speaks of the objection taken by an unbelieving husband at seeing a believing wife meet "one of the brethren and exchange the kiss." Ad Uxor., ii. c. 4.

§ That is—Christ our Peace.

De Orat., c. ii.

“Dearly beloved in the Lord, ye that mind to come to the Holy Communion of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ—*be in perfect charity with all men* ; so shall ye be meet partakers of those holy mysteries.” These exhortations, or calls to charity and fraternal forgiveness, take the *exact* position in the English Eucharistic service occupied in the majority of ancient liturgies by the call, or exhortation, of the deacon to peace. The kiss is retained in its primitive place in the Mozarabic Liturgy said in the one side chapel of the glorious Cathedral of Seville. It occupied that same position in the Gallican Liturgies, that are all dead ; it is gone from that of Milan, transferred to the place it occupies in the Roman use ; but in Greece, in Russia, in the Holy Land, in Syria, in Egypt, in Abyssinia, it stands where we have the Call to the communicants to be in love and charity together. The outward symbol—the kiss—has fallen away almost everywhere ; but the thought that only through love and forgiveness is sure access found to the Throne of Grace—that is nowhere forgotten, wherever the Gospel is spread ; wherever the Church celebrates the mysteries of the death of Christ our Peace, who Himself loved us, and has left us the commandment that so, in like manner, we should love one another.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE VESTURE.

THE ORDER IN THE "CONSTITUTIONS" TO ASSUME A SHINING VESTMENT—AN ADDITION BY THE COMPILER IN THE FOURTH CENTURY—THE FATHERS OBJECT TO DYED GARMENTS AND FORCED MEATS AS SHAMS—NO LAW FOR US—THE HIPPOLYTAN CANONS—MEDIÆVAL ATTEMPT TO MAKE THE TRADITIONAL EUCHARISTIC VESTURE AGREE WITH THAT OF THE HIGH PRIEST—THE EUCHARISTIC VESTMENTS DERIVED FROM THE STATE GARMENTS OF THE ROMANS—THE TUNIC—THE TOGA—THE ALB—THE SURPLICE—THE TUNIC ALONE, A BADGE OF SERVITUDE—WORN ACCORDINGLY BY DEACONS—FASHIONS IN DRESS VARY, BUT THE EUCHARISTIC VESTMENTS REMAINED UNALTERED—THE REASON—THE GARMENTS OF CHRIST—AT THE INSTITUTION—THE SEAMLESS ROBE—THE MANTLES—THE TOWEL—THESE GARMENTS ORIGINATED THE EUCHARISTIC VESTMENTS—THE TUNIC—THE STOLE—THE PLANETA—THE PALL—THE DESIRE OF THE CHURCH TO COPY CHRIST'S INSTITUTION IN EVERY PARTICULAR.

IN the eighth book of the "Constitutions," the celebrant is directed to assume his shining, lustrous garment at the Offertory and Great Entrance. The rubrics to the liturgy are certainly posterior to the liturgy itself, and this injunction shows us no more than this, that at the period when the compiler drew up his re-edition of the "Constitutions," together with the *anecdota* of his library, a specially rich garment was employed at the Eucharist. His words, however, mean no more than that the garment is to be of lustrous white (*λαμπρὸν ἐσθῆτα μετενδύς*). Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and other early Fathers made it their object to oppose the use of all dyes, which they held to be an adulteration of the original material of which garments were made. They

would have all Christians wear "Jaeger" garments, as being that which came by nature; if, says Tertullian, God had intended woollen clothing to be tintured, He would have made sheep run about blue and scarlet. It was, therefore, quite in accordance with the view of the leaders of thought in the early Church to hold to white, or nature-coloured, wool and linen textures. The polemic of Tertullian and Clement resembled that of Mr. Ruskin against shams. Let everything show openly what it was, and do not disguise its nature by plunging it in the dye-vat.

On precisely the same grounds Tertullian inveighs against all stuffing and larding of meat, and adding of sauces, because altering the natural, God-given flavour of the meat. So also the Fathers objected to musical instruments sounded by the breath, as disguising and altering the natural tones.* In all three instances this rigorism is absurd in its extravagance.†

Mr. Wharton Marriott, in his "Vestiarium Christianum" (London, 1868), urges with insistence that white alone was recognized as legitimate in the service of God in the early Church, but he misses the reason why this was so—because the early Church, or rather the religious and rigorist opinion in the early Church, thought all tinturing of raiment was infecting it with falsity.

In the Hippolytan Canons received by the Abyssinian Church, and which are due, not to the Hippolytus of Rome, but to Hippolytus of Portus (Aden, in Arabia), at whose lessons Origen assisted, and who is named by Eusebius along with the African bishop, Beryllus, it is ordered—"As often as a bishop takes the sacred mysteries, let the deacons and presbyters be clothed in white robes, brilliant, in the view of all the people, and in like manner, the lector." This canon gives, however, no instructions as to the vesture of the celebrating bishop.

The mediæval Church strove to conform the traditional

* De Spectac. 8, attributed to S. Cyprian.

† De Pallio, c. 5.

vesture of the bishop to that described by Moses as the proper raiment of the High Priest in the Temple ; but such conformity was entirely mediæval. There is no evidence whatever forthcoming to show that any such connection was thought to exist between them at an earlier period.*

To understand the origin of special Eucharistic vestments, we must take first into consideration what was the raiment worn in the period at which the Apostles and their immediate successors fixed the usage of the Church.

The clothing of the ancient classic world, in the first Christian ages, was everywhere much the same, and fell under these categories :—the *indumenta*, garments drawn on, as shirt and drawers, and the *amictus*, raiment thrown over the body, as cloak or shawl. To the first category belonged the TUNIC.



FIG. 13. Man in Tunic (short), from a Fresco in the Catacombs.

Of tunics there were two sorts ; one, the shirt, short and sometimes sleeveless, for work ; and the long flowing one, *tunica talaris*, used on festive occasions, on visits, when at

* Dr. Bock, in his "*Geschichte d. liturgischen Gewänder d. Mittel-alters*" (Bonn, 1859), has done what could be done to prove the connexion, and has failed.

meals, receiving friends, walking in the streets. Sometimes the long tunic was girded up so as to allow the legs to be free from the knee, whilst at work, then the girdle was loosed, and the garment allowed to fall down to the feet. The Greek name for the tunic was *χιτὼν*. The tunic was of linen, and white.

Over the tunic the Romans threw the TOGA, and the Greeks the *ἱμάτιον*. The toga was worn like a Scotch plaid. The Himation was a wide mantle. The toga and himation were of wool. This plaid was thrown over the left shoulder and brought round under the left arm, so as to leave the right arm free (fig. 14). In imperial times the cumbrous



FIG. 14.—Toga, from a Fresco in the Catacombs.

and very hot toga gradually gave place to the *himation* or cloak, which the Romans called the PALLIUM.* In the Clementine "Recognitions," S. Peter is represented as saying, "My dress is, as you see, a tunic with a pallium" (vii. 6).

* Tertullian, in his treatise "De Pallio," speaks of the cumbrousness of the toga, the drawing of the folds about the body, the buckle over the shoulder, the tucking under the arm, and the sigh of relief with which it is cast aside "immediately after crossing your own threshold. There is really no garment which a man is more relieved to be rid of than the toga." As for the pallium, it is whipped on in no time. "No compulsory waste of time in dressing yourself in what consists in simply casting over the shoulders." This treatise of Tertullian, full of extravagance, deserves reading in connexion with the change of vesture in the Roman world.

Both festal tunic and pall were adorned with purple stripes, the *Clavi*, broader or narrower, according to the degree of the wearer. As, however, the Romans had become accustomed, from long use of the toga, to have the right arm free, they either twisted the pall about, so that the opening of the cloak fell along the right side of the body, instead of being in front, or slit it down, and buckled it together above the right shoulder (Fig. 15). The pall had various designations,



FIG. 15.—The Pallium, from a Mosaic at Ravenna.

according to whether it was worn split or without opening down half its diameter. If worn as a bell-shaped vestment, like that in Fig. 16, it was called in Greek, *Phelonion*, in Latin, *Pænula*, or was nicknamed *Casula*, a little hut, because something like the small hovels erected by barbarians of sticks planted in the ground and brought together in the midst, covered with hides, the hole in the top serving as chimney. A richly adorned mantle, with gold and embroidery, went by the name of *Plancta*.

In any public assembly, even in the streets, a man would as little think of appearing in tunic only—unless engaged in

work—as he would nowadays, to use Mr. Marriott's expression, of walking down Regent Street in his shirt-sleeves. Indeed, a man in his tunic only was spoken of as naked.



FIG. 16.—Pænula, from a Fresco in the Catacomb of SS. Peter and Marcellinus.

We may be quite sure, that when Christians assembled for public worship, not the clergy only, but all the worshippers, would wear their best raiment, *i.e.*, the *tunica talaris* and the pall or *toga*.

With the deacons it was somewhat different, they were the ministers, the servants attending on the altar and arranging the people. Consequently they, and they only, in token of their position as servants, would wear the bound or girded tunic; but not turned or tucked up and short-sleeved, as if they were labourers in the field, but the flowing tunic girded round the waist.

This long white tunic-shirt has remained in the Church as the alb and surplice.

The surplice is simply an accommodation to convenience. When worn over other garments, the tight sleeves were found

inconvenient, especially in winter, when furs were employed in the cold unwarmed churches; as a winter garment to go over the furs, the alb or tunic was made large, with loose sleeves, and the name sur-plice (*super pellicium*) testifies still to its meaning. After a while the clergy found it much more convenient to slip on and off a loose surplice than a tight alb, and so employed it in summer as well as winter for their ordinary ministrations, reserving the tight-fitting girded alb or *tunica talaris* for the liturgy.

The alb or surplice is, therefore, the distinct badge of ministry, as worn by the deacons when serving, at a time when everyone else was in pall or *toga*. In much the same way, at a village club-dinner, we have seen the stewards pull off their coats and wait in their shirt-sleeves on the clubmen at table.

Fashion in dress changed rapidly in the ages of the decline of the Empire. The congregations that assembled in the churches no longer appeared in the same vesture as did the first worshippers in the liturgy, but the vesture of the clergy remained unaltered.

In East and West, in Orthodox Churches and heretical communions that branched off in the fifth century, in every quarter of the old world, from India to the Straits of Hercules, from Africa to Britain, everywhere the same old fashion of vesture remained fixed at the liturgy. With slight variations it was, and is, the same in the highlands of Ethiopia, in the pepper swamps of Malabar, in the rude churches of the Khurd Mountains, in the domed cathedral of Moscow, and in the minsters of France, and the basilicas of Rome.

There must be some reason for this fixity of usage relative to the raiment worn by the celebrant and deacons. What that reason is we will now consider.

When, in a former chapter, we quoted S. Cyprian relative to the mixed chalice, we saw what immense weight he gave to the unswerving adherence to every particular of the

institution by Christ. That was to be reproduced down to its minutest features ; nothing might be altered in that.

This, we believe, gives the key to solve this singularity and universality of custom relative to the Eucharistic vesture. The celebrant, not only in gesture and word, but in vesture also, sought exactly to reproduce the precise form of institution by Christ.

If we look at the account of the Institution by our Blessed Lord, we shall see that we have data on which to go to determine what He wore on that occasion.

Christ wore :—1. The seamless white robe, the *tunica talaris*, without any purple stripes. Doubtless this was the Hebrew *Kethoneth*, rendered by the Seventy, *χιτῶν ποδήρης*, a fine white linen garment. Girded it certainly was, for convenience in walking, to pull up a portion to leave the lower limbs free.

2. Over this Christ wore another garment, doubtless the *pallium* or *planeta*. S. John says that, "supper being ended, He laid aside His garments," τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ, that is, one or more cloaks. So again, when the washing of the feet was over, we are told that He resumed His mantles, ἔλαβεν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ. At the Crucifixion, when the soldiers had finished the nailing and elevation of the cross, they "took His cloaks (*ἱμάτια*), and made four parts ; and also His tunic (*χιτῶν*). Now the tunic was "without seam, woven from top throughout" (John xix. 23). It would seem then clear that Christ wore over His tunic of white linen more than one mantle. The mantles were divided, torn into four parts ; we must, therefore, conclude that there were two of them, each of which was parted.

3. Monuments of ancient art, perhaps, explain the difficulty. Along with the cloak was sometimes worn another of wool, wrapped round the neck and shoulders as a kind of muffler.

It was a pall, but a pall much reduced in width, used in cold weather, or to add to splendour of vesture.

The night of the Institution was cold, and Christ, feeling the cold, may have wrapped this pall round Him, in addition to His flowing mantle or *planeta*.

4. There was still another article worn by Christ, at least for a part of the time,—the towel. With this He girded Himself.

After He had done washing the feet, we are not told that He removed the towel, but that He resumed His cloaks. He may have—we should have supposed, probably would have—cast off and aside the wet towel, but we are not told that He did so.

But that He did not remove it we are inclined to conjecture from the fact that the liturgical vesture of celebrants, as soon as the curtain of doubt and uncertainty rises—is found everywhere to consist in (1) The long, white, seamless robe ; (2) The towel ; (3) The *planeta* or mantle ; (4) Even the pall, or muffler reappears.

1. The white linen tunic remained as the alb. In the second book of the "Constitutions" the deacons are bidden wear it, close girded, during the liturgy. As early as the Fourth Council of Carthage (A.D. 398) we find a canon (41st) regulating its use as a garb to be worn by deacons at the Eucharist, and at the Lections.

2. The towel : This, called the *orarium*, not only for its utility but as belonging to the institution, has remained in use in the Church. "We are probably right in thinking that the word *orarium* is connected with *os*, mouth (of which *or* is the real root-form), or, in its plural form, *ora*, the face ; and regard the term as originally equivalent to our own handkerchief."* Not only would the towel be a reminiscence

* Marriott : "Vest. Christianum," p. lxxviii.

of the towel with which Christ girded Himself, but it was also necessary, or, at all events, convenient, for wiping the hands, and for wrapping about the hands when holding the sacred vessels and volumes. The *orarium*, or napkin, retains its name in the East, it has become the maniple in the West.

3. The mantle, or *planeta*, of white wool: This was also called the *casula*, a word which has been converted into chasuble. That Christ wore at least one such is certain from the words of the Evangelist.

The *pænula*, in Greek *phelonion*, was a bell-shaped, wide garment, worn originally by the lower classes, made first of frieze, or even leather; it was only employed by persons of a superior class, when travelling in cold weather. It was like the South American and Mexican *poncho*. In the days of the Republic it was not regarded as a proper habit in which to be seen in town. A change of opinion towards it set in, and leave was accorded by the Emperors to wear it. Macrinus (A.D. 218) made gifts of red *pænulas*; and still later Theodosius (A.D. 438) forbade senators wearing the military cloak, and ordered them to assume the *pænula*. It was regarded as the specially state garment, that suitable for festive celebrations, and especially the garment of those of senatorial rank. From the time of the acceptance of the *pænula* among the upper classes, it became classified as either the *pænula* simple, or the rich long embroidered *planeta*, a name which, however, is not met with before the 6th century.

The earliest mention of the *pænula*, or *planeta*, under its Greek name *phelonion*, as a liturgical vestment, is in the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom, in a rubric, but we do not know the date at which the rubric was added. The earliest certain notice is by Germanus of Constantinople, in the 8th century. He says that the *phelonion* was worn at the liturgy and at baptisms, crimson or purple, because of the robe which Christ

wore when exposed crowned with thorns. Later, Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople (A.D. 806-514), sent one of chestnut hue and seamless to Pope Leo III. The oldest monumental representations of it we have in the church of S. George, at Thessalonica, of the 4th century. There bishop and priest wear purple *phelonia*.

Christ's vesture-mantle was not, however, the Roman lay vesture, but the Syrian. The *pænula* was like the Syrian and Arab *kaftân* or *benisch*, and it was this latter that Christ wore. The *pænula* was the Latin name for the vestment most like to it.

4. The muffler was used in altered form. It is called the *epitrachelion*. We only know that Christ wore more than one mantle over His tunic, and we can but guess what that was. Now, we find that in East and in West alike, in addition to the vestments already mentioned, worn by the celebrant, is another, the stole, or *epitrachelion*, that goes round the neck. In the accompanying cut (Fig. 17) is shown how a



FIG. 17.—Epitrachelion, from an ivory at Milan.

garment was thus folded and wrapped about the shoulders. We know that Christ, on the night of the Institution, wore a

second over-garment as well as the mantle, and from the continued existence of the *epitrachelion*, or stole, among the vestments of the celebrant, we may conjecture that the stole represents this second article of raiment, worn by Him on that night as a sort of muffler, because of the cold.

The stole as worn in the East differs somewhat from that worn in the West, where it has dwindled into a long strip. In the East it forms one piece, with a hole in it, through which the head is passed. The same vestment was used again, as an over-garment of special dignity, by Archbishops, and made of white wool. So worn, it is called the Pall.

Writers of recent date have shown, and shown conclusively, that the Eucharistic vestments in East and West are not derived from the sacrificial robes of the Levitical priesthood, but from the vesture of the classic period ; this, indeed, can be well established ; but the *reason* why the Church has held to this vesture everywhere, with unswerving, even blind determination not to change it, has not been sufficiently accounted for. Nor would we think that a desire to adhere as closely as might be to the traditional vesture of Christ at the Institution would be the probable solution of the question, unless we could show that precisely the same rigorous conservatism was observable in other particulars as specially characterizing the attitude of the Church towards the Holy Eucharist in the first three centuries.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE LITANY OF INTERCESSION.

THE LITANY OF GENERAL INTERCESSION—THE ORDER IN THE SECOND BOOK OF THE “CONSTITUTIONS”—THE KISS OF PEACE SHIFTED—THE LITANY AS GIVEN IN THE EIGHTH BOOK INCOMPLETE—THE COLLECT OF THE BISHOP—REMAINS OF THE LITANY IN THE VARIOUS LITURGIES—THE REMAINS ON GOOD FRIDAY IN THE ROMAN LITURGY A MERE WRECK—HOW TO BE RESTORED—THE REFERENCE TO THE LITANY OF INTERCESSION IN THE NEWLY RECOVERED PORTION OF THE EPISTLE OF S. CLEMENT—JUSTIN MARTYR’S REFERENCE TO IT—S. PAUL EXHORTS TO IT—THE ANGLICAN PRAYER FOR THE CHURCH MILITANT EXACTLY OCCUPIES THE PLACE OF THIS PRIMITIVE LITANY OF GENERAL INTERCESSION.

IN the place where now stands our “Prayer for all sorts and conditions of men,” stood originally a Litany of general intercession.

It was framed in the customary manner of a bidding call by the deacon, then an exclamation of “Lord have mercy” by the people, and this was followed by a collect said by the celebrant.

This is the order as given in the second book of the “Constitutions”—1. The Dismissal ; 2. The Offertory ; 3. The Kiss of Peace ; 4. The Litany of Intercession. But in the eighth book the order differs. There the Litany comes before the Kiss of Peace.

The Kiss of Peace was shifted from its place after the Offertory to before it, because of the saying of our Lord, “If thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, first be reconciled to thy

brother, and then come and offer thy gift" (Matt. v. 23, 24). This displacement of the Kiss of Peace led to a displacement of the Litany, or, perhaps it was thought that as the catechumens, energumens, and penitents had been prayed for, which prayers had been taken out from this Litany, the whole Litany might be transferred to the Pro-Anaphora. Originally, however, almost certainly, the Mass of the Faithful began, like the Mass of the Catechumens, with a Litany.

Now in the form as given in the "Constitutions," the original structure no longer remains intact. Instead of each clause of the bidding prayer being followed, after the exclamation of the people by a collect, there is but one Celebrant's Collect, and this is put at the end of the Litany, a curtailment—and a very practical one—of the original lengthy and intricate arrangement.

Now, without further preface, let us take this Litany. All being together, the doors shut, the deacon calls, "Let us all with one accord cry to God through His Christ." Then he bids to prayer, and the people respond to each clause, "Lord have mercy" (*Kyrie Eleïson*).

"Let us pray for the peace and prosperity of the world, and for the holy Churches let us make our supplication, that He who is the God of all may bestow peace perpetual on us, that cannot be taken away; that He may preserve us perseveringly in the fulness of virtue, according to godliness."

R̄. *Kyrie Eleïson.*

"Let us pray for the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, which is from one end of the earth to the other, that the Lord would preserve and guard it perpetually, unshaken by storm, until the end of all things, founded upon the rock."

R̄. *Kyrie Eleïson.*

"Let us pray for the holy dioceses here, that the Lord of all may vouchsafe to make us sharers in His heavenly hope, and bestow upon us unceasingly the reward of our prayers."

R̄. *Kyrie Eleïson.*

“Let us pray for every episcopate under heaven of those who rightly divide the word of truth; and for our Bishop James and his dioceses.”

R. *Kyrie Eleïson.*

[“Let us pray for our Bishop Clement and his dioceses.”

R. *Kyrie Eleïson.*

“Let us pray for our Bishop Euodius and his dioceses.”

R. *Kyrie Eleïson.]**

“That the merciful God may vouchsafe them to their holy Churches, safe, honourable, full of days; and may afford them an honourable old age in piety and righteousness.”

R. *Kyrie Eleïson.*

“Let us pray for their presbyters, that the Lord will preserve them from every unseemly and wicked thing, and grant them their priestly office, safe and honourable.”

R. *Kyrie Eleïson.*

“Let us pray for all the diaconate and ministry in Christ, and that the Lord may preserve their services blameless.”

R. *Kyrie Eleïson.*

“Let us pray for the readers, singers, maidens, and widows and orphans; for those who are married and parents of children; that the Lord may have mercy on them all.”

R. *Kyrie Eleïson.*

“Let us pray for eunuchs walking holily.”

R. *Kyrie Eleïson.*

“Let us pray for those in chastity and piety.”

R. *Kyrie Eleïson.*

“Let us pray for those that bring forth fruit in Thy Holy Church, and give alms to the poor.”

R. *Kyrie Eleïson.*

“Let us pray for those that bring offerings and first-fruits to the Lord our God, that the all-good God may recompense them with His heavenly gifts, and give them an hundredfold

* These are probably additions.

more in this present world, and in the world to come life everlasting ; and His grace may repay them heavenly things for things earthly."

R̄. *Kyrie Eleïson.*

"Let us pray for our newly-illuminated brethren, that the Lord may confirm and stablish them."

R̄. *Kyrie Eleïson.*

"Let us pray for our brethren that are exercised by sickness ; that the Lord may preserve them from all diseases and infirmity, and may restore them safely to His Holy Church."

R̄. *Kyrie Eleïson.*

"Let us pray for them that sail and travel."

R̄. *Kyrie Eleïson.*

"Let us pray for them that are in mines and are exiles, in bond and imprisonment for the Name of the Lord."

R̄. *Kyrie Eleïson.*

"Let us pray for them that labour in bitter slavery."

R̄. *Kyrie Eleïson.*

"Let us pray for our enemies, and them that hate us, for the Lord's sake ; that the Lord may soften their mind, and disperse their fury against us."

R̄. *Kyrie Eleïson.*

"Let us pray for those without [the fold] and erring [*i.e.*, heretics and schismatics] ; that the Lord may convert them."

R̄. *Kyrie Eleïson.*

"Let us remember the little ones of the Church, that the Lord, perfecting them in His fear, may bring them to the full measure of age."

R̄. *Kyrie Eleïson.*

"Let us pray for each other, that the Lord may guard us and preserve us by His grace to the end, and may defend us from the wicked one, and from all the scandals that work iniquity, and may save us and bring us to His heavenly kingdom."

℞. *Kyrie Eleïson.*

“Let us pray for every Christian soul. Preserve and raise us up, O God, by Thy pity.”

℞. *Kyrie Eleïson.**

This simple and touching litany, called in Greek the *Ektene*, deserves a few words. It will be noticed that in it none of the minor orders, subdeacons, exorcists, door-keepers, &c., are prayed for, so that in its present form it is earlier than their development. The reader is prayed for, but the reader was adopted from the synagogue, and in the prayer there is nothing to indicate that he was regarded as one of the clerical order. The reader is included in the class with the maiden, the orphan, and the widow.

It is observable also that there is prayer for those Christians who were suffering for the name of Christ, in bonds and imprisonment, and consigned to work in the mines. Also that there is a prayer for the heathen emperor and persecuting judges, under the general term of “those that hate us for the Lord’s sake.”

This litany is not complete. There certainly were other suffrages, for the emperor, for the army, and for fruitful seasons, but probably the compiler gave them from memory, and some may have escaped his recollection. Just as now, if a clergyman were set to write out the Litany from recollection, ten chances to one but he would forget to give all the clauses. Besides, it cannot be insisted on too frequently that there were no written formularies of prayer. The deacon might call for prayer for as many cases as he thought needed the intercession of the people. When his voice ceased, they burst forth with their response, “Lord, have mercy !”

The Litany or *Ektene* ended, the deacon exclaimed, “Let

* The Kyries are not written in the MSS., but there can be no doubt that the rubric, “For each of those whom the deacon mentions, let the people say, Lord, have mercy,” applies to these petitions ; besides, they remain in the Liturgy of S. James, in the Armenian, &c.

us stand up," for during the Litany all had knelt. Then he added, "Having earnestly made our supplication, let us commit ourselves and each other to the living God, through His Christ." "Then let the bishop pray over them, saying, 'Lord Almighty, most Highest, Thou that dwellest in the highest, Thou Holy One that restest in the holies, without beginning, the only ruler; Thou, who through Christ didst give us the preaching of knowledge for the acknowledgment of Thy glory and of Thy name, which He revealed to our comprehensions; do Thou Thyself now look down through Him upon this Thy flock. Free it from all ignorance and evil practices, and grant that it may entirely fear Thee and perfectly love Thee, and may be endued with the glory of Thy countenance. Be Thou propitious to them, and merciful, and ready to hear their supplications, and keep them without turning, without blame, without accusations, that they may be holy in body and soul, not having spot nor wrinkle, nor any such thing; but that they may be perfect, and not one of them may be imperfect and incomplete. Thou that art the Helper, the Mighty, Thou that respectest not the persons of men, become Thou the assistance of this Thy people, whom Thou didst purchase with the precious blood of Thy Christ. Defender, Guardian, Steward, most sure Wall, Fence and Security, none can pluck out of Thine hands. Nor is there any other God like Thee, for in Thee is our trust. Sanctify them in Thy truth, for Thy word is truth. Thou that art not to be flattered, that canst not be deceived, preserve them from all sickness and infirmity, from every fall, from all injury and deceit, from the fear of the enemy, from the arrow that flieth by day, and from that [thing] which walketh in darkness; and vouchsafe to them eternal life, which is in Thine only begotten Son, Christ, our God and Saviour, through Whom,' &c.

"And after this, let the deacon say, 'Let us attend.'

"And let the bishop salute the Church and say, 'Let the peace of God be with you all.'

“And let the people answer, ‘And with Thy spirit.’”

The bishop’s prayer is a blessing or intercession, or collect of peace for the flock.

From the old Alexandrine Liturgy of S. Mark, the Litany has fallen out ; or, at all events, is not given, perhaps, because it belonged to the deacon and congregation, and not to the celebrant. On the other hand, the corresponding collect, which, in the liturgy in the “Constitutions,” can only distantly be said to sum up the intercessions of the Litany, has a much more distinct character as the prayer of intercession for the sick, for travellers, for the rising of the waters of the Nile, for the king, the city of Alexandria, for the bishop, the priesthood, for the whole Church, the episcopate, the diaconate, and all minor orders, for the faithful people; and though in the only MSS. that remain of this liturgy,—the order, as may be judged from what has been given, is in sad confusion—yet such a summing up of the suffrages of the people is undoubtedly what was designed by the bishop’s collect after the Litany. He prayed for that which the people had asked.

In the Liturgy of Malabar, that of the Christians of S. Thomas, the collect of the celebrant remains, in which he prays “for the patriarchs, bishops, presbyters, deacons, and for those who, having accomplished this life, have departed out of this congregation of the Church, and for the peace of the world, and the crown of the year, that it may be blessed and filled with Thy mercy, and for all Thy servants, and for us all.” But the Litany of deacon and people have fallen away. The Litany has also dropped out of the Coptic Liturgy, but the collect remains. The more conservative Ethiopic Liturgy retains both litany and collect.

We have already alluded to the curious conservatism shown by the Roman Church in her Lenten and Holy Week services, where features of primitive times have been retained that have disappeared from her liturgy in festal seasons.

Now, on Good Friday, in the Latin Church, when the Gospel is ended, then follow what are properly called "The Prayers," *i.e.*, the Intercessions, and they are the relics, the wreckage of this Litany of Intercession which we have been considering.

The deacon calls to the faithful to kneel down.

Then the celebrant says, "Let us pray for the Holy Church, that the Lord God may grant her peace and union, and may preserve her throughout the world. That He would bring into her bosom the princes and potentates of the earth. That He would grant us peace and tranquillity in this life, and to glorify God the Father Almighty."

Then follows a collect, "O Almighty and Eternal God, who, by Christ, hast revealed Thy glory to all nations, preserve the works of Thy own mercy, that Thy Church, spread over the whole world, may persevere with constant faith in the confession of Thy name, through," &c.

After this comes another Bidding Prayer, or call to intercession. "Let us pray for our most holy father, Pope N., that our Lord God, who hath chosen him in the order of the episcopacy, may preserve him in health and safety," &c.

Then comes a collect, after which again the invitation—

"Let us pray also for all bishops, priests, deacons, sub-deacons, acolytes, exorcists, readers, door-keepers, confessors, virgins, widows, and for all the holy people of God."

Then again a collect, partly embodied in the English Communion Office for Good Friday. Then again the Bidding call—

"Let us pray also for the Emperor N., that the Lord God may reduce the barbarous nations to his obedience," &c.

After this a collect, and the next call—

"Let us pray also for our catechumens, that our Lord God may open for them the ears of their hearts," &c.

Then a collect for the catechumens, and another Bidding—

“Let us pray to God the Father Almighty, that He may purge the world of errors, cure diseases, expel famine, open prisons, grant return to travellers, health to the sick,” &c.

Followed by a collect and another call—

“Let us pray also for all heretics and schismatics,” &c.

Then a collect, and again—

“Let us pray also for the perfidious Jews, that,” &c.

The collect following, and the next after, and that which precedes, have been combined into the third of the collects for Good Friday in the English Communion Service—

“Let us pray also for the pagans, that the Almighty God would remove all iniquity from their hearts,” &c.

Another collect follows.

Now it is obvious that we have here the old Ektene or Bidding prayer of the deacon, with the collect of the celebrant following it, but fallen into a state of strange decomposition, which, in one particular, verges on the grotesque. It will be remembered, that for the Litany the congregation were required to kneel. It is also certain that for the prayer of the celebrant they stood. Now in the Roman service the Bidding prayer has been transferred from the deacon to the priest, who first bids to intercession, and then offers the prayer. This has led to a very strange consequence. The deacon calls, “Let us kneel down,” and immediately the sub-deacon responds, “Stand up.” The true position for the Bidding prayer was between the order to kneel and that to rise.

By the transfer of position of the Bidding prayer, the two orders, as to the position of the worshippers, were left in juxtaposition and in contradiction.

Another change, apparent in other liturgies, was that of breaking up the long Bidding prayer into short calls, and breaking up in like manner the long collect embracing all conditions of men into short collects concerning each class.

There was, however, an awkwardness in this, for it entailed a continual change of position by the laity, with an effect hardly decorous. This is obviated in the Roman use by countermanding at once the order to rise.

We will put the development, or rather disintegration, in tabular form, taking only a general outline—

I. Original.

DEA. *Kneel down.*

DEA. calls to general petition for all in Church and State, for catechumens, for sick, &c., and for heretics.

DEA. calls to congregation. *Stand up.*

PR. Long collect for all in Church and State, for catechumens, for sick, &c., and for heretics.

III. Roman form.

DEA. *Kneel down.* SUBD. *Stand up.*

PR. Calls to petition for all in the Church.

„ Collect for all in Church.

DEA. *Kneel down.* SUBD. *Stand up.*

PR. Call to petition for all in State.

„ Collect for all in State.

DEA. *Kneel down.* SUBD. *Stand up.*

PR. Call to petition for catechumens.

„ Collect for catechumens.

DEA. *Kneel down.* SUBD. *Stand up.*

PR. Call to petition for sick, &c.

„ Collect for sick, &c.

DEA. *Kneel down.* SUBD. *Stand up.*

PR. Call to petition for heretics.

„ Collect for heretics.

It is easy to see what was the intermediate form.

II. DEA. *Kneel down.*

„ Call to petition for Church. R̄. Kyrie Eleison.

SUBD. *Stand up.*

PR. Collect for the Church.

DEA. *Kneel down.*

„ Call to petition for State. R̄. Kyrie Eleison.

SUBD. *Stand up.*

PR. Collect for the State.

-
- DEA. *Kneel down.*
 „ Call to prayer for catechumens. R̄. Kyrie Eleison.
 SUBD. *Stand up.*
 PR. Collect for catechumens.

And so on throughout.

That the Church of Rome should have left this Litany, this relic of primitive worship, in the Good Friday service is not so extraordinary, for the services of Holy Week have suffered least change; indeed, on Good Friday there are three Lections, Prophet, Law, and Gospel; only the Epistle omitted, and Prophet and Moses inverted in order. On the Wednesday in Holy Week there are also three lessons, Prophet, then Prophet again in place of Epistle, and lastly Gospel.

And now let us look at the recently recovered portion of the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, or to be more correct, the Epistle of the Church of Rome to the Corinthians, written by Clement. This Clement is believed to be he of whom S. Paul speaks, as one whose name is written in the Book of Life. The letter was sent by the Church of Rome to the Corinthians, about A.D. 94. Bishop Lightfoot sees reasons to believe that the Fortunatus, who was one of the bearers of the Epistle, is the same who is mentioned by S. Paul in his First Epistle to the Corinthians (xvi. 17). This Epistle of the Church of Rome, written by Clement, is the earliest monument we have of Christian literature, not by an Apostle, but written by those who had heard and been taught by the Apostles.

It is remarkable that in the recently recovered portions of this Epistle is a long and eloquent passage introduced by these words, "We will ask with fervency of prayer and supplication, that the Creator may guard intact the number of His elect, that is numbered throughout the whole world, through His beloved Son, Jesus Christ." And in introducing the prayer the writer uses the word ἐκτείνῃ, actually empha-

sizing its relation to the *Ektene*, or Litany, to which it bears a striking resemblance. "This prayer or Litany begins," says Bishop Lightfoot, "with an elaborate invocation of God, arranged for the most part in antithetical sentences. Then comes a special intercession for the afflicted, the lowly, the fallen, the needy, the wanderers, the hungry, the prisoners, and so forth. After this follows a general confession of sin, and prayer for forgiveness and help. . . . It is impossible not to be struck with the resemblances in this passage to portions of the earliest known liturgies. Not only is there a general coincidence in the objects of the several petitions, but it has also individual phrases, and in one place a whole cluster of petitions* in common with one or other of these."†

Justin Martyr (d. 167) seems to refer to this Litany, for in writing to Trypho the Jew, he says, "We pray for you, and all that hate us, that Christ may have mercy on you."‡

In another place he says that Christians pray for kings and princes, but indeed S. Paul had given advice that so it should be. "I exhort that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks [Eucharist] be made for all men, for kings, and for all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life" (1 Tim. ii. 2). In this passage we have a remarkable combination, that can hardly be fortuitous, of the elements that go to make up the liturgy: the prayers, the intercessions, and the thanksgivings; and it is remarkable also, how that he refers to the "peaceable life," the prayer for peace forming the beginning or opening of the intercession, both in the Liturgy of the "Constitutions," and in the fragment that remains in the Roman Liturgy for Good Friday, as well as in the Oriental Liturgies. This again can hardly

* Bishop Lightfoot refers to the parallel in the Liturgy of S. Mark.

† S. Clement of Rome: an Appendix, containing the newly recovered portions. Lond., 1877, p. 269.

‡ Dial. c. Tryphone, c. 96.

be accidental. That the Reformers in the revision and partial re-construction of the Anglican Communion Office should have replaced the intercessions precisely in the old position from which they had disappeared in the Latin missals, except only on Good Friday, is certainly deserving of congratulation. It was a revision in a right direction.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE PREFACE.

THE ACCOUNT OF THE LITURGY GIVEN BY JUSTIN MARTYR—OF THE GREAT EUCHARISTIC PRAYER—IN THE EPISTLE OF S. CLEMENT THE EUCHARISTIC PRAYER IS PARAPHRASED—AND THE SANCTUS IS GIVEN—THE PREFACE IN THE LITURGY OF THE “CONSTITUTIONS”—THE RULE OF FAITH, OR TRADITION OF THE APOSTLES—THIS GAVE CHARACTER TO THE PRAYER OF THANKSGIVING—THE PREFACE IN THE SYNAGOGUE SERVICE—THE UPLIFTED HANDS—SURSUM CORDA—HOW IT ORIGINATED—THE CANON OF GREAT LENGTH—SHORTENED—THE SANCTUS IN THE MALABAR LITURGY.

WE have now arrived at the central point of the whole liturgy, the great Eucharistic Thanksgiving. Justin Martyr, who is the first to give us a description of the liturgy, thus records the order of proceedings on Sunday in his Apology for the Christians, presented to the Emperor Antoninus Pius. The date of Justin's birth is about A.D. 114. He was a native of Flavia Neapolis, a city of Samaria, and suffered martyrdom for the faith, A.D. 165. In his Apology he gives two accounts of the Eucharistic Service, from one of which we have already given an extract. We will now quote the second.

“On the day called Sunday all who live in cities or in the country gather together to one place, and the memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the Prophets are read as long as time permits.” Here it may be noted that the “or” between the mention of the writings of the Apostles and Prophets is not alternative, as previously it is not when he speaks of those who live in cities *or* in the country. Justin means that all citizens and country men assemble and hear both Apostles and Prophets.

By the memoirs of the Apostles the Gospels are signified, and perhaps the Epistles also. Justin does not write exactly distinguishing the Lections, because his Apology is addressed to a heathen, who knew nothing of Law and Prophets and Gospels and Epistles. As by Prophets he includes Moses with those usually termed Prophets, so by memoirs of Apostles he probably included Epistles with Gospels. He proceeds—“Then, when the reader has ceased, the President verbally instructs and exhorts to the imitation of these good things.” This is the sermon. “Then we all rise together and pray.” In the other account he gives an outline of this prayer “for ourselves, and for the newly-baptized, and for all others in every place, that we may be counted worthy . . . and be found good citizens.” To return to the account we are quoting in full: “When the prayer is ended bread and wine with water are brought, and the President in like manner offers prayers and thanksgivings according to his ability, and the people assent, saying: Amen.” In the other account we have the same thing somewhat fuller. “There is then brought to the presiding brother bread, and a cup of wine mingled with water; and he, taking them, gives praise and glory to the Father of the Universe, through the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and offers thanks at considerable length for our being counted worthy to receive these things at His hands. And when he has concluded the prayers and thanksgivings, all the people express their assent by saying, Amen.” Again, in a previous chapter he gives an epitome of this Eucharistic prayer.

“We praise God to the utmost of our power by the exercise of prayer and thanksgiving for all things where-with we are supplied, as we have been taught that the only honour worthy of Him is to use His gifts for our selves and for those who need, and with gratitude to offer thanks by solemn prayers and hymns* for our creation

* πομπὰς καὶ ὕμνους.

and for all the means of health, and for the various qualities of the different kinds of things, and for the changes of the seasons ; and to present before Him petitions that we may live again in incorruption, through faith in Him.”* Again, in his dialogue with Trypho the Jew, Justin says: “ The oblation of fine flour which was prescribed [by Moses] in behalf of those purified from leprosy was a type of the bread of the Eucharist, the celebration of which our Lord Jesus Christ prescribed, in remembrance of His sufferings, on behalf of those purified in soul from all iniquity, in order that we at the same time may give praise to God for having created the world, with all things therein, and for delivering us from the evil, by overthrowing principalities and powers, by Him who suffered according to His will. Hence God speaks by the mouth of Malachi about the sacrifices presented by you [Jews]: ‘ I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord ; and I will not accept your sacrifices ; for, from the rising of the sun until the going down of the same, My Name shall be glorified among the Gentiles, and in every place shall incense be offered to My Name, and a pure offering : for My Name is great among the Gentiles, saith the Lord ; but ye profane it.’ So He speaks of the Gentiles, that is, of us, who in every place offer sacrifices to Him, *i.e.*, the bread and the cup of the Eucharist, affirming that we glorify His Name, and that you profane it.”† To this Justin again recurs in the same dialogue.‡

Clement of Rome, the disciple of S. Paul, “ whose name is written in the Book of Life,” in his Epistle to the Corinthians, exhorts them to unity, warns them against dissension, and entreats them to be at peace among themselves.

He, or rather the Church of Rome which writes through him, is not giving a doctrinal lecture, is not apologizing for the Christian religion ; the whole aim of the writer is to

* 1 App. c. 13.

† Dial c. Tryph. c. 41.

‡ Ibid. c. 117.

inculcate peace. Now, after having so urged, he suddenly bursts forth into this eloquent passage: "The Creator and Master of the universe Himself rejoiceth in His works. For by His exceeding great might He established the heavens; and by His incomprehensible wisdom He set them in order. And the earth He separated from the water that surroundeth it; and He set it firm on the sure foundation of His own will; and the living creatures that move upon it He commanded to exist by His ordinance. Having before created the sea and the living creatures therein He enclosed it by His own power. Above all, as the most excellent and exceeding great work of His intelligence, with His sacred and faultless hands, He formed man in the impress of His own image. And having finished all these things, He praised and blessed them, and said, Increase and multiply. . . . Let us then submit ourselves to His will; let us mark the whole host of His angels, how they stand by and minister unto His will. For the Scriptures saith, Ten thousands of ten thousands stood by Him, and thousands of thousands ministered unto Him; and they cried aloud:—

"HOLY, HOLY, HOLY IS THE LORD OF SABAOOTH, ALL CREATION IS FULL OF HIS GLORY.

"Yea, let us ourselves then, gathered together in concord and intentness of heart, cry unto Him as from one mouth earnestly, that we may be made partakers of His great and glorious promises."*

S. Clement is not in this place speaking of the Eucharist, he is simply speaking of peace; but can we doubt that, after the urgent appeal for peace among the brethren, his mind went to the Kiss and Collect for Peace, and then at once ran on to the great Eucharistic Preface that led up to the Sanctus?

* Ad Cor., 33, 34.

Let us put the commencement of this prayer from the "Constitutions" in opposition with the words of S. Clement ; only somewhat curtailing the wealth of expletive.

Bishop : Lift up your mind.

People : We lift it up unto the Lord.

Bishop : Let us give thanks to the Lord.

People : It is meet and right so to do.

Bishop : It is very meet and right before all things to sing praises to Thee, the true God, from everlasting, of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named. At Thy word, all things sprang into being. Thou createdst all things out of nothing by Thine Only Begotten Son. By Him Thou didst make first the Cherubim and Seraphim, the Ages, Thrones, Archangels, and Angels, and after these didst by Him create this visible world, and all things that are therein. Thou didst fix the heaven like an arch, and spread it as a tent ; Thou didst establish the firmament and prepare night and day ; Thou didst appoint the sun to rule the day, and the moon to govern the night ; and inscribedst in the heavens a choir of stars ; Thou didst make water for drinking and cleansing, the air to breathe. . . . Thou didst divide the sea from the land, and replenish them with beasts, small and great, and cover the earth with herbage. . . . Thou didst make man to be a citizen of the world, giving him an immortal soul and a perishable body. And when he had broken Thy commandment and had eaten the forbidden fruit, Thou didst not leave him without hope of resurrection. . . . * For all these things, glory be to Thee, O Lord Almighty ; Thee, the innumerable hosts of angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, principalities, virtues, powers, the Cherubim and Seraphim . . . say, together with thousand thousands of archangels, and ten thousand times ten

* We have omitted the narrative of the history of the world till the recovery of Palestine, on account of its enormous length. See for the uncurtailed form, Neale and Littledale, Translation of the "Primitive Liturgies," pp. 76-82.

thousand angels, crying incessantly in uninterrupted shouts of praise :—

“Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord of Sabaoth ; heaven and earth are full of His glory. Blessed be He for evermore. Amen.”

The Apostles left behind them the Faith, but not any fixed form of the Faith ; a Rule of Faith, but no Creed. It is thought that the original rule or canon of the Faith, also called the Tradition of the Apostles, consisted briefly of this : An account of the nature and glories of God ; then of Creation, of the Fall, then of the history of man, with indication of God’s continual guidance, till it came to the Incarnation ; then the canon went on with the narrative of the Life of Christ, the Institution of the Eucharist, the Passion, the Resurrection, the Ascension, and Pentecost. Just as we hold that the Apostles gave an outline how the Eucharist was to be celebrated, but gave no form of words in which it was to be celebrated, so do we hold that they gave an outline of the Faith which was to be taught to all candidates for baptism, but no form of words to be committed to heart, embodying this teaching.

We meet with this canon everywhere ; in catechetical lectures, in allusions, and in thanksgivings. In the earliest liturgies, indeed, before the fifth and sixth centuries, no formal creed was recited in the liturgies, for the Rule of Faith was used, transformed into a song of thanksgiving, as the great Eucharistic act of praise.

It was always and everywhere introduced by the same call and response, the celebrant exclaiming, “Lift up your hearts,” and the people responding, “We lift them up unto the Lord.”

There can be little doubt as to the origin of this portion of the service, the preface, introduced by the *Sursum Corda*. It is found in the morning service of Temple and Synagogue. We put them side by side—

Synagogue.

℣. Bless ye the Lord, who is blessed for ever.

℞. Blessed be the Lord, who is blessed for ever.

Blessed indeed art Thou who didst *create* light and darkness; who formedst all things; who broughtest the sun from its place, and the moon. . . . Who renewest daily all creatures. God is the Lord of all His creation, exalted above angels, and all the heavenly host, Cherubim and Seraphim, who ascribe to Him praise and glory and majesty, saying,

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of hosts! the whole world is full of Thy Glory.

Church.

℣. Lift up your hearts.

℞. We lift them up unto the Lord.

It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty to give praise to God who did *create* . . . (more or less lengthy enumeration of the works of creation, the calling of light out of darkness, the fixing of days and seasons). Therefore with Angels and Archangels, Cherubim and Seraphim, and all the host of heaven, we praise and laud and glorify Thee, saying,

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of hosts; Heaven and Earth are full of Thy Glory.

Whence came the exchange of "Bless ye the Lord" to "Lift up your hearts?"

It has been already said that the Great Eucharistic Prayer was said with uplifted hands. In the many paintings of Christian worshippers in the catacombs, we see them with uplifted hands. "We commend our prayers to God with our hands, not too loftily elevated, but becomingly and moderately," says Tertullian.* "We not only raise, but even expand our arms; taking our model from Christ's passion; even in prayer we give praise to Him."† Clement of Rome ‡ speaks of stretching out the hands in prayer; so does Clement of Alexandria. §

The idea continually recurred to by the Fathers is that as Moses stretched out his arms, and thus in prayer conquered Amalek, so did Christ stretch out His arms on the cross, and conquer the powers of darkness; and that Christians when in prayer should in like manner "lift up holy hands," but especially in that Eucharistic prayer which is commemorative of the death and intercession of Christ on the cross.

* De Prec., c. 17.

† *Ibid.*, c. 14.

‡ Ad Corinth. 2.

§ Strom. vii. 7.

So when Ignatius says, "Gather yourselves together more frequently for Eucharistic praise. By your frequent gatherings the powers of Satan are quelled;"* the meaning does



Fig. 18. The Attitude of Prayer, from a Monument in the Catacombs.

not appear on the surface, but we can see how there stands in his mind's eye the picture of the faithful at the Eucharist with outstretched arms, and he connects it with the defeat of Amalek, which symbolized the victory of the Cross over Satan. S. Paul in his First Epistle to Timothy exhorts, "I will that men pray every where, lifting up holy hands" (ii. 8) ; he adds

* Ad. Smyrn. c. 13.

“without wrath and doubting,” as though in some connexion with reconciliation and peace. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews also, in the passage we have already noticed as having a curious reference to the order of the liturgy, speaks of the lifting up of the hands that hang down.

The passage to which reference was probably made in the call of the priest to raise the hearts is that in Jeremiah's Lamentations, “Let us lift our hearts with our hands unto God in the heavens” (iii. 41). As the rubric of the Roman Mass orders, and as it is the custom throughout the East, for the celebrant at the *Sursum Corda* to raise his hands at the cry, “Lift up your hearts,” so probably in the primitive Church the call was “Lift up your hearts and hands;” but because with the raising of the priest's hands, all the congregation also raised theirs, after a while the versicle became contracted to “Lift up your hearts.”

The Canon, or Rule of Faith, converted into a great prayer of praise, may perhaps have been broken more than once by the burst of the *Trishagion* from the people. As already said, the Canon was long; it contained the record of God's creation, then of His dealings with mankind, of the Incarnation and the Redemption.

When the celebrant came to the mention of angels, then at once the congregation joined with angels and archangels in the ascription of *Thrice Holy*. In the form in the eighth book of the “Constitutions” the *Sanctus* is given after the record of the restoration of the Israelites to the Promised Land. There are traces of it again after the conclusion of the narrative of redemption. It is of this *Triumphal Hymn* that Pliny speaks in his letter to Trajan, when he says that the Christians sing a hymn to Christ as God.

Here is an account of it as heard among the poor remnants of the Christians of S. Thomas on the Malabar Coast:

“As soon as the Catanar (priest) had finished the prayer, the people raised as it were with one voice that glorious

hymn, *Kadisha Aloha*, &c., which I found to be the Trisagium. No description can convey an adequate idea of the effect produced by the singing of this hymn. It was accompanied by the clash of cymbals as well as by the ringing of two large bells just overhead, but the sound of human voices was so loud as to render these accompaniments comparatively indistinct, their clash and clang only adding to the amazing discord of the whole. Yet it was very impressive and exciting, and the effect was heightened by the perfume of the incense, which, wafted from the chancel, now filled the whole church, and brought forcibly to mind the prayer of the Psalmist, and the words of the Prophet Malachi, "In every place incense shall be offered unto My Name, and a pure offering: for My Name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of Hosts."*

* "The Christians of S. Thomas and their Liturgies," by Rev. G. B. Howard. London 1864, p. 13

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE GREAT THANKSGIVING.

THE GREAT EUCHARISTIC PRAYER HAS SUFFERED MORE DISINTEGRATION THAN ANY OTHER PORTION OF THE LITURGY—THIS PRAYER FORMED ON THE RULE OF FAITH—TERTULLIAN ON THE RULE—HIS EPITOME—NOVATIAN—THE DESCRIPTION OF THE GREAT EUCHARISTIC PRAYER BY JUSTIN MARTYR—THE CHRISTIAN HALLEL—THE FOUR HYMNS OF PRAISE—THE OUTBREAK OF HERESIES NECESSITATED THE FIXING OF THE CREED—THE EUCHARISTIC PRAYER IN THE “CONSTITUTIONS” SHARPENED AGAINST HERESIES—THE VARYING PREFACES BELONG TO THE OLD EUCHARISTIC PRAYER—THE CREED INSERTED IN THE LITURGY—THE TE DEUM A PARAPHRASE OF THE GREAT PRAYER OF THANKSGIVING—THE EUCHARISTIC PRAYER IN EIGHT LITURGIES.

THE Great Eucharistic Prayer, the Christian Hallel, has gone through more contraction and displacement than almost any other part of the liturgy.

There was an occasion for this condensation and displacement. As already said, it was an Eucharistic version of the Canon, or Rule of Faith, the doctrine of the Apostles relative to the scheme of God for the salvation of man. This rule went by many names—the Doctrine, the Discipline, the Tradition of the Apostles—and it formed the basis of catechetical instructions previous to baptism.

In that remarkable book, “On Prescription against Heretics,” by Tertullian, there is a compendium of the rule, and a good deal about it. Tertullian was a man of commanding intellect and of caustic wit, a man in whom the combative qualities of Christianity appear prominent, rather than the pacific. It is saddening, and yet instructive, to see a man so

zealous for the faith, so militant against heresy, so abhorrent of schism, end his days by a lapse into heresy, impelled into schism by the vehemence of that cutting spirit which was untempered by love and forbearance.

In his treatise on "Prescription against Heretics," Tertullian lays down the futility of arguing with them from Scripture. Scripture, he says, belongs to the Church, and can only be interpreted by the Church. None can understand the meaning of Scripture till they have accepted—and accepted as final—the Rule of Faith. All argument with heretics on Scriptural ground is waste of breath.

Heresy is a fever, deranging the mind, distorting the vision. It is bred of restlessness, reluctance to accept the Rule of Faith as final, a thrusting forward after things unrevealed, leading to loss of equilibrium. A seeking after divine knowledge is never out of place nor excessive, if confined within the Rule of Faith. "That old woman [in the parable] searched for the piece of silver within her own house. When she found it, she desisted from further search." No man receives illumination from that quarter where all is darkness. Let our seeking be in that which is our own—that, and that only, can become a legitimate object of inquiry without impairing the Rule of Faith.

"Now, with regard to this Rule of Faith, it is that which prescribes belief that there is one only God.

"That He is the Creator of the world, who made all things out of nought by His Word, first of all sent forth.

"That this Word is called His Son.

"That He, as God, was seen in divers manners by the Patriarchs; heard at all times by the Prophets.

"That He at the last, brought down by the Spirit of Power of the Father, was made flesh in the womb of the Virgin Mary; being born of her, went forth as Jesus Christ.

"That thenceforth He preached the new law and the new promise of the kingdom of heaven, and worked miracles.

“That He was crucified.

“That He rose again the third day.

“That He ascended into the heavens.

“That He sat down at the right hand of the Father.

“That he sent the Power of the Holy Ghost in His room to lead such as believe.

“That He will come with glory to take the saints to the enjoyment of everlasting life and of the heavenly promises, and will condemn the wicked to everlasting fire.

“After the Resurrection of both [good and bad], with restoration of the flesh.

“This rule was taught by Christ, and raises amongst ourselves no such questions as those which heresies introduce and make men heretics.”*

“From whom, through whom, and when, and to whom, was handed down that rule (*disciplina*) by which men become Christians? Jesus Christ, our Lord, did whilst on earth Himself declare what He was, what He had been, what was the Father’s will, what was man’s duty either openly to the people or privately to His disciples, of whom he had chosen the twelve chief ones. . . . These, having obtained the promised power of the Holy Ghost, and having borne witness to the faith in Jesus Christ throughout Judæa, and founded Churches there, next went forth into the world and preached the same doctrine of the same faith to the nations [of the world]. They then, in like manner, founded Churches in every city, from which all other Churches, one after another, derived the tradition of the faith and the seeds of doctrine, and are every day deriving them, that they may become Churches. On this account alone can they call themselves apostolic, as being the offspring of Apostolic Churches. Every creature belongs by origin to its kind. Therefore the Churches, though so many and so great, comprise but one

* Præsc. c. 13. Compare with this the Rule as given by Irenæus Adv. Hæres. I. c. 10.

Primitive Church, founded by the Apostles, from which they all derive [by filiation]. In this way all are primitive, all are one in unity, in peaceful communion, brotherhood, bond of hospitality—rights which no other rule directs than the one tradition of the self-same mystery (*i.e.*, the faith).”*

“In the Lord’s Apostles we possess our authority; for even they did not of themselves choose to introduce anything, but faithfully delivered to the nations [of mankind] the rule (*disciplinam*) which they had received from Christ.”†

“Come now, examine the Apostolic Churches, in which the very thrones of the Apostles still preside in place, in which their own authentic writings are read, revealing the voice and countenance of each [Apostle] severally.”‡

The rule§ is also that with which Novatian (who wrote before 262,) begins his treatise concerning the Trinity, and it forms the basis of his first chapter. He continues describing the glory of God till he comes to the creation of angels, and there, when in the Thanksgiving the Sanctus would come, he breaks off to discuss the nature of God; but in the eighth chapter returns to the Canon with these significant words: “Setting aside the fables of the heretics, let us consider the God whom the Church knows and worships, to whom creation bears witness, whom angels adore,” &c. Then he follows the Canon through its course, the planting of Paradise, the Fall of man, the Flood, the election of Abraham, the history of the Patriarchs, the delivery of Israel out of Egypt, the inspiration of the Prophets, then finally proceeds to the Incarnation. His words are the very echo of the Eucharistic Thanksgiving; and that there might be no mistake as to whence he derived his teaching, he proceeds in the next chapter, “The same Rule of Truth teaches us to believe, after the Father, also in the Son of God, Jesus Christ,” &c. And

* *Præsc. ec.* 19, 20.

† *Ibid.*, c. 6.

‡ *Ibid.*, c. 36.

§ *ὁ κανὼν ἐκκλησιαστικὸς*, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ὁ κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας, *Iren.* I. i.

then he goes on to attack the Docetic heresy, which denied the reality of the body Christ assumed.

S. Cyprian, also, in his Treatise on the Vanity of Idols, naturally, instinctively, falls back on the Rule, or the Great Eucharistic Prayer, as the basis from which he starts to attack heathenism and idolatry.

The Rule of Faith meets us everywhere in the Fathers of the first four centuries, either as the basis of reasoning, or in allusion more or less distinct. There was a Canon (Rule) of Faith, a Canon of Eucharistic offering, and finally, a Canon of Scripture, none absolutely fixed at first, as to the exact words, but becoming so as time went on.

The Canon of the Eucharist followed the Canon of the Faith, it was a paraphrase converted from a confession of belief into subject-matter of thanksgiving. This Eucharistic hymn was given forth by the celebrant "to the best of his ability," says Justin Martyr. In the Didaché is the command, "Suffer ye the prophets to give thanks as much (*or* in what words) they will."

When Justin Martyr says that the oblation of thanksgiving was with pomps and hymns, he means that there was a stately, psalm-like character impressed on this Hymn of Praise, and the choral song he refers to is the Thrice Holy following the Preface, which was thundered forth in union with angels and archangels and all the company of heaven, by the congregation.

It would exhaust the patience of the reader to go through the early Christian writers, and show him how this Eucharistic psalm, which is itself a re-edition of the Rule of Faith, reflects itself in their writings. It must have impressed itself deeply on their minds, filled them with a glow of faith and love that could not be disguised. It breaks forth in gleams through their arguments, exhortations, rebukes. It reminds the reader of the story of a patriarch of Constantinople, who on his way to church having been solicited for alms by a

naked beggar, stripped off his coat and gave it to the poor man. When, in the basilica, he stood at the altar celebrating, with the Eucharistic vestment over him, the Emperor wondered, as he watched, for he saw flashing from beneath the vestment a radiancy, as though of the sun. And lo! it was the vesture of charity that covered the patriarch's nakedness, that glowed forth beneath the folds of the ecclesiastical raiment.

The question now arises, Whence came the Great Eucharistic Prayer?

To answer this we must understand exactly what it represented. In the Christian Church it represented exactly that which was represented by the great Eulogy on the steps of the Holy Place, at the oblation of incense:—It was a mighty hymn of praise to God in honour of his Name, in thanks for creation, for redemption, and for sanctification. The celebrant always, deep in his heart, kept this impressed upon him, the Eucharistic Prayer was to commemorate God's glories, and in it he was to give Him thanks for *all* He has done for man. But the Rule of Faith was the record of God's mercies, as well as an instruction on His nature; therefore naturally, instinctively, the celebrant, when he began the Canon of Praise, followed the lines of the Canon of Faith. He converted what was subjective instruction into objective worship.

That we may take as established.

But we go further, and ask, Where was the original germ, out of which the Eucharistic Prayer grew?

We look to the Great Psalmody at the oblation of incense, and find it there. It was there that, in all probability, first came the call to united praise in unison with angels and archangels, leading up to the Triumphal Hymn. It was there that the solemn thanksgiving was made to God for His glories, the creation, His delivery of Noah, His call of Abraham, His protection extended to the Patriarchs, the

delivery of Israel out of Egypt by Moses. There also was sung the Great Hallel, and the Eucharistic Prayer follows this step by step. If we had the exact form of the hymnody offered to God in the Morning Service on the Temple stairs, we should probably find that the primitive liturgy of the Church most closely followed it. It has, since the Dispersion, gone through much change, dislocation, and amplification; but, nevertheless, there is apparent in this morning Eulogy the main idea of a great thanksgiving offered to God for all His glory and His glorious works, and this main idea forms also the substance of the Christian Eucharistic Prayer.*

We will take the Hallel (Ps. cxxxvi.), which may be called the Rule of the Jewish Church, an epitome of its thanksgiving, and show the likeness that existed between the Great Thanksgiving and it.†

THE GREAT HALLEL.

O give thanks unto the Lord, for
He is gracious, and His mercy
endureth for ever.

O give thanks unto the God of
Gods.

O give thanks unto the Lord of
hosts.

Who alone doeth great wonders.

Who by His excellent *Wisdom*
made the heavens.

Who laid out the earth above
the waters.

Who made great lights; the sun
to rule the day.

The moon and stars to govern
the night.

THE GREAT THANKSGIVING.

(“*Constitutions.*”)

Thou alone, the sovereign Lord,
the Author of all good things, we
praise.

Thou, without beginning, self-
existing, the same for ever.

Who by Thy word createdst all
things.

Who by Thy Son, the living
Wisdom, madest the angels, and
heaven, the earth and the waters.

Day and night; the sun to shine
by day;

The moon and stars by night.

* *εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλουσιν.*

† The whole has been minutely worked out by Pabst, “*Liturgie d. drei ersten Xtlichen Jahrhundert.*” Tübingen, 1870.

The account given by the pseudo-Dionysius, at the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century, of the liturgy, probably the Byzantine, shows us the Great Eucharistic Prayer almost in its perfect original form. He tells us how then the celebrant thanks God for not having left man hopeless after the Fall, but given to

Who smote Egypt with their first born.

Who brought out Israel from among them, with a mighty hand and a stretched out arm.

Who dividedst the Red Sea in two parts; and madest Israel to go through the midst; but didst destroy Pharaoh and his host.

Who led the people through the wilderness; smote great kings; gave away their land for an heritage.

Who giveth food to all flesh.

O give thanks unto the God of heaven.

O give thanks unto the Lord of hosts.

(Further details about Creation, the Fall, the Flood, the call of Abraham, concerning Job, Isaac, Joseph, Moses and Aaron.)

Who smote Egypt with the plague.

Who didst punish Israel, but didst restore it again.

Who didst divide the Sea, and madest Israel to pass through, but overwhelmedst Pharaoh and his host.

Who didst lead the people through the wilderness, illumining and defending them, and giving them the lands of the heathen.

Who gavest manna from heaven.

Who didst divide Judah.

For all these things glory be to Thee, O Lord Almighty. Thee the host of heaven praise.

Here, where the Hallel ends, there in the "Constitutions" came the break with the Sanctus. Then follows the second part, an account of how God dealt with His people, not leaving Himself without witness in His prophets, leading to the third part, which gives an account of the Incarnation. Was there originally here again a burst of Holy, Holy, Holy, as there was after the record of Creation, and after the account of the restoration to the Promised Land? Probably there was, at the announcement of the Incarnation, to correspond with the song of the angels at Christ's birth, and also to that of the angels at Creation. The contraction and alteration of the Canon displaced these several shouts of praise. It is worthy of consideration, that though displaced, they have not

him hopes of restoration, and how that Christ came in fulfilment of this promise, wherefore the Great Thanksgiving goes on to thank God for the Incarnation and Passion. For such readers as may be unable to read Dionysius in the original, or who need, what is very necessary, an analysis of his argument and philosophy, see "*Cœuvres de Saint Denys*," par l'Abbé Dulac (Paris, 1865).

been dispensed with, but somewhat varied in expression. Thus, in the Liturgy of S. James, we have—

1. The Trishagion (now at the beginning of the Pro-Anaphora): “Holy God, Holy and Mighty, Holy and Immortal, have mercy on us.”

2. *Gloria in excelsis* (now after the Litany that follows the Kiss of Peace).

3. The Trishagion (after the Preface and account of Creation).

4. (After the *Sancta Sanctis*) “One Holy, one Lord, Jesus Christ, in the glory of God the Father, to whom be glory for ever and ever.”

The occasion of the great wave of change which passed over and disturbed the Eucharistic Canon was the outbreak of heresy, disturbing the faith, and necessitating the dogmatic consolidation of the Church's belief in the nature of Christ into set terms.

First came that amazing Docetic theory, so utterly opposed to our present difficulties as to be hardly intelligible to us, and yet it was a peril, and a severe one, to the primitive Church. The Docetic dream was that Christ was a phantom. That was no true Christ who suffered on the cross; the true Christ came down on the man Jesus at His baptism, and left Him at His Passion. Then came the inrush of Gnosticism, making the universe a series of emanations from the fulness of the Godhead, and Christ only one out of the many emanations, and distinguishing the God of Creation from the Almighty. It was but natural, it was but right, that in the Eucharistic Thanksgiving the celebrant should sharpen and level his words against the enemy that threatened the faith; that as in his catechumenical instructions he insisted specially on the doctrines most endangered by the heretics, so in his canonical Prayer of Praise, which was but the same Canon of Faith turned into a psalm of thanks-

giving, he should insist specially on these same points of difference, for the establishing of the faith of the believers, and, also, because his own mind was charged with thought and feeling connected with these very doctrines. Now, the Eucharistic Prayer, as prescribed in the "Constitutions," is of peculiar interest, not only because it is the earliest and completest we have, but also because it bears tokens of this pointing and levelling against prevalent error. The author of an article on the liturgy published in the *Church Quarterly Review* (1882), points out that this is so, and indicates the phase of heresy specially in the eye of the celebrant when he framed his prayer.*

The rise and diffusion of the Arian heresy, denying that Christ was of one nature with the Father, brought matters to a head, and the faith was condensed and crystallized into a Creed at Nicæa, A.D. 325, which received its complete and final form in the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381. Half the Christian world was Arian; the condition of affairs demanded exceptional treatment. The Creed was introduced into the Liturgy, and ordered to be recited by the people, that the recitation might stamp the verities it contained into their hearts, and arm them against error. The Creed was first adopted into the Eucharistic service in the East; the first notice we have of its admission in the West is in a decree of the Council of Toledo, A.D. 589. It was not inserted in the Roman Mass till A.D. 1014. The introduction of the formal Creed had its dissolving effect on the Canon. The Creed contained, "steamed down to an essence," the whole Christian faith, the Rule of the Apostles; therefore the necessity for the recital of all the works of God, the Creation, the Incarnation, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension, of Pentecost, by the celebrant, ceased; he and the congregation had together professed this faith with

* That heresy was Valentinianism, which broke out about A.D. 140, and rapidly spread through the East.

one voice. Consequently, this great liturgical prayer began to show signs of shrinkage very early, and finally all dropped out except the essential parts concerning the Institution.

Nevertheless traces of its completeness remain, and one of these traces is found in the varying prefaces.

After that the account of God's creation and governance of the world through the time of the Old Covenant had dropped out, there still remained in consecutive form the narrative of our Lord's life. But in the West, with the introduction of a festival series, a Church year, commemorative of Christ's Birth, Death, Resurrection, Ascension, and the sending of the Holy Ghost, each clause of the old consecutive narrative was used on the corresponding festival, and all the rest left out. The process may be shown by a table.

ORIGINAL FORM.

Thou art holy and exalted, who didst give Thy Son to be born for us of a pure Virgin. . . .

And to be seized by cruel men, betrayed, and to suffer death on the cross, and to be laid in the grave,

And to be raised from the dead on the third day,

And after continuing forty days, to ascend into heaven,

And didst send down the Holy Ghost the Comforter.

BROKEN FORM.

We praise Thee because. . . .

Christmas: Thou didst give Jesus Christ Thine only Son to be born at this time for us. . . .

Easter: Of the glorious Resurrection of Thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord.

Ascension: Who after His most glorious Resurrection manifestly appeared to His Apostles and ascended up into heaven,

Whitsunday: According to whose promise, the Holy Ghost came down as at this time.

That the Creed, on being formed out of the Great Eucharistic Prayer or Canon after the fourth century, and on being forced into the liturgy, did not occupy everywhere the same place, is not to be wondered at.

Primarily it did not displace, and was not intended to displace, the Great Prayer of Thanksgiving, but was merely a

summary of the same for popular recitation, to impress on the people the dogmatic truths which were assailed by heresy. Nevertheless, little by little, it did act as a solvent on this prayer.

Regarded as the Canon in another form, condensed, the Creed carried along with it the mode of recitation with uplifted arms, and so the Creed is still enjoined to be said by the priest. But, as the Creed was fixed, and the Canon was not so verbally, by degrees the Canon was curtailed, till it lost its original features as a narration of the glories of God, and of His work as Creator and Redeemer and Sanctifier, and shrivelled down to little more than the Institution. The Preface remained, but after the Sanctus in the Constantinopolitan, and before the Sanctus in the Roman, everything about God's guidance of man from Creation till the Redemption by prophet and king disappeared wholly.

The following table will show how much remains of the original Prayer of Thanksgiving in the most important liturgies.

It is worth noting that the *Te Deum* is a paraphrase of an ancient prayer of thanksgiving and prayer of intercession, the Institution being omitted. It was drawn up before the Canon had been as much mutilated as we have it now. It began with—

Preface, narrating the Glory of God.

Sanctus.

Commemoration of Incarnation and Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and Session and Second Coming.

Intercession.

By means of the *Te Deum*, it would not be difficult to reconstruct the Canon of the early (African ?) Eucharist.

THE EUCHARISTIC PRAYER.

APOSTOLIC.	WEST SYRIAN.	EAST SYRIAN.	ARMENIAN.	EGYPTIAN.	CONSTANTINOPOLITAN.	NEO-CÆSAREAN.	ROMAN.
<p>PREFACE. <i>a.</i> Commemoration of the Nature and Glory of God. <i>b.</i> Of His creation of the world and man through the Eternal Wisdom.</p>	<p>PREFACE. Greek S. James. <i>a.</i> Commemoration of the Nature and Glory of God. <i>b.</i> Of Creation.</p>	<p>PREFACE. Syriac S. James. <i>a.</i> Commemoration of the Nature and Glory of God. <i>b.</i> Of Creation.</p>	<p>PREFACE. Commemoration of the Nature and Glory of God.</p>	<p>PREFACE. Coptic S. Basil. <i>a.</i> Commemoration of the Nature and Glory of God. <i>b.</i> Of creation through the Eternal Wisdom.</p>	<p>PREFACE. S. Chrysostom. <i>a.</i> Commemoration of the Nature and Glory of God. <i>b.</i> Of Creation.</p>	<p>PREFACE. Greek S. Basil. <i>a.</i> Commemoration of the Nature and Glory of God.</p>	<p>PREFACE. <i>a.</i> Commemoration of the Nature and Glory of God. <i>b.</i> Of the Nativity. <i>c.</i> " Resurrection. <i>d.</i> " Ascension. <i>e.</i> " Session and Second Com-ing. <i>m.</i> " Pentecost.]</p>
<p>SANCTUS. <i>c.</i> Of the Fall. <i>d.</i> Of a Promise of Restoration. <i>e.</i> Of God's guidance of man through all time, by patriarchs and prophets.</p>	<p>SANCTUS. <i>a.</i> Commemoration of the Nature and Glory of God. <i>c.</i> Of the Fall. <i>d.</i> Of God's continued mercies, by the patriarchs and the prophets. <i>f.</i> Of the Incarnation. <i>g.</i> " Ministry. <i>h.</i> " Passion.</p>	<p>SANCTUS. <i>a.</i> Commemoration of the Nature and Glory of God. <i>c.</i> Of the Fall. <i>d.</i> Of God's guidance by the patriarchs and the prophets. <i>f.</i> Of the Incarnation. <i>g.</i> " Ministry. <i>h.</i> " Passion.</p>	<p>SANCTUS. <i>c.</i> Of the Fall. <i>d.</i> Of continued mercy, by the prophets and the law. <i>f.</i> Of the Incarnation. <i>g.</i> " Ministry. <i>h.</i> " Passion.</p>	<p>SANCTUS. <i>c.</i> Of the Fall. <i>d.</i> Of continued mercy, by the prophets, <i>f.</i> Of the Incarnation. <i>g.</i> " Ministry. <i>h.</i> " Passion.</p>	<p>SANCTUS. <i>b.</i> Of Creation. <i>c.</i> Of the Fall. <i>d.</i> Of continued mercy, by the law and the prophets. <i>f.</i> Of the Incarnation. <i>g.</i> " Ministry. <i>h.</i> " Passion. <i>i.</i> " Resurrection. <i>j.</i> " Ascension. <i>k.</i> " Session and Second Com-ing.</p>	<p>SANCTUS. <i>b.</i> Of Creation. <i>c.</i> Of the Fall. <i>d.</i> Of continued mercy, by the law and the prophets. <i>f.</i> Of the Incarnation. <i>g.</i> " Ministry. <i>h.</i> " Passion. <i>i.</i> " Resurrection. <i>j.</i> " Ascension. <i>k.</i> " Session and Second Com-ing.</p>	<p>SANCTUS. <i>a.</i> Commemoration of the Nature and Glory of God. <i>b.</i> Of the Nativity. <i>c.</i> " Resurrection. <i>d.</i> " Ascension. <i>e.</i> " Session and Second Com-ing. <i>m.</i> " Pentecost.]</p>
<p>THE INSTITUTION. <i>i.</i> Of the Crucifixion. <i>j.</i> " Resurrection. <i>k.</i> " Ascension. <i>l.</i> " Session and Second Com-ing. <i>m.</i> " Pentecost.</p>	<p>THE INSTITUTION. <i>i.</i> Of the Crucifixion. <i>j.</i> " Resurrection. <i>k.</i> " Ascension. <i>l.</i> " Session and Second Com-ing. <i>m.</i> " Pentecost.</p>	<p>THE INSTITUTION. <i>i.</i> Of the Crucifixion. <i>j.</i> " Resurrection. <i>k.</i> " Ascension. <i>l.</i> " Session and Second Com-ing. <i>m.</i> " Pentecost.</p>	<p>THE INSTITUTION. <i>i.</i> Of the Crucifixion. <i>j.</i> " Resurrection. <i>k.</i> " Ascension. <i>l.</i> " Session and Second Com-ing. <i>m.</i> " Pentecost.</p>	<p>THE INSTITUTION. <i>i.</i> Of the Crucifixion. <i>j.</i> " Resurrection. <i>k.</i> " Ascension. <i>l.</i> " Session and Second Com-ing. <i>m.</i> " Pentecost.</p>	<p>THE INSTITUTION. <i>i.</i> Of the Crucifixion. <i>j.</i> " Resurrection. <i>k.</i> " Ascension. <i>l.</i> " Session and Second Com-ing. <i>m.</i> " Pentecost.</p>	<p>THE INSTITUTION. <i>i.</i> Of the Crucifixion. <i>j.</i> " Resurrection. <i>k.</i> " Ascension. <i>l.</i> " Session and Second Com-ing. <i>m.</i> " Pentecost.</p>	<p>THE INSTITUTION. <i>k.</i> Of the Passion and Crucifixion. <i>j.</i> Of the Resurrection. <i>k.</i> " Ascension.</p>

THE TE DEUM.

“The identity of the primitive form of the liturgy in the East and West is strangely illustrated by the Te Deum. The chief part of this canticle, representing a Western tradition, is evidently based, clause by clause, upon a liturgy closely resembling that of S. James.”*

TE DEUM.

1. We praise Thee, O God, we give thanks to Thee, O Lord.
2. Thee, the Eternal Father, all the earth doth worship.
3. To Thee all angels,
To Thee the heavens and all their powers,
4. To Thee cherubim and seraphim with ceaseless voice cry aloud,
5. Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth.
6. Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory.
7. Thee, the glorious choir of the Apostles,
8. Thee, the laudable number of Prophets,
9. Thee the white-robed army of martyrs praiseth.
10. To Thee the Holy Church throughout the world confesses.

LITURGY.

- | | | |
|-------------------|---|--|
| Preface. | { | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. It is meet . . . to praise Thee . . . to worship Thee . . . to give thanks to Thee, God and Lord of all. 2. Whom the heavens and all their powers—the earth and all things therein, 3, 4. Angels . . . and cherubim and seraphim . . . with ceaseless voices crying loud, |
| Memorial of Dead. | { | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Sanctus : Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth. 6. Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory. 7. Commemoration of the faithful departed. Apostles. 8. Prophets. 9. Martyrs. 10. All the faithful. |

* Field: “The Apostolic Liturgy, and the Epistle to the Hebrews,” Appendix II., p. 472.

11. The Father of an Infinite Majesty.
12. Thine adorable, true, and only Son.
13. Also the Holy Ghost, the Comforter.
14. Thou, the King of Glory, Christ.
15. Thou, the Father's everlasting Son.
16. Thou, when Thou wouldest take upon Thee humanity to deliver it, didst not abhor the Virgin's womb.
17. Thou, when the sting of death was vanquished, didst open the kingdom of heaven to believers.
18. Thou sittest at the right hand of God in the glory of the Father.
19. We believe that Thou shalt come to be our Judge.
20. We therefore pray Thee help Thy servants whom Thou hast redeemed by Thy precious Blood.
21. Make them to be numbered with Thy saints, in glory everlasting.
22. Save Thy people, O Lord, and bless Thy heritage. [ever.
23. Rule them, and set them up for
24. Day by day we bless Thee.
25. And praise thy Name from ages to ages.
26. Grant, O Lord, to keep us this day without sin.
27. Have mercy on us, O Lord, have mercy on us.
28. Let Thy mercy be on us, Lord, as we have hoped in Thee.
29. In Thee, Lord, have I hoped, I shall not be confounded for ever.

Great Eucharistic Prayer.

11. Commemoration of the Glory and Nature of God the Father,
12. The Son,
13. The Holy Ghost.
14. The Son, very God of the Divine Nature.
15. Very begotten before all time, of the Father.
16. Commemoration of the Incarnation.
17. Commemoration of Passion and Resurrection.
18. And of Session at the right hand of God.
19. And of Second Coming in Judgment.

Consecration—

Great Intercession for living.

20. Intercession for all the living, the whole Church, and all orders.
- 21-23. And administrations in the same.

Lord's Prayer.

24. Introduction to Lord's Prayer.
25. Lord's Prayer.
26. Embolismus.
- 27, 28. Kyries.
(Remains of a Litany of Intercession at this place, said by Communicants.)
28. Prayer of Dismissal.

The latter part is more conjectural than the first. The composer of the *Te Deum* no longer followed the liturgy exactly after the conclusion of the Great Intercession. The Consecration he, of course, omitted.

It will be noticed that in this liturgy the Great Intercession was broken up, as in the Roman, but in reverse order, the dead were commemorated first, then, after the Consecration, the living.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE CONSECRATION.

THE CONSECRATION THE CENTRE OF THE WHOLE LITURGY—THE DISPUTÀ OF RAPHAEL—THE EUCHARIST THE POINT OF JUNCTION OF THINGS DIVINE AND HUMAN—THE PARALLELISM IN THE STRUCTURE OF THE CANON—PARALLELISM IN THE CONSECRATION—THE REASON OF THE SCANTINESS OF THE RECORD OF INSTITUTION IN THE GOSPELS—OF ST. JOHN PASSING OVER THE INSTITUTION ALTOGETHER—THE ACCOUNT IN THE LITURGIES FULLER THAN THOSE IN THE GOSPELS, BECAUSE EARLIER—THE SPECIAL CHARACTER OF THE THINGS MENTIONED IN THE LITURGIES—INDICATE THE OBSERVATION OF EYE-WITNESSES—CONTROVERSY RELATIVE TO THE CONSECRATION—EASTERN VIEW AT VARIANCE WITH WESTERN—A MISUNDERSTANDING—THE WESTERN OBSERVANCE A FOLDING OVER THE INSTITUTION—THE EPIKLESI—IN THE ROMAN MASS—OMISSION OF WORDS ON INSTITUTION IN NESTORIAN LITURGIES—NOT OMITTED IN THE OLDER LITURGIES—THE PARTS THAT COMPOSE THE OBSERVANCE—DISTURBED IN THE ANGLICAN OFFICE.

THE focus, the axle of the entire Eucharistic Service, is the consecration of the Eucharistic bread and wine to become “verily and indeed” the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, so “that our sinful bodies may be made clean by His Body, and our souls washed through His most precious Blood, and that we may evermore dwell in Him, and He in us.”

Perhaps the grandest, certainly the most suggestive, of the pictures of Raphael is the so-called Disputà in the Vatican. It represents heaven open, and Christ in the midst, on a throne of white cloud, with uplifted hands, like Moses in the battle against Amalek, showing His wounds to the Eternal

Father. On right and left of Him are seated the Saints and just men made perfect—from Adam onwards—Abraham, Moses, David, the Baptist, Apostles, and Martyrs; whilst above and behind, melting into infinite space, flickering in glory, are myriads of angel forms and faces.

Below is earth, and on earth is gathered a multitude, ascending steps to an altar, and on this altar stands high uplifted the central feature of the entire picture—the link between heaven and earth—the Holy Eucharist, that which is of the earth, and yet is of heaven.

The Holy Eucharist is not only the bond between Christ and the elect—the point of junction and passing-over of things human into the Divine sphere, and of Divine things into human relations—but it is also the tie that unites with the past, as it is also the earnest of the future. We are now concerned with it only as it links us with the past. Through it we look back to the Institution in the upper chamber, just as to that Institution all the sacrifices of the Old Covenant looked forward.

The liturgy is not only the memorial of Christ's death, it is also the perpetual reiteration of the Institution. Now if the Rule of Faith be regarded as a great Christian Hallel, we find that the adaptation into it of the words or record of institution involves some difficulty.

If given in the historical order, it would interrupt and injure the *form* of the Christian Hallel, for the Institution could not be summarised like the Incarnation, the Crucifixion, and the Resurrection, but must be given in full as the charter of the Church, authorising her to repeat the same unto the end of time.

Consequently, mention of the Institution in the historic order was either omitted, or the Institution was mentioned only, and the full charter was postponed till after the thanksgiving prayer for redemption,

Then, after it had been given in full, the celebrant went

back, making a short summary of the Passion, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension, and went on to the observance of the command.

The Consecration consisted of two parts, the first was the charter authorising the Church to reiterate the rite, then came the reiteration ; a perfect form was thus given to the whole Consecration.

This will be best seen by the following analysis.

I. Great Eucharistic Thanksgiving.

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|--------------------------------|---|
| II.
{
Consecration.
{ | <i>a.</i> Introd. : Calling to remembrance these things (the Incarnation, Passion, Resurrection, &c.), we give thanks unto Thee, O God Almighty, and seek to fulfil Thy holy command. |
| | <i>b.</i> Institution : Who, in the same night as He was betrayed, taking bread — and having mingled the cup—did bless, &c. |
| | <i>c.</i> Command : And gave commandment. Do this in remembrance of Me. |
| | <i>a.</i> Introd. : Calling to remembrance these things (His Death, Passion, His Resurrection, and Ascension), we seek to fulfil His holy command. |
| | <i>b.</i> Observance : We therefore now take this bread and this cup mingled with wine and water, and do bless, &c. |
| | <i>c.</i> Confession : Confessing our unworthiness, and beseeching pardon for our sins, &c. |

III. Great Eucharistic Intercession.

It will be noticed how here, also, the triple arrangement prevails. We have the Great Eucharistic Intercession

balancing the Great Eucharistic Thanksgiving, and the Consecration forming the body between these wings. Then we have the Consecration divided into two parts, the Institution itself made up of three members, and the Observance also composed of three parts. The introduction to the Institution leads *off* from the Great Thanksgiving with words of praise; and the Confession leads *on* to the Great Intercession with words of prayer.

There exists a remarkable parallelism, moreover, between the Institution and the Observance. These two main members of the Consecration are hinged together by the command to perpetuate the Sacrament.

The structural beauty will be best seen by an analysis—

INTROD. :—Calling to mind the things Christ did suffer, &c.

1. Who did take bread into His hands . . . and likewise the cup.
2. And did look up to Thee, His Father.
3. And gave thanks, elevating the gifts.
4. And blessed.
5. And hallowed (with Invocation of the Holy Ghost).
6. And brake.
7. And tasted.
8. And distributed.

COMMANDMENT :—And didst command, saying, Do this in remembrance of Me, for as oft as, &c.

INTROD. :—Calling to mind the things He did suffer, &c.

1. We offer to Thee this bread . . . and likewise this cup.
2. With the eyes raised to Heaven.
3. And give thanks, elevating the gifts.
4. And bless.
5. And hallow with Invocation of the Holy Ghost.
6. And break.
7. And taste.
8. And distribute.

All these members are not indeed to be found everywhere united; for instance, the seventh, the eating of the bread by Christ, and the tasting of the cup, is found only in the Armenian, in a Syro-Jacobite Liturgy "of the Apostles,"* and

* Neale and Little lale, p. 195.

a few others. In the Clementine there are only three members in the Institution, and four in the Observance; but by comparing one liturgy with another, it is not difficult to reconstruct the whole.

It must not be forgotten that the very scantiness of the record in the Gospels has caused the curtailment of the original Institution form. That was recited every Lord's Day for many years before the Gospels were written, and for many more before they were regarded as a paramount authority. The very fact that every detail was perfectly familiar to every Christian, may have induced the Evangelists to give but a cursory account of the Institution, pretermittting particulars which were recited weekly, and which were familiar to every believer. For the same reason, doubtless, S. John omitted the account of the Institution from his Gospel. As the revisers of our daily offices ordered, that when at Mattins the Benedictus is read in the Lesson for the day, it is not to be sung before the Creed, so S. John, knowing that his Gospel would be read at the liturgy, and knowing that the minute recitation of the Institution would be made in the church every Lord's Day, to avoid redundancy, left out an account of the Institution from his Gospel.

When, however, the Gospels came to be regarded as a supreme authority, then the record of the Institution was cut down, and shorn of many of its particulars, to accommodate it exactly to the account as given by the Evangelists. In most of the liturgies, however, more particulars remain than is found in the Gospels. In those of S. Mark, S. James, S. Basil, in the Ethiopic of All the Apostles, are seven, in those of S. Chrysostom, the Ambrosian, and the Roman, are six. In the Armenian, only four, and among these the rare "He tasted."

For simplicity and shortness, the consecration of both bread and wine have been run together in our analysis; all the numbers, however, do not apply to both. For instance, the fraction

of course refers to the bread alone. That there was a looking up to heaven at the consecration of the cup is probable, but it has disappeared from most liturgies. Among the words of command we find this form in some, "Do this in remembrance of Me, for as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye set forth My death till I come." In others it is altered into accordance with the words of S. Paul, "Ye set forth the Lord's death till He come."

It is probable that the words, as found in the first person, were really used by Christ, and that S. Paul quoted them from the liturgical recitation of the Institution, altering them to suit his purpose. He turned them into a reason for exhorting the Corinthians to devout preparation for Communion. His words may be thus paraphrased, "Do ye not know that He said, As oft as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye set forth His death till He come? Therefore, let a man examine himself," &c.

In the Clementine Liturgy we have the words as spoken by Christ, so also in the Roman Canon.

The lifting up the eyes to heaven is mentioned by no Evangelist, yet is found in every liturgy.

So also the mixing of the cup is not recorded in the Gospels; nevertheless, it is universal.

The blessing of the species by laying the hand on them is not described in the Gospels. In the Roman Mass, the celebrant so blesses only the chalice.

At the giving of thanks comes a raising of the bread and wine, as the first-fruits, offering them to the Father. Although this elevation is not recorded, it is of general observance. The hallowing was probably an invocation of the Holy Ghost. This invocation is nowhere, either in Gospel or in liturgy, expressly stated, but the corresponding number to it in the Observance is the *Epiklesis*, or Invocation.

It is hardly conceivable that so many particulars can have been arbitrarily added to the narrative of what Christ did on

a certain night, and that there should be such extraordinary coincidence in these particulars everywhere found. We can account for their being cut out, through respect for the Gospels, we cannot account for their having been added. The only explanation of their existence in the narrative of Institution is that they belonged to the narrative given by the Apostles, and of weekly recitation, before the Evangelists began to write.

When we look closely into these particulars, we see that they have a special character; they refer to gestures of the Lord, the raising the eyes, the elevation of the bread and cup, the laying His hand on the elements, the partaking first Himself of bread and wine. These are precisely the little matters which could come only from eye-witnesses of the Institution, and their existence in the liturgies is really an evidence to us of the Apostolic origin of the Eucharistic Service, especially of its most important point and core, the Consecration.

In tender love and reverent piety, they sought to reproduce that memorable scene in the Upper Chamber, down to its minutest particulars—the sequence of incidents, the supper first, then the Eucharist—the prayers, the praises employed, the very vesture of the Saviour, all His gestures and manual acts are recalled, were recapitulated and reproduced, and committed to the memory of the Church.

We come now to one great point of difference between the East and West.

Raphael's great picture was designed on the idea of the Eucharist as the reconciling medium between earth and heaven, and the bond of concord between all parts of the Church on earth. But the popular mind missed the significance, and, poisoned by bitter experience, called it the Dispute of the Blessed Sacrament. And, alas! the Holy Eucharist has been an occasion of dispute. A misunderstanding has led to a discord of view between East and West relative to the Consecration. This difference may be

briefly explained thus:—The Eastern Church holds that the record of Institution is the charter authorising Consecration, not the Consecration itself. It holds that the celebrant first announces his authority for acting, and then acts, and that the act of the celebrant is the true Consecration. The Western Church holds, on the contrary, that nothing can add to and complete what is in itself perfect,—that the Institution is the true Consecration, and that what follows is the mere entreaty that God may accept what has been done.

If we take a piece of ruby glass, and another of white, and hold one before the other, and both in the ray of the sun, then there falls through them a blood-red beam. The ray comes, indeed, through the white glass, but receives its dye from the red one. So the Divine effluence pours through the Institution and the Observance, and occasions the change, the Consecration. But instead of holding the two sheets of glass apart, the Western Church has welded them together, and declares that all the virtue, splendour, colour, come from the ruby glass alone.

The way in which this has been done is seen at once by the marginal rubrics. The celebrant, whilst reciting the words of Institution, takes the elements into his hands; when he says that the Lord took them, when he records how Christ raised His eyes to heaven, he also looks up; when he tells how Christ offered, he elevates the gifts; when he announces that Christ blessed, he lays his hand on the elements; and finally, when he tells how Christ broke, he also breaks.

Thus:—Just as in the well-known problem of Euclid, wherein two equal triangles are proved to be equal, by triangle DEF being superimposed on ABC, so is it here. The celebrant's observance is made to synchronize with the narration of the appointment; they are fused into one by the flux of the command, "Do this in remembrance of Me."

There can, however, be no doubt as to which is the primitive form, for the form of words of the observance, now void of force, remain in the Latin Canon, as empty shells, from which the kernel has been extracted.* From this shifting of the focus, this change of the burning-point, arose another difficulty.

The Greeks hold that the invocation of the Holy Ghost is essential to consecration. It is gone from the Latin form, or so disguised in the "Supplices te rogamus" as to be no more valid. But the Roman form *has* an invocation before the Canon: "Come, O Sanctifier, Almighty, Eternal God, and bless this sacrifice, prepared for Thy holy name."

In the Liturgy of S. James the form is, "Send down upon us, and upon these gifts, Thy most Holy Spirit, that He may hallow them, and make this bread the holy Body of Thy Christ; and this cup the precious Blood of Thy Christ."

The Liturgy in the "Constitutions" has "We beseech Thee that Thou wilt look graciously on these gifts, and send down Thy Holy Spirit, that He may make this bread the Body of Thy Christ, and this cup the Blood of Thy Christ." The Ethiopic, the Syriac, the Alexandrine, are all very similar.

Irenæus, in the third century, gives us the form in use in Gaul. He says, "Those who have become acquainted with the secondary dispositions of the Apostles"—he means those which they made after and according to the appointment of Christ—"are aware that the Lord instituted a new oblation in the new covenant, according to the words of Malachi: 'For from the rising of the sun even to the setting, My name shall be glorified among the Gentiles, and in every place incense be

* Greek : α Anamnesis.
 β Oblation.
 γ Thanksgiving
 δ Epiklesis.
 ϵ Exomologesis.

Latin : α Unde et memores.
 β Offerimus—de tuis donis.
 γ Supra quæ—respicere
digneris.
 δ Supplices te rogamus.
 ϵ Nobis quoque peccatoribus.

offered in My name, and a pure offering.' . . . The oblation of the Eucharist is not carnal, but spiritual, and so may be entitled a pure offering. For we make oblation to God of the bread and cup of blessing, giving Him thanks in that He has commanded the earth to bring forth these fruits for our nourishment." Here is an allusion to the oblation as of first-fruits, the elevation as wave offering. "And then, when we have perfected the oblation, we invoke the Holy Spirit, that He may exhibit the sacrifice, both the bread as the Body of Christ and the cup as the Blood of Christ, in order that the receivers of these antitypes may obtain remission of sins and life eternal." *

Here we have the oblation, with (probably) the elevation, and then the *Epiklesis*, the Invocation.

In the Roman Liturgy, the Invocation of the Holy Spirit on the gifts is found before the Great Eucharistic Prayer, and the Invocation on the receivers of the gifts in an obscured form after the Institution. Originally, we imagine, the Apostolic Liturgy had the two Invocations, the first before the Eucharistic Prayer on the gifts to effect the change, the second after the Consecration upon the communicants. Then, as the focus varied in East and West, the first Invocation was moved from its place in the East, and combined with the other, to form the *Epiklesis*; and in the West it remained in the original position, but the second Invocation lost its point and distinctness.

It must be remembered that the Eucharistic service proper consists of two distinct parts—the sacrificial, which sums up in itself the sacrifices of the Old Law; and the second, the participatory part, which sums up in it all those rites of the Old Law, which consisted in eating of the sacrifice, as the eating of the Paschal Lamb, and of the Shew-bread. Originally the distinction was sharply emphasized by the Invocation of the

* Pfaff, Frag. xxxviii.

Holy Ghost preceding each. The loss of the two Invocations has tended to confusion of ideas relative to the parts.

It is a matter of regret that in our own English Eucharistic service, there should be no Invocation ; there is one in the Scottish office. Moreover, the oblation has been transferred, along with a fragment of the great Eucharistic Intercession, to a place for which there is no warrant, after the Communion.

From the Nestorian Liturgy of the Apostles, and that of SS. Adæus and Maris, the words of Institution are omitted. This is a unique feature of the liturgies of Eastern Syria. "There is no doubt," says Mr. Hammond, "that they must be supplied somewhere ; the evidence of their belonging to the liturgy is too strong to admit of doubt. For 1. Their presence in the other two liturgies (of the East Syrian Church) shows that it would be no peculiarity of the Nestorian body to omit them. 2. In fact, one of the principal Nestorian writers, Ebedjesus, acknowledges that the words of Christ are essential to consecration. 3. An Anaphora of this family, of the sixth century, in the British Museum, has the words. 4. George of Arbela, another Nestorian doctor, in the tenth century, mentions them. 5. The Liturgy of Malabar, which represents this same liturgy, speaks of the consecration being wrought 'by the Word of God and the Holy Ghost.' 6. We know that the correctors of the Malabar Liturgy at the Synod of Diamper found the words of Institution in it, for they mention certain additions which they expunged." *

The main portions of what we call the Observance, that is, of the celebrant's portion, after the words of Institution, are *almost verbally identical* in all liturgies throughout the world and in all periods of the Church's history. No portion of the Eucharistic Office has remained more untouched than this, its very heart and axle, however widely apart the

* "Ancient Liturgies," lix. Bickell, "Conspectus rei Syrorum literariæ," p. 61-5.

Churches may be divided by distance, or by alienation and mutual antipathies. The Observance consists of:—

1. The *Anamnesis*, of which the form in the “Constitutions” may be taken as the type.

“Wherefore, having in remembrance His Passion and Resurrection from the dead, His return into heaven, and His future second coming, when He shall judge the quick and the dead, to render to every man according to his works.”

2. The *Oblation*, to which the Anamnesis leads.

“We offer to Thee, our King and our God, according to the institution, this bread and this cup, giving thanks to Thee through Him, that Thou hast thought us worthy to stand before Thee, and to sacrifice unto Thee.”

3. The *Epiklesis*, or Invocation of the Holy Spirit.

α. “We beseech Thee that Thou wilt graciously look down on these gifts now lying before Thee, and accept them to the honour of Thy Christ.”

β. “And send down Thy Holy Spirit. . . . on this sacrifice, that He may make the bread the Body and this cup the Blood of Thy Christ.”

4. The *Exomologesis*, or confession of unworthiness.

“That all who shall partake may be confirmed in godliness, and be pardoned their sins, may be delivered from the devil, may be made worthy of Thy Christ, and obtain everlasting life ; Thou being reconciled to them, O Lord Almighty.”

That in the Anglican Liturgy there should have been a displacement of these parts, is not to be wondered at. Left as they were in the Roman Missal, without connexion and meaning, the Reformers could not understand their significance. We know what was Archbishop Cranmer’s library, we have his books, annotated by his own hand,* and we see

* Burbidge : “Liturgies and Offices of the Church” ; Lond., 1885, xv.-xxxii. He had S. Chrysostom’s Liturgy, and the account of the Liturgy in Dionysius. That was all.

that he had not the means of becoming acquainted with the primitive liturgies, and was therefore liable to commit errors in the excision of some parts and the transposition of others. We may well be thankful that the deviations from the Apostolic service were so few, and that in some points the Reformed Liturgy was brought into closer likeness to that which was primitive than the liturgy of Rome.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE DISCIPLINE OF THE SECRET.

THE MARTYRDOM OF S. GENESIUS—PROFANATION OF THE CHRISTIAN SACRAMENTS ON THE STAGE—EARLY CHRISTIANS SHRANK FROM ALLOWING THE HEATHEN TO KNOW OF THE EUCHARIST, FOR FEAR OF PROFANATION—MYSTERIES—NATURE OF THE MYSTERY OF THE EUCHARIST LIABLE TO MISINTERPRETATION—OMOPHAGIC MYSTERIES—THE WHOLE TRUTH NOT REVEALED TO ALL—BUT AS MEN WERE ABLE TO BEAR IT—AND PROVED TRUSTWORTHY—THE AUTHOR OF THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS EMPLOYS VAGUE EXPRESSIONS RELATIVE TO THE EUCHARIST—CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA SHOWS RESERVE—THIS RESERVE MADE A CHARGE AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS—OPENNESS OF JUSTIN MARTYR RELATIVE TO THE EUCHARIST—HOW ACCOUNTED FOR—TERTULLIAN ON RESERVE—RESERVE SHOWN BY THE PAINTERS IN THE CATACOMBS—RESERVE IN EPITAPHS—S. CYRIL ON RESERVE—THE ORIGIN OF THE TERM “DISCIPLINE OF THE SECRET”—NO RULE OF SILENCE, THE FAITH TRUSTED TO NATURAL REVERENCE—CHIVALRY RELATIVE TO THE EUCHARISTIC MYSTERY—MODERN INABILITY TO UNDERSTAND HOLY RESERVE.

ON a certain day, in A.D. 303, the Emperor Diocletian attended a theatrical performance at Rome. The piece that was performed was a farcical comedy, representing and ridiculing Christians. On the stage appeared a favourite actor, Genesisus by name. He was a clever mimic; and the subject chosen for burlesque was a sick man troubled in mind, doubting the truth of his gods, alarmed at the future, of which he knew nothing; then hearing of Christ, of heaven, of a judgment to come, believing and crying out for baptism. Very possibly, to qualify himself for the part, Genesisus had read an Apology, that perhaps of Justin Martyr, or the ruthless slash-

ing of heathen folly administered by Clement of Alexandria in his "Exhortation to the Heathen."

The curtain rose on Genesius lying on a bed, sick unto death, and groaning.

"I am weighed down," moaned the actor; "the burden of the past is on my conscience; my sins oppress me unendurably. Oh that I could obtain relief—that I were light and free!"

"Why, how so, good fellow?" said the other mimes about the sick couch. "If you are burdened, how can we lighten you?"

"Ah, ah!" laughed he to the audience who took the part of clown. "We must take him to a carpenter's and have him reduced in bulk."

The sally produced a roar of laughter.

"No," said the sick man, "I desire to die a Christian: by that means only can I obtain relief."

"Why; for what do you desire to be a Christian?"

"That I may fly to my God."

"Call in a priest and an exorcist."

In came two actors dressed for their parts. The priest sat down by the bedside, put on a commiserating air, and said, "Why hast thou sent for me, my son?"

"I desire the favour of Christ," answered Genesius, "by which I may be born again to a new, a holier, a purer life."

Then a great vat of water was brought upon the stage, and the ceremony of baptism was gone through upon the sick man, who was drawn out of bed for the purpose, and amidst the reiterated bursts of merriment from the audience, was plunged in the water, and then clothed in white.

Scarcely had this been effected, when from the sides rushed on some of the company dressed as Roman soldiers, who seized on the new convert, and drew him before the Emperor's stall, that he might be tried and sentenced. It was part of the farce, the concerted spectacle.

Genesius shook off his guards, and springing upon a pedestal from which he threw down the statue of Venus, exclaimed, "Sire, and all you present, hear what I say. I have ever hated the Christian name, and when I have seen Christians brought before the magistrate I have exulted. My parents and kinsmen have been Christians, and from them I heard all concerning the faith, and the manner of baptizing. But all I heard I turned to mockery, and this day have used my knowledge so obtained for the purpose of a merry jest. But, lo! sire, as I lay on the bed, the realities of sickness and approaching death stood naked before me. And all my sins from infancy rose before my eyes, filling a long, dark scroll. Sire, believe me, when the water touched me, and I renounced the evil one, and accepted Christ with my lips, my heart went with my words. And I saw a great light, and angels shining above me, and the darkness of sin seemed to roll away before the clear dawn of a heavenly day. And now, sire, and all you people who have been laughing so heartily, believe me when I say that I confess Christ as very God, and that He is the true light shining, and the eternal Truth, and perfect goodness, and in Him, and in Him only, do I trust."

There was something in his look, his attitude, his voice, too real to be mistaken for mimicry. You might have heard a pin fall in that great theatre; no man knew what to think.

Diocletian called the actor before him.

"Jesting may be carried too far. The spectacle was well produced. Now return behind the scenes, and change the piece."

"Sire, I am in earnest."

"Then I shall be in earnest also. Ho! let him be beaten."

Blows were showered on the actor. He bore them with patience.

"Take him away to the prefect," said the Emperor, and Genesius the actor was drawn out of the theatre.

“There is no King but Him whom I have seen, and whom I adore,” was his testimony before the prefect. “His I am, and His I shall be. Bitterly do I repent that I knew Him only so late.” Then he was ordered forth to execution with the sword.

Such is the story of Genesius the actor, commemorated in the Carthaginian as well as the Roman Kalendars. There are several versions of the Acts, or Record of Martyrdom, some are amplifications of the short Acts, which seem to be, in substance, trustworthy.

The reason why we have told the story of S. Genesius is to point out how Christian sacraments might be, and were, mimicked on the stage, leading to hideous profanation. Two reasons led the early Christians to exercise the utmost reserve relative to the Holy Eucharist; one, this dread of profanation by production in farce on the stage, the other the express command of Christ to exercise reserve. “Give not that which is holy to the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine.” Some Protestant controversialists have contended that there was none of this reserve among the first Christians, none of that shrinking from subjecting what they regarded as of the utmost sacredness to the mockery of the heathen, and that they did not hold the view of the Eucharist as a mystery, concerning which none but the initiated should know, till about the fourth century. They have argued that the idea of converting the Eucharist into a mystery was due to heathen influence, a desire to imitate the Eleusinian, Dionysiac, and Mithraic mysteries.

We need not attempt to dispute that a so-to-speak craving after mysteries existed in the first ages of the Christian Church among the heathen, but that craving sprang out of the hunger after the truth which earnest hearts felt. Men were dissatisfied with the heathen religions, and asked for some deeper, truer, and more satisfying teaching, and this was offered to them in the mysteries. They were initiated

into these, because they hoped in them to find the truth, but found to their discouragement, that they, also, were vain delusions.

In so far as the Christian faith was a thing unknown to the world, but revealed to the instructed, it was a mystery, and S. Paul has no scruple of speaking of it as such. "We speak," he says, "the wisdom of God in a mystery; even the hidden wisdom" (1 Cor. ii. 7).* We have lost the sense of the word "mystery," which even Christ used (S. Mark iv. 11), but it had a well-understood meaning in the times when it was used, as a sacred truth not known to all, kept as a precious deposit by those to whom it was revealed.

And among the truths of the faith, none was more solemn than the truth that Christ on the eve of His death had instituted and ordained a holy mystery, in which His death was to be commemorated, and through which communion was to be maintained with Him.

When Christ gave command that holy things should not be given to those without, not to the brutal-minded, the early Church at once concluded that He forbade the divulging of the holiest and deepest truths to all but those who were worthy to receive them.

Not only would their natural reverence and desire to act in obedience impel them to reserve, but also the nature of the Eucharistic mystery, for in it they held that they received the Body and Blood of Christ, and this was a teaching calculated to misconception. We know that it was misconceived when Christ promulgated it. Many of His disciples, "when they had heard this, said, This is a hard saying; who can hear it? . . . From that time many of His disciples went back, and walked no more with Him" (S. John vi. 60, 66). It was a mystery which the carnal mind could not receive, only the mind illumined by the Spirit. "It is the Spirit that quickeneth

* Cf. also Eph. iii. 3, vi. 19; Col. ii. 2; 1 Tim. iii. 9, 16.

(to comprehension of spiritual things), the flesh profiteth nothing (to understanding them).”

How liable the doctrine of the Eucharist was to misconception, we may judge from the fact that there were omophagic mysteries in the heathen religion. The Dionysiac mystery bore a startling resemblance to the Christian. According to the myths, Dionysus Zagreus was torn to pieces by the Titans, and out of his blood sprang the pomegranate, or the vine. Dionysus was the world-god, and the torn body of the god, rent by plough and spade, yielded the fruit-tree and the corn.

In Chios and Tenedos, every three years, in celebrating the mysteries, a man was torn to pieces and his flesh devoured raw.* Livy says that at a time of pestilence in Rome, some such horrible rite had found its way into the city, and the Senate were obliged to take precautions to suppress it. This was in the year 326 of the city. Elsewhere he gives a fuller account of these horrors. He says how that B.C. 186 an investigation was made, and as many as seven thousand men and women were found involved in this hideous mystery.† The investigation was carried out not only in Rome, but throughout Italy. Crowds of those who were involved took to flight, others put an end to themselves. Thereupon, the consul Posthumus destroyed all the meeting-houses of these Bacchanalian murderers and cannibals. Many of those found guilty were sentenced to death. But such horrors were not put an end to; there continued to be secret gatherings of those who perpetrated these theurgic murders, and ate of the flesh of the victim.‡ The consciousness that in the general unrest of minds, and hunger for the hidden truth—men were

* Porphyr. de Abstin. ii. 55.

† “Hoc sacramento initiatos,” Liv. xxix. 8-19.

‡ Cf. Catull. Epithal. Pelei, v. 256, sq. Pliny, H. N. xxviii. 1; Pausan. vii. 21, 1.

capable of committing these abominations, never left the heathen mind, and made the public and the magistrates ready to suspect of guilt all secret assemblies. The Christians must necessarily hold their gatherings in private, but it was of the most vital importance to them for their safety not to allow a whisper to get abroad relative to the mystery of the Eucharist, lest suspicion should attach to them of omophagic rites. As it was, such suspicion did fall on them, and just as in those Dionysiac mysteries, there was not only flesh-eating, but also promiscuous immorality, the opinion sprang up among the heathen that the like took place at the Christian gatherings.

When S. Paul says to the elders at Miletus, "I kept back nothing that was profitable unto you, but have showed you, and have taught you publicly, and from house to house" (Acts xx. 20), there is an apparent reference to a hidden teaching, as well as to a public teaching. There was the broad Gospel truth declared in public, and there was the deeper, fuller truth revealed from house to house to the elders; but that any secrecy was observed in apostolic times as a principle of religion, is not to be believed.

The truth was revealed as men were able to bear it, milk to babes, meat to the adults in faith. When, however, the Church extended beyond the Jewish nation, and was brought in contact with heathenism, natural reverence, as well as necessary precaution, would force on the Church the practice of reserve in speaking of the Holy Eucharist, and in admitting to it such persons as were not fully competent, through faith, and intelligence, and trustworthiness, to treat the mystery with veneration, and not to compromise their fellow-Christians. Pliny, in his letter to Trajan, was able to give a very meagre and confused account of Christian worship, an account which mixed up Baptism with Communion, because, although he put deaconesses to the torture, he could wring out of them no further information. In the first half of

the second century* a certain Diognetus showed great desire to know something concerning the Christian faith and practice. The unknown writer of the remarkable answer to him which has come down to us, gives him accordingly a general instruction, but adds, "I suppose, now, you are sufficiently convinced that the Christians abstain from vanity and error; but you must not hope to learn the mystery of their peculiar mode of worshipping God from any mortal."† The same very early writer, however, towards the close of his letter, uses words, under a veiled form, which a Christian communicant would understand. He says, "The fear of the Law is chanted, the grace of the Prophets is known, the faith of the Gospels is established, the tradition of the Apostles is preserved." This looks like a reference to the four Lectures of Law, Prophets, Epistle, Gospel. Then he goes on to encourage Diognetus, that if he perseveres, he "will come to know those things which the Word teaches, by whom He wills, and when He pleases."‡ Then he further hints mysteriously, "When you have read and carefully listened to these things, you shall know what God bestows on such as rightly love Him." Then, after a curious account of the trees of knowledge and of life planted in the garden, which garden is the Church, he points out that the fruit of true knowledge must first be tasted before the tree of life can be partaken of. "Displaying, then, the fruit of this tree (of knowledge), you will be able to gather those things desired by God, unreached by the serpent, untouched by deception. . . . The passover of the Lord advances, the choirs assemble, the Word rejoices in teaching the Saints, by whom the Father is glorified: to Whom be glory for ever. Amen." So ends this remarkable epistle,—remarkable not only for what it says, but for the testimony it affords to the

* He speaks of Christianity as a *new* religion just entered into the world. He also speaks of the Jewish sacrifices as still offered—but this must be rhetorical.

† Ep. ad Diog. c. 4. ‡ c. 11.

prevalence of the "discipline of the secret," reserve concerning Eucharistic teaching in the age immediately following that of the Apostles. To us, the conclusion of the epistle is intelligible enough; the author shows how that, if Diognetus will place himself under instruction, and receive baptism, he will be brought to the True Passover of the Lord, and to eat of the Tree of Life in the midst of the new Eden, even of Jesus Christ Himself, who gave His flesh for the life of the world.

Over and over again does Clement of Alexandria allude to the "discipline of the secret."* "Christ," he says, "did not disclose to the many what did not belong to the many, but to the few to whom He knew that they belonged, who were capable of receiving them. Secret things are entrusted to speech, not to writing. . . . To him who is able to observe what is delivered, that which is now veiled shall be revealed in full; what is hidden to the many shall be manifested to the few. . . . The mysteries are mystically delivered. . . . Some things my treatise will only hint at; on some it will linger; some merely mention—it will speak imperceptibly, exhibit secretly, demonstrate silently."† "The Saviour Himself plainly initiates us into the mysteries, according to the words of the tragedy: 'Seeing those who see, he gives the orgies.' And if you ask what is the nature of these orgies, you will be told that 'it is forbidden to mortals who have not been initiated into the Bacchic rites to know.' And a closer inquirer will be informed: 'It is not lawful for thee to hear what is well worth knowing. Him who practises impiety the rites of God abhor.'"‡ "Things are not to be exposed indiscriminately to all and sundry, and the benefits of wisdom communicated to the unpurified;" and he commends

* This expression was invented in the seventeenth century to describe the secrecy observed by the early Christians relative to the Eucharist. It was first used by Geier, 1677.

† Strom. I. c. 1.

‡ Strom. IV. c. 25.

the expulsion of Hipparchus, and his treatment as one dead, when he had revealed by writing the tenets of Pythagoras.* These are but samples out of many of his sayings relative to his mode of treatment of the mysteries in his books. Accordingly, when he writes of the Eucharist, and explains our Lord's institution, he allegorizes it—apparently away. This treatment of the Holy Sacrament might mislead the student, unless he had before heard stated with emphasis what Clement's mode of dealing with the deepest truths would be.

It would seem that this reserve on the part of the Christians was made a charge against them, for Origen, in his book against Celsus, answers the charge: "That there should be certain doctrines not published to the multitude, which are revealed after the exoteric doctrines have been taught, is not a peculiarity of Christianity, but is common to all philosophic systems in which certain truths are exoteric, and others esoteric" (c. 7).

It has been objected to the early adoption of the Discipline of the Secret that Justin Martyr gives an account—nay, two, of the Eucharist, in his Apology to Antoninus Pius. If the Discipline had existed, as it has been urged, he would not have done this. But, it must be remarked, in the first place, that Justin's argument is that as the devils instituted certain rites to mislead men against the truth which was to be revealed, so they induced men to adopt washings and sprinklings in connection with their temple-worship; and so they appointed the mysteries to prejudice men's minds against the sacred Eucharist. Justin is constrained by his argument to show first what baptism is, of which the heathen lustrations are demon imitations; and then what the Eucharist is, of which the mysteries are devilish copies. But he is very careful to speak vaguely, and not to give any particulars about the Consecration, lest profanation should ensue; moreover, he

* Strom. V. c. 9.

feels himself obliged to excuse himself for having said as much as he has. "If we were to omit" these things, "we would seem to be unfair in our explanations."

His account of the doctrine of the Eucharist is this:— "This food is called among us the Eucharist, of which no one is allowed to partake but the man who believes that the things which we teach are true, and who has been washed with the washing for regeneration and remission of sins, and who is living as Christ enjoined. For, not as common bread and common drink do we receive these ; but in like manner as Jesus Christ, our Saviour, having been made flesh by the word of God, had both flesh and blood for our salvation, so likewise have we been taught that the food which is blessed by the prayer of His word, and from which our blood and flesh by transmutation are nourished, is the Flesh and Blood of that Jesus who was made flesh. For the Apostles, in the memoirs composed by them, which are called Gospels, have thus delivered unto us what was enjoined unto them, that Jesus took bread, and when He had given thanks, said, 'This do ye in remembrance of Me, this is My body ;' and that after the same manner, having taken the cup and given thanks, He said, 'This is My blood,' and gave it to them alone, which the wicked devils have imitated in the mysteries of Mithras, commanding the same to be done."* This is certainly plainer speaking than we should expect were the "Discipline of the Secret" a formally acknowledged rule imposed on Christians by the Church. But it was not that, it never was that ; it was a natural, holy reserve, a shrinking from exposing to mockery and mimicry, what was to them most holy. Where occasion required, the secret might be broken. It was so, to a certain degree, by Justin, and for a good reason. The Christians were charged with committing unmentionable abominations at their meetings, and with

* I. Apol. c. 66.

devouring human victims, whom they had immolated. Justin's answer is—This, which I describe, is our mystery; these horrors with which we are charged are devilish imitations, devised with fiendish cunning to mislead men's minds, and set them against us. Besides, his Apology was not addressed to the public, but to the Emperor, who held the lives of the Christians in his hand. Justin wrote in A.D. 148. Tertullian, in his Apology, about fifty-seven years later, speaks of Christians observing "that fealty of silence ever due to mysteries." In his vigorous, almost fierce, style, he writes: "We are accused of observing a holy rite, in which we kill a child and eat it, and after this feast the dogs upset the lights, and we practise incest. This is what is constantly laid to our charge. . . . We are daily beset by foes, we are daily betrayed, we are often surprised in the midst of our assemblies. How is it that the screams of the child have not been heard? How is it that our blood-stained mouths have not convicted us? Where is the discoverer of these crimes, who either revealed them, or was bribed to silence?" Then he goes on to say that these falsehoods could not have been told by Christians, for they would naturally keep silence relative to their mysteries, and if these things were told by those who had not been initiated, they were worthless inventions, wicked calumnies.*

In his "Prescription against Heretics," he casts it in the teeth of sectaries that they have no reserve. "It is doubtful who is a catechumen, and who a believer. They allow access to all alike; all hear alike, pray alike. That which is holy they cast to the dogs, and their pearls—though, by the way, they are sham ones—they fling to the swine." †

From another quarter we obtain the same testimony. The paintings in the catacombs show that the early Christians practised great reserve in the representation of their mysteries. Their paintings were all figurative, never historical.

* Apol. c. 7.

† Præsc. c. 41.

The heavenly Shepherd (Hermes) typified Christ ; the fascinating Orpheus, who charmed all beasts, was a parable of Christ and His Gospel. Jonah symbolized the Resurrection, and a fish Christ. As the fish, *ιχθους*, contained in its name the initial letters of 'Jesus Christ, Son of God and Saviour,' it was used on signets, funeral monuments, lamps, goblets, as a token of Christ, and not of Christ only, but also of the Eucharist. The account of Jesus, after His Resurrection, appearing to the Apostles, and giving them to eat bread and fish (John xxi. 13), was taken to represent His gift of Himself in the Holy Communion.* Prosper of Aquitaine speaks of Christ as "the Great Fish who fed His disciples with Himself, and who gave Himself as a Fish to the whole world." † In paintings, the Eucharist is figured as a fish with paniers of bread. Another symbol of the same was honey and milk, and the divine Lamb is frequently represented with a vessel of milk slung round it.

But, perhaps the most curious instance of the reserve exercised by the early Christians in treating of the mysteries is to be seen in the monument of Abercius, Bishop of Hierapolis, in Phrygia, at the beginning of the 2nd century. Somewhat abridged, it runs thus :—

"I, citizen of a notable city, made this (tomb) to be in due season the resting place of my body. Abercius by name, I am a disciple of the pure Shepherd, who feedeth His flocks on mountains and plains, who hath great eyes looking on all sides. . . . In company with Paul I journeyed ; *faith* led the way, and *set before me for food the Fish from the fountain*, mighty and immaculate, grasped by a pure Virgin ; who gave this to His friends ever to eat, having good wine, and giving bread, with the mixed chalice," &c. ‡ Only an initiated Christian would understand the meaning of this ; that Aber-

* August. in Joh. Tract. 123.

† De Promiss. et Prædic. Dei.

‡ For a full account of Abercius and the monument, see Lightfoot's "S. Ignatius," I., p. 477, sq.

cious by faith ate of Christ, to whom he was admitted by baptism (the fountain) ; that Fish, Christ, was born of a pure Virgin, and gave Himself, under the forms of bread and the mixed cup, as the Eucharistic food of the faithful.

Another Christian monument, found at Autun, and belonging to the end of the third century, also plays on the same idea of the Fish. Christians are "the divine children of the heavenly Fish, and the faithful are enjoined to eat the "sweet food of the Saviour." "Eat with hunger, holding the Fish in Thy hand."*

How late this reserve was carried may be seen in the golden book cover, and other golden and silver-gilt articles recently discovered in the tomb of a bishop at Sinigaglia, and acquired by the Cavaliere de Rossi. There, as will be seen by the accompanying figure, Christ is represented as the mystic Fish at the Table instituting the Eucharist, with one fin touching the bread, the other the chalice. This belongs to the 7th or beginning of the 8th century.†

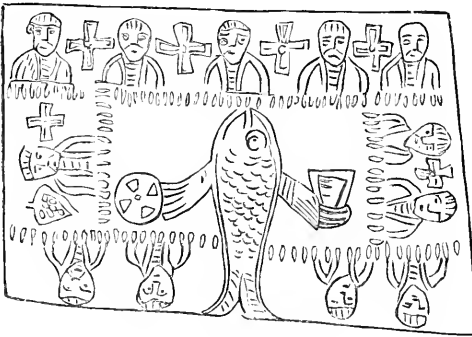


FIG. 19.—The Institution. From a gold book cover found at Sinigaglia.

We obtain a clear view of the feelings of the Church about the mysteries from the Catechetical Lectures of S. Cyril,

* Kraus, "Roma Sotterranea," p. 249. Witherow, "Catacombs of Rome," p. 258.

† Waal: "Römische Quartalschrift," 1888.

delivered by him in the church on Golgotha, in the year 347, or perhaps 348. He explains how that Christian doctrine is two-fold ; there is milk for babes, and strong meat for full-grown men. With the milk only the catechumens and those under preliminary instruction are fed. The more solid teaching is given only after baptism. Consequently he divides his lectures into two parts; the first, the milk diet, consists of instruction on the Creed, and is delivered to the catechumens. The second, the solid food, the initiation into the mysteries, is given after baptism to those being illuminated, preparing for Communion. This distinction of food, to symbolize distinction in teaching, was used long before. Indeed, S. Paul employs the illustration (Heb. v. 12, 13), and S. Peter also (1 Pet. ii. 2). Those who had been baptized, but were not yet initiated fully, and had not become communicants, were regarded still as babes or children ; and so among the early Christian inscriptions in the catacombs, we have men of thirty-seven years, for this reason described as *pueri*, children ;* and Christ is represented as the Lamb, bearing a vessel full of milk, the figure of the "pure milk of the word," the simple elementary teaching. From all the heathen, from catechumens, everything concerning the Eucharist was kept back. Even the instruction on the Creed was not imparted to heathens, to them only the great broad principles that underlie Christianity. So S. Cyril exhorts his candidates, "When the catechizing has taken place, should a catechumen"—that is, one desirous of becoming a candidate, but not yet admitted to instruction for baptism—"ask what the teachers have said, tell nothing to a stranger, for we deliver to thee a mystery—keep the mystery for Him who will reward thee. Let no man say to thee, 'What harm, if I also know it?' So the sick ask for wine, but if it be unreasonably given them, it occasions delirium. So is it with the catechumen if he hears from the believer ; he,

* Kraus : "Real-Encycl.," p. 394.

not understanding what he has heard, finds fault and scoffs. Thou thyself wast once a catechumen, and then I told thee not what was coming." * And to his lectures S. Cyril prefixes this solemn adjuration: "These catechetical lectures thou mayest put into the hands of candidates for baptism, and of baptized believers, but by no means of catechumens, nor of any others who are not Christians; as thou shalt answer to the Lord. And if thou makest a copy of them write this in the beginning, as in the sight of the Lord." S. Cyril quotes a saying of our Lord, also quoted by other Fathers, "Be ye wise bankers," and applies it to those to whom explanation of the mysteries is given. The mysteries form a sacred deposit committed by Christ to His faithful, and when He comes again He will exact of them that they have kept it sacred, and have not dispersed it and scattered it abroad, giving that which is holy to those unworthy to hear and receive holy things. "These mysteries the Church speaks to thee, because thou art removed from among the catechumens; it is not customary to speak [of these things] to Gentiles. To Gentiles we do not speak of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, nor before catechumens do we discourse plainly about mysteries; but many things many times we speak in a covert manner, that the faithful who know may understand, and that the ignorant may receive no harm." †

The *Disciplina Arcani* (Discipline of the Secret) is a sonorous name, invented in modern times to designate what never existed in the way supposed, as an obligation imposed on Christians, like the oath of secrecy wrung by threat from the initiated into heathen mysteries. No oath, no promise was exacted of the illuminated when admitted to the Lord's table. Yet a sacrament means a pledge, an oath of fealty; but the secrecy observed was a self-imposed and voluntarily undertaken silence. There grew up, in the midst of the sneer and

* De Symb. Introd. 12.

† *Ibid.* Lect. vi. 29.

slander of the heathen, and the peril of persecution, a spirit of loyalty to Christ, a chivalrous defence of His honour, a soldierly regard for the dignity of the great Captain of Salvation, which made each of the faithful shrink from subjecting the precious gifts of Christ to vulgar stare and unseemly comment, and carnal misconception. At the Creed the Hungarians of old drew their swords to show that they were ready to fight for the Faith. The early Christians drew before the Eucharist the veil of silence, to protect it from sacrilege. It was a legacy left them by Christ—left to the love and innate reverence of the soul to guard. No sword, no oath, was to be its protection, only Christian chivalry of heart.

On Calvary the Jews passed sneering under the cross, wagging their heads, and saying, "Ah! Thou that destroyest the Temple, and buildest it in three days, save Thyself, and come down from the cross." They mocked the Godhead because of Christ's human weakness. In heaven S. John saw angels and cherubim and the redeemed prostrate before the Lamb that had been slain, full of awe and reverence because of His weakness, a weakness to which He had stooped for our sakes. He left behind Him the pledge of His love, again in weakness; and the Church on earth walled it about with love and worship, and shut out from contemplation of the mystery the unspiritual and the unclean.

We, in these days of trailing holy things in the dirt; of dangling divine verities before yelping dogs; of paving our pigstyes with the pearls of Christ, can hardly understand this reverence and holy fear, which could withhold anything from those unworthy of receiving, which could say, with the Prophet, "On all the glory there shall be a defence."

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE GREAT INTERCESSION.

THE GREAT INTERCESSION BALANCES THE GREAT THANKSGIVING—THE MANY INTERCESSIONS IN THE LITURGY—THE FORM OF THE INTERCESSION—THE COMPLETE CANON OF PRODIGIOUS LENGTH—ARRANGEMENT IN FOUR LITURGIES—ORIGINAL THEORY OF ARRANGEMENT—THE COMBINATION OF THE PRO-ANAPHORA WITH THE LITURGY PROPER HELPED TO DISPLACE AND REDUCE THE INTERCESSIONS—THE VAST IMPORTANCE ATTACHED TO INTERCESSION IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH—VERY LITTLE OF IT IN THE SYNAGOGUE OR TEMPLE SERVICE—THE SUDDEN OUTBURST OF INTERCESSION IN THE CHURCH—THE STRUCTURE OF A COLLECT.

CLOSELY linked with the Eucharistic Thanksgiving and Consecration was the Great Intercession, which balances it.

In the Liturgy in the "Apostolic Constitutions" there are several intercessions. There is first, that which we have considered under the head of the Litany, when the deacon called to prayer, and the people responded with the Kyrie, and which the celebrant then summed up in one prayer or collect of intercession for all sorts and conditions of men. There are, as has been already pointed out, indications of a still earlier litany and collect of intercession in the place where now stand our Ten Commandments, with the Kyries and the Collect for the day. This litany has almost evaporated, leaving only a few granular traces of its former presence. The Eucharistic Office proper also began with the Ektene, or Litany of Intercession, which has its representative in our Church Militant prayer. But the Great Eucharistic Intercession took place immediately after Consecration, and it also was of like nature, threefold, a bidding-prayer

with response by the congregation, and a collect by the celebrant. In the Liturgy given in the "Apostolic Constitutions," a confusion has taken place; the collect is put first, and the bidding-prayer next; but either the arrangement was the same as before, or else the deacon's call took place whilst the celebrant was engaged in private intercession at the altar. The prayer given is as follows:—

"We further pray Thee, O Lord, for Thy *Holy Church*, spread throughout the world, which Thou has purchased with the precious blood of Thy Christ, that Thou wilt keep it steadfast and immovable unto the end of the world.

"For every *episcopate* rightly dividing the word of truth.

"For *me*, unworthy, who am now offering.

"For the whole *Presbytery*.

"For the *deacons* and all the *clergy*. That Thou wouldst endue them with wisdom, and fill them with the Holy Ghost.

"Further, we call on Thee for the *king*, and all that are in authority.

"For the *army*, that they may be kindly disposed towards us, that leading our life in peace and quietness, we may glorify Thee through Jesus Christ, our hope.

"Further, we offer to Thee for all the *saints who have pleased Thee*, from the beginning of the world, patriarchs, prophets, righteous men, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops, priests, deacons, sub-deacons, readers, singers, virgins, widows, laymen, and all whose names Thou knowest.

"Further, we offer to Thee for *this Thy people*, that Thou wilt render them a royal priesthood, an holy nation.

"For the *virgins*, and all living in chastity.

"For the *widows* of the Church.

"For the *married*, and those bearing child.

"For the *children* among Thy people, that Thou wilt not permit any of us to become castaways.

“Further, we pray for this *city*, and the inhabitants thereof.

“For the *sick*.

“For those in bitter *slavery*, and for those in *banishment*, for those in *prison*.

“For those who *travel* by land or water, that Thou wilt be to all a helper, strengthener, and support.

“Further, we beseech Thee for *those who hate and persecute us* for Thy name’s sake.

“For (*heretics*) those who wander in error, and (*heathen*) those without, that Thou wouldst convert them to that which is good, and appease their wrath against us.

“Further, we pray Thee for the *Catechumens*.

“For *those possessed*.

“For *the penitents*, that Thou wouldst perfect the first in Thy faith ; relieve the second from the power of the evil one ; and accept the repentance of the last, and give to them and us remission of sin.

“Further, we offer Thee for *seasonable weather*, that we may have the fruits of the earth in due season, that receiving of Thy good things we may praise Thee incessantly.

“Further, we pray for the *absent*, that Thou wilt preserve all of us in goodness, and gather us together in the kingdom of Christ our King, the God of all living.

“And that Thou wilt keep *us* steadfast, unblamable, and un-reprovable. For to Thee is due all glory, adoration, and thanksgiving, honour, and worship to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, both now and ever, and world without end. Amen.”

Now, when the complete Canon or Anaphora consisted of—

1. Preface.
2. Great Thanksgiving, with the history of the World from Creation to Redemption.

3. The Consecration, consisting of—
 - a. The Institution.
 - β. The Observance.
4. Great Intercession,—

Then, as may be judged, the length was prodigious, and exhausting both to people and celebrant, all of whom during the prayer stood with uplifted hands. It was therefore broken up early in the days of the Church;—the Intercession was perhaps not said with elevated hands, only the Eucharistic Thanksgiving; and if so, by intercalating portions of the Intercession between portions of the Thanksgiving, sensible relief would be accorded. We have, already seen how that the record of God's dealings with man was condensed into the Nicene Creed, and removed to an earlier position in the service; but though removed, it carried with it the obligation in the celebrant to hold up his hands, the rubric for which has followed it. We shall see now how this Great Intercession has been broken up.

APOSTOLIC LITURGY.	S. JAMES.	S. MARK.	ROMAN.
Preface.	Preface.	Preface begun.	Preface.
		Great Inter- cession.	Great Thanks- giving begun.
Great Thanks- giving.	Great Thanks- giving.	Preface con- cluded.	Great Inter- cession begun.
Consecration.	Consecration.	Great Thanks- giving.	Consecration.
Great Inter- cession.	Great Inter- cession.	Consecration.	Great Inter- cession ended.

We need not take more than these as samples of the two most divergent uses. That of S. Mark shows us the attempt to combine both intercessions by bringing the first away from its place at the commencement of the "Mass of the Faithful," and the second one away from its place after the Consecration, and making of the two one intercession at a point half way between their original positions. In the Roman Liturgy a different arrangement took place. The first was wholly suppressed, then the Canon began with a

petition for a blessing on the gifts, and at once proceeded to that part of the Great Intercession which referred to the living Church, followed by the Institution, the Observance, and then that portion of the Great Intercession which commemorated the dead. From our own Eucharistic Service all the second intercession has dropped away ; and the first has been restored to tolerable completeness—a completeness far in advance of anything of the sort in the Roman Mass, which is a rubble-heap of abraded remains.

The Original Liturgy contained, as already pointed out, also a third—or, if one be admitted before the Lections, a fourth,—intercession. This has disappeared from most liturgies. The idea seems to have been that the Eucharist should begin with a Great Intercession, in token of general love and forgiveness. Then, at the oblation, that a great prayer for all the world and for all men in it, and for the Church, should be offered up, as Christ prayed on the Cross for His murderers, making intercession then, and so setting an example what should be done when commemoration was made of His death. Lastly, when all had communicated, then again all, united, by participation in the one Bread, with each other and with Him, should unite in the mighty intercession which the Mediator is ever making for the world before the Throne of the Father.

The Pro-Anaphora, or Mass of the Catechumens, was a distinct service, probably the evening office of the Church, which, when the Agape was cast out, coalesced with the Eucharist, and brought with it its own intercessions. These were either one before the Lessons, and one after, or only one before. It is not quite certain whether the Intercessional Litany we first noticed belonged, in the first instance, to this Pro-Anaphora as a distinct office, or to the Eucharistic Service proper ; if to the former, then each service had its two intercessions. Anyhow, one point comes out very distinctly in an investigation—the immense importance attributed in the primitive Church

to intercessory prayer. This is a remarkable feature, for it was one new to the world. In the Temple, in the Synagogue, there was very little intercession. Praise was abundant, but intercession was only in the germ. It received enormous, preponderating weight in the Christian Liturgy. Christ's mediatorial office was recognised, and the Church poured forth streams of prayer for all men—faithful, heathen, heretics alike—in confidence that her prayers would be united to the great intercession in Heaven. Perhaps no feature is more impressive than this sudden outburst of intercession, of which the liturgies give evidence. It is as though men's hearts had been sealed up, till prayer was suddenly made efficacious through Christ, when forth rushed the pent-up desire of the soul. It means more—it means the realisation of the unity of mankind, the fellowship of all the sons of Adam, the one with the other—the sense of one common brotherhood, which impels Christians to pray for one another, whether faithful, or erring, or rebellious. It is certainly interesting to note, in our own Sunday morning service, in which Mattins is followed by Litany, and Litany by the Communion Service, that in principle and practice the same emphasis on intercession is laid. We have intercession in the Collects, intercession in the Litany, intercession in the prayer for all sorts and conditions of men, and again, joined to the oblation, after the Communion.

We may now, in the complete Canon, consisting of Preface, recitation of God's works, and of supplication, see the type on which every perfect collect is formed. This Canon had so impressed its character on the hearts and minds of the old Fathers, that when they composed prayers, all prayers assumed the same threefold, we may say fourfold, division, for they conclude "through the merits of Jesus Christ," which is a reminiscence of the Oblation. All members are not indeed found in every collect, but three at least are found in every one that has not lost all flavour of antiquity.

CANON.

PREFACE. Memorial of God's Nature and Glory.

EUCCHARISTIC PRAYER. Memorial of God's dealings with man.

GREAT INTERCESSION. Prayer for various persons and various necessities.

OBLATION. Offering through the merits of Christ.

Amen. (Response of the people.)

COLLECT.

Lord of all Power and Might,

Who art the Author and Giver of all good things,

Graft in our hearts the love of Thy name, increase in us true religion, nourish us with all goodness, and of Thy great mercy keep us in the same.

Through Jesus Christ, our Lord.

Amen. (Response of the people.)

Sometimes one member—the attribution of glory and praise to God—is lost or reduced to a minimum, or cast to the end, where it reproduces the song which we shall have to speak of presently following the Sancta Sanctis.

CANON.

PREFACE.

EUCCHARISTIC THANKSGIVING for Incarnation, and memorial of session and second coming.

GREAT INTERCESSION.

“There is One Holy, One Lord, One Jesus Christ, to the Glory of God the Father, blessed for evermore.” Amen.

CANON.

PREFACE. Commemoration of God's Nature and perfections.

GREAT INTERCESSION.

OBLATION.

Amen.

COLLECT.

O God,

Whose blessed Son was manifested that He might destroy the works of the devil, and make us the sons of God, and heirs of Eternal Life,

Grant us, we beseech Thee, that, having this hope we may purify ourselves, even as He is pure; that, when He shall appear again with power and great glory, we may be made like unto Him in His Eternal and Glorious Kingdom.

Where with Thee, O Father, and Thee, O Holy Ghost, He liveth and reigneth, ever one God, world without end. Amen.

COLLECT.

O God, our refuge and strength, who art the Author of all godliness,

Be ready, we beseech Thee, to hear the devout prayers of Thy Church, &c.

Through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Amen.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE PREPARATION.

THE THREE PARTS OF THE EUCHARISTIC SERVICE—THE COMMUNION—THE PRAYER IN THE DIDACHÉ ONLY A PREPARATION FOR AND THANKSGIVING AFTER COMMUNION—THE SUPER-SUBSTANTIAL BREAD—THE LORD'S PRAYER—THE INTRODUCTORY PRAYER—THE EMBOLISMUS—ITS COUNTERPART IN THE JEWISH PRAYER-BOOK—THE SANCTA SANCTIS—CONVERTED IN THE ROMAN LITURGY INTO A CONFESSION OF UNWORTHINESS—THE ACCLAMATION AFTER THE SANCTA SANCTIS A CHRISTIAN VERSION OF THE JEWISH SCHEME.

WE have come now to the third part or subdivision of the Eucharistic Service. There was, first of all, the Pro-Anaphora as introduction, then the Anaphora, as the great Eucharistic oblation, and now we arrive at the third part, the Communion. As already pointed out, the Anaphora, or Liturgy proper, consisted of two parts—the first sacrificial, headed by the Invocation of the Holy Ghost on the gifts; the second had to do with Communion, and this was headed by the Invocations on those who approached to receive, that they might receive worthily. Before the reception of the most precious gifts, there preceded it, reasonably and rightly, a preparation, just as we shall see that, reasonably and rightly, reception is followed by a thanksgiving. In the Didaché, that little manual for the laity, the only prayers for the Eucharist given are these two, the preparatory prayer, previous to Communion, and the Post-Communion. The preparation involved the recitation of the Lord's Prayer. This prayer contained as its central portion a petition for the daily bread, or the super-substantial bread; it was therefore the most appropriate prayer that could be

employed. In S. Matthew's Gospel, and in S. Luke's also, we have the petition for τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον. The word ἐπιούσιος is one met with nowhere else, and is peculiar. The word οὐσία means originally that which is essential, and belongs to the true nature or property of things. It was the word over which the Arian controversy raged, whether Christ was of one *ousia*, nature, or substance with the Father, or of like nature or substance. In the apocryphal Gospel of the Hebrews, however, the prayer stood thus, "Give us this day the bread for the morrow,"—*i.e.*, our "daily bread," but the true rendering of the word in the canonical Gospel is certainly "super-substantial," or "supernatural." It is remarkable that the Protestant reformers should have followed the Latin mis-translation of "panem quotidianum," instead of reverting to the original meaning of the Greek.

The Lord's Prayer does not occur in the Liturgy of the "Constitutions;" but then it is precisely at this point that the compiler deserted one of his MS. authorities for another; and we can hardly be wrong in thinking that this omission was an oversight due to this change of authorities, for the Lord's Prayer is found in every other liturgy. S. Gregory the Great, we know, found it out of its proper place in the Roman, and restored it to that where it ought to be, and now stands. He found it in the midst of the Canon; perhaps in the recitation of the works of Christ for our redemption came the account of how He gave to His disciples the Prayer of prayers. He removed it thence to a place before Communion, and was reproached by some of the narrow conservative minds of the Roman Church for so doing, as a copying of the custom of the Oriental Church.* Some Protestant controversialists, with extraordinary blindness to the facts of the case, have endeavoured to build up a theory on this fact, that before Gregory's time consecration consisted *only* in the recitation of the Lord's

* Greg. Ep. ad Joan. Syrac. l. ix. ep. 12.

Prayer. As we know both what the revisions of the liturgy by Gelasius, and then again by Gregory, were, this theory is untenable. The Lord's Prayer in the Eastern Liturgies had both an introduction and a conclusion. The introduction is a Prayer of Humble Access, and the conclusion is an expansion of the petition against the evil one, and is called in Greek the *Embolismus*. These, Introduction and Embolismus, are so universal, and so much alike, that it is safe to attribute to them a very early origin.

The Preparatory Prayer, or Prayer of Humble Access, remains in the Liturgy of the "Constitutions."

"O God, who art great, great in name and counsel, powerful in Thy works, the God and Father of Thy Holy Son, Jesus Christ, our Saviour, look upon this Thy flock, which Thou hast chosen through Him to the glory of Thy name; sanctify us in body and soul; grant that, purified from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, we may partake of the mystic blessings now lying before Thee, and judge none of us unworthy of them, but be Thou our Supporter, Helper, Defender, through Thy Christ, with whom be glory, honour," &c.

The corresponding Prayer of Humble Access has been moved in our Anglican Liturgy to a place before the Consecration; and, most unaccountably and unmeaningly, the Lord's Prayer relegated to a place after Communion.

The Embolismus, or prayer against Satan, was also called the prayer of bowed heads, or "of the Bowing-down." It is referred to as early as the beginning of the second century, in the letter of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, which, after references to the Preface, Sanctus, Eucharistic Prayer, and Great Intercession, says: "It is right for us to *submit the neck*, and, occupying the place of obedience, take our side with them that are leaders of our souls, ceasing from foolish dissensions, and keeping aloof from every fault."* An allusion which would be well understood by those to whom he wrote, and whom he warned against that strife and envy which was the work of the evil one.

* c. 63.

That the Embolismus is a very primitive feature can hardly be doubted, partly because it serves to give *form* to the Prayer of prayers, acting as a corresponding wing to the introduction, but also because a strictly analogous prayer is found after a prayer that corresponds with the Lord's Prayer, in the service of the Synagogue. The doxology at the end of the Lord's Prayer is also taken from Jewish usage.

When this prayer of the Bowing-down had been said by the celebrant, then followed a remarkable ritual act, which we find everywhere in the East. He turned to the people, and holding up the consecrated Bread and Wine, cried aloud,

“HOLY THINGS TO THE HOLY.”

S. Chrysostom thus describes this:—“With a loud voice, with a solemn shout, just as some herald, raising his hand on high, standing aloft, and conspicuous to all, and crying out mightily in that awful silence, the priest summons some [to draw nigh], and bids others keep away—for, when he says ‘Holy things to the holy,’ this is his meaning: If any be not holy, let him not draw near.”*

It is noticeable that in the Paschal rite the master of the feast, at a certain point in it, has to take the shoulder of the lamb, and to *lift it up* off the dish before all present, as a wave-offering to the Lord, and that in like manner he raises the cup, and also the unleavened bread. The elevation formed an integral part of the Paschal rite, and also of the oblations of first-fruits, and of sacrifice, so that it almost certainly formed an integral portion of the Eucharist as regulated by the Apostles; moreover, it also almost certainly was performed by Christ in the Upper Chamber. In the Paschal ceremony the recitation of the delivery out of Egypt took place, as giving the institution of the Passover; the order in the Eucharist was directly analogous; after the recitation of the work of redemption, came the record of the Institution, and

* In Ep. ad Hebr., Hom. xvii. Compare also, in Matt., Hom. vii.

as in the Passover the elevation of the slain lamb that was to be eaten followed, so did the elevation of the Eucharistic species follow in the liturgy. The words of S. Paul in 1 Cor. xi. 26, inaccurately translated, "do show forth the Lord's death" (A.V.), are rightly rendered in the Revised Version, "do proclaim" as a herald "the Lord's death;"* and they point almost certainly to the use in the primitive liturgy of a narration of the connexion between the Institution and the Passion, and hint at such a proclamation with loud voice as we find in the Greek Liturgies.

Great difference of opinion exists relative to the exclamation, "Holy things to the holy," the usual opinion being that it is—as S. John Chrysostom and S. Cyril of Jerusalem say,—a warning against unworthy Communion.

But there is another explanation of the words. It has been thought that "to the holy" does not refer to the communicants, but to the heavenly places, and that with the elevation, the celebrant made oblation of the sacrifice to the heavenly altar, and that it was this idea which led to the curious form of prayer in the Roman Mass, "We most humbly beseech Thee, O God, to command these things to be carried by the hands of Thy holy angel to Thy altar on high, in the sight of Thy divine Majesty." This explanation would accord with the elevation of the lamb at the Paschal feast, and also the wave-offering in the Temple. The Rev. Dr. Littledale, a high authority on liturgies, says, in a letter to the author, "My theory of the matter is this—the earthly Church and the earthly priest can offer nothing but mere bread and wine, and cannot make that oblation to be more, or more efficacious than, mere bread and wine. Christ is the One consecrating High Priest, who, by outpouring of the Holy Spirit, consecrates the bread and wine into His Body and Blood. Then, no longer mere bread and wine, but mysteriously subjected to a mighty

* καταγγέλλετε.

spiritual change, the oblations are capable of being presented and offered, not on earth alone, but actually in heaven, whither material oblations cannot come. They are, so to speak, caught up to heaven in mystery, there to be offered by the Great High Priest Himself at the golden altar before the white throne. And this translation of the earthly rite into heavenly locality, agency, and efficiency, is what the *Sancta Sanctis* means, in my mind."

Dr. Littledale is probably right. Such was the primary meaning, but, like all divine things, it had both an objective and a subjective meaning. It was at once a rendering of the oblation to God, it was also a caution to men drawing nigh; and it is in this latter sense that S. John Chrysostom explains it. The one explanation does not exclude the other. Now let us consider it in its subjective sense.

It was the last warning against profanation. As, before, the unqualified and unworthy had been called on, to depart, so now the intending communicants are called on, to hold back from the Holy Table, unless worthy. It is, in few words, what we find expanded in our own Exhortation: "If any of you be a hinderer or slanderer of God's word, an adulterer, or be in malice or envy, or in any other grievous crime, repent you of your sins, or else come not to this Holy Sacrament."

The Western celebrant pronounces a general absolution:

"May the Almighty and Merciful Lord give you pardon, absolution, and remission of sins."

Then he elevates a particle of the Blessed Sacrament, and cries:—

"Behold the Lamb of God, behold Him who taketh away the sins of the World."

Then with, and in the name of, the communicant, says:—

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

It will be seen that the conscience in the West shrank from

the acknowledgment of worthiness to approach, implied by the Eastern form, and converted it into a supplication for pardon, with eye lifted to the Lamb of God, who alone can make worthy, and into an acknowledgment of unworthiness without His absolving mercy.

When the celebrant had cried, "Holy things to holy persons," then ensued a burst of praise to God: "There is One Holy, One Lord, One Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father, blessed for evermore. Amen."

To this the Liturgy in the "Constitutions" adds, "Hosanna to the Son of David. Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord. God is the Lord, and He hath appeared unto us. Hosanna in the highest."

The Hosanna, however, in other liturgies, goes with the Sanctus and the Benedictus, before Communion.

This song of faith in the unity of God, and in the Incarnation, which may be termed a Creed in acclamation, takes the place of the Jewish acclamation of faith, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is One God. Blessed be the name of the glory of His Kingdom for ever."

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE COMMUNION.

THE SECOND FRACTION—THE COMMIXTURE—PSALM SUNG DURING COMMUNION—WORDS OF ADMINISTRATION—ORDER OF COMMUNICANTS RECEIVING—COMMUNION IN BOTH KINDS—EXCEPTIONS—RESERVATION — DAILY COMMUNION — ON CERTAIN DAYS—THE EUCHARIST TAKEN IN A BASKET—THE BROTHER OF S. AMBROSE TOOK THE EUCHARIST WITH HIM WHEN ON A JOURNEY—THE TIME OF THE DAY FOR COMMUNION, THE MORNING—THE INVARIABLE RULE OF THE CHURCH.

INTO the Fraction and Commixture, or Intinction, that follow, we need not enter at length. The holy Bread, which had been broken simply at the Consecration, was again broken immediately before the Communion into as many pieces as were thought requisite for the communicants. This practical need originated what became in later ages a ceremonial fraction. So also with the Intinction, or dipping the Host into the chalice. When the Body was given to communicants after dipping in the Blood, in one act, this intinction became necessary. Then communicants received in both kinds at once. In the Roman Church the communicants have had the Sacred Blood withdrawn from them, but the commixture remains as a relic of the transitional stage.

That this is no part of the Apostolic institution is apparent.

Whilst the people came up to communicate, a psalm was sung; according to the "Constitutions," it was the thirty-fourth. As the communicant received the Bread of Life,

the celebrant said, "The Body of Christ," to which he responded "Amen." At the presentation of the cup was said, "The Blood of Christ, the cup of Life," to which came the response, "Amen."

Of the psalm sung during the Communion, the Roman Mass retains only the antiphon, "O taste and see how gracious the Lord is. Blessed is the man that trusteth in Him." In the Liturgy of S. James is the same anthem.

The form in the Liturgy of S. Mark is,—for the bread, "The Holy Body ;" for the chalice,—"The precious Blood of our Lord and God and Saviour." Then the forty-second Psalm is sung: "Like as the hart desireth the water brooks, so panteth my soul after Thee, O God."

The form in the Roman Mass is, "May the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy soul to life everlasting."

The bishops and clergy communicated first in their order of rank, the bishops and priests at the altar, the deacons behind it, the rest of the clergy in the choir, and the laity in the nave or body of the church. The position in which the Eucharistic gifts were received was, certainly in the East, probably in the West, standing. The Body of Christ was received in the right hand, sustained by the left placed under it, cross-wise.* The chalice might be given to the communicants by the deacons; this was the custom in Africa, and is the order in the "Apostolic Constitutions." Sometimes a deacon distributed also the consecrated Bread, but this was forbidden by the 18th Canon of the Council of Nicæa.

The Roman modern usage of putting the Host into the mouth, instead of into the hand, came in gradually with the introduction of the thin wafer-bread. The first mention of it is in the time of Pope Agapetus, who died A.D. 536 †

The communicants received in both kinds, with the excep-

* Cyril Hierosol. Catech. 23, 21; Conc. Trull. c. 10.

† Greg. Mag. Dial. iii. 3.

tion of children, who were given to taste of the chalice only, and perhaps also the absent had the species of Bread alone sent to them.

It was customary, not only for communicants to receive at the Eucharist, but also to carry away with them the Body of the Lord, and sometimes, also, the Blood, that they might communicate themselves privately at home, when unable to come to the church. Moreover, the deacons received and carried the Eucharist to captives and the sick.

In the Apostles' time, when possible, the Breaking of Bread was daily. As the sacrifice was daily offered in the Temple, so also the commemorative sacrifice in the Church.

S. Cyprian says, "We, as priests, daily celebrate the sacrifices of God."*

That daily Communion was the rule is almost certain. S. Cyprian says, in his explanation of the Lord's Prayer, † "Christ is the Bread of those who are in union with His Body. And we ask that this Bread should be given to us daily, that we who are in Christ, and daily receive the Eucharist for the food of salvation, may not, by the interposition of some heinous sin, by being prevented, or withheld, and not communicating, from partaking of the heavenly bread, be separated from His Body." Elsewhere, warning the people of Thibaris of the breaking out of persecution (A.D. 252), he says: "A severer and fiercer fight is threatening, for which the soldiers of Christ should prepare themselves with uncorrupt faith and strong courage, seeing that they drink the cup of Christ's Blood daily."‡ But as it was not possible for all Christians to attend the Eucharist daily, rather than fail to communicate daily, they took it home with them, and partook of it the first thing in the morning. Tertullian, when opposing the marriages of Christian women with heathen husbands, asks pertinently, "Will not your

* Ep. liii. (lvii. Oxford) c. 3.

† In Orat. Dom. c. 17.

‡ Ep. iv. (lviii, Oxf.) c. i.

husband know what it is that you secretly taste before any other food?—Will every husband, not understanding, endure such things?"* Elsewhere he speaks of men daily stretching forth the hands to receive the Body of the Lord.† Again he says, "We receive, in meetings before daybreak, the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and from the hand of none but the presidents, which the Lord hath commanded to be eaten at meal-times."‡ This would seem to imply that it was reserved to be the first food partaken of before every meal, but as there is no other passage which gives any support to this, we must suppose that by meal-times he means the morning meal only, and that his words signify that the Christians received the Eucharist to take home with them that they might partake of it daily before their morning meal. Clement of Alexandria implies a daily Communion, apparently in connexion with a daily Eucharist, for he says that Jesus, the nourisher of men, gives the bread of immortality daily.§ S. Cyprian tells a story of judgment on an unworthy person who had taken the Blessed Sacrament home with him for his daily morning Communion.|| Cyprian speaks of the Sacramental food as being preserved in a box, but it was also taken from Church in such a wicker basket as that represented on the back of the Sacred Fish (fig. 11, p. 208), and to this S. Jerome refers, as already mentioned.

That this custom of private reservation led to abuse is not surprising, and the First Council of Toledo in A.D. 400 condemns them as sacrilegious who, having received the Eucharist, do not consume it (Can. 14.). After this reservation had ceased to be usual, it remained in force among hermits. The Eucharist was either conveyed to them, or they carried away with them sufficient to serve them till they could again attend the liturgy.¶ The brother of S. Ambrose, when on a sea-

* Ad Uxor. i. c. 5.

† De Idol. c. 7.

‡ De Corona c. 3.

§ Quis dives, c. 23.

De Lapsis, c. 26.

¶ Ep. ad Cesar. Patric., 93.

voyage, carried the Blessed Sacrament with him, and when wrecked, wrapped it in a napkin, and threw himself into the sea with it.* The custom of daily Communion ceased, as the fervour of Christians cooled, and the limits of the Church were extended. And now, the Church is glad if she can induce her members to receive the Eucharist thrice or even once in the year.

That the proper time of the day for reception is the morning appears, because morning was also the fixed time for the Eucharist. A passage quoted in chap. xvi. from S. Cyprian shows that in his day it was not regarded as right that the Eucharist should be celebrated at any other time. Tertullian speaks of it as being received before any other food. Justin Martyr (and Pliny also) shows us the Eucharist as a service before daybreak.

Clement of Rome says that "the Divine Master hath commanded us to perform all things in order at their appointed seasons. Now He commanded the offerings and ministrations to be performed with care, and not to be done rashly or in disorder, but at fixed times and seasons" (c. 40).

Here this disciple of S. Paul shows us that the Apostles had some fixed rule laid down by Christ as their guide, both as to the seasons, *i.e.*, as to the days of the week, and as to the time of the day, for the Oblation. There is no evidence of the Eucharist having ever been celebrated in the evening. Just as the Passover was eaten in the evening as typical of its being a rite of a declining and disappearing covenant, so the Eucharist was celebrated in the morning as the Sacrament of a New Day, a day of a New Covenant which was to have no end.

* S. Ambros. de Excessu Satyri.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE POST-COMMUNION.

ANOTHER LITANY OF INTERCESSION—THIS HAS DISAPPEARED—LEAVING ONLY TRACES OF ITS PRESENCE—THANKSGIVING AFTER COMMUNION—GLORY TO GOD—THE THANKSGIVING A REFLEX OF THE PREFACE—THE LORD'S PRAYER AFTER COMMUNION IN SOME LITURGIES—THE GLORIA IN EXCELSIS—ORIGINALLY ALLOWED AT EASTER ONLY—AND AT PONTIFICAL MASSES—THEN ACCORDED TO THE MONKS OF MONTE CASSINO—THE GLORIA IN EXCELSIS USUALLY OCCURS IN THE PRO-ANAPHORA—THE HYMN AFTER THE INSTITUTION—THE GLORIA IN EXCELSIS SUITABLY PLACED IN THE ANGLICAN OFFICE.

THE Communion of the people ended, or perhaps whilst in progress, there followed according to the Liturgy in the "Constitutions," a Litany strictly the same as that with which the Pro-Anaphoral* service began. It was probably inserted with that remarkable adhesion to *form* which we notice throughout the Liturgy, and which really gives to it its stamp of antiquity.

The intention was that these two Litanies should balance each other, one on each side of the Great Central Prayer of Intercession by the celebrant.

It has gone, leaving only traces here and there, as in the Ethiopic Liturgy, where an intercessional collect by the celebrant remains in this place. Perhaps the twelve Kyries recited one after another in the Constantinopolitan Post-Communion, but postponed to a still later position, may be the remains of

* This Litany was probably said during the Communion of the people; the Liturgy in the "Constitutions" is confused at this point. But this seems to be the meaning of the rubrics and the arrangement.

this Litany, just as we have seen that our ten Kyries before the Collects are the relics of an Intercessional Litany in that place.

Then came the Thanksgiving after Communion, with a call from the deacon and a collect by the celebrant. In the "Constitutions" there is no hymn of praise; but this portion of the liturgy, as there given, is somewhat confused. Judging from the order in other Eastern Liturgies, there would be an ascription of praise. In that of S. James, after the priest has communicated, he says, "Glory to God, Who hath sanctified, and sanctifieth us all." And the deacon responds, "Set up Thyself, O God, above the heavens, and Thy glory above all the earth. Thy kingdom remaineth for ever and ever."

After the Communion of the people, the priest exclaims, "Glory to our God, Who hath sanctified us all," whereupon the deacons and people respond, "Fill our mouths with Thy praise, O Lord, and fill our lips with thankfulness, that we may celebrate Thy glory and majesty all the day long. We give Thee thanks, Christ our God, that Thou hast vouchsafed to make us partakers of Thy Body and Blood, for the remission of sins and eternal life. Keep us, we beseech Thee, without condemnation, because Thou art good, and the lover of men."

Then the deacon calls at the entrance doors to the chancel, "Glory be to Thee, glory be to Thee, glory be to Thee, Christ the King, Only Begotten Word of the Father, for that Thou hast vouchsafed us sinners, Thy unworthy servants, to enjoy Thy spotless mysteries, for the forgiveness of sins, and for eternal life. Glory be to Thee."

It deserves to be noted how completely this hymn of praise from the people pre-supposes them all to have just communicated, and it thus proves to belong to a period anterior to the relaxation of discipline, which allowed non-communicating attendance.

In the Constantinopolitan Liturgy, the Thanksgiving is

reduced to this exclamation, "Standing upright, having partaken of the Divine, spotless, immortal . . . mysteries, let us meekly give thanks to the Lord, and say, 'Assist and preserve us, that we may pass this day [without sin]. For Thou art our sanctification, and to Thee we ascribe glory, O Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now and ever, and to ages of ages.'"

The Malabar Liturgy gives a fuller, richer form. "Glory be to God for His unspeakable gift. It is very meet, just, and right, O Lord, that all times and days and hours, we should laud, magnify, and praise the name of Thy Majesty. By Thy grace and love, Thou hast vouchsafed to our weak nature, that we may hallow Thy Name, together with blessed spirits, and hast made us partakers of Thy mysteries. . . . Therefore, we offer praise to Thy Godhead, O Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

Then follows the "Our Father."

The Thanksgiving is clearly a reflex of the Preface. How it is that the Anglican Reformers followed the Malabar usage of placing the Lord's Prayer after Communion is inexplicable. In the Malabar Liturgy it is said in the proper place as well, before Communion. In the Ethiopic Liturgy it is also found after Communion. It was going far afield, to the coast of India and the Abyssinian highlands, for a precedent to justify a change which had nothing to commend it.

The Reformers substituted the "Gloria in excelsis" for the acclamations of praise and responses after Communion, giving glory to God for having fed His people with the super-substantial food.

The "Gloria in excelsis" is found first as a morning hymn in the "Apostolic Constitutions" (vii. c. 47) :—

"Glory be to God in the highest, and upon earth peace, goodwill among men. We praise Thee, we sing hymns to Thee, we bless Thee, we glorify Thee, we worship Thee, by Thy Great High Priest : Thee who art the true God, who art the One Unbegotten, the only inaccessible Being. For Thy great glory, O Lord and Heavenly King, O God the Father Almighty, O Lord God, the Father of Christ the immaculate

Lamb, who taketh away the sin of the world, receive our prayer, Thou that sittest upon the cherubim, for Thou only art holy, Thou only art the Lord Jesus, the Christ of the God of all creation, our King, by whom glory, honour, and worship be to Thee."

It is not mentioned as a portion of the liturgy by S. Cyril of Jerusalem in his Catechetical Lectures, in the 4th century, nor do we find allusions to it, as constituting part of the liturgy, in the earlier Fathers. This hymn must have become generally known in the fourth and fifth centuries. It is found in the tract "De Virginitate," which has been wrongly attributed to S. Athanasius; and it occurs in the rule of S. Cæsarius of Arles (c. 21), end of 5th century. According to the Pontifical Book, Pope Symmachus (A.D. 498) ordered that it should be sung on all Sundays and festivals. Gregory the Great limited its use in the liturgy to Easter, and to bishops. Nicholas I. allowed it further to be read on Maundy Thursday. The general use of the "Gloria in excelsis" in other Masses than those at which bishops were present was introduced only in the Middle Ages. The monks of Monte Cassino were the first to whom it was allowed, by a special privilege granted by Pope Zacharias in the twelfth century.

The first Scriptural strain of the "Gloria in Excelsis" is found in several of the Eastern Liturgies, as in the Greek S. James, the Syriac S. James, and that of SS. Adæus and Maris, always early in the service, but in very different places. In the Roman it occurs immediately after the nine Kyries, between them and the Collects, a clear proof of late intrusion, when the mutual relation of the Kyries and Collects was forgotten. In the Greek S. James it occurs before the Prayer of the Veil. In the Syriac S. James at the very beginning of the Pro-Anaphora, evidence that it was added after the separation of the Jacobite heretics from the Orthodox Church in the fifth century. It begins also the Nestorian Liturgy of SS. Adæus and Maris.

After the Institution we are told that the Apostles sang a

hymn, and went out to the Mount of Olives. The revisers of the Anglican Liturgy were desirous of restoring the hymn in the place at the Thanksgiving, which they perhaps believed had existed there originally, but which had disappeared from the Roman Liturgy, and guided by the ascription of Glory to God, and to Christ, found in some Oriental Liturgies at this place, introduced here the Great Doxology. As that certainly did not belong to the Primitive Apostolic Eucharistic office, they were perfectly justified in putting it where they thought proper, if it was to be admitted at all; and it can hardly be denied that the position assigned it is suitable and seemly.

The liturgy closes with Benediction and Dismissal.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

TRADITION.

FAMILY LIKENESS IN THE LITURGIES—NO DEVELOPMENT OF RITUAL POSSIBLE IN TIME OF PERSECUTION—ALTERATION IN THE FORM OF DIVINE WORSHIP UNLIKELY IN THE TIME OF THE DISCIPLES OF THE APOSTLES—THE IDEA OF TRADITION—APPEAL TO TRADITION AGAINST THE HERETICS—ONLY APPEAL POSSIBLE—IRENÆUS ON TRADITION — HIPPLYTUS — CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA — TERTULLIAN—THE APPEAL TO TRADITION ABUSED IN THE MIDDLE AGES—TRADITION OF THE FAITH AND OF THE FORM OF WORSHIP SIMPLE—THE TRADITION OF THE FAITH A CHAIN OF FACTS—THE WITNESS TO TRADITION FORMED A CHAIN—CLEMENT OF ROME —THE TIME OF CHANGE WAS WHEN THE STATE FAVOURED CHRISTIANITY AND THE WORLD FLOWED INTO THE CHURCH—THE CHURCH THEN ASSIMILATED THINGS SECULAR AND EVEN PAGAN —THE LACK OF ASSIMILATIVE POWER EVIL, AND ITS EXCESS AN EVIL—THE CHECK OF TRADITION—THE RESULT OF OUR SEARCH —THE PRIMITIVE LITURGY—TABLE OF THE LITURGICAL STRUCTURE, ACCORDING TO EARLY WRITERS.

We have seen what a striking family likeness prevails in the liturgies, pointing to a common original. That original was the Apostolic Eucharistic Service in use throughout the Church from Pentecost till the cessation of persecution by the accession of Constantine in 306, that is to say, for about two hundred and seventy years.

Those had not been years in which any great development of ritual could have taken place, because during the whole of that time the exercise of the worship of Christians was illegal, and the machinery whereby any personal wrong could be avenged on Christians was available. Worship was, and was necessarily, more or less private, and was exercised with

caution. Till the death of the disciples of the Apostles, there would almost certainly be no alteration, and Ignatius died in A.D. 107; Polycarp in A.D. 155 or 156. Even after that time tradition held tenaciously to what had been handed down in faith and worship. A rule held good for both, and this rule might not be deviated from. What was new was erroneous, only what was traditional everywhere was Apostolic and true. This is insisted on by the Fathers with vehemence against the heretics. Those must be wrong, because their tenets, their worship, were confessedly new.

“True knowledge,” says Irenæus, “is [found in] the doctrine of the Apostles, and the ancient constitution of the Church throughout all the world, and the distinctive manifestation of the Body of Christ, according to the successions of bishops, by which they have handed down that Church which exists in every place, guarded and preserved by a very complete system of doctrine, neither added to, nor curtailed.”* Irenæus is opposing heresy, and he falls back on the rigid adherence of the Church to what is old, traditionally received, unchanged from age to age.

“Now all heretics are of much later date than the bishops to whom the Apostles committed the Churches. . . . The Church possesses the true tradition of the Apostles.” †

“We refer the heretics to that tradition which originates from the Apostles, and is preserved by means of the successions of presbyters in the Churches.”

“It is in the power of all, in every Church, of those who may wish to know the truth, to consider the tradition of the Apostles manifested throughout the whole world. We can reckon up those who were instituted by the Apostles as Bishops in the Churches, and the successions of these men to our own times. The Apostles . . . were desirous that those men whom they left behind as their successors should be very perfect and blameless.”

* Irenæus, *Adv. Her.* iv. 6.

† *Ibid.* v. c. 20.

TABLE OF EARLY CHRISTIAN WRITERS.

A.D.	S. Paul.	S. Peter.	S. James.	S. John.	S. Clement.	S. Ignatius.
30						
40						
50						
60						
70						
80						
90						
100						
110						
120						
130						
140						
150						
160						
170						
180						
200						
210						
220						
230						
240						
250						
260						
270						
280						
290						

<p>† 186</p> <p>wrote 177</p> <p>S. Hippolytus</p> <p>† 238</p> <p>Dionysius of Alexandria.</p> <p>† 265</p> <p>† 270</p> <p>† 312</p> <p>† c. 375</p>	<p>† 155</p> <p>† 167</p> <p>† 166</p> <p>† 202</p> <p>† 217</p> <p>† 202</p> <p>† 215</p> <p>† 253</p> <p>† 258</p>	<p>† 99</p> <p>† 108</p> <p>† 107</p> <p>Justin M.</p> <p>Tatian.</p> <p>S. Irenaeus, Bp. 133</p> <p>Clement Alex. Tertullian.</p> <p>Origen.</p> <p>Minucius Felix, wrote 166</p> <p>† 303</p>
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<p>Theophilus of Antioch.</p> <p>Hermas.</p> <p>Athenagoras.</p> <p>Barnabas.</p>	<p>S. Polycarp.</p>	<p>Writer of Ep. to Diognetus.</p>
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<p>Lactantius.</p> <p>Arnobius.</p> <p>wrote 304.</p>	<p>Archelaus.</p> <p>Novatian.</p> <p>dispo. formed a schism c. 201</p>	<p>S. Methodius.</p> <p>S. Cyprian. Bp. 246.</p> <p>† 238</p> <p>Commodian.</p>
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“To put to confusion those who assemble in unauthorised meetings, we indicate the tradition derived from the Apostles of the very great, ancient, and universally known Church founded and organized at Rome by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul, as also the faith preached, which comes down to our time by the successions of the bishops.” After having traced the successions of the Roman bishops, he says, “In this order, and by this succession, the ecclesiastical tradition from the Apostles, and the preaching of the truth, have come down to us.”

Then he takes the Church of Smyrna. “Polycarp there was not only instructed by Apostles, and had conversed with many who had seen Christ, but was also appointed bishop of that Church by Apostles,—him I also saw in my early youth, for he tarried [on earth] for a very long time, and when a very old man gloriously departed this life by martyrdom, having always taught the things which he had learned from the Apostles, and which the Church has handed down, and which alone are true. To these things testify all the Asiatic Churches, as do those men also who succeeded Polycarp, to the present time.”*

“It is incumbent to obey the presbyters in the Church, who possess the succession from the Apostles, and with the succession of the episcopate, the certain gift of truth. But hold in suspicion those who depart from the primitive succession, and assemble themselves anywhere. All such have fallen from the truth.”†

Now these passages show a temper of mind in one who belonged to the second century which was eminently conservative, in the face of heretics altering the truth and devising strange rites; he would hold with the utmost rigidity to what he had received from Polycarp and others, disciples of the Apostles, and would no more venture to innovate on Divine

* *Irenæus, Ad. Hæc, iii. c. 2, 3.*

† *Ibid. iv. c. 26.*

worship than on the doctrines he had received. We find precisely the same appeal to the unswerving unity between present and past, in faith and practice, in other writers.

Hippolytus, who wrote between A.D. 235 and 239, falls back on the same argument against heretics, in his "Refutation of all Heresies"; their teaching, their practices are new, and being new, must be wrong.

"None can refute these [men], save the Holy Spirit bequeathed to the Church, which the Apostles first received, and then transmitted to right believers. We, their successors, participators in their grace, high priesthood, and teaching functions, as well as being regarded as the guardians of the Church, must not be slack in vigilance, and backward with the truth."*

Clement of Alexandria speaks of his own reminiscences as the guarantee for the orthodoxy of his teaching. He had sat at the feet of men who had been the disciples of the Apostles. "They preserve that tradition of the blessed,—'What is old is true'; the Church holds the Apostolic ordering, the rule the founders of the Church imposed, that she never swerves from; what is new is not Christian, it is false."

"The Church has received the apostolic doctrine derived directly from the holy Apostles, Peter, James, John, and Paul, the son receiving it from the father, it has come to us also, by God's will, to sow these ancestral and apostolic seeds."† Clement speaks further of the "Venerable Rule of Tradition."

The observance of this rule of tradition constitutes true wisdom. The Gnostic—*i.e.*, the truly wise man—he says, "maintains Apostolic and ecclesiastical orthodoxy in doctrine." "The life of the true Gnostic is nothing else but a correspondence in deed and word with the tradition of the Lord."‡

According to Tertullian, in his "Prescription against Heretics," Christ first delivered the Rule of Faith, the Apostles

* Hippol., *Philosoph. Proæm.* † Strom. i., *Proæm.* ‡ *Ibid.* vii. c. 16.

taught it everywhere, the Churches they founded became the depositories of the Rule; and every Church that they founded, and all Churches that have issued by spiritual generation from these Apostolic Churches, all carry with them the same tradition, unaltered, undiminished, unadded to (c. 20). Such doctrine alone is true, which comes through the Church from the Apostles, for they received the truth from God through Christ. All opinion which has no such succession, filiation, and Apostolic origin to show, is prejudged, *ipso facto*, to be false (c. 21). But granted that the Apostles taught and instituted what was true, have all Churches remained faithful, and retained the deposit unaltered, unalloyed? This, Tertullian says, is inconceivable (c. 27), for every Church, wherever found, is like all the rest, the one tradition is seen everywhere, the same substantially. Besides, the Holy Spirit of Truth is the guide and light of the Church, given her to protect her from error by Christ. "Is it likely that so many Churches, and they so great, should all have gone astray? Errors in the several Churches would have led them into various issues. When, however, that which has been deposited among many is found to be one and the same, it is no result of error, it springs out of one tradition" (c. 28). The truth had free circulation first, then came heresy. The priority of the Church's doctrine is a mark of its truth (c. 29). Falsehood is the perversion of truth, and can only exist after truth has been revealed, the good seed is sown first, then come the tares (c. 31).

Tertullian, it will be seen, takes precisely the same line in contending with heretics as did Irenæus at the beginning. "No other teaching," he says to Marcion, "has any right to be received as Apostolic but that which is at the present day proclaimed by Churches of Apostolic foundation. . . . Show us one of your Churches tracing its descent from an Apostle, and you will have gained the day."* "We

* Tertull. adv. Marcion, i. c. 21.

at once put in a plea against these tainters of our purity, asserting that [our faith] is that rule of faith which comes down from Christ by transmission through His companions, to whom we shall show that all these devisers of strange doctrines are posterior.”*

In his treatise “De Corona” Tertullian speaks of liturgical and sacramental acts. He says that a written order for each particular practice in baptism and the Eucharist is unnecessary; there is custom, there is unbroken tradition, to sanction them.† We have already quoted some telling passages from his “Prescription against Heretics,” in the same vein; but the whole of that remarkable treatise should be read; the gist of the tract is this: “We say, Let them produce the original records of their Churches, let them unfold the roll of their bishops, running down in due succession from the beginning in such a manner that they can show their first bishop was ordained, and preceded by, an Apostle or an apostolic man—one who continued steadfast with the Apostles. For in this manner do the Apostolic Churches transmit their registers, as the Church of Smyrna, which records that Polycarp was placed there by John; as the Church of Rome, which makes Clement to have been ordained in like manner by Peter. In exactly the same way the other Churches show [their succession of bishops], whom, as having been appointed to their episcopal offices by the Apostles, they regard as transmitters of the apostolic seed. . . . As the Apostles would never have taught things contradictory, so the apostolic men—(*i.e.*, their successors)—would not have taught differently from the Apostles. Let all heresies be challenged by the Church to these two tests”—*i.e.*, succession of bishops from the Apostles, and identity of doctrine through all time of their existence from the Apostles (c. 32). Again, and yet again, does Tertullian revert to the same evidence, as a crushing, overwhelming, conclusive reply to heresy.

* *Id.* Apologet. c. 47.

† *Id.* De Corona, c. 3.

S. Cyprian is the same. With him also the appeal is to the past, the evidence against error in practice is the invariable tradition from the Apostles.

In the disputation of Bishop Archelaus with the heretic Manes, that took place in the year A.D. 262, the bishop makes a great point of the unbroken tradition of the Church. He says, supposing a father leaves a rich inheritance, will the judges adjudicate it to the man who pretends to be the true representative of the deceased, unless he can show direct, patent, descent from him? How then can a heretic represent Christ, when he is a new phenomenon, whereas the Church has been from the time Christ founded her? "That master-builder of Christ, Paul, laid our foundation, and has put us in trust of the law (*i.e.*, the Rule of Faith), ordaining ministers, presbyters, and bishops in the same, and showing in what manner, and with what character, the ministers of God should conduct themselves, in what repute the presbyters should be held, how constituted, and what manner of persons should desire the office of bishop. All these institutions, once settled, preserve their proper standing and order with us to this day; the regular administration of the rules abides amongst us still. But as for this fellow, Manes," &c., he proceeds to show that his doctrine, his sect, are novel, and therefore false.

The appeal to Scripture, and to Scripture alone, in dealing with heretics, was found by the Fathers to be inconclusive for two reasons.

1. The Canon of Scripture was not definitely fixed, and the heretics appealed to certain Gospels, which they insisted had equal, if not greater, authority than those received by the Church. Or, if they appealed to the same Gospels, they appealed to earlier or different editions. Thus, the Ebionites had the Gospel of the Hebrews, which there is every reason to believe was an early recension of that of S. Matthew, earlier than the edition finally adopted by the Church. So Marcion appealed to his Gospel of S. Luke, which also was probably

not mutilated by him, but actually a first edition of the third Gospel.

2. In the next place, when Catholics and heretics were agreed as to what books were canonical, they disagreed as to the interpretation of the texts. When the text was quoted literally, an allegorical interpretation was opposed to it.

It was the habit of mind then for all alike to look for the meaning of Scripture everywhere save on the surface, and the more strange and recondite the meaning drawn from it, the more likely was it thought to be the true signification. We have only to look at the "Philosophoumena" of Hippolytus to see how that the wildest and even obscene heresies found the authority for their wildness and obscenity in Scripture. The Catholics, therefore, in contending with heretics, found that the quotation of texts availed them nothing, and carried no force. But it was quite another matter with tradition. They could appeal to a living witness, the Church, which had always taught the same truths, and had the same rule of ecclesiastical and liturgical order as she had of faith. This was a testimony not to be gainsaid or evaded. It was plain, conclusive, and crushing.

Now, with the Church assailed on all sides by heresy, obliged to defend herself and the faith, and with the very unity of her teaching and practice as the main engine with which to hold her position, is it conceivable that she should vitiate her own claim, spike her own guns? Alteration of her liturgy would be a salient change, recognisable by all. It would be far less easy to convict her of change of faith than it would be of alteration of liturgy, for the faith might be changed by subtleties of expression that might for a while pass undetected, but the liturgy was what was performed every Lord's Day at the least, in some churches four times in the week. Its structure, its rhythm of parts, had become one with the recollections of all her members from childhood. An alteration would jar and be detected at once, just as at the

present time a Lection from the Revised Version—grating on the ear, and exasperating to the conservative instinct, certain to provoke a protest. Men will tolerate change of doctrine rather than a minute ritual variation from what they have become accustomed to. Would not the Church have at once laid herself bare to the charge, "You say that you have kept the faith; how is it then that you have, in a lifetime, made so many alterations in the Eucharistic service, that sacred deposit? There are among us men who can testify that the Liturgy as now said differs in many particulars from the Liturgy of their youth. If you have varied in that, what guarantee have we that you have not shifted your ground in the matter of belief?" The very fact that the Church gave the title of Canon or Rule to both the Faith and to the Anaphora, as, later, to the fixed collection of sacred and received books that constituted Scripture, showed that she regarded all three as things fixed, sacred, and not to be altered. Only in this did the two first Canons vary from the last, that the two first were not Rules determining the word and letter, but preserving form and spirit, whereas in Scripture the letter was fixed and unalterable.

The Faith was one deposit, not to be tampered with, curtailed, or amplified, but the Faith was tied up to no form of words; it was a Tradition, a Teaching, to be communicated from one to another: always the same, yet infinitely varied in the mode of expression by him who taught. So was the Eucharistic mystery a deposit, the liturgy regulated only as to its constituent parts, its organic structure; but it was left to every celebrant to clothe the bones with what words he could. This, as already asserted, alone explains the variety of the liturgies, subsisting along with their essential unity.

"The Church," says Irenæus, "having received the Apostolic preaching and faith, although scattered throughout the whole world, yet, as if occupying but one house, carefully preserves it. She believes the points [of doctrine] every-

where, as if she had but one soul, one and the same heart ; and she proclaims them, teaches them, hands them down, with perfect harmony, as if possessed of but one mouth. For though the languages of the world be dissimilar, yet is the import of the tradition one and the same. For the Churches planted in Germany do not believe and hand down anything different, nor do those in Spain, nor those in Gaul, nor those in the East, nor those in Egypt, nor those in Libya, nor those which have been established in the central regions [Rome or Palestine]. But as the sun is one, and the same throughout the whole world, so is the preaching of the Truth that enlightens men. Nor will any one of the rulers of the Churches, however gifted, teach differently, for no one is greater than his Master ; nor, on the other hand, will he who is deficient in power, inflict injury on the tradition. For the Faith, being ever one and the same, neither does one who is able and eloquent add to it, nor does one who can say little diminish it." * The Liturgy stands on the same footing as the Faith, both were deposits, and deposits of equal value, equally divine, and equally essential. It cannot be said that the early Christians regarded the Eucharist with less reverence and awe than they did the Faith. As they kept the one, so did they keep the other. As the Faith was found, when peace settled down on the Church, to be everywhere the same, so was the Liturgy found also to be everywhere the same. The force and significance of a General Council lay in the appeal to Tradition. The bishops did not assemble to excogitate new doctrine, but to give evidence to what *had been* taught and believed in their Churches relative to the Faith.

Unless this be grasped and realised, we totally misunderstand the position of the Church in the face of heretics and heathen, and fail to appreciate the hesitation and shrinking she felt at touching and modifying anything which she held to belong to the divine deposit committed to her.

* Irenæus adv. Hær., i. c. 2.

The appeal to tradition has been so abused and discredited, that a certain amount of mistrust of it has been engendered in men's minds, and they are hardly prepared to allow to Tradition in the first three centuries that weight which properly belongs to it. But there is a wide difference between tradition of the Faith and of the Liturgy, as then understood, and the wide and all-embracing signification given to tradition in the Middle Ages, permitting it to envelop with its sanction what had no warrant in antiquity. Many an abuse crept into the Church, hugging itself in the stolen mantle, and was not at once detected and exposed.

But the tradition of Faith and Liturgy was, though a very serious, yet a very simple, matter. The faith was an exposition of God's dealings with man from Creation to Sanctification through Redemption; and this exposition was made incessantly, both in catechumenical preparations, and in weekly exhortation to the flock. And the Liturgy was also simple, as well as serious. There was an initial prayer on approach to the Altar, then a Litany of Intercession, after that the Great Thanksgiving, which was no other than an Eucharistic version of the Rule of Faith, then the Consecration, consisting of the recitation of the Institution, and the reproduction of the same acts by the celebrant; this was followed by the Great Priestly Intercession, then came the preparatory prayer for Communion, the Communion, and the conclusion with Thanksgiving, Litany, and Benediction. The sequence was intelligible. Each part led on to the other, and there were well known cues for the guidance of the people in responding. This was a rule repeated at the least weekly, every repetition grounding it deeper in the memory, and settling itself into habit, so that anything like alteration would arouse opposition in the congregation, and would revolt the celebrant's conscience also.

The witnesses to tradition in the first three centuries formed a closely knit chain, or rather the one overlapped

the other, through the two hundred years from the time when the Apostles had fallen. Already, at the beginning of the second century, the appeal had begun to tradition. We see how it was in the matter of the celebration of Easter. Polycarp would not yield the matter of month-day for week-day observance, because he would not yield one point in the tradition he had received. Clement, the disciple of S. Peter and S. Paul, shows us in the Epistle to the Corinthians, the bent of mind which became fixed later.

“The Apostles received the Gospel for us from the Lord Jesus Christ ; Jesus Christ was sent forth from God. So then Christ is from God, and the Apostles are from Christ. Both, therefore, came of the will of God in the appointed order. Having therefore received a charge, they went forth with the glad tidings that the Kingdom of God should come. So, preaching everywhere in country and town, they appointed their first-fruits, when they had proved them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons unto them that should believe. And this they did in no new fashion ; for, indeed, it had been written, concerning bishops and deacons from very ancient times ; for thus saith the Scripture, in a certain place, ‘I will appoint their bishops in righteousness and their deacons in faith?’” (c. 42).

Clement was writing, not about a liturgical abuse or quarrel, but about some strife concerning ecclesiastical persons. Can it be doubted but that he would have taken the same line, had there been differences about Eucharistical celebration ? Would he not at once, in this temper of mind, have appealed to what had been instituted by the Apostles and received by the Church ?

This is a temper of mind almost inconceivable by the Western brain and heart—at least the English—which is ever on the quest for some new nostrum in religion, as in medicine, which shall remedy the spiritual disorders that abound. What thought is there of Apostolic institution, when Salva-

tion Armies, and Flower Services, and Bands of Hope, and Teetotal Crusades are instituted? The sanction for these things is the prospective possibility of their "doing good."

The analogous period to the present was that when the Church, dazzled and giddy, came forth from the catacombs to be crowned; and then, in the whirl of change, she also sought, by new adaptations, new experiments, borrowings here and surrenders there, to "do good" after human lights, without appeal to the past. As now, the tunes of the opera are adapted to religious hymns, and the music-hall is borrowed for an Evangelistic meeting, and the railway waiting-room deemed appropriate for the diffusion of sacred texts, so then did the clergy appropriate pagan ceremonial for Christian worship, and consecrate heathen festivals to take a place in the sacred cycle of the year.

This assimilative, transforming energy is not to be deprecated, for it springs out of ever-buoyant, self-confident evangelical conviction. It was this which urged Gregory the Great to give his memorable advice to Augustine, "Choose among the Churches all that is pious and reasonable, and out of what you thus collect, form the use of the English Church."

It was this same energy which enabled the Church to grapple with every social problem that arose, as wave on wave of barbarism swept over the face of the civilised world, and as new civilisations asked of her to direct them to Christ.

But it was that same force, unrestrained, which filled the mediæval Church with such an influx of worldliness and wantonness, that it bred the very revolt against the shreds of tradition remaining to the Church in the West, that revolt which was itself only the same daring, self-determinative spirit in explosion.

It was that same force which gave to the reforming movements of the sixteenth century, to Lutheranism, Calvinism, Zwinglianism, their momentum and luminosity. They rose

and shone like rockets through this force, and it is this same force, leaving them, which fills the sky with a rain of coruscating, falling sects, kindled by them, carried up by them, and draining them of their energy and fire, whereas in the sky stand the constant stars of the Apostolic Churches, divinely lighted, moving in their God-appointed orbits, held by the bond of unbroken continuity with the past, and through the past with Christ.

It is the lack of this power that has given to the Oriental Churches their fixity, has stricken them with inability to contend against, and overcome, and transform Mohammedanism. Thus if, on the one side, we see an excess of the forward, future-directed force, we see on the other the extravagance of the conservative caution. *In medio tutissimus ibis.*

But we are wandering from a consideration of the past, to rest in the present.

Let us now sum up the result of our search, and see what remains to be established.

We have seen that the liturgies of the whole Church, as we have them, point back through all their variations to a mother liturgy.

That these variations are nowhere radical, affecting the organism of the liturgies, but consist for the most part of contractions, condensations, and small displacements.

That the only liturgy of the third century we have is that in the "Constitutions," and that with it agree in structure all the liturgies of later date that have come to us.

That this liturgy itself is not in its primitive form, but is easily restorable to that form.

That the variations in the liturgies were produced after the middle of the second century, mostly in the period from the third to the sixth, by the altered relations in which the Church found herself in respect to the world and the State.

We have seen incidentally that the notices of all the writers of the first three centuries point to familiarity with a liturgy

which was practically identical with that given in the "Constitutions."

We have also seen that the spirit of resolute clinging to what was believed to have been apostolically appointed was a vital principle in the Church of the three first centuries, and that this principle must, almost certainly, have prevented any radical changes affecting the liturgy.

As an appendix to this chapter, we show in tabular form the notices of the liturgy in the early writers. These notices are necessarily sketchy, but sketchy though they are, they follow the main lines of the Eucharistic service, as we know them from the literary monuments themselves.

We have no reason to suspect that the liturgy went through any important, far less any revolutionary, alteration between the time of the Apostles and the middle of the third century. What the liturgy was, is revealed to us both by the form in the "Constitutions," and by the analysis of the extant liturgies in use or dead.

It is most probable, if not certain, that the Apostles, before separating, would have agreed to some order of administration of the Sacrament, and what specially concerns us, to a liturgical framework for the Eucharist.

It is also most probable, if not certain, that in so doing they would follow as closely as might be the order and character of the Institution of the Holy Eucharist by Christ Himself in the Upper Chamber, on the night before He died.

As we have seen, the very wording of the recitation of the Institution points to such an origin, in that it is fuller than the account in the Gospels, and details such small matters of gesture as would only be known by an eye-witness of the Institution.

PRIMITIVE LITURGY.	"CONSTITUTIONS," Middle 3rd century.	ALEXANDRINE LITURGY. (According to Clement of Alexandria and Origen.) 3rd century.	ETHIOPIA LITURGY. 3rd century.	ANTIOCHIAN LITURGY. (According to S. John Chrysostom.) 4th century.	AFRICAN LITURGY. (After Tertullian and S. Augustine.) 3rd and 4th century.	BYZANTINE LITURGY. (After Dionysius the Areop.) End of 5th or beginning of 6th cent.	ROMAN LITURGY. (According to Gelasian and Gregorian revisions.) 5th and 6th centuries.
Pro-Anaphora. Lectons. Sermon. Dismissals. Kiss of Peace. Offertory.	Pro-Anaphora. [Litany of Intercession.] Lectons and Psalmody. Sermon. Dismissals. Kiss of Peace. Offertory. [Prayer of Veil.]	Pro-Anaphora. Lectons. Sermon. Dismissals. Kiss of Peace. Offertory.	Pro-Anaphora. Lectons and Psalmody. Sermon. Dismissals. Offertory.	Pro-Anaphora. Lectons and Psalmody. Sermon. Dismissals. Offertory— Litany of Intercession. Kiss of Peace.	Mass of Catechumens. Lectons. Sermon. Dismissals. Mass of Faithful. Offertory.	Pro-Anaphora. Lectons and Psalms. Sermon. Dismissals. Offertory— Prayer of Veil. Kiss of Peace. Prayer of Intercession	Mass of Catechumens. [Prices of Litany.] Lectons. Sermon. Mass of Faithful. Offertory— Prayer of Veil (Secular).
[Litany of Intercession.] Anaphora— Sursum corda. Preface. Sanctus. Gt. Eucharistic Prayer. Consecration— 1. Institution. 2. Observance.	Litany of Intercession. Anaphora— Sursum corda. Preface. Sanctus. Gt. Eucharistic Prayer. Consecration, consisting of— 1. Institution. 2. Observance.	Anaphora— Sursum corda. Preface. Sanctus. Gt. Eucharistic Prayer. Consecration— 1. Institution. 2. Observance.	Anaphora— Sursum corda. Preface. Gt. Eucharistic Prayer. Consecration— 1. Institution. 2. Observance.	Anaphora— Sursum Corda. Preface. Sanctus. Gt. Eucharistic Prayer. Consecration— 1. Institution. 2. Observance.	Canon— Sursum corda. Preface. Sanctus. Gt. Eucharistic Prayer. Consecration— 1. Institution. 2. Observance.	Anaphora. Gt. Eucharistic Prayer. Consecration.	Canon— Sursum corda. Preface. Eucharistic Prayer. Sanctus. Gt. Intercession. 1st pt. Gt. Intercession. Consecration— 1. Institution. 2. Observance. Kiss of Peace.
Communion. Thanksgiving.	Preparation for Communion [Our Father]. Litany of Intercession. Thanksgiving. Blessing and Dismissal.	Communion. Thanksgiving.	Communion. Thanksgiving. Blessing and Dismissal.	Communion. Thanksgiving. Blessing and Dismissal.	Communion. Blessing and Dismissal.	Communion. Thanksgiving. Blessing and Dismissal.	Communion. Post-Communion. Blessing and Dismissal.
Pabst:—Liturgied. drei ersten Jahrbuenderte. P. 91—111. See Appendix IV.	Pabst: Op. cit. P. 130—174.	Pabst: Op. cit. P. 130—174.	Publ. originally in: Lar-doff. Comm. Hist. Philop. Hammond. P. 234.	Hammond: Liturgy of Antioch. See Appendix IV. The Jerusalem Liturgy, according to the Lectures of S. Cyril, was much the same.	Pabst: op. cit., p. 183—204. Bickell in Krass: Real. Encycl. 377-8.	Hierarch. Ecl. c. 3. See Appendix IV.	Hammond, p. 364. The Georgian and Cretan calendars only. The earlier part from common usage.

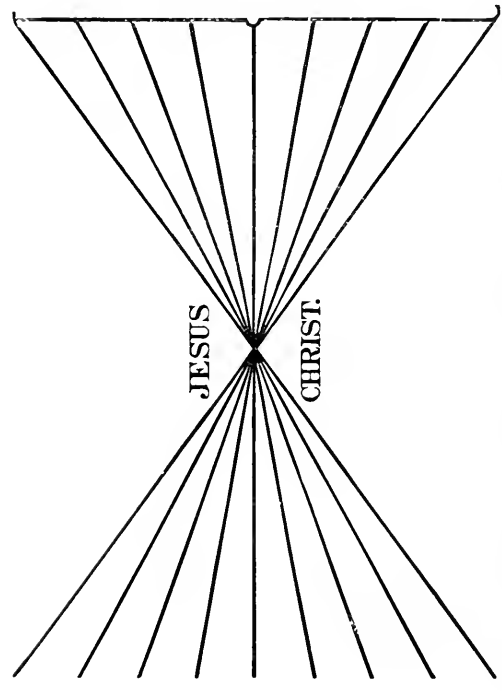
THE GREAT SYNTHESIS.

UNDER THE LAW—SEPARATE.

- Aaronic Blessing.
- Bread of the Presence.
- Sacrifices.
- Oblation of Incense.
- Great Eulogy.
- Peace offerings.
- Purifications.
- Oblation of First-fruits.
- The Entrance through the Veil.

UNDER THE GOSPEL—UNITED.

- Prayer of the Veil.
- Offertory.
- Washing of Hands.
- Kiss of Peace.
- Great Eulogy.
- Great Intercession.
- The Oblation.
- Communion.
- Benediction.



[This Illustration is incomplete, and is intended only to exemplify the transition of the Rites of the Law through Christ to the Church.]

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE SUMMING-UP IN ONE.

THE CONSTITUENTS OF WORSHIP ACCORDING TO THE JEWS—ACCORDING TO THE EARLY CHRISTIANS—THE EUCHARIST THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE MORNING SERVICE IN THE TEMPLE—THE SACRIFICE OF BLOOD NO PART OF WORSHIP, BUT A PREPARATION FOR WORSHIP—THE EARLY LITURGY RESEMBLED JEWISH RITES—THE SHEWBREAD—THE PASSOVER—CEREMONIAL OF THE PASCHAL SUPPER—THE GREAT THANKSGIVING AND GREAT INTERCESSION AND BENEDICTION OF CUP AND BREAD TAKEN FROM THE PASCHAL RITE—PASSOVER AND EUCHARIST BOTH MEMORIALS—HOW ALL SACRIFICES WERE FULFILLED IN CHRIST—THE PEACE-OFFERING—THE OTHER SACRIFICES—THE SACRIFICIAL ASPECT OF THE EUCHARIST—WHY THE PROPHECY OF MALACHI IS QUOTED BY THE FATHERS—THE ALTAR OF INCENSE—TABLE OF COMPARISON OF THE FRAMEWORK OF TEMPLE SCHACHARITH AND EUCHARIST.

ACCORDING to Rabbinic teaching, worship is made up of two main constituents, Thanksgiving and Supplication. To these correspond the two sorts of prayer employed of old by the Jew in public worship;—the Benediction and the *Tephillah*. These terms indicate, the one Adoration, the other Intercession. Sacrifice was distinct from either. Sacrifice was not worship, but the preparation for it. Till the worshipper was cleansed and reconciled, he could not draw near to God. Accordingly, the sacrifice with the shedding of blood preceded, but did not constitute, worship. This must be clearly grasped, if we are to understand the principle of the Temple worship.

In the early Church we find the same distinction, the same elements are designated, Thanksgiving and Supplication, but

Thanksgiving is subdivided into Praise and Benediction, and Supplication into Prayer and Intercession. S. Paul in his first Epistle to Timothy names all four,* and Origen enters into an elaborate disquisition on their several natures.† But with this we need not trouble the reader.

We have already in Chap. xv. given an account of the Morning Service in the Temple, and have shown how that the Jewish Common Morning Prayer of every day reproduces it with necessary modifications. And we have also shown how that the Eucharistic Service proper bears a remarkable likeness to it.

Whether in the Temple Service any fixed form of words existed has been questioned, and rightly, but that a general form existed on which the prayers and benedictions were framed is undoubted. Dr. Edersheim says, "It may be questioned whether, in the prescribed liturgical formulas, the words were always rigidly adhered to, perhaps even accurately remembered. Hence the Talmud lays it down that in such cases it sufficed to say the substance of the prescribed prayers."‡

That the same form of worship constituted the type of private or family morning prayer in our Lord's time is certain. The Liturgy of the Temple reproduced itself in echoes in every household and synagogue wherever there were Jews.

That this Morning Service should be retraceable in the Christian Liturgy is not surprising. If, as is most probable, the Institution took place after midnight, then it was in all likelihood associated with this Morning Service. What notices we have in S. John's Gospel point to this conclusion. We have the Ablution like that of the priests before beginning the Service, we have our Lord's explanation of the Vine as a

* 1 Tim. ii. 1., "I exhort therefore, that first of all *δεήσεις, προσευχάς, ἐντεύξεις, εὐχαριστίας* be made for all men."

† De Orat. c. 14. ‡ "The Temple and its Services," London, 1874, p. 126.

symbol of Himself, a distinct reference to the great golden Vine that was suspended over and about the doorway into the Holy Place, under which the Priest stood before entering to make the sacrifice of incense. This gigantic Vine, the figure of Israel,* was of pure gold, and each cluster of grapes on it was the height of a man. Our Lord seems by His words to have called attention to this Vine, and so to Himself as the Priest about to enter beneath it to the great act of worship. He prayed for the glorification of the Name of God, and for Unity, developing, and giving a new significance to, the morning prayer of the Jews to this purport ; and the whole concluded with the hymn sung by the Apostles and Christ before leaving for Gethsemane, like the great psalm singing on the steps at and after the sacrifice.

The early liturgies give even stronger indications of their connexion with this Morning Service of the Temple, for they contain many of its elements,—not the sacrifice of blood, that was done away with. Christ, the True Lamb, is slain, by whose blood we have access to the Father, therefore all that portion of the morning ritual is abolished, but it is otherwise with the rest. We have the Great Eucharistic Thanksgiving, which is an expansion of the Great Eulogy recited at the offering of the incense, and we have the Preface leading up to the Sanctus, which is taken directly from the Morning Service, we have the prayers for unity and peace, the Aaronic blessing, and the Psalms, and the Lord's Prayer. The *Schema* on the binding of the phylacteries has fallen away, as no longer appropriate, just as the sacrifice of blood is abolished in Christ. The order in which Preface, Sanctus, and Great Eulogy come is slightly different in the Church from what it is at present in the Synagogue, but this is due to disarrangement in the latter, the Church preserving the earlier sequence.

But the Eucharist as instituted by Christ, and organized

* Ps. lxxx. 8 ; Jer. ii. 21 ; Ezek. xix. 10 ; Joel i. 7.

into a liturgy by the Apostles, was more than a reproduction of the Morning Service of the Temple. In Christ all the sacrifices had their fulfilment. Christ is the first-fruits of the dead, and the striking ritual of the bringing in of the first shock of wheat, and its being heaved or waved before God at the altar, had its interpretation in Him. He was cut down, He lay in the earth, He was raised up and ascended to the Temple of God, eternal in the heavens, where He appears as our First-Fruits, as redeeming the whole harvest-field of mankind.

The significance of sacrifice was this. The earth was the Lord's, and the fulness thereof. All things were His, and He might claim everything as His own. But He consented to accept a part for the whole, the first lamb of the flock for the whole flock, the first bullock for the whole herd, the eldest son for the whole family, the first shock for the whole harvest, the first bunch of grapes for the whole vintage. The first-fruits go for the whole products, the life of the sacrifice for the life of the sacrificer. "This idea of substitution, as introduced, adopted, and sanctioned by God Himself, is expressed by the sacrificial form rendered in our version 'atonement,' but which really means covering, the substitute in the acceptance of God taking the place of, and so covering, as it were, the person of the offerer."*

We can well understand how the Apostles endeavoured to show forth the truth that Christ was the first-fruits, by introducing into the Christian Liturgy some of the ceremonial of the oblation of the new corn, and also of the first loaves, and so originating the ceremony of the Great Entrance, which has almost ceased to have any ceremonial dignity in the West, and is reduced to the mere transfer to the altar of the bread and wine in oblation, before the Anaphora.

* Dr. Edersheim, "The Temple," p. 81.

In the first age, when the Temple was standing, the liturgy must have been of extraordinary significance to a Jewish convert. It showed him his old Mosaic ritual of sacrifices and offerings fulfilled in Christ, in such a way as we cannot now at all realise.

But there was another feature of the Temple that received its fulfilment in Christ, and its recognition in the Eucharist, and that was the shew-bread. Our word "shew-bread" is inaccurate; the true name was Bread of the Presence (literally "of Faces"), and the signification of the shew-bread was the Abiding Presence of God among His people. It is not clear that the Jews themselves understood its significance.

The rite was as follows :—

In the Holy Place on the north-side, before the veil that separated the Holy of Holies from the Holy Place, stood a table of gold, about 3-ft. long.

The shew-bread was made of the finest wheaten flour, that had passed through eleven sieves. There were twelve cakes, anointed on the upper side with oil in the form of a cross. On the Sabbath four priests entered the Holy Place, and removed the old shew-bread. They were followed by four others with the new bread, which they placed along with incense on the golden table. The priests then ate the old shew-bread that same day in the Temple, and burnt the old incense on the altar of burnt-offering.

The Bread of the Presence was regarded as in some way an emblem of the Messiah. "The mediatorial ministry, in the name of, and representing Israel, laid before God the Bread of the Presence, kindled the seven-lamped candlestick, and burnt incense on the golden altar. The bread laid before Him in the northern or most sacred part of the Holy Place was that of His Presence, and meant that the covenant people owned His Presence as their bread and their life; the candlestick, that He was their light-giver and light, while between the table of shew-bread and the candlestick burned the

incense on the golden altar, to show that life and light are joined together, and come to us in fellowship with God and prayer. For a similar reason, pure incense was placed between the shew-breads—for the life which is in His Presence is one of praise; while the incense was burned before the shew-bread was eaten by the priests, to indicate God's acceptance and ratification of Israel's dependence upon Him, as also to betoken praise to God while living upon His presence."*

That Bread of the Presence, of which the Jew but dimly saw the significance, had its fulfilment in Christ Himself. "The Bread of God is He which cometh down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world. . . . I am the bread which came down from heaven. . . . I am the Bread of Life. . . . This is the bread which cometh down from heaven, that a man may eat thereof, and not die" (S. John vi.). As the shew-bread was anointed, so was Christ. As the shew-bread was the earnest of God's abiding presence with His people, so is Christ. As the shew-bread was eaten by the priests, so is Christ the food, not of the priesthood only, but of all the faithful.

We see in the early representations of the Eucharist in the catacombs (fig. 10), that the Christians sometimes marked their Eucharistic bread with the cross, like the shew-breads.

As the Bread of the Presence was to the Jews the token that God was in their midst, as their life and sustenance, so is the Eucharist to the Christian the witness of Christ, that He is with us always, even unto the end of the world, as our spiritual food and sustenance. The whole rite of the shew-bread only reached its interpretation after Christ had instituted the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

In the Revelation of S. John, heaven was beheld open, and in it the worship of God was revealed to the seer, not after the pattern of the Temple at Jerusalem, but after a new pattern altogether. The arrangement, as we have already

* Eder-heim, *op. cit.* p. 157.

pointed out, was different. There is no more an altar of burnt-offering. That is abolished, but there is still the altar of incense. There are still the seven lamps, still the veil, still the laver, but the positions are changed. The veil is parted and furled back. The altar of incense, now combined into one with the table of shew-bread, stands in the midst of the Holy of Holies, and above it burn the seven lamps, whilst behind it is the restored mercy-seat, the throne of God.* The Ark of the Covenant had been lost, and in the Temple, after the return from Babylon, there was only a broad stone that marked the spot where it had been. In the heavenly temple we see it again, but not in the same position, thrust back, and in the midst the altar of incense, which is also the altar on which is the Lamb that was slain, but no more shedding blood. In the Apocalypse, we are not told that the table of shew-bread was seen, but we may either take it as united with the altar of incense, or regard it as the special altar or table of the Church on earth, and therefore, not shown in heaven.

We have, then, in the Eucharistic worship of the Church the antitypal worship, of which the morning sacrifice in the Temple, the oblation of the first-fruits, and the setting forth of the shew-bread were shadows and figures going before.

We must now consider what other elements went towards the formation of the liturgy.

In the very forefront of all the sacrificial system of the Jews stood the sacrifice of the Paschal Lamb. That was instituted first, and the rest of the system followed after. With that sacrifice and sacrificial meal began the Covenant, and the redemption out of bondage.

Whether we hold that Christ died on the 14th or on the 15th Nisan; whether we hold that He did not, or did, eat first the Jewish Passover with His disciples, before instituting

* It is notable that as the throne in Heaven is a "great *white* throne," so the episcopal throne in a church was always covered with white linen.

the Eucharist, we may be sure that His Institution, which was the fulfilment and revivification of the old rite under a new form, must have borne in its arrangement some traces of likeness to the Paschal Supper.

A great deal has been written on the subject of the connexion between the Eucharistic Institution and the Passover; and it has been contended that the Institution took place either at the third or the fourth cup.

There were four cups taken at the Passover, but the third was entitled the Cup of Blessing, and was invested with some solemnity of benediction. Because S. Paul designates the Eucharistic chalice by the same name wherewith the third cup at the Passover was known, it has been assumed that the institution of the Eucharist took place then. This supposition, however, does violence to the words of the Evangelists, who say that the Institution took place after Supper was ended, whereas the third cup formed one of the integral portions of the Paschal Supper.

A more weighty argument supports the theory that the Institution took place at the Cup of the Hallel, which was a supplementary rite after the conclusion of the Passover Supper, and this is strongly contended for by Dr. Bickell.*

We will take the Paschal rite in order, briefly, omitting such portions as are mediæval accretions.†

After that all leaven has been put away, the first cup is filled with mingled wine and water, with the words, "Praised be Thou, O Lord our God, King of the World, Who hast created the fruit of the Vine"; a benediction which recalls that in the Didaché. Then comes a thanksgiving to God for having chosen Israel out of all the nations, and for having appointed the festival of unleavened bread in memorial of the release from Egypt.

* Messe u. Pascha, Mainz, 1872.

† Fürstenthal: Die beiden Pessachabende, Prag, 1887; Dr. Edersheim, *op. cit.*; Bickell, Messe u. Pascha, &c.

Then the first cup is drunk.

The master of the house then washes his hands, dips some herbs in salt and water, and distributes among those present, saying, "Praised be Thou, O Lord, our God, King of the World, who didst create fruits out of the earth."

Then the second cup is filled, and the youngest child present enquires the meaning of the ceremony. The answer is given as enjoined by Moses (Deut. xxvi. 5-11).

That answer given, the president begins a long and solemn recitation of the wondrous Works of God; how He called Abraham and made a promise to him, and he elevates the cup, saying, "This promise has been the strength of our forefathers, when men rose up against us in every age to destroy us; then the Holy One, praised be His name, hath delivered us out of their hands."

Then ensues the record of God's deliverances,—how Jacob went down into Egypt with a few, and became a great nation; how, when the Egyptians evil-entreated Israel, the Lord stood by them, and when heavy tasks were laid on the people, the Lord delivered them by a mighty hand and a stretched-out arm, smiting Egypt with plagues, and slaying the first-born, and with signs and wonders led them through the Red Sea. Then again is the cup elevated, and with loud voice the president says, "Wherefore it is meet that we should thank Him, praise and laud Him, honour and adore Him who showed all these wonders, and delivered us out of bondage into freedom, out of sorrow into joy, out of mourning into rejoicing, out of darkness into light, out of servitude into redemption, hallelujah!"

Then is sung the psalm, "Praise the Lord, ye servants, O praise the Name of the Lord" (cxiii.), followed by the next, "When Israel came out of Egypt" (cxiv.), concluding with this brief thanksgiving, "Blessed art Thou, Jehovah, our God, King of the world, who hast redeemed our fathers from Egypt." The usual blessing is said over the second cup, and it is drunk.

Hands are now washed a second time, and one of the two unleavened cakes is broken after a benediction similar to that on the cup, "Praised be Thou, Jehovah, our God, King of the world, who hast brought forth food out of the earth." The broken bread is given to all those present.

Then the third cup is filled.

Now follows the Paschal Supper proper,—all that preceded was preparatory. Over it a long prayer of thanksgiving is said, thanking God for nourishing the earth with His goodness, for assuring to His people that they shall never lack food; then again for having delivered Israel out of Egypt, for having given the law, for having fed His people continuously, for having brought them into the Promised Land, concluding with a great intercession for Israel, for pardon, for succour, for restoration. This leads to a burst of prayer mingled with praise, like the song of one whose voice is full of sobs. "Praised be Thou, Eternal One, our God, Lord of the world, Almighty, our Father, our King, our Creator, Redeemer, the Holy One of Jacob, our Leader, our Shepherd, King of Israel, who art full of mercy and goodness to all, and leadest us into all good. Do Thou continue forth Thy loving-kindness towards us, show us protection, grace, pity, freedom, delivery, blessing, comfort, nourishment, and shelter, and fill us with all things needful. May the All Merciful be our King for ever and ever! The All Merciful One be praised in Heaven and earth, from generation to generation, may His fame be spread through all eternity, and glorified for ever! May the All Merciful One sustain us with food, may He break the yoke off our necks, and lead us into our own land! May He richly bless this house and this table, may He send the prophet Elias, and announce to us tidings of great joy. May the All Merciful One bless my father, the master of this house, my mother, the hostess, her, her house and her posterity, as were blessed our forefathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob with abundant blessing. Amen."

Then the third cup is drunk, also after the usual benediction of God, who created the fruit of the vine. After that the fourth cup, the Cup of the Hallel, is prepared, and the Hallel is continued, "Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us" (Ps. cxv.). "I am well pleased that the Lord hath heard the voice of my prayer" (cxvi.). O praise the Lord, all ye heathen" (cxvii.); the whole ending with the so-called Blessing of Song, which comprises two brief prayers.

It can hardly escape the observant reader that the third cup is either a duplication of the second, or that the second is an addition on the same *motif* as the third.

Each is attended by a great prayer of thanksgiving for mercies shown to Israel from God, with a record of His glorious works, and the third prayer of thanksgiving leads into a great prayer of intercession. Now it seems to us that the attempts that have been made to get the Eucharistic Institution into the Paschal Supper are not altogether satisfactory. We must not forget that the primitive tradition of the Church was emphatically *against* the view that Christ ate the Passover the night before His death. That, however, the Institution bears a strong likeness to, traces a descent from, the Passover, we admit, because it summed up in itself the Paschal Institution, as well as other rites of the ancient Covenant.

It summed up in itself also the old sacrifices.

Christ was the end of the Law. To Him all lambs and bulls and heifers pointed, that bled in sacrifice; and the New Sacrifice was not one of blood, but, inasmuch as it was a memorial of the one, great, and all-sufficient Sacrifice on the Cross, it reflected these sacrifices. The very name given to it, "Sacrifice of Praise" (*θυσία αἰνέσεως*) is itself a technical term for the voluntary "Peace-offering" (Levit. vii. 2, 3, 5, &c.), one of the three great classes of offerings under the Law of Moses, all typical under different aspects of our Saviour's great oblation of

Himself, and all gathered up into, and fulfilled by that. The peculiar feature of the Peace-offering, as contrasted with the other classes of sacrifices, consisted in this, that the flesh was to be consumed at a solemn sacrificial feast by him who had offered, and by his friends (Levit. iii. and vii.). The Peace-offering, then, had a peculiar relation to the Holy Eucharist, which is implied by the term, "Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving," so commonly applied to it.*

Christ was also the Sin-offering.

But, to avoid confusion, let us see to what classes the sacrifices under the Law belonged. They belonged to Three:—

- I. SELF-DEDICATORY. The Burnt-offering.
- II. EUCHARISTIC. (a) The unbloody Meat-offering.
(b) The bloody Peace-offering.
- III. EXPIATORY. The Sin-offering ; the Trespass-offering.

I. SELF-DEDICATORY SACRIFICES.

The idea of these was not expiatory. The blood of the victim was not sprinkled on the altar, but round about it. He who offered laid his hand on the head of the victim to denote his devotion, soul and body, to Jehovah (Rom. xii. 1). The death of the victim was, so to speak, an incidental feature. Now we can see at once how that Christ was the fulfilment of this, He who came, not to do His own will, but the will of Him who sent Him. Among the heathen, the idea of free-will, voluntary oblation was inherent, and oxen brought to the altar had oil put into their ears to make them nod their heads, as though consenting to their being presented as sacrifice. Christ came voluntarily. He laid down His life

* "Notes on the Sacrificial Aspect of the Holy Eucharist," by Rev. C. E. Hammond. Oxford, 1885. See also Rendall, "Theology of the Hebrew Christians" (second essay), London, 1885.

of His own free will. So, in the Eucharist, the self-dedicator character reflects itself down from Him who gave Himself for us to those who unite in the worship. "Here we offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto Thee"—just as Jesus, our Lord and Victim, is Himself, in soul and body, an all-holy, living, and "logistic" sacrifice.

II. EUCHARISTIC SACRIFICES.

Of these there were two, the unbloody meat-offering, of which there were (*a*) the Daily Oblation that attended the daily burnt offering (Exod. xxix. 40-41). (*b*) The Shewbread, or Bread of the Presence, renewed every Sabbath. (*c*) The special Meat-offerings at the Sabbath and great festivals. (*d*) The First-fruits of the produce of the earth, of these we have already treated. The object of these sacrifices was to thank God as the giver of all good things to men. The daily oblation of incense may also be taken as (*e*) an Eucharistic sacrifice; and of this we have treated. The second class was bloody. To this belonged the Peace-offering, already spoken of. The man who offered, as already said, partook of the Sacrifice, and the idea conveyed by it was that thereby he was brought into communion with God.

It can hardly fail to be noticed by any who realise the connexion between the Old and the New Covenant, by any who will put themselves in the position of the Apostles, as coming direct from the usages of the Law to Christ, that the terms they employed, to be properly understood by us, must be given that signification which they would bear by association in their own minds, and would convey to their hearers. Consequently all the terms, "Sacrifice of Thanksgiving," "Sacrifice of Praise," "giving of thanks," &c., used by S. Paul and the primitive Fathers, are applicable to the Eucharist as the Christian Peace-offering, in which the faithful, by participa-

tion in the body of Christ, who is made our Peace, are brought into communion with the Father.

III.—EXPIATORY SACRIFICES.

The Sin-offering showed man out of favour with God, seeking reconciliation with God, by acknowledgment of his sin, and by the shedding of blood. The first of all these sacrifices was the Paschal Lamb, and from that came the others. It looked to the Atonement, to that Lamb of God who should take away the sin of the world by His blood. And as the One Expiatory Sacrifice, the Lamb that still bears the marks and character of the slain one (Rev. v. 6, ἀρνίον ὡς ἐσφαγμένον), is our Atoning Sacrifice, so every Eucharist, which is a memorial to the Father of His death, partakes of the quality and nature of the old sin-offering. There is no fresh sacrifice for sin, but a continual pleading of the one, all-perfect, and sufficient Sacrifice. When our Lord said, "This do as a memorial of Me," His words undoubtedly would convey to a Greek ear the idea of *offering*.*

Thus is Christ the fulfilment of all the sacrifices of the Law, and as a picture bears a resemblance to the original, so do all the Eucharists bear in them the likeness to the One great real

* Mr. Hammond says:—"There are two passages in Justin Martyr (Dial. c. Tryph. 41, 70) which incontestably prove this. He speaks twice of the Bread which Jesus Christ παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν ποιεῖν. In the second passage he also speaks of the cup which Jesus Christ παρέδωκεν ποιεῖν. No meaning but that of 'consecrate' or 'offer' will make any sense at all of the passages." Of the words, "In remembrance of Me," Mr. Hammond continues, "The word ἀνάμνησις occurs twice in the text of the LXX. (Lev. xxiv. 7, Num. x. 10), and in both places it must mean 'a memorial before God,' a means of bringing something before God, not before man's recollection. . . The word is also once elsewhere used in the New Testament (Heb. x. 3), in reference to the special sacrifice of the Day of Atonement. That, in this case too, the memorial was before God, not before men, is manifest when we consider that no man, not even the priests, were allowed to be present when the Atonement was being made by the High Priest."—"Notes on the Sacrificial Aspect of the Holy Eucharist," by C. E. Hammond, Oxford, 1885.

Sacrifice, and through that to the sacrifices under the Old Dispensation.

If we do not greatly mistake, the framework of the primitive liturgy, which is almost certainly a close approximation to the actual facts and order of events of the original Institution, was the Morning Service of the Temple, less the sacrifice of the Lamb, but with the consecration of the Bread and the Wine inserted where in the Temple was the offering of the incense. At that oblation a great prayer of thanksgiving was offered, and as Christ's Institution was a fulfilling of the Passover, as well as of the sacrifice and oblation of incense, He took into this framework of service the Great Prayer of Thanksgiving, with the benedictions of the cup and bread, and the elevation, and the fraction of the bread, and also the Great Intercession. After that, as He fulfilled not only the Passover, but also the Bread of the Presence, He gave to His Apostles to eat of the true Bread of the Presence, which He had consecrated. There is something of the Passover, there is something of the oblation of incense, there is something of the offering of the first-fruits, there is something of the distribution of the shew-bread, in the Eucharist, for that sums up all these ancient mysteries in one, just as Jesus Himself sums up in Himself all the various sacrifices, and all the many types of old.

Christ took the outline of the early Morning Service of the Temple, an outline which had become the usual form of prayer among the Jews everywhere, and abolished the sacrifice of blood, and substituted for the sacrifice of incense, which was the focus and culminating point of the morning service, His new institution. The sacrifice of blood had no part in that worship, it was the mere preparation for it. After Christ's death there needed no more sacrifice, no more bringing near, no other reconciliation. He had done all that. And then, in place of the Temple service of the oblation of incense, He appointed the Eucharistic prayer of praise and

intercession over the cup and the bread, and this Eucharistic prayer of praise and intercession He modelled on the forms observed at the Passover.

It is unnecessary to dispute about the cups, whether Christ blessed the third or the fourth ; the cup He blessed was the One Chalice of His Blood, to which all the other cups pointed and led up, the cup of preparation, the cup of thanksgiving, the cup of blessing. The Rabbis multiplied rites. There is even a fifth cup sometimes drunk ; but we may be tolerably confident that originally there were only three—one, the cup of preparation ; one, the cup of remembrance at the Supper itself ; and the last, the cup of thanksgiving at the end. Christ united all into one, which is at once the cup of preparation, of memorial, and of thanksgiving.

The Paschal Supper was a great memorial of God's mercies shown to His people from the call of Abraham, through the release from Egypt to their establishment in the Land of Promise. So was the Eucharistic Feast, as we see by the primitive liturgies, a memorial of God's mercies from creation through all the ages of the world, to the Redemption by Jesus Christ. This is lost by the mutilation of the Canon in our modern liturgies, but it comes out distinctly in the old ; and the relationship that the Eucharist bears to the Passover comes out with such clearness as to be unmistakable, when we compare the original Prayer of Thanksgiving, the blessing, elevation, fraction, and distribution with the original Prayer of Thanksgiving, blessing, elevation, fraction, and distribution in the Passover. But there the resemblance ends. The Institution was not a supper, it did not take place in the evening, it took place in the early morning, some time after the Supper had been eaten, and it was not ordained to be an evening service, but to take in the Church the place of the early Morning Service of the Temple. That is why the framework is derived from the Temple worship.

When we have realised this, we are in a position at once to see the force of the reasoning of the early Fathers, who, with almost weariful iteration, quote the prophecy of Malachi as spoken of the Christian Eucharist. "From the rising of the sun," said God, "unto the going down of the same, in every place incense shall be offered unto My Name, and a pure offering." That of the Jews was rejected. God had no pleasure in it—their hands were full of blood. The blood defiled. The sacrifice of blood was abolished. The Temple was destroyed. Now—"in every place,"—throughout the whole world, no longer only on the one altar in the one Temple of Jerusalem, was an offering to be made, and that offering was to be pure,—of the first fruits of Him who is the Bread that came down from Heaven, of Him who has left the Eucharist behind as the Bread of the Presence in His Church.

Moreover, we can see why it was that, with one accord, they rejected that term for altar (*βωμός*), which implied the shedding of blood, and from S. Paul, downwards, adopted that for the incense oblation. The Christian altar was the *Thusiasterion*, the altar of incense. The reason was that the Christian altar had taken the place of the Jewish altar of incense, and the Christian liturgy had taken the place of the Jewish liturgy that concerned the oblation on that incense altar.

"We have an altar," says the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, "whereof they have no right to eat which serve the tabernacle," but that is no altar on which blood is poured forth, but is "the Lord's Table" (1 Cor. x. 21), that is, the shew-bread table, which is now one with the altar of incense, and one also with the altar of the slain Lamb, as it is on that altar that Christ was seen in heaven by S. John. As the Jewish altar typified the coming sacrifice of Calvary, so does the Christian altar look back to that Sacrifice; as the altar of incense foreshadowed the all-prevailing mediation of Christ,

so does the Christian altar; it serves as the meeting-place at which the prayers of the saints are gathered, and united with the ever ascending smoke of the intercession of Christ. And as the shew-bread indicated the coming of One who would give Himself to be the nourishment of His people, who would, under the form of bread, remain with His Church unto the end of the world, so does the Christian altar prove to be our table of shew-bread, whence we draw the nourishment of our souls, the earnest of resurrection, the Bread of the ever-abiding Presence.

The following comparison between the Morning Service of the Temple (restored from the Morning Service of the Synagogue, and from the traditions preserved in the Mischna) and the Christian Anaphora, will show how close was the resemblance. One transposition has been made of the Jewish Invitatory to Praise, which has been put before the Great Prayer of Praise, instead of the place it now occupies in the Jewish prayer-book.

MORNING SERVICE OF TEMPLE.

Preparatory : Introit.
 Prayer.
 Washing of hands
 and feet.
 Prayer of Approach.
 Aaronic Blessing.
 Hear, O Israel.
 Prayer for hallowing of Name
 and for Unity.
 [Sacrifice of Lamb.]
 Invitation to Praise, along with
 Cherubim and Seraphim.
 Holy, holy, holy.
 Great Eulogy.
 [Oblation of Incense.]
 Psalms of Praise.
 Prayer for Israel.
 Schema : Hear, O Israel, the
 Lord thy God is One Lord.
 Thanksgiving.
 Benediction and Dismissal.

CHRISTIAN LITURGY.

Preparatory : Introit.
 Prayer.
 Washing of the
 hands.
 Prayer of the Veil.
 Aaronic Blessing.
 (Creed.)
 The pledge of Unity and Prayer
 for Peace.
 Preface : Call to Praise, along
 with Angels and Archangels.
 Holy, holy, holy.
 Great Eulogy.
 (Consecration.)
 Great Intercession.
 Prayer for the Flock.
 Sancta Sanctis : People's Hymn
 of Faith. "There is One Holy,
 One Lord, One Christ."
 (Communion.)
 Thanksgiving.
 Benediction and Dismissal.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE ALTAR.

THE OPENING OF THE EYES TO THE BEAUTY OF NATURE—MINUCIUS FELIX—THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN OCTAVIUS AND CÆCILIUS—NO TEMPLES AND NO ALTARS—ORIGEN—THE MEANING OF TEMPLES AND ALTARS—A HEATHEN TEMPLE—A HEATHEN ALTAR—THE SIGNIFICATION OF A SACRIFICE—SPIRITUAL WORSHIP—NOT EXCLUSIVE OF LITURGICAL WORSHIP—THE CHRISTIAN ALTAR—THE RELATIONS BORNE BY THE WORSHIP OF THE OLD COVENANT TO THAT IN THE CELESTIAL TEMPLE AND TO THAT OF THE CHURCH ON EARTH—IN WHAT SENSE THE EUCHARIST IS A SACRIFICE—THE AMORPHOUS VIEW OF CHURCH HISTORY—NO EVIDENCE THAT THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH WAS UNORGANIZED—DEVELOPMENT.

HUMBOLDT, in the second volume of his "Cosmos," remarks on the small appreciation the classic Greeks and Romans had for the beauties of nature, and he says that with Christianity the eyes of men seemed to open to the loveliness of the world, and then he at once refers to the description of the seashore by Minucius Felix.

But, indeed, the description S. Basil gives of his mountain retreat on the Strymon, the pleasant picture Sidonius Apollinaris paints of his villa and grounds under the cones of Auvergne, S. Cyprian's account of his vine-bower, all show how that with the softening and cleansing of man's heart came a power to see beauties, invisible save to the gentle and pure of soul.

Fresh and delightful is the little book of Minucius Felix.

He and his two friends, Cæcilius and Octavius, were strolling one hot day by the shore of the Mediterranean, near Ostia, "breathing the fresh air, and deriving pleasure as the footstep made its impress in the yielding yellow sands. The gentle rippling wave was smoothing the outer marge of sand, as levelling them for a promenade; and as the sea is always restless, even when the winds are lulled, it came up on the shore, not with crested, foaming waves, but with wavelets crisped and curling. We were vastly pleased with its vagaries, as at the threshold of the water we wet the soles of our feet, and watched the waves by turns approaching to break upon our feet, and then retire, sucked back as it were into themselves. And so—slowly, quietly sauntering on, we tracked the shore in its gentle sweep, beguiling the way with stories."

It happened that the three friends passed a statue of Serapis, as they left the baths, whereat Cæcilius put his hand to his lips in salutation; whereat Octavius made a disparaging remark.

Presently the friends came on a party of boys playing at throwing shells into the sea, "to choose a shell, rubbed smooth by the tossing of the waves; to hold it horizontally, to whirl it along sloping, as low as possible on the waves, so that it might either skim the back of the wave, or cleave the top, and dance from one to another by a series of bounds. That boy claimed to be conqueror whose shell went out furthest, and leaped most frequently."

Whilst thus watching the boys, Minucius observed that Cæcilius seemed uneasy, and dissatisfied, and he asked him what was the matter. Then Cæcilius bitterly exclaimed at the sneer of Octavius at him for having kissed his hand to the image of Serapis.

This led to a hot argument. Minucius sat down on a rock, with Octavius on one side, Cæcilius on the other, and they constituted him arbiter in their dispute.

Cæcilius began by pouring forth abuse on the Christians, retailing all the scandalous stories he had heard of the Agape, and also the distorted tale that was told of the Eucharist, how that a child was smothered in flour, and then stabbed, and after that eaten. Then he went on, "Why do they endeavour with such pains to conceal and cloak over what they worship? Things that are honourable court publicity, crimes only lurk in secret. Why have they no altars, no temples, no consecrated images?" "Those charges," answered Octavius, "which are brought against us—charges of murder and abominable uncleanness—are mere calumnies. They have never been proved against us. Do you think that we conceal what we worship, if we have not temples and altars? What temple shall I build to Him who fashioned the world? Shall I offer victims and sacrifices to the Lord?—I offer him a pure mind and sound judgment."*

A great and unnecessary stress has been laid on this passage by Protestant writers, to show that the Christians of the first three centuries had no idea of the sacredness of places, and no sacrificial notion connected with the Eucharist.

The passage will not bear the weight laid on it. Octavius answers Cæcilius that the Christians had no churches,—they could not have in time of persecution; moreover, they did not believe that God was confined within the precincts of a temple, like the pagan idols; they had no altars streaming with blood, and reeking with the ill savour of burnt bones; they offered no sacrifices, their God needed none.

But when this answer was given, temple, altar, sacrifice, had a signification that has been rubbed down and almost lost in later days; or, to speak more exactly, it has been expanded to embrace a new order of ideas. When controversialists say, "See what the Apologists of the first centuries

* So also Origen adv. Cels. vii. 64; Cyprian ad Demetr. 12.

assert about temples, altars, and sacrifices ; they deny that Christians had them, therefore we deny that they had temple, altar, sacrifice, in the modern sense of the terms." When, they thus argue, we contend that they are drawing unwarrantable conclusions.

Let us consider these three words shortly, and let us, for so doing, place ourselves mentally in the situation of a Christian of the first three centuries.

We have seen what Minucius Felix asserts. This is what Origen says. It is to the same effect.

Celsus, against whom Origen writes, had charged the Christians with "shrinking from raising altars, statues, and temples." Origen answers that, on the contrary, Christians do erect temples, altars, and images ; the temples they hallow and venerate are human bodies made temples of the Holy Ghost. The statues they erect are the image of Jesus Christ formed in man, by conformity to the divine will, and the altars of sacrifice with them are human hearts, from which ascends the steam of perpetual prayer (*Adv. Cels. viii. cc. 17-20*). Elsewhere, Origen says that the Getae have reared temples and statues to Zamolxis, the Cilians to Mopsus, and the Thebans to Amphiarius. "But we have refrained from offering to the Deity honour of such sort ;" and then, at once, he goes on to say, that such temples, altars, and statues as were raised to heroes and gods were "adapted rather to demons" (*iii. c. 34*).

That the Christians had no fixed sacred edifices is quite certain. They could not. Such as are found in the catacombs were employed only in times of persecution. In ordinary seasons the Christians assembled in each other's houses.

Even if they wished to build churches, they might not do so, as Christianity was not a religion allowed by the State. So strictly was the prohibition against the exercise of unauthorised religions enforced, that the Sicarians were put to

death, merely because they practised circumcision, which was a rite allowed by law to the Jews alone.*

Moreover, the Christians did not want the temples; and if temples had been handed over to them by the State, they could not have used them.

Christian worship was congregational. Pagan worship was individual. Except in processions, the heathen had nothing like a united service of prayer and praise. The temple was erected with no provision for the assembling of a congregation within it. Let us see what it was like.

The *suggestus* was a paved platform, like a pedestal, raising the temple several feet above the soil; and this platform was reached, either by a flight of steps in front, or was so arranged as to be accessible by steps all round.

On this platform stood the temple itself, the roof of which covered a colonnade (*porticus*, *πτέρωμα*), and this colonnade formed a pleasant, cool walk round the inner block of the temple itself. This inner block was provided with a porch (*antrum*, *πρόναος*), and sometimes with a porch behind (*posticum*, *ὀπισθόδομος*). The cell, in which stood the image of the god (*cella*, *ναός*), was accessible through both. This cell had no windows, the only light entered through the doors, themselves shaded by both the porch and the portico; and it was comparatively small. The accompanying plan of the Temple of Theseus at Athens will give a good idea of a

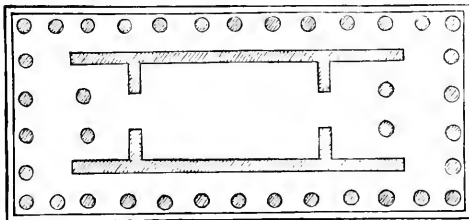


FIG. 20.—The Temple of Theseus at Athens.

* Origen adv. Cels. ii. c. 13; Modestinus, Leg. vi. Regularum ad legem Corneliam de Sicariis.

classic temple, and, if compared with the plans of Christian churches, given in chap. viii., and with Fig. 21, will show how radically different was the idea exhibited in each. They had not a point in common.

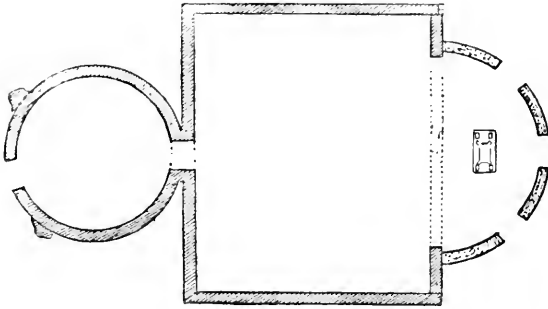


FIG. 21.—Plan of the Church of SS. Cosmas and Damian at Rome.
By permission of Messrs. Hachette.

Now, when a charge was brought against Christians that they had no temples, they thought of these structures, which were as inappropriate to the worship of the true God as would be a labyrinth, and they could, with clear conscience, answer that they had no such things, and did not want them.

Again, with regard to altars and sacrifices.

To a primitive Christian an altar was a structure besmeared with blood, reeking with burnt carrion, and a sacrifice was more than a mere symbol, it was an actual feeding of devils.

The heathen thought that the sacrifices supplied the gods with their daily breakfasts, dinners, and suppers. Aristophanes, in the "Birds," tells us how, when the birds built their Cloud-cuckoo-city in the heavens, it intercepted the oblations to the gods; and he says that the Northern gods squeaked with hunger, because they did not receive their accustomed breakfast of hashed entrails. The primitive Christians did not deny the existence of the gods, but

asserted that they were devils who arrogated to themselves the worship due to the Creator, and they also believed that the sacrifices actually nourished and fattened these demons. So Origen and other Christian writers speak of the devils as hovering round the sacrificial altars, snuffing in the scent of the roast meat and frying bones on them. And they believed that by abstention from sacrifice, the devils might be starved out.

This conception of the altar and the oblations on it is to us so extraordinary that we cannot at once realise it, but till we do, we cannot understand the force of the argument of the Apologists, who, having this idea in their minds, contend against demon-worship, and declare that the true God does not need sacrifices and altars, "If I be hungry, I will not tell thee; for the whole world is Mine, and all that is therein. Thinkest thou that I will eat bull's flesh, and drink the blood of goats? Offer unto God thanksgiving; and pay thy vows unto the Most Highest" (Ps. l. 12-14). These words of Asaph form the text of their diatribe against idol and devil worship, and on the purity of the worship to be given to God.

When they mention the first-fruits, Bread and Wine, offered in the Eucharist, they are careful to explain that these are not given to God because He needs food, but as symbols of the produce of the earth. The Christian House of Worship had no likeness whatsoever to a Temple; the Christian sacrifice, which was unbloody and commemorative, was radically different from a sacrifice such as was offered by the pagans, and the Lord's Table had nothing in common with an altar fetid and bloody.

The Apologists insist on spiritual worship, on the oblation of the soul to God, on the sacrifice of prayer, and of a good life. But when they so do, they do not necessarily exclude the idea of public worship and Eucharistic offering. The view that the best of sacrifices is spiritual is one that neither an Orthodox Eastern nor a Latin Catholic would refuse to

admit at the present day ; what they would refuse to admit would be that such a sacrifice was exclusive of sacramental oblation and worship. The only Apologist who asserts that he will hold nothing back is Justin Martyr, and he does give a description of the liturgy. The others do not profess to do more than proclaim the broad principles of Christianity. Origen insists on there being esoteric teaching, which he does not reveal. Celsus had charged the Christians with declaring their doctrines in the market-places to slaves, and hucksters, and all kinds of rabble. Origen retorts that the Christians are forbidden to do more than give milk to babes, and that only the very elements of Divine Truth are offered to such as are ignorant and incapable of receiving the full revelation of the mystery of the Gospel.

If, with some Protestant controversialists, we allow that the words of Minucius Felix, Origen, Clement of Alexandria, &c., exclude all sacrificial worship, we are left to face the difficulty that we have collateral evidence showing that such worship did exist in the Church.

A similar case to that of temples, and altars, and sacrifices is that of holy seasons.

Origen says : " Those are blind in their minds indeed, who, in ignorance of God, give themselves to temples, and images, and so-called sacred seasons " (Adv. Cels. iii. c. 77). An argument might be drawn from this that the early Christians did not observe sacred times, festivals, seasons, and days. But we know from other sources that they did,—they observed both the Lord's Day, the Sabbath, and the annual commemoration of the Death and Resurrection of Christ. Sacred seasons in a pagan sense meant one thing, in a Christian sense meant another. In a pagan sense they meant the orgies of the Thesmophoria, and the like, grotesque, obscene, and disorderly. Such as these were unknown to Christian worship, and dissonant with it.

When we speak now of a Christian altar, we give it a title

that has changed its signification wholly. An altar to a pagan was the bar at which the gods were served with their victuals. An altar in the Christian acceptance of the term is something radically different. The Jewish altar was unlike in theory to the pagan altar. It was not a place at which the gods were fed ; a sacrifice was offered on it, but this sacrifice was prospective, it looked forward to the Lamb of God, who, by His death on the Cross, would put away the sins of the world. The *Grund-idee*, as the Germans would term it, the root-conception, was different. Christ came, and died on the Cross. In the Holy Eucharist we have the continued memorial of that death—that sacrifice, and a continual pleading of it. Consequently, in the same way as the Jewish altar was an altar, in that it foreshadowed the One Sacrifice, so is the Lord's Table an altar, in that it is retrospective to that same One Sacrifice. That One Sacrifice radiated into the past, and made efficacious and sacrificially characterised all the oblations in the Temple court, and it radiates into the future, and gives efficacy and sacrificial character to every Eucharist celebrated to the end of time.

If Cæcilius had asked Octavius, "Have you Christians no offerings, no oblations made to God?" his friend would most assuredly have replied, "None in the sense you give to them. Our God requires nothing that we can give, for He is the Creator and sustainer of all things ; sacrifice of blood is abolished, but the oblation of the pure offering and of prayer, as was prophesied by Malachi, has taken its place."

The idea which the primitive Christians opposed to the bloody altars was that of the altar of incense. They did not themselves offer incense, but regarded it as symbolical of prayer and praise. They adopt the title of altar of incense, as designative of the Christian altar, or of the church where prayer is offered. The word they employ is *Thusiasterion*. It is found in the evangelists (Matt. v. 23, 24 ; Luke i. 11), employed for the altars of incense and burnt-sacrifice. In

the Epistle to the Hebrews (xiii. 10) it is applied to the golden altar of incense. S. Ignatius uses the word frequently in his epistles. All the passages are quoted in the Appendix (iv.). He employs it, however, sometimes in the broad sense of "place of sacrifice," and evidently means the *bema* or chancel of the church, the place that contained the Lord's Table, and where the oblation was made. Elsewhere he applies it to widows, because their hearts smoke with devotion.

In one sense the Church had no altar, in another sense it had; and when an Apologist denies to a heathen that the Christians have altars, he naturally denies that they have them in the only sense understood by a heathen.

In the 3rd (2nd) Canon of the Apostles, the word *Thusiasterion* is employed for the Christian Eucharistic Table, and orders are given as to what may and what may not be offered on it. It is the same in the "Apostolic Constitutions" (iv. 7).

"God," says Irenæus, "does not stand in need of our services, yet He desires that we should render them for our own advantage. Therefore, the Word gave the precept of making oblations, not that He needed them, but that men might learn to serve God. Thus He wills us to offer a gift at the altar, frequently, and without intermission. The altar is in heaven, to which our prayers and oblations are turned. The Temple is there also."* We see that Irenæus has in his mind the pagan notion that the gods live on the sacrifice, and he opposes it. God does not *need* what is given. Then he goes on to show that the Temple is in heaven, and the altar also, the prototypes of those on earth. The worship offered here is received above, the oblations given here are presented on the heavenly altar. We have already quoted the words of S. Methodius, who shows how that the Temple and altar under the Old Dispensation foreshadowed the

* Adv. Heres. iv. c. 18.

Church and Lord's Table under the New, and how that the Christian basilica and altar are figures in their turn of the celestial temple, and of the heavenly altar which is before the throne of God.

Certain Protestant controversialists have contended that in the primitive Church no other notion of the Eucharist existed save as a Communion, and that there was no notion that it was a sacrifice. We think that they mistake. A Communion it was, a partaking of Christ, but that was not all, it was also an oblation, a showing forth of the Lord's death, just as the Paschal rite was a showing forth of the faith of the Jew in the coming sacrifice of the true Lamb, by Whom redemption from a spiritual Egypt was to be obtained, as well as a partaking of the meal. The theology that overlooks the truth that the celestial sanctuary contains an altar that sums in itself the altar of burnt-sacrifice, the altar of incense, and the table of the Bread of the Presence, fails to see the permanence and continuity of Divine revelation and operation. In heaven we see all that was under the Law fulfilled, and the Church on earth is a reflex of that in heaven, and through it has relations with the Church of the fathers under the Old Covenant.

But the Church on earth is more than a reflex of that in heaven, it is one with it, as soul and body constitute one man. The Word is in heaven, yet sounds in our earthly temples; the light of truth is in that land that needs and has no other light, but it irradiates as well the whole Church below, and scintillates in every creed, and prayer, and hymn. The sacrifice is above, pleaded before the Eternal Father, yet it is pleaded here as well, just as the sun is in heaven, yet is reflected in every pool and dewdrop. In heaven the Lord Jesus is present, but He is present also on earth, in the midst of adoring hosts above, in the midst of His suffering saints below. In heaven the house is full of the smoke of the mediatorial intercession of Christ, and here on earth up-steam from every anxious

heart and broken spirit in litany and prayer, the intercession which is blended with and sanctified by the high priestly mediation above.

Whatsoever *was* under the Old Covenant *is* in heaven, fulfilled by Christ, and heaven and earth are bound up so intimately in one, that what is done in heaven is done also on earth. The altar above is reproduced in tens of thousands of altars here, and the one priesthood there is communicated to every priest throughout the world, without diminution, and without loss to the giver. It is true that the Christian Communion is a Paschal feast, but the Paschal feast involved the Paschal sacrifice, and so the Eucharist is a memorial of the sacrifice of the death of Christ. It was instituted firstly to be that, and secondly to be a communion, a means of grace, of being joined to Christ, and through Him to all believers.

The Fathers, rejecting all savour of a bloody sacrifice, have no scruple about speaking of the Eucharist as a sacrifice in the other sense, they call it a "logic sacrifice" (*θυσία λογική*), for the Logos is the Word of God, Jesus Christ. The word "oblation" (*προσφορά*) they employ of the offering of the first-fruits, of alms, of bread and wine, but the sacrifice (*θυσία*) refers with them to the Eucharistic consecration and oblation.

Both Irenæus and Tertullian speak plainly enough about the Eucharist as an offering before God; Tertullian uses the words sacrifice and altar (*sacrificium* and *altare*.) We need not, however, quote their words and crowd our pages with them; our object here is to point out the true signification of the term altar, and the true interpretation of the Eucharist as a sacrifice. If this were clearly understood, there would be more likelihood of those narrow prejudices which cloud the mind, like the veil on the faces of the Jews in the reading of the Scriptures, being done away.

When Cæcilius detailed before Minucius and Octavius his objections to Christianity, Octavius listened in surprise and smiled, for Cæcilius was charging the Christians with beliefs

and acts and with a worship which were wide of the truth. So with those controversialists who assail the faith of the Church and her practice with regard to the Eucharist. If they can be prevailed on to listen, and purge out of the heart the old sour leaven of negation, they will come to see that the simple Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist is no cunningly devised fable or monstrous delusion.

The Magdeburg Centuriators in the sixteenth century propounded a theory of the Church that has held its ground for three hundred years, and has found wide and enthusiastic acceptance.

The theory may be briefly stated as follows :—

It supposes that the Church in the first age, as left by Christ and the Apostles, was amorphous and inorganic, that the entire system of ecclesiastical order, discipline, and worship, which we find fully complete in the third century, was the rapid development, in two hundred years or less, out of certain germs introduced into the Church from outside, but not properly belonging to the Divine Institution, and indeed contrary to the intention of the Founder.

It supposes the Apostolic Church, or rather, Apostolic Christianity, to have been analogous to the condition of the Universe on the first day of Creation, when light had indeed broken forth in full effulgence, but shone on a world fluid, formless, structureless ; or like that of a people in the most rudimentary state of society, in which no institutions, social or political, have appeared ; or, once more, similar to the lowest type of life in the hardly vitalised *Amœba*, a mass of jelly in which the nerve-centres have not yet begun to form. According to this theory, the Church did gradually develop into an organism, but no such development was designed by the Divine Founder, nor was called into existence by the brooding Spirit ; and all such organism, all such articulation and differentiation, was not development, but corruption. In other words, God's ordering of the Church

was exactly contrary to His law imposed on all that has life, the law of upward progress and perfection of parts.

Protestantism seeks to reproduce the incoherent, invertebrate, acephalous Christianity which it assumes to have existed in the first century.

That Christianity ever was incoherent, invertebrate, acephalous, is what we have good reason to doubt. The theory that it was such reposes on not very solid grounds.

Some evidence is found, or is thought to be found, in the earliest writers who speak of Christianity; and there is certainly evidence that institutions did become more fixed as time went on; from whence it is argued that there were no such institutions at the beginning, or that they were utterly unlike what they ultimately became.

Let us briefly examine these points.

1. In the first age there are two or three testimonies at the outside on which reliance is placed to establish the doctrine that there was a period of liturgical barbarism and ecclesiastical inorganism. These testimonies are Justin Martyr, Pliny, and the *Didaché*.

Justin was born about A.D. 103, converted in 133, wrote his first Apology to the Emperor Antoninus Pius in 148, and died a martyr in 165.

Justin gives an account of the Eucharist, which those who take the amorphous view of primitive Christianity regard as a complete and exact description of the liturgy in the second century.

Justin wrote to the Emperor to clear the Christians of four charges brought against them: 1. Atheism; 2. Sedition; 3. Immorality; 4. Cannibalism.

He shows the Emperor, without difficulty, that Christians believe in God, are peaceable; and that, so far from being given over to uncleanness, they lead chaste lives; then, in order to clear away the charge of cannibalism, he is obliged to enter at some length into the Christian belief touching the

Eucharist. He describes the Eucharist, but only slightly, and mainly in its aspect as a communion ; and he lays stress on the doctrine of the bread and wine being partaken of as a memorial of Christ, and as representatives of His body and blood. Out of this had grown the calumny against Christians, that they ate real flesh and drank human blood.

Now it is obviously laying a stress on Justin's account it was never meant to endure, to take this slight sketch as a complete description of the primitive liturgy, and to argue from it that, because it is slight, therefore the early liturgy was structureless. Justin had no motive for writing a full account ; he had, on the contrary, reasons for representing the liturgy as something hardly coming up to the designation of an act of worship, for the exercise of unauthorized worship was a capital offence.

The next testimony on which reliance is placed is Pliny's letter to Trajan, in which he tells the Emperor what he has learned about the Christians by torture and from renegades. His account is, as might be expected, from the way in which he got his information, confused, and it is necessarily incomplete.

The third testimony is the *Didaché*, about which we have already spoken. The *Didaché* gives a short account of what may, or may not be, the Eucharist ; but the *Didaché* is clearly a manual of rudimentary instruction and prayer—a sort of primer—for the laity ; and in the second place, is certainly a heretical composition, belonging to an Ebionite sect directly sprung out of the Essenes, who substituted a sacred common meal for participation in the sacrifices of the Temple at Jerusalem.

Now, so far as they go, all these testimonies do agree with what we have shown was the original form of the liturgy, and may be said to give in the rough what from other sources we fill in in detail. They do not contradict the witnesses we have for a very complete Eucharistic service in any degree ;

that they do not describe it fully is due to the circumstances under which these witnesses were produced.

2. It is true that the Church did undergo development, that the law that applies to all creation, to every human institution, applied to her also ; that her discipline, organism, faith, liturgy, became more articulated and differentiated, as time progressed, and as circumstances admitted. But if we suppose that this was all contrary to the will of the Founder and the direction of the Holy Ghost, we are driven to very startling consequences—we as much as declare that the Founder built the Church as badly as the worst contractor whose fabric goes to pieces through dry rot and friable mortar as soon as finished ; and also that the Spirit given to the Church, as its guide into all truth, brooded over general decomposition, becoming more, and daily more, offensive, instead of developing into perfection that life of which the rudiments had been laid.

It is surely more consistent with what we know of the course of Divine operation to suppose that the Church, when it left the hands of the Creator, Christ, after the Great Forty Days, was fully organized, only not fully grown, that everything which afterwards appeared in it—the Ecclesiastical Order, the Rule of Faith, the form of Liturgy—were constituted to take full perfection of expansion and development as time served and opportunity came ; also, that the Spirit of Illumination, the Spirit of Truth, who was to serve as the Guide and Paraclete, did so lead the hearts of God's faithful people, that as every occasion came the corresponding development appeared.

To such reformers as think otherwise, that all was wrong, rotten, erroneous in the Church, from the sub-apostolic time till the great outbreak in the sixteenth century, we may apply the words of Tertullian to Marcion, " O Christ, most enduring Lord, who didst bear so many years with this interference with Thy revelation, until *Marcion* forsooth, came to Thy

rescue!"* "An amender of the Gospel is he, forsooth, which was all topsy-turvy, from the days of Tiberius till he appeared—the moment so looked for by Christ, who was all along regretting that He had been in such a hurry to send out His Apostles before *Marcion* could come to His aid!" †

* Adv. Marc i. c. 20.

† *Ibid.* iv. c. 4.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE UPPER CHAMBER.

THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS ON THE NIGHT OF THE INSTITUTION—THE 14TH NISAN HAD BEGUN WHEN CHRIST ENTERED JERUSALEM—THE COVENANT OF JUDAS MADE ON THE 13TH—CHRIST THE TRUE PASCHAL LAMB—DIFFICULTY OF ACCOMMODATING THE ACCOUNT OF THE INSTITUTION WITH THE PASSOVER—THE INSTITUTION REPRODUCES SOME FEATURES OF THE PASSOVER—THE SEARCH FOR LEAVEN—THE WASHING OF THE FEET—INTRODUCTORY TO A RELIGIOUS RITE—THE DISCOURSES—THE PRAYER—THE INVITATORY—THE GREAT HALLEL AND THE CONSECRATION—ANOTHER INTERCESSION—COMMUNION—THANKSGIVING—DEPARTURE—WHY THE GOSPELS OMIT SOME THINGS AND DETAIL OTHERS—CHRIST'S MONUMENT IS HIS CHURCH—THE MEMORIAL OF THAT NIGHT IN THE UPPER CHAMBER IS THE EUCHARIST—EVERYWHERE THE LITURGY IS ORGANICALLY ONE—CONCLUSION FROM S. CYPRIAN—CONCLUDING PRAYER FROM LITURGY OF S. JAMES.

LET us now try to picture to ourselves the scene, and bring up before us, in sequence, the events of the solemn night of the Institution.

If, as we suppose, the sun had set when Christ entered Jerusalem, and mounted the steps to the upper chamber of the house where He was to institute the New Passover in His own Blood, then, according to Jewish computation, the 14th Nisan had already begun—the Day of the Preparation, on which He, the true Lamb, was to die, that by His Blood redemption might be obtained from the bondage of corruption.

The upper chamber was reached by steps from outside the house of the man with whom the disciples had covenanted.

The disciples, with Jesus, had been at Bethany, on the Wednesday, 13th Nisan. He said, "Ye know that after two days is the feast of the Passover, and the Son of Man is betrayed to be crucified."

On that same day "assembled the chief priests and the scribes and the elders of the people unto the palace of the high priest, who was called Caiaphas, and consulted that they might take Jesus by subtilty and kill Him. But they said, Not on the feast day, lest there be an uproar among the people" (Matt. xxvi. 1-5). Therefore Judas agreed to betray Him on the following day, the Day of the Preparation. So Christ came into Jerusalem to the Betrayal on the evening of the Thursday, and went after sun-down into the house prepared, where the disciples intended to make ready the Passover for the appointed night, the night of the ensuing day, the beginning of the 15th Nisan. As the evening had closed, the hour of the Mincha was over; supper was prepared, the last—the Lord's Supper, in the upper room, by lamp-light.

Was that supper, the Paschal ritual supper antedated? That is a question that must be left unsolved. The writer, in a former work, accepted the general Western belief that it was;* but further consideration has made him hesitate in this conviction, because there is no evidence that this Western belief is not of comparatively late growth, and also because the difficulties in the way of holding it are very serious. The Paschal lambs were slain on the afternoon of the 14th Nisan, and there seems an evident fitness in Christ dying on the Cross at the same time, on the same day, as the types were slaughtered. Maimonides says, "The Paschal lamb was to be slain in the outer court only, where the other sacrifices were slain, on the 14th of the first month, in the afternoon, after the usual sacrifice and that of incense"; that is to say, about half-past two or three, according to our time. More-

* "The Passion of Jesus," London, 1885, p. 29.

over, according to Maimonides, that man was esteemed guilty as of murder who slew the Paschal lamb elsewhere than as aforesaid, along with all Israel, also if he anticipated the sacrifice by a day, and did not observe exactly the 14th Nisan.* It is quite true that Maimonides is a late writer (end of twelfth century); but he certainly reflected traditional prejudice.

Be that as it may, it does not greatly affect our inquiry, for the Eucharistic Institution was the New Passover, and would be likely to reproduce, in some measure, the features of the type.

Dr. Bickell, in an elaborate and masterly treatise,† has argued that Christ did eat the Passover, and then, at the post-Paschal ritual—drinking of the Cup of the Hallel, consecrated the Eucharist; but he has failed completely to do more than show a remarkable coincidence between the Eucharistic Prayer and the Great Hallel, which was sung at this supplementary service. This we allow, but contend that, taking the Eucharist as the Christian Passover, it would necessarily reflect certain features of the old Passover. The new would be an expansion of, an interpretation of, and a fulfilment of the old. Now, though the Great Eucharistic Prayer does, to a certain extent, follow the lines of the 135th Psalm, as we have already shown, that Psalm belongs to the Morning Service, and not to the Paschal rite. At the Passover there is a commemoration of the wondrous works of the Lord, and the Great Eucharistic Prayer is as well an amplification and extension of that, forwards and backwards, backwards to embrace Creation, and forwards to include Redemption.

Supper being ended, there was a pause. If that evening were, as we believe, the beginning of the Day of the Preparation, then our Lord would seek the chamber with a light in quest of leaven, and if any were found, put it away to be burnt on the morrow. As this search for leaven had to be

* Maimon, *Korban Pesach*, cap. 1. † *Messe u. Pascha*, Mainz, 1872.

made on the night of the 13th-14th, it is not likely that Jesus would have postponed His coming to the strange house till the evening of the 14th-15th. The search for and the putting away of the leaven was part of the necessary preparation for the feast. Supper was over, the Lord's Supper, of which in after times the Agape was the representative. At what time after sunset it took place we do not know.

Then, probably, our Lord took water, put off His two mantles, took a towel and girded Himself, and washed the disciples' feet. This was a symbolic act, perfectly understood, as the opening of a religious service. The priests washed their feet, putting the hands under the feet, before they began the Services of the Temple, and this act of our Lord showed plainly to His Eleven that they were about to enter on some solemn religious act.*

Then our Lord gave His last discourse, which we have in the Gospel of S. John. As the last Evangelist does not mention the Institution, though he does the Last Supper, it is not possible to be quite certain as to the sequence, but we are probably not wrong in concluding that the discourse immediately followed the Supper.

Christ also washed His disciples' feet. This was clearly preparatory to something. As the Jews washed before a sacrifice, and before partaking of the Passover, so Christ washed His disciples' feet to show them the need of cleansing before being present at His sacrifice, and partaking of the Antitypal Feast.

Moreover, the discourse, or discourses, Christ gave, furnished the precedent for those performances of the prophets which became afterwards such a scandal at Corinth.

Christ's discourse was divided into several parts. It began at the 31st verse of chap. xiii., and was interrupted several times by questions from S. Peter, S. Thomas, S. Philip, and S. Thaddæus.

* See Appendix I.

He began with a farewell to His Apostles. "Little children, yet a little while I am with you, ye shall seek Me; and as I said unto the Jews, Whither I go, ye cannot come, so now I say unto you." Then came an interruption from Simon Peter, "Lord, whither goest Thou?" When his question had been answered, Jesus proceeded, "In My Father's house are many mansions—I go to prepare a place for you—and whither I go ye know, and the way ye know."

Thomas thereupon broke in with the remark, "Lord, we know not whither Thou goest; and how can we know the way?" Then Philip asked a question. Next followed the discourse on the vision of the Father, on the virtue of prayer, and on the coming of the Paraclete. Then came the instruction on the Vine.

The fourth interruption came from Judas Thaddæus, who said, "How is it that Thou wilt manifest Thyself unto us, and not unto the world?" The answer was triple: First, Christ said, by obedience to My law; secondly, by the instruction of the Paraclete; thirdly, by My peace, which I will shed abroad in the hearts of the faithful.

After Christ had instructed His Apostles, He laid aside His prophetic, to assume His intercessory, priestly function. He lifted up his eyes to heaven, and prayed. The 17th chapter of S. John's Gospel contains this prayer.

The prayer began with an introduction. Christ prayed that He might be glorified; then, between the introduction and the close, three things were specially desired by Christ. He prayed that the truth might prevail, that the chosen might be sanctified, and that they might be kept in Unity.

This prayer, as we have already noticed, recalls one in the Morning Service of the Synagogue, derived from the use in the Temple. It finds its counterpart in the liturgies in the Prayer for Peace and the Litany of Intercession.

S. John passes over the Institution as something with the details of which every Christian was familiar. We may sup-

pose that then Jesus brought bread and wine, mingled the cup, and placed them on a table that perhaps stood before them, where they were seated, and began the familiar invitatory to praise. Thereupon, all rose ; and when he recited how the Cherubim and Seraphim, and all the heavenly host, laud and glorify God, then the Eleven raised their voices in the well-known strain of " Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts."

Now they knew to what He had called them—it was to the Morning Prayer. They continued standing, and heard Him begin the great Psalm of Praise and Glory to God for all His wondrous works, great and magnificent, Who by His excellent wisdom made the heavens, Who stretched out the earth above the waters, Who made great lights, Who smote Egypt with their first-born, and brought out Israel from among them, with a strong hand and a stretched out arm ; Who divided the Red Sea, and led the people through the wilderness ; Who smote great Kings, and gave their land for an heritage unto Israel His servant ; Who remembered man in his low estate, and gave food to all flesh. Thereupon, Christ took the Bread, and blessed it, raising it, and lifting up His eyes to heaven, He laid His hand on the Bread, and brake, and said, " Take, eat, this is My Body."

Then He took the Cup of mingled wine and water, and raising it, He looked up to heaven, and blessed, and laid His hand on the Cup, and said, " This Cup is the New Testament in My Blood, which is shed for you. Verily I say unto you, as often as ye eat of this Bread and drink of this Cup, ye do show forth My Death till I come."

Then He distributed among His wondering disciples.

That before He distributed, after the Great Prayer of Praise, Our Lord again prayed for His disciples, is most probable, and this would account for the introduction of the Great Intercession at this place in all the liturgies.

After the Communion came the Hymn of Thanksgiving,

probably also a Benediction, and then the break-up and departure for Gethsemane.

We can hardly doubt that the discourse of Our Lord, previous to the Institution and after the Supper, gave occasion to the prophecies and exhortations which were allowed in the first century between the Agape and the celebration of the Eucharist. Afterwards, when the Agape was abolished, and the Pro-Anaphora grafted on to the Eucharist, it served the same purpose, as the authority for the sermon that preceded the Great Entrance.

We can imagine the scene. The seven-nozzled Sabbatical lamp was lighted over the table, and the yellow light fell on the Saviour as He stood at the linen-covered table, and the Eleven surrounded Him, standing, looking on in wonder, familiar with much that He said, able to respond when He led up to a well remembered hymn or verse, but perplexed at the significance of the new rite imported into the ordinary Morning Prayer—a rite strangely like the Passover, and yet in some mysterious and inexplicable way different. Every act, every gesture, almost every word, stamped itself on their memory.

The Gospels were not committed to writing till the Church was organised, had spread widely, and her worship was pretty well fixed. And they were written in such a manner as to give full details concerning those things that were transitory, and to pass over such others as were by their nature permanent, as things speaking for themselves. For instance, the incidents of the birth, and death, and resurrection were transitory; they had occurred within the memory of the Evangelists, or of men with whom they had talked, and from whom they had learned all particulars. These events had passed into history, and every year that elapsed made them more remote, and therefore made it more necessary that a well authenticated record of these historical and not to be repeated events should be made. So also with the words of

Our Lord Jesus Christ. It was of paramount importance that they should be preserved unaltered.

But it was otherwise with things of the second class, those which by their nature were to be permanent. Thus, everything connected with the government of the Church, the conduct of the sacraments, the mode of divine worship—these things were not recorded, there was no need to record them. The Church was to be a permanent institution, her officers were to be continued in succession to the end of time, and the sacraments to be administered, if not daily, at all events weekly.

When the Gospels were written, the Church was an organised kingdom, its officers in place and knowing their several functions, and the liturgy perfectly familiar to every believer. There was absolutely no need for the Evangelists to write about these constant and rooted institutions ; accordingly the fact that, in the Great Forty Days after the Resurrection, Christ was instructing His Apostles in the Constitution of His Church, how it was to be governed, what it was to be taught, what faith to profess, what sacraments to minister, and how divine worship was to be carried on, what was to be held to, and what allowed free—all this is passed over by the Evangelist, with the words, He was "seen of them (the Apostles) forty days, speaking of the things pertaining to the Kingdom of God " (Acts i. 3).

If we want to know what was the life of Sir Christopher Wren, we look to the biography of the great man, but if we want to know what was his work, we take the motto of his tomb, "Circumspice," and contemplate S. Paul's Cathedral.

So, if we want to know what was the life, and what were the words of the Saviour, we go to the Gospels, but if we desire to learn what He did, what He created, we look at the Catholic Church.*

* See Bridgett, "In Spirit and in Truth," London, 1869.

If we want to know what took place in that most solemn night before He died, what were His prayers, His thanksgivings, His very gestures of hand and eye, what was the vesture He wore, we obtain an answer—an answer from every Church throughout the world, from North and South, from East and West, from the tundras of Siberia to the pepper swamps of India, from the seven-hilled Rome to the mountains of Abyssinia, from stately Seville, from marble Milan, to the mud chapels of the Khurdish shepherds—and that answer comes to us from the liturgies.

And now, in conclusion, we will take the words of S. Cyprian to Cæcilius: "In offering the Cup, the tradition of the Lord must be observed, and nothing be done by us but what the Lord first did on our behalf. There is no reason for any to follow strange customs, for we must enquire whom they follow [who introduce them.] For if in the sacrifice that Christ offered, none is to be followed but Christ, assuredly it behoves us to obey and do that which Christ did, and what He commanded to be done, since He Himself says in the Gospel, 'If ye do whatsoever I command you, henceforth I call you not servants, but friends.' Therefore, if Christ alone must be heard, we ought not to give heed to what another before us may have thought was to be done, but what Christ, who is before all, did first. The discipline of all religion and truth is overturned, unless what is spiritually prescribed be faithfully observed. Therefore, it befits our religion, and our fear, and the place itself, and the office of our priesthood, to keep the truth of the Lord's tradition, and, at the warning of the Lord, to correct that which seems with some to have been erroneous, so that when He shall come in the brightness of His heavenly Majesty, He may find that we keep what He admonished us, that we observe what He taught, that we do what He did. Farewell."

"From glory to glory advancing, we hymn Thee, O

Saviour of our souls. From strength to strength advancing, having accomplished the Divine Liturgy of Thy Temple, we pray Thee vouchsafe us Thy abundant mercy, rightly divide our paths, root out of us all fear, and count us worthy of Thy heavenly kingdom."—*Lit. of S. James.*



APPENDIX.

I.—THE WASHING.

A difficulty exists in fixing the time at which Our Lord washed the feet of the Apostles. Tischendorf, in his "Synopsis Evangelica," § 145, regards it as having taken place at the commencement of the evening, and connects it with S. Luke xxii. 24-30, where the Apostles are said to have striven among them which of them should be accounted the greatest. The words of S. John are *δείπνου γενομένου* (xiii. 3), which may be rendered "during supper (time)." Mr. Hammond, in a letter to the author, says, "My idea is something of this kind—the little company having walked to the guest chamber, the regular thing, according to Jewish custom, would be that their feet should be washed. Ordinarily, this would be done by the servants. But as they had no servants, the duty would devolve naturally upon one of themselves. They all tried to decline this menial task. Hence, Jesus, to set them an example of humility, rose from the couch, where He had taken His seat, and Himself performed it. Then the meal proceeded."

This explanation is very beautiful, but at the same time it certainly seems from the wording of S. John, as if the washing took place after. For putting aside the passage quoted, *δείπνου γενομένου* we have in verse 4, "He riseth from supper, and layeth aside His garments." *ἐγείρεται ἐκ τοῦ δείπνου*, which implies that the meal was concluded.

If we look to the Institution as following the order of

Morning Prayer, then the washing would take place at the beginning, in the place where the memorial of washing was recited.

Again, according to Tertullian, the washing took place *after* the Agape, which would indicate that the tradition of the Church held that Christ's performance of the washing took place after the Lord's Supper and before the Institution of the Eucharist.

Again, it would seem appropriate that Christ should wash before the Institution, to show the necessity of purification before approach to the Christian Sacrament, just as washing was required before approach to a Mosaic sacrifice.

In the Liturgy of the "Constitutions" the washing comes after the Kiss of Peace given among the faithful when the catechumens, &c., have gone out. In the Roman Mass the washing comes after the Prayer of Approach and the Invocation of the Holy Ghost. It would seem that tradition is all on the side of holding the washing to have taken place after Supper and before the Institution.

II.—LEAVENED *versus* UNLEAVENED BREAD.

The case of leavened *versus* unleavened bread for the Eucharist may be briefly summarised.

For Unleavened Bread.

1. If our Lord celebrated the Passover—the legal Passover—on the evening of the 14th-15th Nisan, and after this instituted the Holy Eucharist, then He most certainly did employ *unleavened* bread; for the use of leavened bread on that night was not allowed.

2. If our Lord instituted on the night of the 13th-14th, then He had first complied so far with the Law's demands as to eat first the Passover, though on the wrong night, antedating

it so as to finish with the institution of the Passover before ordaining the new institution of the Eucharist. If so, he would use unleavened bread, as an integral part of the legal institution of the Passover.

3. If our Lord instituted on the night of 13th-14th, it was after the putting forth of all leaven out of the house, which took place on that night, and therefore He would almost certainly have unleavened bread only for the institution of the Eucharist.

4. The substitution of the leavened bread for the unleavened was due to the opposition of the Church to the Judaizing tendencies of the Hebrew converts.

5. S. Paul (1 Cor. v. 7) implies that the Eucharist was, at the time at which he wrote, celebrated with the unleavened wafer.

6. That, as soon as all danger of Judaizing ceased, the Church reverted to unleavened bread.

7. The Synoptics state that the time of Unleavened Bread had begun.

For Leavened Bread.

1. That the tradition of the Church in the first three centuries was that Christ died on the 14th Nisan. That, therefore, He instituted on the night of 13th-14th.

2. That the tradition of the Church in the first three centuries was that Christ did not eat first the legal Paschal Supper, antedated.

3. That leavened bread was allowed to be eaten on the night of the 13th-14th and was only forbidden for the ensuing night.

4. That the Early Church everywhere employed leavened bread; and the Oriental Church does so still.

5. That there is no evidence of any change from unleavened to leavened bread, in opposition to Ebionite or other heresy; and that such a change is pure matter of conjecture.

6. That, considering the temper of mind of the Early Church, it would not have ventured to make such a change ; its principle being to adhere exactly, in every particular, to the Institution by Christ.

7. That the alteration from leavened to unleavened bread, demonstrably took place in the 7th, or 6th century at earliest, in the West, and that the unleavened bread did not become general in the West till the 10th century.

8. That this change was made through misapprehension. It was supposed that the Early Church was in error in thinking that Christ died on the 14th Nisan. That He really died on the 15th, and that therefore He instituted the Eucharist in unleavened bread. Therefore, in order, most closely to adhere to His institution, it was thought right to revert to unleavened bread.

9. That the words of S. Paul (1 Cor. v. 7) do not apply to the Eucharistic bread. S. Paul's words may thus be paraphrased :—

“The Paschal Lamb was slain, and then was eaten ; along with it, as condiment, was unleavened bread ; so :—

“Christ, our Paschal Lamb is slain ; let us also partake of Him, sacramentally, and, in so doing, let us also bring as condiment, sincerity and truth.”

THE TYPE.—The Lamb.

The Condiments, which were—

a. Bitter herbs.

β. Unleavened Bread.

THE ANTITYPE (*Objective*).—Christ.

(*Subjective*).—The Condiments are—

a. Penitence.

β. Sincerity and Truth.

It will be seen that the drift of S. Paul's words is missed if we apply the unleavened bread to the Eucharistic bread.

10. The words of the Synoptics that imply the beginning of the days of unleavened bread include 14th Nisan, when the leaven was put away, though the use of leavened bread on that day was permissible for consumption.

III.—RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ANGLICAN LITURGY ON PRIMITIVE PATTERN.

In the Anglican Liturgy nothing essential is lost, unless we consider the Invocation as essential, and that is implied by the imposition of hands on the Gifts ; but if nothing essential be lost, yet there has been displacement of parts, and a restoration, without being revolutionary in the changes, is desirable. The reformers had not, and at the time at which they worked could not have, the knowledge which is in our possession ; consequently their work was faulty in some particulars. The Roman Liturgy is so likewise. It resembles a stained-glass window that composed a complete and symmetrical figure, fallen to pieces, and re-put together by an unintelligent plumber. For the reconstruction of our Liturgy, if it be ever taken in hand, which is much to be desired, the pattern looked to must not be the disordered Roman Liturgy, but the primitive type, as revealed by the earliest Oriental Liturgies.

In the suggested Reconstruction which is here appended, some of the alterations subsequent to the Nicene Council have been accepted, such as the insertion of the Creed in the Pro-Anaphora. This has been accepted almost universally by the Church. The Old Eucharistic Prayer has been condensed and crystallized into the Creed on one side, and into the stray spars of the Proper Prefaces which might with advantage be increased in number, though there existed but few in the Gelasian and Gregorian Canon.

The place of the Prayer of the Veil ought to be indicated, also that of the Kiss of Peace by a prayer for peace.

As the Anglican, with the whole Western Church, combines the Consecration by the priest with the Institution record, the Invocation should precede the Canon, but it would be well to retain the remains of the Oblation and Exomologesis, and supply the Anamnesis, which has been lost also. The Lord's Prayer should be returned to its proper place.

PREPARATION.	{ Our Father.
	{ Almighty God, the Fountain of all Wisdom.
OLD LITANY OF INTER- CESSION.	{ Commandments, with ten Kyries.
	{ Prayer for Queen.
	{ Collect or Collects for day.
LECTIONS.	{ Epistle.
	{ Gospel.
GREAT EUCHARISTIC PRAYER.	Creed of Nicæa.*
PSALMODY.	(Psalm or Hymn.)
SERMON.	Sermon.
DISMISSALS.	(Exit of Non-Communicants.)†
GREAT ENTRANCE.	Offertory.
PRAYER OF VEIL.	(Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings.)‡
KISS OF PEACE.	(O God, who art the author of peace and lover of concord.)§
OLD LITANY AND COL- LECT OF INTERCES- SION.	Church Militant Prayer, and Memorial of the Dead.
EPIKLESI (a).	(Invocation of the Holy Ghost.)
SURSUM CORDA.	Lift up your hearts.
PREFACE.	It is very meet, &c.
GREAT EUCHARISTIC PRAYER.	(Proper Prefaces, relics of Great Eucharistic Prayer.)
SANCTUS.	Holy, holy, holy.
INSTITUTION.	Institution and Consecration.
ANAMNESIS.	(Wherefore mindful of, &c.) ¶
OBLATION.	We, Thy humble servants, entirely desire. . . . Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of Thy Holy Spirit.
EPIKLESI (b).	O Lord and heavenly Father.
EXOMOLOGESIS.	And although we be unworthy.
SANCTA SANCTIS.	Ye that do truly.
PREPARATION FOR COMMUNION.	{ Confession and Absolution.
	{ Prayer of Humble Access. We do not pre- sume.
	{ Lord's Prayer.
COMMUNION.	Communion.
POST-COMMUNION.	Almighty and ever-living God.
THANKSGIVING.	Gloria in excelsis Deo.**
BENEDICTION.	The peace of God, which passeth.

* The Creed is really the Great Thanksgiving Prayer, which was a psalm-like version of the Rule of Faith, reconverted into a Rule of Faith, and translated to the Mass of the Catechumens. It found its way into the Roman Liturgy only in the middle ages. It was not in that of Gelasius and Gregory.

† The exit of non-communicants is not ordered in the Anglican Liturgy, but is

IV.—EUCCHARISTIC NOTICES IN THE EARLY FATHERS.

I. S. CLEMENT OF ROME.

Clement, the friend of S. Paul, was bishop of Rome after Anacletus. S. Paul mentions him in Phil. iv. 3. He wrote a letter to the Church of Corinth in the name of the Church of Rome, to exhort to peace, as divisions had arisen, and the Corinthians had expelled some of their presbyters. In the letter he treats of the evils produced by envy, then exhorts to repentance, to hospitality, and to humility. He urges the Corinthians not to give ear to seditious members of their society, and to be careful to cultivate peace. He goes on to bid those whom he addresses to remember that Christ is coming again, and this leads to a digression on the resurrection. In hope of this resurrection he exhorts to purity and a gentle life, and to the practice of good works, having God before their eyes, who Himself set us an example of working.

Then comes a passage moulded on the CANON, or Rule of Faith, which is one with the Eucharistic Thanksgiving (c. 33).

CANON :—The Creator and Lord of all rejoices in His works. By His infinitely great power He made the heavens, by His incomprehensible

matter of custom. The English Church nowhere orders the expulsion of earnest believers who do not feel themselves worthy to receive every time the Eucharist is celebrated, but at the same time hardly can desire to see the careless, the indifferent livers, the insincere, those without true convictions, present during the sacrifice.

‡ A more appropriate Collect for the Prayer of the Veil might be composed, or one taken from an ancient liturgy.

§ Some recognition of the place formerly occupied by the Pax is advisable. The introduction at this place of the Prayer for Peace from Mattins would answer the purpose.

|| As the Consecration is a combined act in the Western Church, this is the place for the Invocation on the Gifts, and later on that on the communicants.

¶ The Anamnesis, which is universal in the Church, should be restored.

** As the Gloria in Excelsis is a late introduction, this place would do well for it, though in the liturgies it usually comes at the beginning of the Pro-Anaphora.

wisdom He adorned them. He divided also the earth from the water that surrounds it; and fixed it on the immutable basis of His will. By His word He called into being the animals that are on it. So likewise, when He had formed the sea, and the living creatures therein, He bounded them by His power. Above all, with holy and undefiled hands* He formed man, the chiefest of His creatures, truly great through the understanding given him—the express likeness of His image. . . Having finished these things He approved them, and said, Increase and multiply. We see then how the Lord, adorning Himself with His works, rejoiced,† and all righteous men are adorned with good works also.”

Clement at once goes on by an abrupt transition (c. 34) :—

PREFACE AND SANCTUS :—“ Let us consider the whole multitude of His angels, how they stand ready to minister to His will. For Scripture saith, Ten thousand times ten thousand stood before Him, and thousand times of thousands ministered unto Him, and cried, saying—

HOLY, HOLY, HOLY, is the Lord of Sabaoth; all Creation is full of His glory.

Let us therefore conscientiously, uniting together in one (*συναχθέντες ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*‡) cry to Him heartily, as with one mouth, that we may be made partakers of His great and glorious promises; as is said, “Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man the things which He hath prepared for them that wait for Him.”§

Here we have an allusion to the Canon, leading in the writer’s mind to the thought of the harmony there is in the Angel choirs, whereat he paraphrases the Preface, and this leads on to a quotation which the Fathers apply in two senses: 1st, to the Mystery of the Eucharistic; then 2nd, to the Eternal blessedness, of which we are made heirs through participation in the Eucharist. This passage is used by S. Paul as a quotation (1 Cor. ii. 9). Clement also *quotes*. It probably occurred in some Jewish liturgical prayer, which

* An Eucharistic expression found in all forms of the Institution.

† An allusion to an expression in the Canon of the Liturgy of the “Constitutions.” Thou hast made man—as the adornment of the world.”

‡ *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* is a term often employed by the Fathers to designate the place of assembly for the Eucharist. See Probst, p. 43-65.

§ Neale, in his Liturgical Essays contends that S. Paul quoted from the Liturgy of S. James. This does not follow. He may have quoted from a Jewish formula.

was taken on into the Eucharistic Canon, where it is found in many liturgies.

Then Clement proceeds (c. 35):—

“How blessed and wonderful, beloved, are the Gifts (*δῶρα*) of God! Life in immortality, splendour in righteousness, truth in perfect confidence, faith in assurance, self-control in holiness.”

We quote this only because he again uses a term which is of general application to the Eucharist (cf. John iv. 10). S. Clement goes on to liken Christ to a leader in an army, and to show how that as soldiers in an army have to obey their officers, so must the members of the Church submit to those set over them. He says next (c. 40):—

“It behoves us to do all things in order, which the Lord has commanded us to perform at stated times. He has enjoined offerings [to be made] and service to be tendered, and that not thoughtlessly and irregularly, but at appointed times and hours. *Where, and by whom,* He desires these things to be done, He has Himself fixed by His will, that all things may be piously performed according to His good pleasure, and so be acceptable to Him.

“Those, therefore, who present their oblations at the appointed times, are accepted and blessed; they sin not, for they follow the ordinance of God.

“For [of old] the high priest had his own special services, and the priests their own, and the Levites also theirs. The layman is bound by laws pertaining to laymen.

“Let every one of your brethren give thanks (*εὐχαριστέτω*) to God [therefore] in his proper order.”

The argument of S. Clement here deserves attention. He is still exhorting the unruly Corinthians to submit to their clergy, against whom they have revolted. After the exhortation, based on the general order of Creation, and the order maintained by the angels in heaven, he shows that God appointed order and differentiation of offices in the Church. It was so, he shows, under the Old Covenant, how much more so under the New Dispensation. And as at first, there were—a high priest, priests, Levites; and these had set places

and times for performing service, and their several functions, so is it in the Church.

“The Apostles preached the Gospel to us by command of the Lord Jesus Christ [were sent] from God. Christ was sent by God. The Apostles were sent by Christ. Both appointments were orderly. Having received their orders . . . the Apostles went forth. . . . They also preaching in countries and cities, appointed the first-fruits [of their labours] to be bishops and deacons of those who should believe.”

“The Apostles appointed these, and gave them instructions that, when they were about to fall asleep, other approved men should succeed them in their ministry” (c. 42).

On this Clement finds a fresh argument against the disorderly conduct of the Corinthians (c. 44).

“Such men cannot be justly dismissed from the ministry (*λειτουργίας*). Our sin will not be small, if we eject from the Episcopate those who have blamelessly and holily offered the Gifts (*προσευγκόντας τὰ δῶρα*).”

S. Clement goes on to show that the righteous will be persecuted in this life, but that their persecutors are of the Evil One, and that therefore his hearers should be careful to cleave to the righteous and avoid worrying them. This leads him to the positive side of his argument, an appeal to brotherly love, which love he illustrates by examples. Then comes a reference to the PRAYERS FOR PENITENTS.

“Let us pray for those who have fallen into any sin, that meekness and humility may be given them, that they may submit, not to us, but to God’s will.

“These exhortations, by which we admonish one another, are good and profitable” (c. 56).

Clement shows the disorderly Corinthians that their proper place is that of penitents, over whom the deacon calls the Bidding Prayer; and having got the thought of this in his mind, the conclusion of his epistle is full of echoes of the Eucharist.

LITANY OF INTERCESSION: “We will ask with instance (Litany) of prayer and supplication (*αἰτησόμεθα, ἐκτενῆ τὴν δέησιν καὶ ἰκεσίαν*)

ποιούμενοι), that the Creator of the universe may guard intact to the end the number that hath been numbered of His elect* throughout the whole world, through His beloved Son, Jesus Christ, through whom He called us out of darkness into light, out of ignorance to the full knowledge of the glory of His Name.

Grant unto us, Lord, that we may set our hope on Thy Name—open the eyes of our hearts, that we may know Thee, who alone abidest Highest in the highest, Holy in the holy ; who humblest the insolence of the proud, and scatterest the imagination of the Gentiles, who settest the lowly on high, and bringest down the lofty, who makest rich and makest poor, who killest and makest alive ; the Benefactor of spirits, the God of all flesh, who lookest into the abysses, who scannest the works of man : the Succour of them that are in peril, the Saviour of them that are in despair, the Creator and Bishop of all spirits ; who multipliest the nations upon earth, and hast chosen out those that love Thee through Christ Jesus, Thy beloved Son, through whom Thou dost instruct, sanctify, and honour us.

We beseech Thee, Lord and Master, to be our Help and Defender.

Save those among us who are in Tribulation ;

Have mercy upon the Lowly ;

Raise up the Fallen ;

Show Thyself [a help] unto the Needy ;

Heal those that are Ungodly ;

Convert the Wanderers of Thy people ;

Feed the Hungry ;

Release the Captive ;

Raise up the Weak ;

Comfort the Faint-hearted ;

Make the Gentiles to know that Thou alone art God, and Jesus Christ is Thy Son, and we are Thy people and the sheep of Thy pasture.

PRAYER OF THE FLOCK.—Thou, through Thine operation, didst make manifest the everlasting fabric of the world.

Thou, O Lord, didst create the earth.

Thou art faithful throughout all generations, righteous in Thy judgments, marvellous in strength and excellence, Thou art wise in creating, provident in establishing that which Thou hast made, Thou art good in the things which are seen, and faithful unto them that trust in Thee, pitiful and compassionate ; forgive us our iniquities and our unrighteousness, and our transgressions and shortcomings.

Lay not to our account every sin of Thy servants and Thine handmaids, but cleanse us with the cleansing of Thy Truth, and guide our steps to walk in holiness, and righteousness, and singleness of heart, and to do such things as are good and well-pleasing in Thy sight and in the sight of our rulers.

* Same expression, App. Const. viii. 22 ; and in the Roman Liturgy.

PRAYER FOR PEACE.—Yea, Lord, make Thy face to shine upon us in Peace for our good, that we may be sheltered by Thy mighty hand, and delivered from every sin by Thy uplifted arm. And deliver us from them that hate us wrongfully.

Give peace and concord to us and to all that dwell on the earth, as Thou gavest unto our fathers, when they called on Thee in faith and truth with holiness, that we may be hallowed, while we render obedience to Thine Almighty and Most Excellent Name, and to our rulers and governors on earth.

Thou, Lord and Master, hast given them power and authority through Thine excellent might, that we, knowing the glory and honour which Thou hast given them, may submit ourselves unto them, in nothing resisting Thy will.

Grant unto them, therefore, O Lord, health, peace, concord, stability, that they may administer the government Thou hast given them, without failure. For Thou, O heavenly Master, King of Ages, givest to the sons of men glory, and honour, and power over all kings on earth. Do Thou, O Lord, direct their council as is well-pleasing in Thy sight, that, administering the power Thou hast given them, in peace, and gentleness, and godliness, they may obtain Thy favour.

O Thou, who alone art able to do these things, and things far exceeding good than these for us, we praise Thee, through Jesus Christ, the High Priest and Guardian of our souls, through whom be glory and majesty to Thee, both now and for all generations, for ever and ever, Amen.’

That this is an echo of liturgical offices can hardly be questioned; the form, the very words, are so similar to what are found in every ancient liturgy.

Clement also makes a passing allusion to the PRAYER OF BOWING DOWN; in the liturgies, after the Lord’s Prayer and its supplement, the Embolismus, comes the prayer so named. The Deacon calls, “Let us bow our heads to the Lord,” and the Priest prays, “To Thee, O Lord, we Thy servants have bowed our necks,” &c.

S. Clement says (c. 63) :—

“Therefore it is right for us to bow the neck and take the place of obedience beside those who are the leaders of our souls.”

The drift of his words is this :—At the Eucharist the celebrant prays for you when you have inclined the neck in

submission—therefore in heart, as with head, submit yourselves to these overseers of your souls.

He concludes with a BENEDICTION.

“ May the All-seeing God and Master of Spirits, the Lord of all Flesh,* who chose the Lord Jesus Christ, and us through Him for a peculiar people, grant unto every soul that is called after His excellent and holy Name, faith, fear, peace, patience, long-suffering, temperance, chastity, soberness, that they may be well-pleasing unto His Name through Jesus Christ, our High Priest and Guardian, † through whom, unto Him, be glory and majesty, might and honour, both now and for ever and ever. Amen.”

“ The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you and with all men, in all places, who have been called by God, and through Him, through whom be glory and honour, power and greatness and eternal dominion, unto Him, from ages past and for ever and ever. Amen.”

It is deserving of remark that the Collect just quoted has the exact liturgical structure, which is in itself a reflex of the Eucharistic Canon. 1. Ascription of honour to God. 2. Memorial of His goodness. 3. Intercession. 4. Doxology.

II. S. POLYCARP.

Polycarp was born about A.D. 69, and was a disciple of the Apostles, especially of S. John, who appointed him Bishop of Smyrna. Irenæus, who was the disciple of Polycarp, says of him that “he was instructed by the Apostles, and was brought in contact with many who had seen Christ.” He died a martyr’s death in A.D. 155. We have of him one epistle written to the Philippians, who seem to have asked the advice of the Church of Smyrna with special reference to the troubles caused by the Docetic heretics, who denied the reality of Christ’s body. He was a man of small intellectual powers, but wonderfully tenacious of all he had received from the Apostles. His short letter does not give much scope for

* Observe the repetition of this formula used before in the Litany of Intercession.

† Observe the repetition of this attribute, and also the close of this Benediction, which is the same as that in the Prayer for Peace.

mention of the Eucharist, and he does not speak of it, as it is addressed to practical duties and the resistance of heresy. Nevertheless, there occurs an allusion to the GREAT INTERCESSION or to the LITANY.

“Pray for all the saints, pray for the emperor also, and for potentates and princes, and for them that persecute you and hate you, and for the enemies of the Cross” (c. 12).

In the letter of the Church of Smyrna to the Church at Philomelium, giving an account of his martyrdom, there are one or two allusions that deserve quotation.

“He was engaged in nothing else night and day than praying for all men, and for the Churches throughout the world, according to his usual custom” (c. 5).

“Now, as soon as he had ceased praying, having made mention of all that had at any time come in contact with him, both great and small, illustrious and obscure, as well as the whole Catholic Church throughout the world,” &c. (c. 8).

These passages merely show that his private prayers were modelled on the General Intercession. His prayer at the stake also is precisely framed on the plan of all collects. It begins with an attribution of praise to God, next recites what He has done, then contains a supplication, and concludes with a doxology.

III. S. IGNATIUS.

Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, next after Evodius, about A.D. 70, was martyred in A.D. 107. Polycarp alludes to him in his Epistle to the Philippians, and also to his letters. He had certainly been a disciple of the Apostles. After his condemnation at Antioch, he was sent to Rome, there to suffer in the fights with beasts. After a long voyage he reached Smyrna, of which St. Polycarp was then bishop, and thence he wrote his four Epistles to the Ephesians, the Magnesians, the Trallians, and the Romans. From Smyrna he came to Troas, whence he wrote to the Philadelphians, the Smyrnæans,

and to Polycarp. Of his genuine letters there exist two versions, a longer and a shorter, and doubt has arisen as to which is the genuine text. The controversy on this head has been now finally settled by Bishop Lightfoot in his "Apostolic Fathers."

The epistles of Ignatius were hortatory, against divisions, and against heresies, and also concerning his own approaching martyrdom. He gives the most decided and conclusive evidence in favour of Episcopacy, as of Apostolic appointment, but with this we have here nothing to do. His references to the Eucharist, from the nature of the case, could only be incidental.

In his Epistle to the Ephesians, he urges to harmony, and for this end, he likens the orders of the Church to the strings of a harp, some shorter, some longer, with the bishop, "joined together in concord and harmonious love, become one choir, so that agreeing together in concord, ye may indeed be one in harmonious feeling with God the Father and His Son Jesus Christ, our Lord."

"I reckon you happy, who so depend on your bishop, as the Church depends on the Lord Jesus, and as the Lord does on God and His Father, that so all things may agree in unity.

"Let no man deceive himself. If any one be not within the sanctuary (*θυσιαστηρίου*)* he is deprived of the Bread of God. For if the prayer (*προσευχή*) of one or two possess such efficacy that Christ stands in the midst of them, how much more will the prayer of the bishop and of the whole Church ascending in harmony to God, avail" (c. 5).

An exhortation to intercession for unbelievers is found in Chap. X. Then after a word of praise of the Ephesians, he says :—

"Take heed often to come together to give thanks and praise (*εἰς εὐχαριστίαν Θεοῦ καὶ εἰς δόξαν*). For when ye assemble frequently in the same place (*ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ*) the powers of Satan are destroyed, the concord of your faith is their ruin" (c. 13).

* See above p. 379, and again in Ep. to Philad., c. 10. *Thusiastērion*, with Clement, is the apse or *bema*, where is the altar, redolent with the sacrifice.

Here we have Eucharistic Thanksgiving and the conventional term for the Church assembly noticed before.

“ I will again write to you, if the Lord make known to me that ye all meet together in common, every individual of you, through grace, in one faith, and in Jesus Christ, who was of the seed of David according to the flesh, both Son of Man and Son of God, so that ye obey the bishop and the presbytery with undivided mind, breaking one and the same bread, which is the medicine of immortality, the antidote against death [the means] whereby we should live for ever in Christ Jesus ” (c. 20).

To the Magnesians S. Ignatius wrote a word of counsel. Their bishop was young, and he advised them not on that account to despise him.

“ As the Lord did nothing without the Father, so neither do ye anything without the bishop and the presbyters—when ye come together into the same place (ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό) let there be one prayer (προσευχή), one supplication (δέησις), one mind, one hope, in love and joy undefiled. There is but one Jesus Christ. Do ye therefore all run together as into one Temple of God, as to one altar (θυσιαστήριον), as to one Jesus Christ ” (c. 7).*

He asks that both he and the Church that is in Syria may be included in the intercessions of the Magnesian Church (c. 14).

To the Trallians he writes :—

“ Continue in intimate union with Jesus Christ our God, and the bishop, and the appointments (διαταγμάτων) of the Apostles. He who is within the sanctuary (θυσιαστήριον) is pure, but he who is without is impure ; that is, he who does anything apart from the bishop, and presbytery, and deacons ” (c. 7).

Here, as in other places, the “place of incense” is the apse or sanctuary, where the bishop and the presbyters sit, and the deacons minister ; and where there is the altar at which the Bread of Life is given. If we hold this picture before our eyes, the references in Ignatius are quite intelligible.

* Bishop Lightfoot would read : “ As to one shrine—even to God, and to One Holy Place (the place of incense)—even Christ, through whom access is had to the Holy of Holies ” (App. Fathers ii., sec. 1, p. 122).

He also solicits the intercession of the Trallian Church. In his Epistle to the Romans there is an allusion, faint, yet distinct, to the Eucharist as a sacrifice. He says that he is about to be devoured by wild beasts, and so to offer himself as a sacrifice to God. He says :—

“ I am the wheat of God, let me be ground by their teeth, that I may be found the pure Bread of Christ.”

Then he adds :—

“ I have no delight in corruptible food—what I desire is the Bread of God, the heavenly Bread, the Bread of Life, which is the Flesh of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who became of the seed of David and Abraham ; also I desire to drink of God, namely, His Blood, which is incorruptible love and eternal life ” (c. 7).

He concludes—

“ Remember in your prayers the Church in Syria, which now has God for its Shepherd instead of me. Jesus Christ alone will oversee it ; and your love ” (c. 9).

In the Epistle to the Philadelphians he writes :—

“ Take heed to have but one Eucharist. For there is but One Flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one Cup into the unity of His Blood ; one altar (*θυσιαστήριον*) ;* as there is one bishop, along with the presbytery and deacons, my fellow-servants ” (c. 4).

The FIRST INTERCESSION and the LECTIONS are alluded to in the passage that follows.

“ Your prayer to God shall make me perfect, that I may attain to that portion which through mercy has been allotted me, whilst I flee to the *Gospel*, as to the Flesh of Jesus, and to the *Apostles*, as to the presbytery of the Church. And let us also love the *Prophets* ” (c. 5).†

In the longer version we have another passage to the same effect, “ All are good together, the Law, the Prophets, the Apostles, the whole company of the believers ” (c. 9).

* Or one sanctuary—*i.e.*, the *bema*, where is the altar, with bishop and clergy grouped about it.

† Again in Ep. to Smyrn. c. 5.

In the Epistle to the Smyræans, Ignatius begins with a brief paraphrase of the Rule of Faith, on which he bases an argument against the Docetæ, who denied the reality of Christ's body. He also says:—

“They abstain from the Eucharist and from prayer, because they confess not that the Eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who suffered for our sins, and was raised again by the Father” (c. 7).

“Let that be deemed a proper Eucharist which is [administered] either by the bishop, or by one to whom he has entrusted it. Wherever the bishop shall appear, there let the congregation be; even as, wherever Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic Church” (c. 8).

IV. THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS.

This remarkable letter to a heathen, on the vanity of idols and on the superstitions of the Jews, and on the excellence of the Christian faith belongs to a very early date. It speaks of the Christian religion as new. There is only one passage in which, in a strange metaphorical manner, the Eucharist is referred to. The unknown author tells his heathen friend that he cannot know more till he is brought under instruction in the faith. He alludes to the Lectures of Law, Prophets, and Apostles, and concludes with a passage already quoted in the text of this book (p. 301).

V. JUSTIN MARTYR.

Justin was born in Flavia Neapolis, a city of Samaritan Palestine, about A.D. 114. After having studied philosophy, and found that this meant payment of fees to professors, and nothing got in return, he was converted, and died a martyr A.D. 165.

Justin wrote two Apologies for Christianity, the first in A.D. 148, the second in A.D. 161. He also wrote a Disputation with Trypho, a Jew, and some addresses to the Gentiles on the Vanity of Idols, and the abomination of the heathen mythology.

Justin was a stupid man, and quite incapable of arguing logically and keeping to his point. His discussion with the Jew, Trypho, is a marvel of absurdity. Where he is at his best is in picking to pieces the heathen religion. However mean his abilities were, he is an important witness, and great stress has been laid on his account of the Eucharist, in his Apology to Antoninus Pius, to show that in the second century it had no great ceremonial development. This account has already been given (p. 255-7), and its value discounted (p. 284-5).

We will here quote all other passages in which he refers, openly or covertly, to the Eucharist.

EUCHARISTIC THANKSGIVING : Short paraphrase.

“What sober-minded man will not allow that we are not atheists, when he knows that we worship the Maker of this universe—not with streams of blood and libations and incense, but to the uttermost of our power by the exercise of prayer and thanksgiving for all things wherewith we have been supplied—with gratitude we offer thanks by solemn prayers and hymns for our Creation, for the means of health, for the various qualities of different kinds of things, for the changes of the seasons; and present before Him petitions for our existing again in incorruption through faith in Him. Our teacher of these things is Jesus Christ, who was born for this, was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and we reasonably worship Him who is the Son of God Himself” (I. Apol. c. 13).

EUCHARISTIC OBLATION AND THANKSGIVING.

“The offering of fine flour, which was prescribed to be presented on behalf of those purified [by the Law], was a type of the Bread of the Eucharist, the celebration of which our Lord Jesus Christ ordered in remembrance of the suffering He endured for those who are purified from iniquity, in order that we may at the same time thank Him for having created the world, and all things that are therein, for the sake of man, and for delivering us from the evil in which we were, and for utterly overthrowing principalities and powers by Him who suffered after His will. Hence God speaks by Malachi about your sacrifices: ‘I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord, I will not accept your sacrifices at your hands: for from the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same, My name shall be glorified among the Gentiles, and in every place incense is offered in My name, and of pure offering.’ So, He speaks of the Gentiles, that is of us, who in every place offer Sacrifices to Him, *i.e.*,

the Bread of the Eucharist, and also the Cup of the Eucharist, affirming that, on the one hand, we glorify His name, and, on the other, that you profane it" (Trypho, c. 41).

"God—Justin again refers to the prophecy of Malachi—anticipating the sacrifices *we* offer in His name, according to the commandment of Jesus Christ, *i.e.* in the Eucharist [the Sacrifice] of the Bread and the Cup, and which are offered by Christians in all places throughout the world, God [I say] bears witness that these are acceptable to Him. But those that *you* offer, and by those priests of yours, He utterly rejects, saying, 'I will not accept sacrifices at your hands.'"

"Now I readily admit that prayers and thanksgiving, when offered by worthy men, are the only perfect and well-pleasing sacrifices to God. But these are they that Christians alone have undertaken to offer, and that in the memorial represented by their solid and liquid food (*i.e.*, by Bread and Wine) whereby the Passion of the Son of God is commemorated" (Trypho, c. 117).

VI. ATHENAGORAS.

A man of a very different order of mind from Justin was Athenagoras the philosopher. It is a singular fact that his name is hardly noticed by the early writers, yet he is by far the ablest writer to be found among the Christian apologists of the period. His Apology was addressed to the Emperors Aurelius and Commodus about A.D. 177. Beside his Apology, his only other extant work is one on the Resurrection—a work of real value, clear, logical, and impressive.

In his Apology, Athenagoras combats the same charges that Justin undertook to refute. 1. Atheism. 2. Sedition. 3. Impurity. 4. Cannibalism. But he does it in a far abler manner. To explain the charge of cannibalism, Justin had entered into an explanation of the doctrine of the Communion of Christ's Flesh and Blood, which was held by Christians, and on which the charge was founded. Athenagoras, seeing that a heathen would not understand the distinction, and also afraid to expose to blasphemers a mystery of the faith, set to work to disprove the accusation in another way. The story told of Christians was that they covered a child with flour, then stabbed it, and when dead, ate it and drank its blood.

Athenagoras does not stop to show out of what this fable grew, but he argues thus. Christians believe in a resurrection of the body. Believing in a resurrection, are they likely to eat human flesh, and thus stultify their faith?

The only place in which he glances at the Eucharist is this:—

“We are charged with Atheism, because we do not offer sacrifice. Now, the Framer and Father of the world does not need blood, nor the savour of burnt-offerings, nor the fragrance of flowers and incense, for as much as He himself is perfect fragrance, having no need of anything within or without. The noblest sacrifice to Him is for us to know who stretched out and overarched the heavens, who fixed the earth in its place, who gathered the waters into seas, and divided the light from the darkness, who adorned the sky with stars, and made the earth to produce seed of every sort, who made the beasts, and who fashioned man.

When, regarding God as the Creator and the Preserver of all things, and as He who superintends all things by His knowledge and administrative skill, we lift up holy hands to Him, what need has He of another hecatomb?

What have I to do with holocausts, of which God has no need?—Nevertheless we are bound to make oblation to Him of a Bloodless Sacrifice and a Rational Service” (Apol. c. 13).

In this passage we have allusions to the Eucharist as the Bloodless Sacrifice, a term continually applied to it by the Fathers, as also the Rational or Logistic service. The up-lifted hands with which the Great Thanksgiving was said are also referred to; Athenagoras paraphrases the commencement of that great Act of Praise. Into *what* the Bloodless Sacrifice was, he does not enter, as he is addressing the heathen, showing more discretion than Justin.

In another place he refers to the Kiss of Peace, quoting in so doing a saying of Our Lord, not found in the Gospels (c. 32).

VII. S. IRENÆUS.

Irenæus is believed to have been a native of Smyrna. He himself tells us that he was in early youth acquainted with

Polycarp, the disciple of S. John, and we have already quoted the beautiful passage in which he describes his early recollections, and the impression that Polycarp and his lessons had left on his mind. He was born about A.D. 130, and was bishop of Lyons in Gaul after the death of S. Pothinus in A.D. 177, His great work *Against Heresies* was written between A.D. 182 and A.D. 188. He is supposed to have died in or about A.D. 202. To him probably is due the ancient Gallican Liturgy, which has so strong an Oriental flavour about it as to distinguish it markedly from the Roman and African Liturgies.

“Christ, after giving directions to His disciples to offer to God the first-fruits of His created things, took that created thing, Bread, and gave thanks, saying, ‘This is My body.’ And the Cup likewise, part of the creation to which we belong, He confessed to be His Blood, and taught the New Oblation of the New Covenant, which the Church, receiving from the Apostles, offers to God throughout the world.”

Then he goes on to quote the prophecy of Malachi, and show how that God rejected the oblations of the Jews to accept those of the Gentiles, which latter were the “pure sacrifice,” and he adds, “To the omnipotent God the Church makes offerings through Jesus Christ,” and these offerings are the Eucharist (*Hæres. iv. c. 17*).

THE OBLATION.

“The Oblation of the Church, therefore, which the Lord gave instructions to be offered throughout the world, is accounted with God a pure sacrifice, and is acceptable to Him. . . . By the gift both honour and affection are shown forth towards the King.

“Now the Lord, wishing us to offer it in all simplicity and innocence, said, ‘When thou offerest thy gift upon the altar, if thou remember that thy brother hath ought against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then return and offer thy gift.’ We are bound then to offer to God the first-fruits of His creation.

“And the *class* of oblation has not been abolished, for there were oblations among the Jews, and oblations are among Christians, sacrifices among the Gentiles, and sacrifices in the Church. Not the class, but the species, is changed. The offering was that of slaves, now it is that of

free men. . . . At the beginning, God had respect to the gifts of Abel, but He had none for the offering of Cain.

“Inasmuch as the Church offers with single-mindedness, her gift is esteemed a pure sacrifice with God.

“The Church alone offers this pure oblation to the Creator, offering to Him with thanksgiving the things of creation. But the Jews do not so offer, for their hands are full of blood. They have not received the Word, and it is through the Word [*i.e.* Christ] that the offering is made to God” (iv. c. 18).

Then he goes on to argue against the heretics, who said that the God who created the world was evil, but that the God whom Christ revealed was the Good God. Irenæus argues, How can the Creator be evil, when the fruits of the earth, bread and wine, are offered God.

“How can they be consistent with themselves [when they say] that the bread over which thanksgiving has been made is the Body of their Lord, and the cup is His Blood, if they deny that He is the Son of the Creator of the World, His word who maketh the wood to produce fruit, the fountains to gush forth, and the earth to give the corn?”—*Ibid.*

Irenæus here speaks of the bread and the mingled cup, *i.e.*, the fruit of the vine and the water of the fountain.

“Then again, how can they say that the flesh [of man] nourished by the Body and Blood of the Lord, turns to corruption uninfused with life? Let them either change their opinion, or cease to offer those things mentioned. Our opinion, on the other hand, agrees with the Eucharist, and the Eucharist confirms our opinion. For we [hold that we] offer to God of His own creatures, announcing consistently the fellowship and union of flesh and spirit. For as the bread that has been produced from the earth, when it has received the invocation of God, is no longer common bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two realities, one earthly, the other heavenly, so also our bodies, when they have received the Eucharist, are no longer corruptible, having in them the earnest of resurrection to eternity.”

“The Word gave to the people the precept of oblations, not that He needed anything of them, but to teach them to serve God. So also He wills that we frequently and unintermittently should offer a gift at the altar. The altar is in heaven, towards which our prayers and oblations are directed, and the Temple also is there.”—*Ibid.*

Still arguing against the Marcionites, he asks:—

“How could the Lord, with any justice, have acknowledged the bread to be His Body, while He took it from the creation to which we be-

long, and affirm the mixed cup to be His Blood, if He belonged to another Father?" (Hæres. iv. c. 33).*

"Wrong in every respect are they who disallow the salvation of the flesh. If the flesh is not to attain salvation, then neither did the Lord redeem us with His Blood, nor is the cup of the Eucharist the communion of His Blood, nor the bread we break the communion of His Body.

"He acknowledged the cup, which is a part of creation, to be His own Blood, from which He irrigates our blood; and the bread, also a part of creation, He ordained as His Body, from which to give increase to our bodies.

"When, therefore, the mixed cup and the manufactured bread receive the Word of God, and the Eucharist becomes the Blood and Body of Christ, from which the substance of our flesh is increased and supported, how can they affirm that the flesh is incapable of receiving the Gift of God, which is Eternal Life, when the flesh is nourished by the Body and Blood of the Lord, and is a member of Him?

"S. Paul says that we are members of His body, His flesh, and of His bones. He does not speak of some spiritual and invisible man, for a spirit has not flesh and bones, but of that actual man, consisting of flesh and nerves and bones which is nourished by the cup which is His Blood, and receives increase from the bread which is His Body.

"Just as a vine-cutting fructifies in its season, after planting, or as corn falling into the earth rises with manifold increase, so they [the gifts], by the Spirit of God, having received the Word of God, become the Eucharist, which is the Body and Blood of Christ; and, so also, our bodies, nourished by It, after having been laid in the ground, rise again in their appointed season, the Word of God granting them immortality" (V. c. 2).

Further, he goes on to show how our human bodies take in and absorb the elements of Eternal Life, as sponges absorb water, or as torches catch fire (V. 3).

"It is by means of communion with Himself that the Lord reconciles man to God the Father, by the Body of His Flesh, and redemption by His Blood.

"In every Epistle the Apostle plainly testifies that it is through the Flesh of the Lord, and through His Blood, that we have been saved" (V. c. 14).

That Irenæus held that the bread and wine became so "verily and indeed" the Body and Blood of Christ as to

* Again he recurs to this argument a little further on.

transform our vile bodies, infusing into them a new principle, the principle of Eternal Life, is unquestionable.

In a fragment he draws out the likeness between Jesus and Joshua. Moses gave manna in the wilderness, but the manna ceased when Joshua brought the people into the land where they tasted the new wheat. So the old dispensation ceased when Jesus instituted the Eucharist.

“Jesus (Joshua) was no untrue type of the Word made flesh. It was right that Moses should give manna to the fathers, but Jesus (Joshua) wheat; as the first-fruits of life, a type of the Body of Christ, as the Scripture says that the manna ceased when the people had eaten wheat from the land” (Fragm. xix.).

In another fragment, after again quoting Malachi's prophecy, as proof of the institution of a new sacrifice, a pure one, Irenæus goes on :—

“The oblation of the Eucharist is not carnal, but spiritual, and therefore pure.

“For we make an oblation to God of the bread and the cup of blessing, giving Him thanks in that He commanded the earth to bring forth these fruits to our nourishment. And then, when we have perfected the OBLATION, we invoke the Holy Spirit (*Epiklesis*), that He may exhibit the Sacrifice, both the bread to be the Body of Christ, and the cup to be His Blood, in order that the receivers of these antitypes may obtain remission of sins and eternal life. Those who perform these oblations in memorial of the Lord do not fall in with Jewish views; but performing the service after a spiritual manner, they shall be called the Sons of Wisdom” (Fragm. xxxvii.).

VIII. THEOPHILUS.

Little or nothing is known of the personal history of Theophilus. He had been brought up in paganism, but embraced Christianity, and became Bishop of Antioch in A.D. 168. He is variably said to have died in A.D. 181 or A.D. 188, after an episcopate, according to some of thirteen, of others of twenty-one, years. The only extant work of his is a sort of Apology for Christianity, addressed to one Autolytus, his friend, in three books.

He begins with that great truth that the eye of the soul, if it would see God, must be prepared by a pure life, and earnestness, and longing after the Truth. When a mirror is coated with rust, a man's face may not be seen therein ; if the mirror is to reveal anything, it must be cleared of its rust—so the soul must be purged of its sins before it can behold God.

After having said this, suddenly Theophilus bursts forth into a narration of God's majesty and His attributes. His first address to Autolytus is no other than a *Sursum Corda*, and this leads him on to a sort of paraphrase of the opening of the Great Eucharistic Prayer. He shows how that God is all glorious, full of majesty, infinite in power, a Father of men, and all-holy. Then he proceeds to Creation, and shows how God reveals Himself by His works, he describes Creation poetically, urges Autolytus to faith, and promises him the resurrection of the flesh. The connexion between the Eucharist and the resurrection was so intimately close in the minds of the first Christians, that we see again and again how, when they touch on the Eucharist, even vaguely, it at once suggests to them the idea of resurrection, and they are carried on to it. Such a connexion of ideas is only explicable if we allow that they held that the Eucharist was a sowing in men's natures the seed of the Divine life, the communication of the germs of immortality.

Next, Theophilus goes on to speak of the evil gods of the heathen, as unclean demons ; *w/ly* he goes on at once to this point we can guess, because at this period of his argument he thought of the fall of man, and the intercourse of the devils—the fallen angels—with the daughters of men, an idea that occurs in other writers of the period. Then he has a word on the Christians praying for the Emperor and those in authority, an allusion to the petition in the Great Intercession. So ends his first book.

In the second, after ridiculing the fables as to the gods of the

heathen, he returns to the account of the Creation of the world by God, who made all things by His Word, and he goes through the narrative of Creation and the Fall, and of how when God cast man forth, He did not leave him without hope of restoration ; how the Flood came, and how men were dispersed. Then he goes on to the Prophets, and shows how even the heathen were not left without witness, for the Sibyls, and the poets and philosophers, testified to them. So ends the second book.

In the third, Theophilus shows how the cannibalism and immoralities attributed to Christians are calumnies, but he turns the tables by showing that such things were commended to the heathen by the example of their gods. Then he finishes up by showing that the Prophets were more ancient than any writers possessed by the heathen.

There is no direct mention of, even no allusion to, the Eucharist in Theophilus, and yet one can see by the sequence of his ideas, that he had the Eucharistic Thanksgiving in his mind as he wrote.

IX. S. HIPPOLYTUS.

Hippolytus, Bishop and Martyr, was the bitter opponent of Calixtus, Bishop of Rome (A.D. 218-223). He suffered martyrdom somewhere about A.D. 235-239. His great work, the "Refutation of Heresies," was composed about A.D. 224. Hippolytus was a disciple of S. Irenæus, S. Irenæus of S. Polycarp, and S. Polycarp of S. John the Divine. His "Refutation" concerns the Docetic and other errors of the Gnostics, and nothing leads him to speak of the Eucharist in it ; but in his other writings there are allusions not to be mistaken.

In his treatise on "Christ and Anti-Christ," he begins his address to his brother Theophilus with a recitation of what the Prophets had done for man, and then goes on to recount the Incarnation of the Son of God, and then says, "As time

presses—and as what has been already said in this introduction with regard to the glory of God must suffice," &c.*—a strange expression, for Hippolytus has said nothing about the glory of God. When, however, we know that he was in his exordium following the course of the Eucharistic Thanksgiving, we obtain at once the clue to his so designating this introduction. In explaining Proverbs ix. 1, 2, "Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars; she hath killed her beasts; she hath mingled her wine, she hath also furnished her table," Hippolytus says, "By mingling her wine is meant that the Saviour, uniting His Godhead, like pure wine, with the flesh in the Virgin, was born of her. . . . And she hath furnished her table; that denotes the promised knowledge of the Trinity; and also refers to His honoured and undefiled Body and Blood, which are daily administered and offered sacrificially at the spiritual Divine table, as a memorial of that first and ever memorable table of the spiritual Divine Supper." In his explanation of Daniel's visions, he explains that in which "in the midst of the week sacrifice and oblation will be removed" in this manner; "When Anti-Christ comes, the sacrifice and oblation which are now offered to God in every place by the Gentiles—these will be taken away" (c. 77). He refers unquestionably to the Eucharist. He speaks of this as a "continuous sacrifice" (c. 43), which will be taken away by Anti-Christ. In his treatise on Susanna he says that just as the elders intruded on the garden of Susanna, when she desired to have the doors shut and all prying eyes excluded, so did the Jews of his day intrude into Christian churches with bold curiosity, whilst the Christians were engaged in prayer and praise. He is referring to the Eucharistic mysteries, to which none were admitted save the faithful, and the prayer and praise refer to the

* His narrative curiously corresponds with the order and words of the Great Thanksgiving in the Clementine Liturgy.

Eucharistic Thanksgiving and the Great Intercession, at which the Jews had no right to be present.

X.—CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA.

Clement professed to have been instructed by those who had been taught by the Disciples of the Apostles. He had Pantænus as his master, and he succeeded him in the Catechetical School at Alexandria about A.D. 189. He continued to teach till A.D. 202, when the persecution under Severus compelled him to retire from Alexandria. He is supposed to have died about A.D. 220.

An omnivorous reader, he was unable to digest properly what he read. His master was really Philo, on whom he engrafted Christianity, and used Philo's method of interpretation of the Scriptures, which consisted of never understanding a text in the sense in which it was written. There was but one passage in Scripture which Clement interpreted literally, and that was, "When they persecute you in one city, flee to another." He was a clever man, who said smart things now and then, but one is constrained to pity the pupils in his Catechetical School, for his teaching was calculated not to edify, but to bewilder. He laboriously enveloped in a mist of words whatever he designed to say. Out of the labyrinth of error in which the heathen world was lost, he presented himself as a guide to lead the way into light and liberty, but the only clue to which he held was one spun out of his own bowels, and with that he further entangled himself and his followers, without getting within reach of more than a glimmer of the true Light, and perceptibly further out of the maze. His writings are valuable, because they are a mine of fragments, quotations from classic authors, some of whom have been lost, but there his value ends. From such a writer as this little to our purpose can be got. When contrasting Christian mysteries with heathen orgies, he says to the heathen:—

"If it be thy wish to be initiated, thou shalt join the choir along with

angels round the Unbegotten and Only True God, the Word of God, raising the hymn with us. This Jesus, the Eternal One, the One High Priest of the One God, His Father, intercedes for and exhorts men" (Hort. ad Gent., c. 12).

Then he goes on to say that in this Christian Mystery, this same Jesus imparts His grace, bestows the boon of immortality, the word and knowledge of God, even Himself.

We can see that the writer is thinking of the Preface and Sanctus, and of the Eucharistic Gift, but he would not be Clement of Alexandria, if he said this plainly.

In the "Stromata" he speaks of the harmony in the ecclesiastical symphony of the Law, the Prophets, the Apostles, and the Gospel (vi. 11), which seems to apply to the four Lections. In another place he speaks of the oblation of the first-fruits of food, and drink, and unguents (that is, of bread and wine, and oil for the lamps) to the Giver of all, giving thanks at the time (vii. 7). "Giving thanks always," he says, "for all things to God, by righteous hearing and divine reading, by true investigation, by holy oblation, by blessed prayer, lauding, hymning, blessing, praising, such a soul is never separated from God" (vi. 14). This passage contains an allusion to the Eucharistic Service, for it includes the several parts that go to make up the liturgy.

In his treatise on "What rich man can be saved," Clement introduces our Lord addressing the soul of man. "I regenerated thee, who wast born by the world to death. I released, healed, ransomed thee. Follow thou Me. I will bring thee to a refreshment (another reading is "a rest") of ineffable and unutterable blessings, such as eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor have entered into the heart of men; into which angels desire to look, to see the good things God hath prepared for the saints and children who love Him. I feed thee, giving Myself as Bread, of which he who tastes is granted immortality, and supplying day by day the drink of immortality" (c. 23). Here the mystery into which angels

desire to look, and which eye hath not seen, &c., is clearly the Eucharist.

XI.—TERTULLIAN.

This brilliant writer was born at Carthage, about A.D. 160, and died about A.D. 245. He was a priest, and married. After some time he embraced the party or schism of Montanus, who professed to have revelations from the Paraclete. To the reader passing from Clement of Alexandria to Tertullian is like a change from a steaming, sweltering atmosphere to a breezy March morning.

Tertullian is a biting, witty writer, clever and accomplished. His voluminous works are a storehouse of information on the manners and morals, heathen and Christian, of his time. Clement impresses the reader with the notion that he never had made up his mind on any point, and that he laboured to confuse his pupils to the same point of obfuscation as himself. Tertullian never put pen to paper without knowing perfectly his own mind, but (apart from his style, which is difficult, as indeed that of all African writers is) he wrote sometimes in such violent excitement as to be obscure through the boiling fury that consumed him.

If Tertullian had but possessed a small portion of the spirit of charity which so abounded in Clement of Rome, his writings would not have stung like a blister, but have healed like a plaster ; and if Clement of Alexandria had but acquired a little of the common sense which characterised Tertullian, he would have presented a different spectacle than that of the drunken helot of Alexandrine Christianity, bemused with the various drinks of old Platonism, frothy Philonian exegesis, and the new wine of the Gospel.

Tertullian mentions public prayer made for Princes and those in authority. He notices the GREAT INTERCESSION, or LITANY.

“ You persecute us ; but we offer prayer for the safety of our princes to the eternal, true, and living God ” (Apol. 29).

“The king gets his power from heaven. Thither we lift our eyes, *with hands outstretched*, with heads uncovered, without a monitor; because from the heart we supplicate. Without ceasing, we offer prayer for the emperors.

“We pray for life prolonged; for security to the Empire; for protection to the imperial house; for brave armies, a faithful senate; for a virtuous people, and for the world at rest” (*Ibid*).

Here Tertullian only refers to that part of the prayer which concerns the emperor and empire. It is worth comparing this passage with that quoted from Clement of Rome, and with the prayer in the “Constitutions.” In the same Apology he describes the PRO-ANAPHORA.

“I at once proceed to give an account of the peculiarities of the Christian Society. We are a body knit together by a common religious profession, by unity of discipline, by the bond of a common hope.

“We meet as an assembly and a congregation, that, offering up prayer to God as with united force, we might wrestle with Him in supplication.

“We pray for the emperors; for their ministers, and all in authority; for the welfare of the world; for the prevalence of peace; for the delay of the final consummation.*

“We assemble to read over sacred writings.

“In the same place also exhortations are made; rebukes and sacred censures are administered.

“The tried men of our elders preside over us; obtaining the honour not by purchase, but by merit.

“We have our treasury. On the monthly collection day anyone who likes puts in a small donation” (Apol. 39).

Tertullian does not speak of the Anaphora, the Eucharistic Service proper, as he is writing to the heathen; but he does give an account of the Agape later on; an account we have already given, because it was at this feast that Christians were accused of shameless immorality. In his treatise on prayer, when explaining the second clause of the Lord’s Prayer, he refers to the use of the TRIUMPHAL HYMN.

“The name of God is hallowed; He who sanctifies all; He to whom the surrounding circle of angels cease not to say:—

“HOLY, HOLY, HOLY!

* From the position he is giving to the Intercession, it would appear that the litany in Tertullian’s time still remained at the beginning of the Pro-Anaphora.

“ In like manner we, too, begin, even here on earth, to learn by heart that strain, hereafter to be raised to God ” (In Orat. 3).

He speaks of the KISS OF PEACE.

“ Such as are fasting withhold the Kiss of Peace, which is the seal of prayer ; of common prayer with the brethren. What prayer is complete, divorced from the holy kiss ? What kind of sacrifice is that from which men depart without peace ?

“ On the day of the Pascha (Good Friday), indeed, when fasting is general, all but public, we do forego the kiss ” (In Orat. 18).

Of the Eucharist as a SACRIFICE he says, addressing the Marcionite heretics, after quoting the familiar prophecy of Malachi, relative to the sacrifice and pure offering that was in every place to be offered to God :—

“ Now, inasmuch as all these things—ascension of glory, blessing, and praise, and hymns—are also found amongst you, as also the sign [of the cross] upon the forehead, and the Sacraments of the Church, and the offering of the pure sacrifice, you ought also (*i.e.*, as well as we) to burst forth in declaration that the Spirit of the Creator prophesied of your Christ ” (Adv. Marcion iii., c. 22). Elsewhere he speaks of this prophecy of Malachi as referring to the “ simple oblation of a pure conscience ” (iv., c. 1).

Also of COMMUNION. He is opposing those who on Wednesday and Friday, because fasting, refuse to communicate.

“ On the days of the Stations (fast days), most suppose that they need not be present at the SACRIFICIAL PRAYER (*i.e.*, the Anaphora), on the ground that the fast is dissolved by reception of the Lord's Body. Does the Eucharist cancel a divine obligation, or cement it ? Will not your fast be more solemn if you have stood at God's altar (*ara*) ? When the Lord's Body has been received and reserved, every point is secured ; the participation in the Sacrifice, and the discharge of the obligation [to fast] (*Ibid.* 19).

It is obvious from this that those who did not intend to communicate, *i.e.*, those fasting rigorously on Wednesdays and Fridays, departed with the Catechumens before the Anaphora, and so neither partook in the Kiss, nor in the Sacrifice, nor in the Communion.

We have already quoted and commented on the passages relative to reservation of the Eucharist and daily Communion. In his "Prescription against Heretics," Tertullian refers to the DISMISSALS. He says that among the heretics there is no discipline, no exclusion of the Catechumens, but all attend the service indiscriminately. What would he have said of the present usage, both in the Latin and in the Eastern Churches?

"It is doubtful who is a Catechumen, among them, and who is a believer, where all have access alike, all hear alike, all pray alike—even heathens, if any happen to be present. That which is holy they cast to dogs, and pearls—but to be sure they possess only sham ones—these they fling to swine" (c. 41).

On COMMUNION, he says, "The flesh feeds on the Body and Blood of Christ, that the soul may fatten on God" (*De Resurr. Carnis.*, c. 8).

Against Marcion, who made out that the Creator was an Evil God, Tertullian, noticing the GREAT THANKSGIVING, says mockingly,

"So!—baptized to God in water that belongs [by creation] to another [god], stretching out the hands [in prayer] to God in a heaven that belongs to another [god], kneeling to God on ground which is [the creation] of another [god]: Offers thanksgivings to God over bread which belongs to another [creator]; and distributes alms for God of gifts belonging to another" (*Adv. Marcion* i. c. 23).

Tertullian, in describing the ecstasies of a Montanist sister, gives, in a few words, the outline of the PRO-ANAPHORA.

"Whether it be in the reading of the Scriptures, or in the chanting of the Psalms, or in the preaching of Sermons, or in the Oblation of the prayers—in all these religious services she is afforded opportunity of seeing visions" (*De Anima*, i. 9).

In an oratorical passage on the glories of the Apostolical Church, Tertullian apparently refers to the LECTONS.

"The Church unites the Law and the Prophets in one with the writings of the Evangelists and Apostles, and from these she drinks her faith" (*Preser. adv. Hær.*, c. 36).

Though this may apply to the union of the Old and New Testaments, into one book, elsewhere, however (Apol. c. 22), he explains the oracles as inspired by demons who hear the true prophecies of God read aloud in the churches, and then whisper them into their agents. Tertullian rebukes the heretic Apelles because he, in his religious assemblies, reads unauthorised Lectures (De Præsc. c. 51).

Tertullian distinguished between two kinds of prayers, those with uplifted, extended arms, and those with bowed knees, the *orationes* and the *petitiones*. He seems to refer to Prayer for the Dead in one of his sarcastic passages in the exhortation to Chastity. "Will you," he asks—he is rebuking second marriages—"will you stand before God with as many wives [at the Resurrection] as you commemorate in prayer [now]? Will you offer [the Sacrifice] for two? Will you commend these two [to God] by the ministry of a priest? Will your sacrifice ascend with unabashed front?" (c. 11).

He also divides the divine service into its two parts; the one, the Anaphora, is that in which the Sacrifice is offered; the other, the Pro-Anaphora, that in which is the ministration of the word (De Cultu Fæm., c. 11).

XII. ORIGEN.

This voluminous writer was born at Alexandria about A.D. 185, and died at Tyre in A.D. 253. At the age of eighteen he succeeded Clement of Alexandria, his master and teacher in the Catechetical School of Alexandria, and unfortunately had so suffered from his baleful influence as to have followed his method of Scriptural distortion. A man of brilliant parts and subtle intellect, he was entangled in the web of absurd exegesis favoured by the Alexandrine school, and this both marred his utility and led him into serious error.

His allusions to various parts of the Eucharistic service are numerous. We have extracted the most important, and

incorporated them in the text of this book. Every allusion has been picked out and ranged in order by Probst in his book on the Liturgy of the First Three Centuries, and to him we refer our readers.

XIII. S. CYPRIAN.

This glorious martyr, whom to read is to know, and whom to know is to love, was elected to the see of Carthage in A.D. 246, before he was baptized. He was baptized in order that he might receive ordination. He died a martyr in A.D. 258. "Give me my Master," he said of Tertullian, of whom he read something every day, and whom in some of his treatises he closely copied. His precious letters breathe a tolerant, loving spirit; and also show a clear, a Roman mind.

In his treatise on the Vanity of Idols, addressed to the heathen, he paraphrases the Eucharistic Thanksgiving.

"The one Lord of all is God.

"He cannot be seen; He is too bright for vision. He cannot be comprehended; He is too pure for our discernment. He cannot be estimated; He is too great for our perception.

"God is His name. He is One, and He, in His entirety, is everywhere diffused.

"First of all, God gave his favour to the Jews.

"He foretold what would happen as ages passed on, and the end of the world drew near; that He would gather to Himself out of every nation and people, and place, worshippers better in obedience, stronger in faith, who would draw from the Divine Gift that mercy which the Jews received, and lost.

"Therefore of His mercy the Word and Son of God was sent, who by the Prophets of old had been announced as the illuminator and teacher of the human race.

"He is the Power of God; He is His Wisdom and Glory. He enters into a Virgin, with the co-operation of the Holy Spirit, is endowed with flesh—God is united to man. This is our God, this our Christ, who, as the Mediator between two, puts on the man that He may bring man to the Father.

"And the Jews knew Him not. He, in accordance with the words of the Prophets, expelled demons, nerved the paralytic, cleansed the lepers,

enlightened the blind, gave soundness to the lame, raised the dead, compelled the elements to obedience.

“The Jews, regarding Him as a magician, inflamed with wrath, seized Him, and delivered Him to Pontius Pilate, demanding His death and crucifixion.

“It behoved Him to suffer, that he might conquer death, and might return to heaven, to show the power of the Divine Majesty.

“When crucified, He Himself, of His own will, gave up the ghost, and on the third day rose again.

“He appeared to the disciples like as He had been.

“He associated with them, being with them forty days, instructing them in the precepts of life, that they might know what to teach. Then a cloud spread around Him, and He was carried up into heaven, that, as a conqueror, He might bring to the Father that humanity He had loved, assumed, and which He shielded from death.

“Soon will He come from heaven in judgment of the human race, with the force of a judge and an avenger; and His disciples, scattered over the world at the bidding of their Master and God, gave forth His precepts for salvation, guided men from their error in darkness into the way of light, ‘gave eyes to the blind and ignorant for the acknowledgment of the truth.’” (cc. 8-14).

Cyprian speaks of the Corban or Offertory in his treatise on “Works and Alms.” He says:—

“You who are rich, do you think you are celebrating the Lord’s Institution (‘Dominicum te celebrare credis’), not at all considering the Oblation (Corban). You who come to the Lord’s Institution (in Dominicum) without a sacrifice, and yet take part of the sacrifice which the poor man has offered” (c. 15).

We have in the text of this book quoted largely from S. Cyprian’s letter to Cæcilius touching the mixed cup, a letter which affords us a good deal of interesting information relative to the celebration of the Eucharist in Africa in his time. His letters on discipline with regard to the lapsed, and on the baptism of heretics, unfortunately touch but slightly on subjects which give opening for references to liturgical uses. S. Cyprian is very distinct in asserting the sacrificial character of the Eucharist, that is to say he takes it to be an oblation, in the first instance, of the bread and wine as first-fruits of the earth, but in the second, and chief significance, it is the great Christian memorial of the death of Christ before the

Eternal Father, a showing forth before Him of Christ's death, and a pleading of His all-prevailing merit.

Those who assert that the sacrificial character of the Eucharist was a development of which only germs may be found before, are unable to deny that it is fully reached in Cyprian. But Cyprian merely followed what he had learned in his brief period of catechumenical training. Our object here is, however, not to discuss dogma, but liturgical forms.

Cyprian, in his treatise on the Lord's Prayer, notices the *SURSUM CORDA*.

"Let all carnal and worldly thoughts be banished. To teach this the priest, by way of preface before the Prayer, prepares the minds of the brethren by saying—

"Lift up your hearts !

"That so, upon the response of the people—

"We lift them up unto the Lord! he may be reminded that he himself ought to think of nothing but the Lord" (c. 31).

He speaks of the lectors reading the Gospel aloud from an elevated place (Ep. 33). Also, he says that the unbelieving, the penitents, and catechumens were not admitted to be present at the Mass of the Faithful. Admission to Communion is with him reception into peace, he associates the Pax with Communion, so that we may believe that in his time the Pax was only given to communicants either at the beginning of the Anaphora, or immediately before reception. He lets us understand that the Lord's Prayer occurred in the liturgy by his exhortation to the people not to pray too noisily when reciting it. There are in his writings numerous slight allusions, and for these we must refer the reader to Probst, p. 215-229. They are often very slight, such as the reference to the Dove as a meet symbol of the Holy Ghost, because the doves give each other the kiss of peace with their beaks (In Unit. 9).

XIV. —S. METHODIUS.

This saint was Bishop of Olympus and Patara in Lycia,

and suffered martyrdom about A.D. 312 at Chalcis, in Greece, though some think the scene of his martyrdom was Chalcis in Syria.

The only complete work of this author that we have is his "Banquet of the Ten Virgins," a quaint conceit,* in which he represents a supper at which ten damsels partake, and then each in order rises, prays, and holds forth in praise of a virginal life, after which all unite, led by one of them in a song, with chorus, of great charm and beauty. We have already noticed what is of interest to us in Methodius, the relation of this banquet to the Agape, and the analogies between the Tabernacle, the Church, and Heaven, which are drawn out by one of the virgins.

In an oration concerning the Presentation in the Temple attributed to Methodius, the authenticity of which is questioned, but which certainly in style resembles his undoubted works, there is an allusion to the Triumphal Hymn.

"Let us betake ourselves to that hymn which is not beyond our powers, let us join the rejoicing chorus of Christ's flock, keeping holiday." Then he quotes the vision of Isaiah. "I saw the Lord sitting upon His throne, high and lifted up, and the house was full of His glory. And the seraphim stood round about Him: each had six wings. And one cried to the other, and said, HOLY, HOLY, HOLY, is the Lord of hosts: the whole earth is full of His glory."

He proceeds to quote the passage in which one of the seraphim brought a live coal in his hand from the altar, and therewith touched the lips of the prophet. Elsewhere he calls the Blessed Virgin the tongs that holds the live coal. The "coal" is a common Oriental designation of the Eucharistic bread. In some rubrics to the liturgies it is simply called "the coal."

XV.—COMMODIAN.

This strange writer, who composed a series of metrical

* It is an imitation of Plato's "Symposium."

acrostics, was probably a native of Gaza. Little or nothing is known of him, but he is said to have lived at the close of the third century.

In his seventy-sixth instruction, "On those that gossip," he says :—

"The women rush into church as if they were running into a bathing establishment. They crowd on one another just as if going to a fair.

"The Lord's priest commanded a LIFT UP YOUR HEARTS, when prayer was about to be made, in order that there might ensue silence. Thou respondest with readiness, and dost not abstain from promises.

"He entreats the Most High on behalf of a devoted people, lest any should perish, and thou turnest thyself to fables."

XVI.—THE TESTAMENT OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS.

This is an apocryphal work believed to belong to the end of the first or beginning of the second century, and is evidently the work of a converted Jew. In the Testament of Levi we have the following passage :—

"I beheld, and lo, seven men in white came unto me, and said unto me, Be a priest of the Lord—and the first anointed me with oil, and the second washed me with pure water, and gave me Bread and Wine, and said, This is the Holy of Holies ; and put on me a garment of glory. And they said unto me, Three great men shall arise of thy race—the Third shall have a new name, and He shall issue out of the tribe of Judah, and shall be a King, and also a Priest exercising a new priesthood ; He shall be sought by the Gentiles, and shall be followed by all peoples. His advent shall be ineffable as that of the prophet of the Most High. All that can be desired shall be found in thy family. It shall be fed of the finest wheat, and it will distribute the Bread of the Lord's Table to men, and the Holy Word shall remain inviolable in their mouths."

XVII. THE "APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS."

Beside the account of the Eucharist given in the second book, and the complete liturgy in the eighth, the following passages deserve notice :—

"You, O bishops, are to the people priests and Levites, ministering to

the holy tabernacle, the Holy Catholic Church ; who stand at the altar of the Lord your God, and offer Him reasonable and unbloody sacrifice through Jesus the Great High Priest" (ii. c. 25).

"Thou, O Catholic Church, hast believed in Jesus, art named after His Name. Those old sacrifices are now exchanged for Prayers, Intercessions, and Thanksgivings. Those which were of old first-fruits, tithes and offerings, are now oblations that are presented by holy bishops to the Lord God, through Jesus Christ, who died for them" (*Ibid.*).

"Bring your sacrifices and oblations to the Bishop, as to your high priest, either by yourselves, or by the deacons ; and not these only, but also your first-fruits, and your tithes, and freewill offerings" (ii. c. 27).

"Do not desert the church of Christ, but go thither in the morning before all thy work, and again meet there in the evening, to return thanks to God that He has preserved thy life" (ii. c. 36).

"The heathen are not to be received to Communion till after baptism, but they may be admitted into the Church to hear the Word. But as for penitents, let them not be admitted to Communion in prayer ; let them depart after the reading of the Law, and the Prophets, and the Gospel" (ii. c. 39).

"O bishop, when you go to prayer after the Lessons, and the Psalmody, and the Instruction out of the Scriptures, let the deacon stand by you, and with loud voice say, Let none have a quarrel with another, let none come in hypocrisy" (ii. c. 54).

CANON : "God, a God of Mercy, from the beginning called every generation to repentance by righteous men and prophets. He instructed those before the flood by Abel, Sem, and Seth, and by Enos also ; also by Enoch that was translated ; those at the flood by Noah ; the inhabitants of Sodom by Lot ; those after the flood by Melchizedek, and the patriarchs, and Job ; and the Egyptians by Moses ; the Israelites by him, by Joshua, and the rest ; those after the Law by angels and prophets, and the same by His Incarnation of a Virgin ; those a little before His bodily Epiphany by John the forerunner, and the same by the same one after His birth ; those after His Passion by us, the Twelve Apostles, and Paul, the chosen vessel" (*Ibid.*).

Then follows a reference to the Lord's Prayer, and then to Communion. There is clearly here throughout indirect reference to the Anaphora, from the call of the deacon to peace to the end, through Canon, Lord's Prayer, and Communion.

In the account of the liturgy that follows, after the description of the arrangement of the church, with the

Lectons, and Psalms, and Exhortations, as quoted already, we are given the Dismissals, and then :—

“ Let all rise up with one consent, and looking to the East, after the catechumens and penitents are gone out, pray to God eastwards.

“ As to the deacons, after the prayer is concluded, let some of them attend on the oblation of the Eucharist, ministering to the Lord’s Body with fear.

“ And let that deacon who is at the high priest’s hand, say to the people, ‘ Let no one have any quarrel against another ; let no one come in hypocrisy.’

“ Then let the men give the men, and the women give the women, the Lord’s kiss.

“ After this let the deacon pray (*i.e.*, bid for prayer) for the whole Church, for the whole world, and the several parts of it, and the fruits of it, for the priests and rulers, for the high priest and the king, and the peace of the world.

“ After this let the high priest pray for peace upon the people, and bless them, as Moses commanded.

“ And let the bishop pray for the people, and say, ‘ Save Thy people, O Lord, and bless Thine inheritance, which Thou hast ordained with the precious Blood of Thy Christ, and hast called a royal priesthood and a holy nation.’

“ After this let the Sacrifice follow, the people praying silently and standing.

“ When the oblation has been made, let every rank by order partake of the Lord’s Body and precious Blood, approaching with reverence and holy fear, as to the Body of their King.

“ Let the door be watched, lest any unbeliever, or one not initiated, come in ” (ii. c. 57).

This is a distinct account, by another pen, from that immediately preceding it.

“ Assemble yourselves together every day, morning and evening, singing psalms and praying in the Lord’s House,—but principally on the Sabbath Day.

THE CANON.—“ And on the Lord’s Day, the day of the Lord’s Resurrection, meet more diligently, sending praise to God that made the universe by Jesus, and sent Him to us, and condescended to let Him suffer, and raised Him from the dead.

“ If otherwise, what excuse will be made to God by him who does not assemble on that day to hear the saving word—in which is performed the Reading of the *Prophets*, the Preaching of the *Gospel*, the *Oblation of the Sacrifice*, and the *Gift of the Holy Food* ? ” (ii. c. 59).

“ Instead of a bloody Sacrifice, He has appointed that reasonable and unbloody mystical Sacrifice of His Body and Blood, which is celebrated to represent the death of the Lord by symbols ” (vi. c. 23).

“ Assemble in the cemeteries, reading the sacred books, singing for the martyrs that have fallen asleep, and for all saints from the beginning of the world, and for your brethren that are asleep in the Lord, and offer the acceptable Eucharist, the representation of the royal Body of Christ, both in your churches and in the cemeteries, and at funerals ” (vi. c. 30).

Next we come to the passages resembling those in the *Didaché* ; either the compiler of the “ *Constitutions* ” altered the heretical work, or, what is more probable, had an orthodox copy, which he inserted in his collection.

As this portion of the *Didaché*, with its prayer and thanksgiving, has been already quoted, (chap. v.), it is unnecessary to quote it again. We proceed to the next extract from the *Didaché* in the “ *Constitutions* .”

“ On the day of the Resurrection of the Lord, that is, on the Lord's day assemble without fail, giving thanks to God, and praising Him for those mercies God has bestowed upon you through Christ, and has delivered you from ignorance, error, and bondage, that your Sacrifice may be unblemished and acceptable to God, who has said concerning His Universal Church : In every place shall incense and a pure sacrifice be offered unto Me ; for I am a great King, and My Name is wonderful among the heathen ” (vii. c. 30).

In chapters 33-38 of the same book, comes a paraphrase of the Eucharistic Prayer of Thanksgiving. It is of enormous length, and cannot here be quoted. It goes through the regular course of praise to God for having created the world and made man, “ the ornament of the world,” forming his body “ out of the four elements,” and then leads, after mention of the Angels and Cherubim, to the Triumphal Hymn, “ Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts ! Heaven and Earth are full of Thy Glory.”

Then the prayer proceeds with an enumeration of God's works, of the Incarnation, the Passion, and Resurrection “ so that the Lord's Day commands us to offer unto Thee, O Lord, thanksgiving for all.”

This is followed by a paraphrase of the Prayer of Oblation.

In chapter 47 is given the "Gloria in Excelsis" as a morning hymn.

In the eighth book is the complete liturgy, which see in Neale and Littledale's "Translations of the Primitive Liturgies," London, 1869, pp. 65-91; or "The Apostolic Constitutions," in Clark's "Ante-Nicene Library," Edinburgh, pp. 216-237.

XVIII. LACTANTIUS.

It is not known for certain either where, or at what date, this writer was born, but he was certainly a very old man in A.D. 315, when he settled at Treves, where he died about ten years later. His principal work is "The Institutions," or "An Introduction to True Religion," in seven books. In this book he demonstrates the falsity of the heathen religions, the vanity of pagan philosophies, and undertakes the defence of Christianity.

If we look for any full explanation of the Christian faith in this book, we shall be disappointed. It was not intended to supersede catechetical instruction previous to baptism, but to dispose men's minds to submit to become hearers. Consequently the book aims more at unsettling the confidence of the heathen in their systems of religion and philosophy, than at teaching the faith. The fourth book of the "Institutions" deals with true wisdom and religion, and in this the old line of argument is followed. God is shown to be the Father by creation, then to have spoken by the Prophets, then to have revealed Himself by the Son. Lactantius concludes the book with an earnest exhortation to listen to the Church, in which alone is safety, and not to allow the heretics who ensnare the soul. The sixth book is on true worship, but in it we hardly get a hint of Eucharistic worship, for the book, it must not be for-

gotten, is addressed to those who have not as yet consented to become catechumens. He begins, "I come now to that which is the chief portion of this work, to teach in what manner, and by what sacrifice, God must be worshipped." But he goes off to show the falsity of the heathen systems of worship, and contents himself with saying that the sacrifice must not be of blood, not of anything corruptible, but a pure mind and good purpose. "We are bound to sacrifice to God in word, inasmuch as God is the Word. Therefore the chief ceremonial in the worship of God is praise from the mouth of a just man directed to God. But he who would address God must be free from every stain, and must pray for nothing else but pardon for his sins. And let him not suppose that this is done *only* in the Temple, but it is done also at home, even in his bed. In short, let him always have God in his heart, himself the Temple of God."

We cannot expect any fuller account from Lactantius, considering the object of his work, and those to whom it was addressed.

S. CYRIL OF JERUSALEM.

S. Cyril succeeded Maximus as Bishop of Jerusalem in A.D. 349, or 350. Shortly before this, in A.D. 347, during his priesthood, he delivered the series of Catechetical Lectures that have come down to us. These were delivered in the great church erected by Constantine on Golgotha. These wonderful lectures were delivered to the candidates for baptism and for Communion. The season was Lent when the first set were delivered. The others were given after Easter.

The first series is on the Creed ; the second on the Mysteries of the Faith, *i.e.*, on Baptism and the Eucharist. We have already quoted S. Cyril on the Discipline of the Secret. He earnestly enjoins such as shall copy his book, or have it, not to suffer it to come into the hands of those who have not been

illuminated. In the first series there is hardly an allusion to the Eucharist. As he says: "Certain mysteries the Church speaks to thee who art removed from among the Catechumens, which it is not customary to mention to the Gentiles. To a Gentile we do not utter the mysteries concerning the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost; nor before catechumens do we discourse plainly about mysteries; but many things we speak in a covert manner, understandable to the faithful only, so that those who know not may receive no harm" (vi. 29). It is otherwise in those addresses spoken to the baptized who are in preparation for Communion. When arguing against participation in meats offered to idols, he says:—

"As the Bread and Wine of the Eucharist before the holy invocation of the adorable Trinity was simply bread and wine, but after the invocation the bread becomes the Body of Christ, and the wine the Blood of Christ, so do the meats belonging to the pomp of Satan, though by nature plain, become profane by the invocation of the evil spirit" (De Myst. i. 7).

He says much the same in the third lecture (iii. 3). The whole of the fourth is devoted to the Mystery of the Real Presence; but this we will not quote, as our object is liturgical rather than doctrinal, and we pass on to his mention of the parts of the liturgy which enable us to reconstruct the Eucharistic Service of the Church of Jerusalem at the beginning of the fourth century.

In the fourteenth lecture Cyril speaks of the MASS OF THE CATECHUMENS, to which his hearers had been admitted. He mentions the fixed lessons and the address that had been given, and apparently the Creed that had been recited.

"Thou hast heard [concerning the Ascension] yesterday, on the Lord's Day; since by the providence of Divine grace, the course of LESSONS in the Church included the account of the Saviour's going up into the heavens, and though what was then spoken was for all, for the united body of the brethren, yet still it was specially for you. Now I ask, didst thou attend to what was said? Thou knowest the words that follow in the

CREED teach thee to believe in Him who rose again the third day and ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father. Now, I suppose that thou certainly rememberest the SERMON," &c. (xiv. 24).

From the Fifth Lecture on the Mysteries we get an account of the MASS OF THE FAITHFUL.

"Ye saw the Deacon give the Priest water to wash, and to the presbyters who stood round God's altar. . . . This WASHING OF HANDS is a symbol that ye ought to be pure from all sinful deeds.

"Then the Deacon cries aloud, 'Receive ye one another; and let us KISS one another.' Think not that this kiss ranks with those given in public by common friends.

"After this the Priest cries aloud, 'Lift up your hearts' (SURSUM CORDA). Then ye answer, 'We lift them up unto the Lord.'

"Then the Priest says, 'Let us give thanks to the Lord.' For in good sooth we are bound to give thanks. Then ye say, 'It is meet and right.'

"After this, we make mention of heaven, and earth, and the sea, the sun, and the moon; of the stars, and of all creation, rational and irrational, visible and invisible; of Angels, Archangels, Virtues, Dominions, Principalities, Powers, Thrones; of the Cherubim, . . . we make mention also of the Seraphim (PREFACE) encircling the throne of God, who cried :—

"HOLY, HOLY, HOLY, Lord God of Sabaoth.

"Then having sanctified ourselves by these spiritual hymns, we call upon the merciful God to send forth His Holy Spirit (EPIKLESIS) upon the gifts lying before Him; that He may make the bread the Body of Christ, and the wine the Blood of Christ (CONSECRATION); for whatsoever the Holy Ghost has touched is sanctified and changed.

"Then after the spiritual sacrifice is perfected (OBLATION), the Bloodless Service upon the Sacrifice of Propitiation, we entreat God for the peace of the Church, for the tranquillity of the world; for kings, for soldiers, and allies; for the sick; for the afflicted; and, in a word, for all who stand in need of succour, we all supplicate and offer this sacrifice. (GREAT INTERCESSION).

"Then we COMMEMORATE THE DEAD, all such as have fallen asleep before us, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, that at their prayers and intervention, God would receive our petition. Afterwards also on behalf of the holy Fathers and Bishops who have fallen asleep among us, believing that it will be a great advantage to their souls for whom the supplication is put up, while that holy and most awful Sacrifice is presented.

"Then we say the prayer which the Saviour delivered to His disciples (LORD'S PRAYER).

"Then, after completing the prayer, thou sayest, *Amen*.

"After this the Priest says, 'Holy things to the holy' (SANCTA

SANCTIS). Holy are the gifts presented, since they have been visited by the Holy Ghost ; holy are you also, since the Holy Ghost has been vouchsafed you ; and the holy things correspond to holy persons.

“Then ye respond, ‘One is holy, One is the Lord, Jesus Christ.’

“After this ye hear the chanter with a sacred melody invite you to the COMMUNION of the Holy Mysteries, saying, ‘O taste and see that the Lord is good.’ Trust not the decision to thy bodily palate ; no, but to faith unfaltering ; for when we taste, we are bidden to taste, not bread and wine, but the sign (*ἀντίτερον*) of the Body and Blood of Christ.”

After directions how the Sacred Gift is to be received into the hollow of the hand, and how the chalice is to be taken, St. Cyril concludes his account with :—

“Then wait for the PRAYER, and give THANKS to God, who has accounted thee worthy of so great mysteries.”

XIX. S. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.

Although this saint belongs to a later date, his notices of the Eucharist are included, because he preserves for us an account in scattered references to the Liturgy of the Church of Antioch which was used in his day, and which has textually disappeared. S. Chrysostom was born at Antioch about A.D. 347, and was baptized, and instructed, and ordained reader, and then deacon, by S. Meletius, Bishop of Antioch. S. Flavian, who succeeded Meletius, ordained him priest. He succeeded Nectarius, as Patriarch of Constantinople, in 398, and died in exile A.D. 407. The Antiochian Liturgy, as he refers to it, shows a great similarity to that found in the “Constitutions.”

“There are places where the Priest is in no wise different from the subject (the layman) ; for example, when they have to taste and enjoy the awful Mysteries. For we are all thought equally worthy of the same things, not as in the Old Covenant, when the Priest ate one portion and the layman another, and it was not lawful for the laity to partake of those things of which the Priest partook. It is otherwise now, one Body is available for all now, and one Cup. In the prayers, also, one can see

how great is the share of the laity ; for indeed, on account of the Energumens and the Penitents, common prayers arise for them from Priest and people, and all utter one prayer, a prayer full of pity. Again, when we dismiss from the sacred places those who cannot partake of the Holy Table, there must arise a different sort of prayer, we all alike prostrate ourselves and alike arise.

DISMISSALS. "When we partake of and give the KISS OF PEACE we alike greet each other.

PRAYERS OF THE FAITHFUL. "Again, at the very moment of the most awful Mysteries, the Priest blesses the people, and the people bless him in response, *'And with thy spirit.'*

ANAPHORA. "The THANKSGIVING again is common, nor does the Priest offer it alone, but also the whole laity ; for, first collecting their voices and their assent, he begins the Eucharist. Why wonder if the people speak with the Priest at a place where they utter the sacred hymns in common with the Cherubim and the powers above?" *

PREFACE.

TRIUMPHAL HYMN.

What follows are small allusions scattered in the writings of S. John Chrysostom :—

MASS OF THE CATECHUMENS. *The Priest* : Peace be with you all.
The Laity : And with Thy spirit.

GLORIA. Glory to God in the highest, &c.
Reader : Thus saith the Lord.
Deacon : Let us pay attention.

LECTIONS. Lesson from the Old Testament.
The Reader.—Thus saith the Lord.
Epistle.
Gospel.
The Preacher.—Peace be with you all.
The People.—And with thy spirit.
The sermon (or sermons), ending with a Doxology to the Blessed Trinity.
The Deacon.—Let us make our prayer with fervour for Catechumens. Let us stand decently. Let us pray.

DISMISSALS. That the most pitiful and merciful God would hear their petitions, that He would open the ears of their hearts to hear what eye hath not seen nor ear heard, and hath not entered into the heart of man, and that the Word instruct them in the word of truth, and sow the word of truth in them, and confirm His faith in their understandings ; that He would reveal to them the Gospel of

* This and all the rest are translated from the extracts made by Mr. Hammond, and collected in his "Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Antioch."

righteousness, that He would give to them a mind inspired, a temperate judgment, and a virtuous conversation, always to think His things, to judge and to study them, and to walk in His law day and night.

Let us beseech on their account more fervently, that He would take them from every evil and strange deed, and from every diabolical sin, and from all the assault of the adversary, that He may deem them worthy in fitting time of the washing of the New Birth, of remission of sins, and of the putting upon of immortality; that He would bless their coming in and going out, all their lives, their houses and their hovels, that He would multiply their children and bless them, and bring them to the measure of the stature [of the perfect Man], and guide them in wisdom; that He would conform all their purposes to utility.

Arise, ask the Angel of Peace, O ye Catechumens, let all your intents be peaceful, ask that the present day, and all the days of your life, may be full of peace, that Christian objects—the comely, the useful, may be before you. Give yourselves up to the living God and His Christ. Bow your heads.

The President blesses them.

All respond, Amen.

A similar Bidding Prayer by the Deacon and Blessing by the celebrant over—2, The Energumens; 3, The Penitents.

The Deacon.—Depart all in repentance. Depart all who are not able to pray with us. Let none of the Catechumens. Let none of those inadmissible. Let none of the non-communicants. Let no spies, no uninitiated [remain]. Observe each other.

Then, when all are gone forth,

The Deacon.—Let us all pray together.

OFFERTORY. Then the Elements are brought in and placed on the Altar.

LITANY OF *Deacon.*—Let us pray.

INTERCESSION. The Bidding Prayer included the following Petitions.
For the World.

For the Church extended unto the end of the earth; and for the Bishops holding rule in her.

For the Bishop, and the Elders, and the assistants, and that they may rightly divide the word of Truth, for these present and elsewhere.

For the Presbyters.

For the Emperor.

For those in authority.

For the sick.

For the fruits of the earth and the sea.

For good weather.

Let us implore the Angel of peace . . . let us ask that our intention be wholly peaceful.

Priest.—Peace to all.

People.—And to thy spirit.

Here followed probably a Prayer of the Celebrant, or an ascription of Praise.

Priest.—Peace to all.

People.—And to thy spirit.

THE KISS OF PEACE.

Priest: Peace to all.

People: And with Thy spirit.

Deacon: Let us stand decently.

BENEDICTION. *Priest:* The grace of the Lord, &c., or Grace and peace be to you, &c.

People.—And to Thy spirit.

Priest.—Lift up your hearts and minds.

People.—We lift them up unto the Lord.

Priest.—Let us give thanks unto the Lord.

People.—It is meet and right so to do.

PREFACE. Here begins the Great Thanksgiving, with mention of the Cherubim and Seraphim, leading up to—

THE TRIUMPHAL HYMN. Holy, holy, holy, &c., frequently referred to by S. Chrysostom.

THE GREAT EUCHARISTIC PRAYER. Continuation of the Thanksgiving for the glorious works of God, recounting the work of Redemption.

THE WORDS OF INSTITUTION.

THE GREAT OBLATION.

THE INVOCATION OF THE HOLY GHOST.

THE GREAT INTERCESSION. This contained, according to S. Chrysostom, prayers for the peace of the world, for all men, for the living Church, the faithful dead, those who made memorial for them, with martyrs, confessors, and priests. It included also a confession of sin, and ended in the words, "For ever and ever," to which the people responded "Amen."

This Intercession, or its chief petitions, was repeated in acclamation by the deacon calling to prayer.

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

Priest.—Peace to all.

People.—And to Thy spirit.

SANCTA SANCTIS. *Priest*.—Holy things to holy people.

THE COMMUNION.

THANKSGIVING AFTER COMMUNION.

DISMISSAL. *Deacon* : Depart in peace.

“I subjoin a few passages (from S. Chrysostom),” says Mr. Hammond “which throw some light upon ritual and other ecclesiastical usages, though not strictly indicating parts of the liturgy.

“The churches had porches or vestibules ; and the sanctuary, *bema*, within, in which stood the altar, raised above the rest of the church, and separated off by curtains, which concealed the altar from view, and were drawn aside at some part of the service. The women were separated from the men by wooden barriers : though this was not a custom of long standing. Two customs practised on entering the church are mentioned,—viz. (*a*) of washing the hands, for which purpose there were fountains, or vessels of water, placed near the door ; (*b*) of kissing the doorposts or thresholds of the entrance. The use of the cross in connection both with the altar and the Holy Bread is clearly indicated. The deacons appear to have distributed the consecrated elements, as in the Greek Liturgy of S. James, and to have exercised some discretion in rejecting notoriously unworthy communicants. They were vested in white albs, and seem to have worn a stole or tippet of linen on their shoulders, which floated in the air with any rapid movement.”*

XX. DIONYSIUS (THE AREOPAGITE).

Dionysius, abbot of Rhinocorura, in Egypt, about A.D. 375, wrote on Mystical Theology, on the Celestial and Terrestrial Hierarchies, and some letters to friends. By a curious blunder he was mistaken for Dionysius the Areopagite, the convert of S. Paul.†

Dionysius was a man of ideas, and was a philosopher worthy of attention, but not without the faults inherent in the Alexandrine School. His doctrine was that all created beings stood on stages or planes of existence, those highest and nearest to

* “The Ancient Liturgy of Antioch.” Mr. Hammond quotes every passage in substantiation of what he advances.

† The identification followed is that of Dr. Jocham, in Wetzer and Welte’s “Kirchen Lexikon,” Freiburg, 1884, 5.7.

God drank in light and wisdom from the primal source, which they communicated to those on the stage below, and so, by various degrees, the light streamed mediately down into the lowest abysses of darkness. And the object of man should be the acquisition of more and more light to ascend from plane to plane to God. The angels who see God face to face turn and flash down the perfect light on the angels below them on the scale, and they also in order to the rank below. Thus all heaven is full of a hierarchy of graduated existences, drinking a light from those above, and communicating it to those below. The ecclesiastical hierarchy is constituted on the same principle, from the bishop to the simple neophyte, through all the stages of ecclesiastical order.

Dionysius explains the sacraments as means whereby men mount from step to step, "from glory to glory advancing," and when he comes to explain how that the Eucharist is a means of enlightening and elevating, he touches on what nearly concerns us in this enquiry.

His account of the *Synaxis*, or Communion, begins with a prayer at the foot of the altar (*θυσιαστηρίου*), which is followed by incense, and then a round made of the church.

"Returned to the altar, he begins the pious melody of the psalms, in which all the ecclesiastical orders join harmoniously.

Then the Liturgi (Deacons)* read the sacred Scriptures, after which the catechumens, energumens, and penitents are excluded as unworthy to look into and partake of the divine mysteries."

Here we have in few words the MASS OF THE CATECHUMENS.

"The deacons keep the doors, others fulfil some other function, those highest in dignity offer with the priests on the holy altar the sacred bread and the Cup of blessing, after that all the assembly in choir has sung the Catholic hymn."

* We will employ the usual expressions for the orders in the sequel.

Here we have the OFFERTORY followed by the TRIUMPHAL HYMN.

“Then the Bishop recites a holy prayer, and wishes all peace; and all having exchanged the kiss, the proclamation of the diptychs follows.”

Here we have the PRAYER FOR PEACE and the KISS OF PEACE, followed by the reading out of the names of those for whom prayer was to be offered. The diptychs took the place of the deacon's Bidding Prayer, or call to the LITANY OF INTERCESSION.

“After that, the Bishop and Priests wash their hands with water.

“Then the Bishop takes his place in the midst of the altar, surrounded by the Priests and the chief of the Deacons.

“The Bishop, praising the divine works of God, consecrates the most divine of mysteries, which he solemnly exposes under the veil of venerable symbols.

“And when he has declared the gifts of the works of God, he makes preparation himself to take a religious part in them, and thereto also he invites the rest.

“After having received and distributed the ineffable Communion, he concludes with a thanksgiving.”

Here we have the WASHING, then the GREAT THANKSGIVING, then the CONSECRATION, the PRAYER OF HUMBLE ACCESS, the COMMUNION, and the FINAL THANKSGIVING.

Having given this brief sketch of the Liturgy, Dionysius proceeds to explain the signification of each part.

“We must then go into the Holy of Holies, so to speak, and understand why the Bishop goes to the august altar at the end of the temple, there to diffuse incense, after which he returns to the place whence he started.”

Then he gives an account of the books read in the Pro-Anaphora—Genesis, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Numbers, Judges, the Books of the Kings, the Books of Wisdom, the Canticles, the Prophets, Gospels, Acts and Epistles, and Apocalypse. He sums up by saying that the LECTIONS are first from the Old Testament, then from the New.

After that he enters into an elaborate explanation of the DISMISSALS of catechumens, ennergumens, and penitents.

“Then, the sacred ministers and pious assistants, with eyes fixed on the great object of their worship, exalt in an universal hymn the Great Author and Giver of all good, by Whom we were given these great and precious things.

“Some call this exultation a hymn ; others, a symbol of religion. I would call it the very Holy Thanksgiving, as summing up all the names of God that have reached us. It is clear that all the creatures of God which we there laud assist in advancing us to Life.”

What this great hymn is, we are able to say. It is the CHERUBIC HYMN which occurs in this place in the Alexandrian Liturgy of S. Mark. The text is :—

“Let us, who mystically represent the Cherubim, and sing the holy hymn to the quickening Trinity, lay aside at this time all worldly cares, that we may receive the King of Glory, invisibly attended by the angelic orders. Alleluia ! Alleluia ! Alleluia !”

It occurs also in the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom, &c. The creatures of God therein lauded are the Cherubim.

“At the end of this pious hymn, the sacred bread, covered with a veil, is presented with the cup of blessing, after which comes the HOLY KISS, and then the DIPTYCHS.”

Then Dionysius goes on to examine the ABLUTIONS.

“Then the Bishop exalts the august works of God, consecrates the Divine mysteries, and exposes to the eyes of all the object of his praises.”

Dionysius next shows, relative to the GREAT THANKSGIVING, how that man is restored from his fall by the operation of God. He relates how that man fell into sin, and wandered from grace ; how that God did not leave him without hope and guidance, and took our nature upon Him to raise man again to innocence and to glory.

“The works of God having been celebrated, and His providence towards us, and what Jesus obtained for our race, the Bishop goes on

to the CONSECRATION of the symbols in the manner in which God instituted. He excuses himself for OFFERING A SACRIFICE so superior to himself, but pleads the command to Do this in remembrance of Me. Then he seeks to copy Christ holily in the making and distribution of the divine mysteries, to all such as are worthy to approach."

We have here the use of the words of Institution ; then the repetition or fulfilment of the command by the celebrant, with a Prayer of Humble Access.

"Then he completes the most sacred of marvels, he offers to view the symbols which veil the mystery."

This is the ELEVATION with SANCTA SANCTIS.

"Uncovering and dividing the bread that was covered and undivided and dividing among all the same cup."

This is the SECOND FRACTION and the COMMUNION.

"After that he has administered to himself, and has distributed the Holy Communion, the Bishop and all the assembly conclude with a THANKSGIVING."

"All the orders of the hierarchy united in the church, after having received the sacred mysteries, give pious thanks, giving thanks and praise for the graces of the divine works.

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